# Living in the Tension:

A cross-cultural comparative study of the meaning and management of care, self-care, and wellbeing across two communities of faith-based youth workers.

by

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**Susan Wardell participating in a youth baptism ceremony at Lake Victoria, January 2013.**
**Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

# Abstract

This ethnographic project explored how faith-based youth workers in two communities – Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries (MOTEM) in Kampala, Uganda, and Canterbury Youth Services (CYS) in Canterbury, New Zealand – managed and made sense of their own wellbeing, against an ongoing tension between care and self-care. The comparative approach enabled an examination of two local articulations of a global faith system, as well as two situated examples of the effect of neoliberalism on the faith-based organisations (FBOs). The experience of burnout, as a culturally-grounded idiom of distress with strong ties in existing literature to care labour and the non-profit sector, was the entry point into this study. The analysis of interviews, focus group material, primary texts and ethnographic field notes drew heavily from a narrative discourse approach. This highlighted the significance of language, metaphor, and narrative in their sense-making, but with a performativity focus that examined these not as static texts, but as part of subject formation. This study also applied a post-structuralist perspective to examining the discursive construction of the 'good' leader in a specific historical moment. This provided context for the moral and emotional labour observed in each site

My findings were that balance, paradox, and re-categorisation were key techniques used to manage discursive tension. Such strategies were both storied and embodied. Distinctive local 'aesthetics' which patterned practice were also identified, including self-awareness and balance (in Canterbury), and self-control and empowerment (in Kampala). Through all of these, neoliberal discourses were shown to be contributing to a responsibilisation of the youth leader for their own wellbeing. Ultimately, although numerous institutional and ideological forces are at work in their complex and morally-fraught social fields, faith-based youth workers exercise creativity, agency and resilience in navigating these to maintain their cherished identities and manage their wellbeing whilst conducting the demanding care labour involved.

## Preface and Acknowledgements

I have a strong suspicion that it is not, in fact, uncommon for a research project to be shaped largely around a search for answers to questions that are far more personal than we normally admit on research proposals and grant applications. The personal questions I am able to identify, retrospectively, as driving my choice of topic were 'why do some people burn out, and others not?' Or perhaps even more specifically 'how can I continue to be the (active, caring) person I want to be, without it costing my health?' This sense-making process began for me in my undergraduate years, when after a few busy years of study, work, and numerous volunteer activities (including youth work) I experienced what I came to call burnout. At that time I looked around me at the others I knew who were also working passionately, tirelessly, in the non-profit sector, and wondered how they managed it.

This research provided a wonderful excuse to ask just that of people like them. It did not, of course, give me straightforward answers to these questions. However it did give me (and hopefully also the reader) an enriching insight into how two distinctive communities of youth workers wrestle with very similar questions on a day to day basis. Furthermore, though it began personally, and narrowly, it opened up – broadened, deepened, complicated - into some even more interesting and fundamental questions about how we build and protect cherished images of ourselves, the role of institutions and power in this, and whether people really do exercise agency and resilience in the face of such a myriad of social forces, ideologies, identities and tensions. Pursuing this 'rabbit-hole' of questions, in and through the lives of real people in one moment in time and space, has been both challenging and fascinating.

I am so deeply grateful to my participants at MOTEM and at CYS, in particular their irrepressible and enigmatic leaders, Stephen Egesa and Mike Dodge, for 'lending' me their organisation for the purpose of this study. So much was given to me, in time and welcome, and openness. I have been deeply inspired by the youth workers I have come to know better through my field work. Thank you for the stories you gifted to me: I will take care of them as best I can.

Finally, I am dedicating this thesis to my husband, Andrew Wardell, who has walked this PhD journey with me. For your steadfast belief in me and my work, for listening to late night rants, for the many batches of chocolate muffins, for 'getting' my obscure academic humour, and for following me several times around the world, thank you. I am so grateful to have you by my side, in fieldwork and in life.

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# List of Acronyms

**24/7 Youth Work**– an FBO working in Canterbury High Schools, partnered with CYS

**COU –** Church of Uganda

**CF –** Compassion Fatigue

**CYS** – Canterbury Youth Services

**GUSCO –** Gulu Support the Children Organisation

**FBO** – Faith-Based Organisation

**IDP –** Internally Displaced People

**KIA** - Kampala International University

**LRA –** Lord's Resistance Army

**ME –** Myalgic encephalomyelitis

**MOTEM** – Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries

**NGO** – Non-Governmental Organisation

**NZ –** New Zealand

**SAE –** Stephen Adundo Egesa (in photo credits)

**SAP –** Structural Adjustment Policy

**SW –** Susan Wardell (in photo credits)

**SYLT –** Southern Youth Leaders Training (an annual CYS event)

**UIICT-** Uganda Institute of Information and Communication Technologies

**UN –** United Nations

**UCU** – Uganda Christian University

**X-tend –** An annual CYS conference for high-school aged aspiring youth leaders

**YMCA –** Young Men's Christian Association

# List of Non-English Terms

**Aotearoa –** New Zealand

**Balokole –** Ugandan 'born-again' Christian (emerging from the East African Revival).

**Bodaboda** – Public transport motorcycle

**Buganda** – the area in the Central Region of Uganda

**Bugandan** – the ethnic group associated with the Buganda region in Central Uganda

**Covera –** Plastic bag or container

**Gomesi –** Colourful, floor-length dress traditional for women in the Buganda/Busoga regions. In Kampala commonly worn by older women to church, or at formal occasions.

**Hinengaro** – Mental (health)

**Jaja** – Grandmother

**Kalo** – Soft 'bread' dish made from brown millet flower

**Kugenda mu maaso** – To go straight forward

**Lugandan** – Language group belonging to Buganda region, Central Uganda (incl. Kampala)

**Māori –** Indigneous New Zealanders

**Matatu** – Public transport, taxi van

**Matoke** – Fried plantain dish

**Muchomo** – Barbequed goat meat

**Mzungu** – White person

**Pākehā –** New Zealand European

**Te Whare Tapa Whā –** The four cornerstones of (Māori) health

**Tinana –** Physical (health)

**Wairua –** Spiritual (health)

**Whānau** - Family

# CHAPTER 1: The Spiritual Carer

*With youth work, it takes ALL of you. It takes your ENERGY it takes your HEART it takes your EMOTIONS […] it DRAWS you from your BED and you just get out and say 'I'm going to do this for the youth!' It's just like a spirit. It takes ALL of you, it task your energy, your emotions […] just like the Holy Spirit.*

- *Pastor Raymond, MOTEM*

This thesis presents an "intimate ethnography" (Rylko-Bauer 2005, Banerji & Distante 2009) of the care labourers in two faith-based youth work organisations. It is 'intimate' ethnography because it deals with a number of intimately personal (and interpersonal) aspects of living: the emotions, the body, relationships of care, and moments of mental illness and distress. It implicates, as Raymond described above; the heart, the emotions, the energy and the spirit, though just what he meant by all this and how it shaped his day to day practice of youth work is what I shall work to unravel. Furthermore this ethnography is 'intimate' because I present it with an emphasis on situated meanings in everyday life worlds, rather than focussing on social structures or world views (Jackson 1998). It was conducted formally over a two year period (2012-2014), across two field sites; in Canterbury, New Zealand, with Canterbury Youth Services (CYS) and in Kampala, Uganda, with Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries (MOTEM). This enabled me to examine my topics cross-culturally and comparatively.

My research weaves together multiple threads of ethnographic interest and significance, contributing to several different areas of anthropological scholarship. These include psychiatric anthropology, psychological anthropology, medical anthropology, the anthropology of emotion, the anthropology of organisations, the anthropology of Christianity, the anthropology of work and particularly of non-profit and volunteer work, and the anthropology of neoliberalism. It responds to a number of gaps in the literature on these topics, for example around the intersection of spirituality, care and wellbeing, the role of Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) in new neoliberal care regimes and the impact of managerialist values on faith-based youth work, and the cross-cultural understandings of mental distress. This includes the much-researched western category of 'burnout', which was my initial focus of inquiry, though I will

shape part of the chapter around an explanation of how my topic came to broaden out as I engaged with it. I give first an introduction to the field of youth work itself, and to the socio-historical context in which it is undertaken in each place. By doing this I provide a snapshot of some of the 'macro' factors against which to situate the 'micro' focus of nuanced ethnographic material that the following chapters will present. I then introduce my two field sites, in Kampala and in Canterbury, comparing and contrasting some key aspects of these organisations in terms of size, scope and focus. I finally move into an explanation of my multi-methodological approach to research there, and some reflexive discussions about the context of knowledge production. Throughout I contextualise my field sites and my methods strategically within existing literature.

There is very little academic scholarship that has been devoted to faith-based youth work (Banks & Iman 2000, Colley 2001, Hoge et al 1982, Jeffs & Smith 1988, Ord 2012, Jones 2001, Roebben 1997), and less still on youth workers themselves - their unique ways of caring, their sense of spirituality, their notions of self and selfhood, or their conceptualisations of health and wellbeing. Because of the lack of scholarly attention to this area, in order to contextualise my study, much of the literature I drew on emerged from parallel disciplines, or focused on similar forms of work. Through these I was able to glean insights obliquely, highlighting areas of similarity and difference. Alongside anthropological scholarship, my literature review draws on scholarship from social work, counselling and mental health, health care fields (e.g. nursing), management, and education, since these have some professional parallels to the type of work, type of organisations, and vocational identities I was examining. However in these fields an acknowledgement of the role of spirituality remains quite rare, and generally tends to focus on client needs rather than carer experiences. Approaching from another angle, I also examined research specifically from and about Christian organisations, ministry, and clergy. In this way I gained a greater sense of the significance of spiritual disciplines and beliefs in the lives of care workers, and the effect of vernacular theologies around suffering and wellbeing on the day to day self-care practices of the youth workers I studied. Through this, my analysis of models of selfhood was able to elucidate the complex metaphoric links between Christian beliefs and practices and the affective and practical aspects of care in this setting. Overall this enabled me to craft my research to fill a gap in work that examines the intersection between spirituality, wellbeing, and care labour.

In my own experience as a youth leader in Otago (which neighbours the New Zealand field site of Canterbury and utilises many CYS networks and events), I had observed that 'burnout' was a common descriptor for dysphoric experiences related to the cost of care in this region. I wanted to examine, as Robert Desjarlais (1992a) had, the interplay between these cultural sensibilities and emotional distress. Elsewhere many studies of this have shown a link between the 'helping professions' and burnout (Moreno-Jiménez & Villodres 2010, Jansen, 2010, Kahn 1993, Miller 1995, Abbott 2009). Furthermore literature specifically shows high levels of burnout for Christian ministry leaders internationally (Lewis, Turton & Francis 2007, Doolittle 2008, Golden et al 2004, Ellison, Gay & Glass 1989, Ellison 1991) and across all religious denominations (Schaefer and Jacobson 2009). Schaufeli & Leiter argue that burnout emerged in its very specific historical moment as a way of giving 'voice' to issues of emotions, values, and relationships for human service workers, who themselves are the icons of the new service era in the modern, industrialised western world (2009, p206). By the time they wrote (in 2009) to summarise 35 years of burnout research, over 6,000 books, chapters, dissertations and journal articles had already been published on the topic. Yet in my initial review of a portion of these - informed by the work of Arthur Kleinman and his contemporaries around culturally-grounded syndromes and the universalist bias of western psychiatry (e.g. Kleinman 1977, 1978, 1987, 1991, Kirmayer 2006, Schwartz et al 1992) - what became most apparent to me, was the significant skewing of studies around care labour and burnout towards western locations, organisations and ideas.

Only a few other studies had already addressed the question of the relevance of the diagnostic category of burnout internationally, and despite a few methodological problems (such as sampling bias) most of these quantitative studies had concluded that burnout is not exclusively a Western phenomenon (Friberg 2009). Pines identified burnout among both Jewish and Arab Israelis, but argued that the assumption that occupational burnout is universal can be challenged on both theoretical and empirical grounds, arguing for the role of culture to be acknowledged rather than just the requirements and stresses of particular organisational settings (2003). Turnipseed and Turnipseed (1997) undertook a comparative analysis of American and Philippine nurses, showing the co-presence of burnout in each place, although also identifying the role of the social work environment and national value systems in influencing the

"substantial difference in experienced burnout" between the two places. Kageler's (2010) study, although limited in depth and scope, bears the closest resemblance to my own study in its specific focus on burnout and Christian youth workers. He examined the cross-national incidence of burnout with 'religious' youth workers by administering a survey to 155 US Christian youth workers, and a further 98 in the EU, finding similar stated reasons for and incidences of burnout for each group (2010). Of course as Schaufeli and Leiter note, the global presence of 'burnout' does not mean an identical set of meanings around what burnout is, between different places (2009). The lack of more in-depth research on this area was a concern, and thus I tailored my initial research focus to ethnographically investigate the expression and embodiment of 'burnout' experiences across the two culturally distinctive but organisationally/vocationally similar sites I had chosen.

Having decided to use my established local connections to research in Canterbury, I selected to locate the other part of my research in East Africa. The lack of research pertaining to both social and religious movements in Africa is also quite noteworthy (Gusman 2013). More specifically, there is an absence of research around the role of Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) as part of the influential Non-Governmental Organisational (NGO) sector there (Bornstein 2002, in Gusman 2013). Marian Burchardt's study in South Africa similarly maintains that more research is needed around the link between religious faith and organisational dynamics, arguing that the growing field of FBOs represents a contemporary form of institutionalised altruism, and a new social space in which religious identities can be enacted (2013, p48). My research makes a focussed ethnographic contribution to these 'thin' areas of scholarship on the interesting intersection of notions of charitable love and individual success in evangelical Christian FBOs (*ibid*).

Throughout this thesis, for both of my field sites, I build a detailed picture of some of the contradictions and tensions between the intersecting discourses of love and care which have influenced the policy and practice of personal wellbeing within these organisations. This includes the altruistic versus individualistic tensions in African FBOs (Burchardt 2013), and between ascetic theologies and prosperity teachings in African churches (Maxwell 1998), amidst a tension between neoliberalism (and as part of this, managerialism) and a Christian care ethic (Davies 2012) in both sites. It also includes a tension in the church between Christian ascetic values and prosperity

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theologies (Maxwell 1998), more prominent in Kampala, and a tension in youth work sectors between professionalism and volunteerism (Bradford 2007), more prominent in Canterbury. In examining the moments where ideas of the 'good' Christian youth leaders are fractured, contested or overdetermined, I have been able to elucidate the way these youth leaders negotiated (took on, resisted, contested, and managed) social meanings.

Reasonably early in this process it became apparent to me in the midst of the rich moral worlds I was encountering, and the unique forms of caring they facilitated, that simply cataloguing the causes and symptoms of burnout would be neither a unique contribution to existing literature nor a sufficiently nuanced way of understanding the life worlds of my participants. While the topic of burnout had provided a good starting point, particularly for a literature review, this single category of distress turned out to be only part of a complex web of creative, storied and embodied sense-making practices that youth workers engage in. An iterative process gave my research the forgiving fluidity to move from this narrow cross-cultural psychiatric comparative focus on burnout or even 'mental health', into a broader, nuanced ethnographic exploration of the meanings and practices around 'wellbeing.' In recognition of this, and of the significant underlying tension I identified in the lives of these spiritual care labourers, my primary research question became:

**How do faith-based youth workers negotiate the tensions between caring for others and caring for themselves?**

Inside and outside the faith-based sector, this 'tension of giving' (as Freudenberger called it in1974, in relation to burnout) emerged as a significant theme, and became the central focus of this thesis. The concept of self-care has a long history, which Michel Foucault identifies as rooted in the graeco-roman tradition, where it circulated through a number of different doctrines in the shape of both an attitude and a mode of behaviour (1988, pp44–45):

> [Self-care] became instilled in ways of living; it evolved into procedures, practices, and formulas that people reflected on, developed, perfected, and taught. It thus came to constitute a social practice, giving rise to relationships between individuals, to exchanges and communications, and at times even to institutions.

I present a thesis that speaks to some core aspects of being human - care, selfhood, spirituality, suffering and wellbeing- in the Christian church as an institution. My research reveals in the places Foucault suggests – policy, practices, relationships, communications and overall in knowledge systems and 'sciences' (*ibid,* p45) – the way discourses of care, self-care, wellbeing, suffering, and spirituality are lived out in two local worlds in a certain particular historical moment.

As is common for the faith-based sector, in both of my field sites the terminology of 'leadership' still dominates over that of management (Davies 2012). The term 'youth worker' that I have been using was technically correct in both places, as a broader description of what is best seen as a form of social work. I will continue to use this term occasionally where I wish to make comments about the broader youth work sector, or wish to position them within the broader workforce and/or against neoliberal ideologies of work. However, this term has secular and professional associations that are not always accurate to people engaging informally in the faith-based sector. In most church and faith-based settings, youth work personnel; whether paid or unpaid, take on the language of Christian ministry instead. The term 'youth leaders' encompassed most of their various roles comfortably, and for the purpose of this thesis I will prefer this term, since it is also the preferred self-identifiers of *most* of my participants. In addition I refer to individuals with their specific role titles, where appropriate. This includes a number of 'youth pastors', a term referring to someone who heads the youth programme in a church setting. It also includes the terms 'Mama' and Papa' that were used in Kampalan fellowship both as formal titles for (elected) leadership positions, and more general terms of respect and endearment for those perceived as spiritual leaders. I use first names to identify participants throughout, which was their preference.

## A brief history of youth work

Youth are a very difficult group of people. But they have potential. They have spirit, they have the brains, and they have the ENERGY. That's why even GOD is interested in the youth! But as the devil is also targeting the youth, they have adversity. That means to deal with the youth we still also have to be strategic. You need to have motivation and the ability to motivate

the youth. You have to be a manager, and one needs grace, because your approach matters.

- Papa Edson

Youth work is both a very old field and a very new one (Sercombe 2004). Its beginning can be traced to a volunteer movement in Europe in the last century with an interest in young people's 'moral hygiene' – their education and socialisation towards upright citizenship (Sercombe 2004). Today youth work remains a 'slippery' form of work to describe. In the everyday it might involve structured one-to-one work (e.g. mentoring and counselling), structured group contact time (e.g. education, teaching, and skills), semi-structured social and recreational events (e.g. sports or games), youth advocacy, or behavioural management (Martin 2006). Unstructured interpersonal/relational aspects, however, are also central but harder still to quantify. Furthermore related non-contact time includes a plethora of activities that typically go unnoticed behind the scenes, including administration, networking and liaison, and (for senior leaders) management of other staff and volunteers. New Zealand based literature characterises the youth worker as someone who "enters the worlds of young people", and/or who contributes to the development of young people by providing services, meeting needs, building relationships, and connecting them into communities (Martin 2006). Indeed the field is better understood as a fluid goal-orientated vocation, in relation to these underlying principles, than as a set collection of duties.

The development of the field of youth work has paralleled the formation of young people[1] as a distinct and problematic social category. Particularly for western nations, this has been influenced by the wartime years in Britain and Europe, and the periods of social change that followed (Barwick 2006, Bradford 2007). In New Zealand specifically, the history of youth work can be traced through early *Pākehā* (New Zealand European) dominated programmes such as the YMCA (established there in 1855), and Scouts, Guides, Boy's and Girl's Brigades. This shaped its early focus around recreational activities with a Christian basis (Barwick 2006). The first large

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[1] Martin's report clarifies that "There is a range of definitions of 'youth'. A 1994 Ministry of Youth Affairs report defined youth or young people as those aged 15-24. The World Health Organisation defines young people as aged 10-24, youth as 15-24 years, and adolescents as 10-19 years. These definitions also have cultural considerations, and some of these include a much wider age range" (in Martin 2006). In New Zealand tending to refer to people aged 11-19, while in Uganda denoting a broader age range of ages 10-30.

scale survey of youth work in New Zealand was conducted in 2005, involving a survey of 637 youth workers, and 56 focus groups. This culminated in a report entitled *Real Work: a report from the national research project on the state of Youth Work in Aotearoa* compiled by Lloyd Martin and published in 2006. Barwick's paper later the same year - written on behalf of the Ministry of Youth Development - contextualised these findings within a literature review encompassing New Zealand, Australia, the UK and some US material, in which she suggested that a *defined* youth work sector in New Zealand has existed for just a little over 30 years, but that it has somewhat lacked a cohesive unifying identity or 'voice' (2006).

Uganda has quite a different social history - also a colonised nation, independent only since 1962 - but one in which youth has similarly been construed as a very problematic demographic. Today 75% of the population of Uganda is under 30 years of age, creating a pyramidal population structural with many dependents and few jobs. Youth have become associated with both moral problems and public health issues (Christiansen 2011). The significance of young people for the nation has been recognised in attempts to target youth with special units of government ministries, allocated seats in parliament and youth councils as part of governmental structures, as well as being a common target for aid initiatives by international and indigenous, secular and church-based organisations (*ibid*). Despite this, youth maintain a low status in Ugandan society, and very limited power. A professional youth work sector, at least under this name, is non-existent, although work with youth comprises a huge amount of the work done by most development or social work programmes, and similarly with many church or faith-based social initiatives. In both of these locations youth work remains heavily volunteer based[2], although not necessarily informal or disorganised. The movement towards professionalisation in New Zealand (peaking during the unionisation movements of the 1970-80's, following the formation of the National Youth Council in the 1960[3]) has been a punctuated process, problematized by the mix of volunteer and paid workers in the field (Sercombe 2004). The Detached Youth Worker funding scheme (established in 1977) became a landmark in the local history of

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[2] In New Zealand over a third of those surveyed in Martin's (2006) comprehensive study were volunteers. Only a quarter worked full time (over 30 hours per week) officially. This is probably even more pronounced in the faith-based sectors, although no comprehensive quantitative data exists on this. No parallel data exists for Uganda.

[3] This was considered a mixed success and was disbanded in 1989, as the Ministry of Youth Development came into being (Barwick 2006).

the field, representing also a recognition of the more 'grassroots' nature of youth work in this nation, which has been described both as a strength and a weakness (Martin 2006). Split across three occasionally interacting sectors – integrated services, the voluntary sector, and the faith-based sector – youth work in general tends to take on the character of a disparate collection of services rather than a clear professional body (Ord 2012).

Faith-based youth work, Simon Davies writes, can diverge somewhat from secular youth work in its day-to-day practice (2012). It may include spiritual disciplines and commitments such as prayer, worship, or scriptural study, as core aspects of its work (*ibid,* p149). In terms of practical implementation, the split between faith-based youth work (centered in churches and FBOs) and the wider youth work sphere (based in government agencies and NGOs) is more defined in the secular nation of New Zealand than in the heavily Christian nation of Uganda. Nonetheless proportionally in New Zealand faith-based youth work forms a significant part of the overall landscape of youth work. Of the 637 youth workers who participated in the *Real Work* survey, 57% identified themselves as holding Christian values, and 42% were in faith-based youth work (i.e. employed by churches or other Christian organisations) (Martin 2006). Professional research and literature such as this had made little acknowledgement of its distinctive contribution, or relatively high level of cohesion and organisation as a sector of its own. As an officially secular nation, this is perhaps in line with an overall tendency to dismiss the influence of churches and religion in New Zealand history and society (Davidson 2000). Academically there has also been almost no literature addressing the distinctive nature or qualitative differences of faith-based youth work in comparison to secular youth work. Youth work in Uganda is perhaps even more heavily grounded in the religious context; in MOTEM I observed heavy emphasis on youth leaders as "Soul winners" (evangelists), and on developing spiritual knowledges and disciplines. It is however also heavily tied into political agendas into which the church is implicated. Youth work is one way in which the Christian church fulfils its purpose and exercises its moral and social responsibility within society, according to Simon Davies (2012, p148). While it shares the 'redemptive' focus of secular practice (to improve social order, foster people's wellbeing and welfare), it "might at times make radically different statements about the *means* by which redemption in human societies occur" (2012, p149).

In the UK, John Ord wrote that youth work had "fundamentally changed" as a result of neoliberal policy" (2012, p27). One of the contributors to Ord's volume specifies that youth work has been "increasingly required the role to exercise top-down direction and control of 'delivery' focused on tightly defined value-for-money social objectives" (Davies 2012, p8). Davies' contribution, however, suggests that managerialism (as one distinct aspect of neoliberalism) has had little impact on the faith-based sector, which can thus be held up in contrast to the embedded managerialism of secular youth work (2012). He argues that faith communities have been able to resist "colonization" by managerialist ideologies and thus also practices (Davies 2012, p150), because these are so fundamentally at odds with Christian church values and practice around community, the relational, and the informal. Nevertheless neoliberalism has formed a significant part of the context in which both CYS and MOTEM leader undertake their care labour, and I attend closely to this throughout my thesis.

In New Zealand, Barwick highlights cutbacks and closures having also dramatically changed youth work, and cites managerialism as a "threat" to core human service values and practices (2006). CYS explicitly notes that Staff Management, H/R (Human Resources) is 'core' parts of the services they provide (see Appendix 8: Strategic Planning Diagram). Like many other facets of their structure, teaching, and vernacular theology which I will be bringing forward over the next few chapters, these must be understood as part of the socio-political terrain. Many aspects of the human service sector, including health care, social work and by proxy youth work, have been effected by New Zealand's radical economic reforms in the 1980's (Hackell 2013). Following the lead of the UK under Blair (and Managed Care in the USA), New Public Management in New Zealand rapidly turned care into a highly political topic as it became redefined, rationed, and managed under neoliberal regimes (Fitzgerald 2004). According to Lynch (2014) 'new' managerialism has spilled over not only into public sector bodies but also NGOs. It is important to this study to examine whether this is also the case for youth work, since Lynch argues convincingly that managerialism must be regarded as political and ideological, rather than simply as a technical shift in organisational practices (*ibid*). Uganda is regarded as the African country that has adopted the neoliberal reform package most extensively (Wiegratz 2010). Under President Yoweri Museveni, and in embracing Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), Uganda's politics have taken new direction. It is held up as the "star performer" and

"poster example" for other developing countries to copy (*ibid,* p123). The government has pulled many public support structures and services across the nation; with widespread consequences of economic hardship and material loss (Wiegratz 2010), and with NGO's being forced to fill many of these needs (Gifford 1998). However despite the 'twin ideologies' of development and secularism in the modernising mission of the west, towards the end of the '1990's the usefulness of religious organisations as potential assets in development (and indeed in democratisation and organisations as potential assets in development (and indeed in democratisation and economic change) began to be acknowledged, and FBOs were 'invited' to participate in the new landscape of "transnational governmentality" (Burchardt 2013). This led to a heightened importance on development work and social programmes within churches more generally.



**Figure 1. MOTEM's NGO registration paperwork on display in the office, beside President Museveni's photo. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Jorg Wiegratz importantly asserts that neoliberal reform in Uganda has also led to a moral restructuring which also "necessarily has to attack the *emotional system* that is interwoven with the part of the old moral order" (2010, p125, italics in original). He argues that in trying to create a 'market society' neoliberal reform changes

corresponding norms and behaviours, specifically around individualism, instrumental rationality, priority given to money, low empathy and disregard for the common good. To institute these reforms must "undermine, delegitimise, overwrite and displace" other pre-existing, non-neoliberal values and practices (p124). In this case this may include religious ones. In this way Wiegratz broader observations parallel what Davies (2012) observed of incompatibility of managerial ideologies with a Christian care ethic in youth work, and my research again provides a site of elucidation on how far neoliberalism can go to threaten or alter these other ways of being, seeing, and indeed feeling.

Desjarlais argues that "felt sensations are always sensible ones and so demand less natural than a cultural history" (1992a, p250). Studies such as Omri Elisha's have shown that the socio field of evangelical activism is not a discrete or homogenous, but implicates multiple religious and cultural motives (2008, p183). Evangelical notions of compassion, he writes, draw on an array of reference points from the surrounding culture and from Christian resources and scripture (2008, p165). I use this thesis to speak to (and contest) Davies' claims that faith-based sectors have resisted the influence of managerialism and neoliberalism, with my observations of the real effects of these on the locally embedded understandings of the 'good' youth worker in two organisations in two different nations where neoliberalism has played out differently but equally dramatically in each. I show how it has influenced ideas of vocational identity, emotional management, care labour and the instrumentalisation of the self, personal wellbeing, individual responsibility and 'good' citizenship. However I also affirm the tension he has identified between these and other Christian discourses of care, examining some of the limits of neoliberalism and honing in on the creative and strategic ways the leaders in each place do contest, resist, and negotiate competing discourses.


## Introduction to the field sites

Canterbury Youth Services (CYS) and Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries (MOTEM) are both 'umbrella' organisation for faith-based youth work in a specific regional area. CYS plays a significant role in setting the culture for Christian youth workers in Canterbury, also reaching tendrils out throughout the rest of the South Island

of New Zealand, and MOTEM is based in central Kampala (although not comprehensively, being a smaller organisation), but retains personal and practical connections with neighboring areas such as Jinja, Busia, and Mbarara.

I choose to study CYS not only because of my familiarity with it, but also because of its regional and national significance in the sphere of faith-based youth work. Furthermore I identified it as a strong case study for the 'cost of care' because of the recent, devastating and unexpected earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 from which I reasonably assumed youth workers to have borne not only their own personal trauma, but the additional strain of caring for many struggling others. A current part of CYS's stated purpose on their (Appendices 8) planning chart, is "Response to Earthquake and city rebuild." The earthquakes having played an enormous role in shaping the policy and practice of this organisation and its workers, and the lives of everyone in this region since 2010. The first quake (at 4:35am on the 4th September 2010) was a 7.1 on the Richter scale, but due to time of day caused no direct loss of life and only moderate building damage. While this event radically shifted perceptions of quake vulnerability, it did not prepare residents for the next large quake on the 22nd February 2011, at 12:51pm. Located closer to the city center, this quake was a 6.3 on the Richter scale and created shaking that led to major building collapses. 185 people lost their lives and around 2,000 were injured (Wilson 2013). The city center was devastated, quickly becoming a publicly inaccessible 'red zone.' Infrastructure was severely damaged all around the city, and many public and private dwellings were rendered unsafe and unusable, with residential areas soon also assigned colours to rank the levels of destruction (*ibid*). Thousands of residents were displaced.

The aftermath of upheaval, aftershocks (more than 11,000 over the following two years) placed a difficult to quantify practical and psychological strain on the whole Canterbury region (All Right 2014). It was hard to forget the quake for long, with road works and rubble zones everywhere, or when part way through a leaders meeting in a nice suburban home, you might suddenly notice the tilt of the doorways, or the larger crack running across the ceiling and down both walls, or when part through a relaxed evening on a youth work camp, a sudden jolt might send everyone in the room leaping under the wooden bunk beds. My fieldwork over the 2012-2014 period brought CYS and these events into focus in a new way, as I witnessed anew the strength and passion of youth work community here. 'Resilient' is a buzzword in the city's rebuild

campaigns, but in fact CYS is also a site of interest because even before the quake it had been touted as a success story for its healthy and well-managed leaders, due to their commitment, resilience, and (measurably much higher than average) longevity in the role. My initial focus on assessing and understanding the causes and preventative self-care methods for burnout made this reputation, both before and after the quake, of great significance.



**Figure 2. Canterbury region, showing location of Christchurch. Credit: Google maps.**

**Figure 3. Map of Christchurch City. Credit: Google Maps.**



**Figure 4. A segment of the CYS homepage. Credit: CYS, used with permission.**
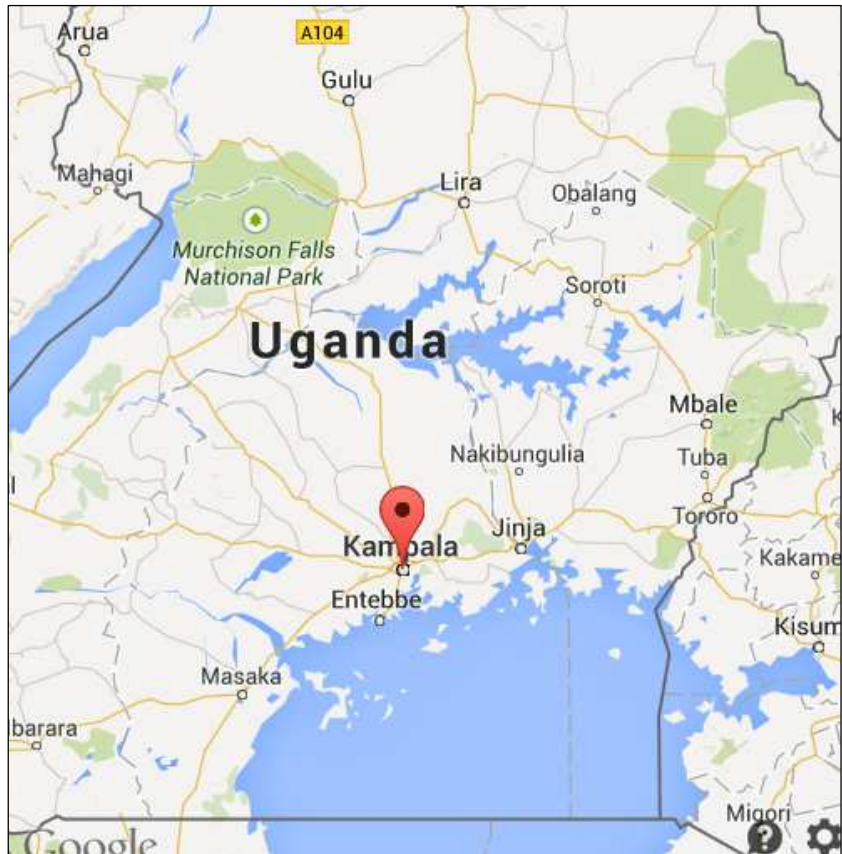
Figure 5: Map of Uganda, showing Kampala City and region. Credit: Google Maps.



Figure 6. Map of Kampala city. Credit: Google Maps.

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Figure 7. A segment of the MOTEM homepage. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.

Uganda has faced its own serious social traumas, of dramatically different types, and yet which made a comparative point in the fact that increased strain on youth workers might also be expected from it. The modern political history of East Africa is a tumultuous one, and while today Uganda is one of the most stable nations in the region, the stability is recent and arguably still tenuous. In 1971, not 10 years after Uganda escaped the structural violence of colonial rule, Idi Amin seized power from that nation's first president, Milton Obote, and created a regime that quickly gained worldwide fame for its despotism and brutality. Over the eight years of his reign Amin was responsible for murders and 'disappearances' thought to number several hundred thousand (Gifford 1998). Many institutions and much infrastructure collapsed completely over this time. He eventually fled, but the returning Obote government, in response, also tortured and murdered thousands of civilians (Gifford 1998). There have since been several serious waves of civil conflict centring in the north of the country. The most recent has involved the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), led by Joseph Kony, who gained international media attention in response to institutionalised use of child soldiers in massacres and atrocities, and a large-scale regional people displacement, into

numerous Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps because of this (Bilotta 2011). It has also absorbed large numbers of South Sudanese refugees from across that Northern border, during the complex civil war there, into long-term refugee camps that continue to function whenever conflict resurges.  Nearby Kenya has also experienced its share of political instability and violence, and Rwanda's 1994 genocide made international (and Hollywood[4]) history as well, Uganda absorbing refugees from those as well, on its Eastern and Western borders.

I chose to study MOTEM because of its many significant parallels (in type and focus of youth work) with CYS, despite being a much younger, smaller, less-established and less-resourced organisation. Having travelled (and participated in volunteer youth work) in Uganda and in South Sudan previously, in 2008/9, I knew that youth workers there faced a chronic lack of resources, and struggles against social problems and structural inequalities both fed by and pervading the punctuated history of conflict. The African region has some of the highest levels of absolute poverty in the world and Uganda specifically has an estimated 24.5% living below the poverty line (Gifford 1998). Only gaining independence in 1962, Uganda still does not have a strong international voice (Gifford 1998). It is heavily indebted (and reliant on) aid from first world countries and multilateral organisations such as the World Bank, who have enforced neoliberal structural adjustment policies, and problematized internal governance in many areas. The region struggles with numerous poverty-related health problems, and infectious diseases, including Malaria, and most famously and significantly, HIV/AIDS.

High rates of HIV/AIDS have significantly altered the social (and economic) terrain of much of sub-Saharan Africa. However in Uganda, President Museveni's government channelled significant energy into AIDS education and prevention campaigns, such that during the 1990's there was a quite dramatic decline in infection rates (from 18% to 6.1% nationally), and the nation earned a name as a success story in the 'fight' agains HIV/AIDS, and a model for other African nations (Gusman 2013, p280). It nonetheless remains a devastating problem in many regions; and an again slowly increasing one, according to some scholarship. Its epidemiological and ideological association with young people provides a significant backdrop to the youth

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[4] A historical drama film called 'Hotel Rwanda' was made in 2004, bringing the atrocities to a level of popular exposure they likely would not otherwise have received.

work of MOTEM. The leaders counsel many young people who have contracted what is still seen to be a "death sentence" and most also have experienced the effects of AIDS in their own extended family network. I felt it important to acknowledge from the outset that these were dramatically different types of pressures and situations – specific, discrete and situational versus structural and regional – that each field site was facing. Yet this in itself provided a valuable point of comparison, for how spiritual and emotional wellbeing might be managed by each community of youth leaders, in the face of the very demanding, but very different, care needs of the youth population in each place.

Moment of Truth and Canterbury Youth Services have similar structures of personnel, albeit on different scales. Both have a small core staff but function through a wider volunteer network, and both are led and fuelled largely by energetic and passionate leaders. CYS has a staff of seven paid, part-time staff; although this fact also belies the dynamic that is the real heart of CYS; the several hundred leaders, 88 churches, and up to 300 volunteers this organisation coordinates, usually off site, for various events such as 'Easter Camp' (or 'EC'). Denoted metaphorically as 'Traffic Director' for all of this is CYS founder and director, the ineffable Mike Dodge, a sought after speaker nationwide and experienced youth worker. CYS, although not affluent, is stable and well established. They remain 'at the mercy' of funding grant applications, individual donations, and volunteer support in many cases, but being well-known and well respected, they maintain consistent service provision and support region-wide, organising themselves in a business-like and strategic 'managerial' way (see also Appendix 8: CYS Strategic Planning Diagram). In MOTEM, while they proudly display an official NGO registration certificate in their tiny one-room offices in the central suburb of Rubaga, their committed core of five or so 'staff' remains entirely unpaid. Energetic, verbose founder and director Stephen Adundo Egesa shoulders much of the burden of this, whilst building his own profile as a popular young speaker and evangelist, though he claims the identity of 'professional social worker' (having a degree in this area) as well. However like CYS, the network he has built around Moment of Truth compromises a fluctuating pool of several hundred 'members': supporters, friends, associates, and other youth leaders and church ministry personnel.

In Africa foreign attention and investment is instilled as the standard and most desirably pathway for NGOs to fund their work. MOTEM's mission statement echoes

much of the language of the development industry in Uganda that is tailored towards this. They list their programmes (on their website and Facebook page) as including; Evangelism, Capacity Building, Child Advocacy, Women & Youth Empowerment, Family Truth Program, Community Sanitation & Hygiene, HIV/AIDS Prevention, Christian Counselling and Guidance. I saw only a few of these enacted in a formal way during my time with the organisation. Burchardt's (2013) study in South Africa offers some astute analysis of what appears to be a similar situation there. Industry terms are employed strategically in attempts to access international funding by tailoring programme templates towards technocratic and official agendas, and yet local actors often use quite different, more 'extroverted' (relational and fluid) practices for enacting positive change in the communities they work within (Burchardt 2013). In the case of MOTEM, they have not yet secured any formal government or international funding. They instead rely on very small-scale donations from 'members' around Uganda who know Stephen and support his work, and some additional donations from private individuals overseas (such as in the US and UK) whom Stephen has connected with online or during their missions visits to Uganda.

David Maxwell argues that the volunteerist system of the Pentecostal church in Africa often causes a need for preacher's to 'sell' themselves, and tap into popular feeling to build following and thus a support base (financially and interpersonally) for their ministry (1998, p363). In MOTEM, without a singular church affiliation or funding body, this logic can certainly also be applied to explain some of the fervent busyness and wide-roaming speaking activities that Stephen and other ministry members (including myself, whilst there) engaged in. Stephen indeed was very successful and strategic in popularly appealing to youthful language, humour, and 'straight-talking' about topical youth issues such as sex and dating. He also had an incredible energy and rapport with the crowd, successfully invigorating crowds at almost every occasion, to the point where all were shouting back in the traditional church call-and-response format with great vigour. Similarly to what Burchardt observed, MOTEM did indeed enact their youth ministry goals in ways that were uniquely locally tailored, and themselves occupy subjectivities shaped in part by some of these global neoliberal (and indeed transcendent Christian) values, and by the structures of modern Pentecostal/evangelical church structures, but also by embedded local value systems.

Figure 8. Crowd of 3,500+ gathered in the 'big top' at Easter Camp. Credit: CYS, used with permission.

CYS' main activities encompass event planning and management, logistics and resources, fundraising, leadership training at all levels (as a 'current strategic emphasis', among other things), while MOTEM, as previously mentioned, focuses on youth empowerment as an evangelism and outreach organisation. Their primary shared character which I identified was the focus on two-levels of service provision that is a) to the youth, in the form of speaking and coordinating large events for youth and b) to the youth leaders themselves, providing support, training, and mentorship. CYS has a distinctly more middle class demographic, both in terms of leaders and target youth, although individual youth groups under their umbrella may have differing foci, aiming to cater to all demographic backgrounds between them. They do not discriminate ethnically in the focus of their programs, encompassing all the diversity that the (still predominantly *Pākehā)* city includes. They partner closely (and have significant personal overlap) with 24/7 Youth work, who coordinate Christian youth workers to work in high schools, and whom I have included in the scope of this study. Contrastingly in Uganda, even though MOTEM focuses on connections made through tertiary fellowships, many of the relatively educated leaders and youth nevertheless come from more working class, and often even poverty-stricken backgrounds. They come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, and (often rural) regions around the country, being drawn to the 'melting pot' of Uganda's capital city for work and study

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opportunities. Reflecting the different age bracketing of 'youth' in each place, while the youth work CYS oversees focus on teenagers, MOTEM engaged more closely with university fellowships and tertiary institutes.



Figure 9. Stephen preaching to a crowd at a University fellowship. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.

In the MOTEM office an enormous wall banner doing double service as an advertisement and a cover for a large hole in the concrete wall (see Figure 10), proclaims the organisation "*a vibrant, cutting edge, outreach organization solely envisioned to share the love of Christ to the lost and hurting world, with a holistic approach: We are a non-denominational, evangelistic Christ centred ministry.*" Both organisations self-nominate themselves as 'interdenominational', although interestingly in both cases the founders and directors have in the past had, and maintain, strong personal and organisational links with the Baptist church and with their respective national Baptist networks. Stephen Egesa (Director of MOTEM) had worked as the National Coordinator for the youth section of the Baptist Union of Uganda (BUU), before he resigned to focus on building up his own organisation. Mike Dodge (director of CYS) continues to train and speak to youth workers nationwide with the Baptist Youth Ministries (BYM).

Figure 10. Stephen Adundo Egesa, MOTEM Director, in the office with Susan and her husband Andrew, first fieldwork trip (2013). Credit: Susan Wardell.

The religious history of these nations differs considerably, although in both the influence of North American theological trends are present. In Canterbury a range of (Protestant) denominations with a charismatic and evangelical background (Roxborogh 2000) participate in CYS activities. While the Canterbury region historically has had a strong Anglican influence, youth work there occurs in the broader New Zealand context of a demographically 'dwindling' church and an increasing governmental commitment to secular nationhood (*ibid*). In Uganda the church remains at the heart of nationhood[5]. The interdenominational MOTEM community is best described under the encompassing category of 'born-again', which emerged from the East African Revival[6], the Ugandan converts of which came to be known as '*Balokole*' in Lugandan (the common language of the Buganda region that encompasses Kampala, see Figure 5) (Ward 2004). Though

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[5] In Uganda, 89% or more of people identify as Christians. Of these most are either Roman Catholic (42%) or Anglican (the 'Church of Uganda' or 'COU') (35%), and the tension between these two bodies has been a significant force in shaping Uganda's political history (Christiansen 2011, Gifford 1998, Ward 2004). A further 12% of the population are Muslim, while Pentecostals comprise 11% (Christiansen 2011).

[6] This began in Rwanda in the 1930's and spread out in waves throughout the region through the 1930's-40's (Gifford 1998, Ward 2004)

the *Balokole* movement "ran out of steam" somewhat during (Islamic) President Idi Amin's anarchical years in power, President Yoweri Museveni himself identified as a *Balokole* during his youth, and his wife Janet is still actively involved as an influential figure. Under the relative stability he reinstated, something akin to a secondary wave of revival – a 'New Pentecostalism' – occurred (Gifford 1998). In African Christianity in general Pentecostalism represents a major new and recent configuration, and in Uganda it has rapidly become an important part of the social fabric, particularly in urban areas (Ward 2004). It draws many of its frames from the global movement, but with specific local articulations (Gusman 2013). In their emphasis on belonging to a new spiritual group (the 'born again') over biological belonging, Pentecostals also answer many of the ethnic and sectarian tensions between the Catholic and Anglican (Church of Uganda, or COU), that had earlier dominated Uganda's political history (Gusman 2013, Ward 2004).

Pentecostalism in Uganda is also closely associated with young people. While only a small percentage of Uganda's large population of youth are Pentecostals, within the Pentecostal movement young people are the majority, and are highly visible (Christiansen 2011). This owes in part to the reduced restrictions on church-planting and ministerial leadership, compared to more hierarchical and formalised leadership in other, older denominations (*ibid*, p 133). One further important connection, outlined convincingly in Allessandro Gusman's (2009, 2013) work, is the "parallel history" between Pentecostalism and AIDS in the region. Both track from an only marginal presence there before the mid-1980's (2013, p274). With a huge state push to tackle the 'crisis' of AIDS over this time, churches also began to integrate HIV prevention into theological doctrines about sexuality and marriage. They became seen as a "moralizing force" as they took a growing role in the public sphere, contrary to the traditionally disengaged stance of Pentecostalism on society and politics (Christiansen 2011, Gusman 2013). MOTEM names one of its goals as HIV/AIDS education and incorporates similar messages into many of its programmes and sermons.

Gusman specifies that his study of the collective identity of young born-agains he studied in Kampala is a "specific urban phenomenon" and should not be generalised to the rest of Uganda (2013). Similarly my research is specific to the urban Kampala region and its hinterland, and specifically to the born-again churches and groups which MOTEM supports and interacts with. Both CYS and MOTEM were regionally focussed

and geographically rooted through thick relational networks and the day-to-day practice of care and thus my analysis took on a very specific geographic focus. In Canterbury also, the identity of the youth worker is specific to the locale, feeding off regional identity which is important as a 'periphery' area in the lesser populated South Island of New Zealand. Thus despite their frequent drawing from global Christian resources, personnel and shared belief, my reading of this field applies only to the community of faith-based leaders networked under CYS in this area. The situatedness of Christian youth workers in the dual moral worlds of the local and the transcendent/global is something I describe throughout my thesis.

## Care and its cost

Arthur Kleinman's recent work emphasises how central caregiving is to what it means to be human (2012). In this study I argue that faith-based youth work is very much a form of care labour. The literature on the broad idea of 'care' comes from the fields of nursing, bioethics, education, philosophy, medicine, psychology and anthropology. Work on the social organisation of professional caring services (Allen & Pilnick 2006), care and need (Ignatieff 2001) global care chains (Hochschild 1983), and the relationship of care to religion/morality (Wuthnow 1995) provide varied but intersecting views. The association between spirituality/religiosity and care is also well established as part of the earlier tradition of the nonprofit sector (Canda & Furman 2009). However today most literature around this topic - produced about or by 'caring' professions - focuses on encompassing the spiritual needs of the 'clients' into their care, while much less acknowledges the role of faith and spirituality in shaping the experiences of care for care labourers themselves. In Canda & Furman's examination of spirituality in social work, they wrote that "spirituality is the heart of helping. It is the heart of empathy and care, the pulse of compassion, the vital flow of practice wisdom, and the driving force of action for service" (2009, p3). The empathy, or compassion, which characterises human service work, is linked to the Christian idea of charity, and its' alternative translation of 'love', from the Greek '*agape*'. Biblically this is stated as the 'greatest' virtue[7] and characterised as a brotherly love arising from union with God,

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[7] 1 Corinthians 13:13: And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love. (NIV)

and coming without expectation of return, reward or even gratitude. Thus in identifying the Christian roots of contemporary understandings of empathy and compassion in the social work sector, Canda and Furman begin to note how a sense of spirituality might still have the ability to alter, deepen, or even amplify the ability of a person to experience and express these qualities in their work (2009). Robert Wuthnow's (1995) book *Learning to Care* stands out as one of the few to directly address the role of faith in motivating and mediating acts of compassion, in specific social and institutional contexts. He explores how religious organisations shape emotional orientations and subjectivities around compassion, care and responsibility. He speaks broadly to the changing nature of charity, compassion, and moral investment in contemporary [western] society. He notes that the volunteers he studied in the USA led lives largely separate from those they 'served' in specific programmes, writing that "words such as sacrifice, empathy, unconditional love and commitment are absent from contemporary volunteer's vocabulary" (2009). Conversely in my study these very words saturated the vocabulary of faith-based youth workers, in both places. However this thesis is not about contributing to the common romanticisation of Christian compassion (Elisha 2008, p155), but examining its situated meaning and practice in two communities with cross-cultural comparability. Biehl, Good & Kleinman write that "The subjects of ethnography are rarely offered the depth of personhood as vulnerable, failing and aspiring human beings" (2007, p14). In shaping my 'intimate' approach to my fields, it has been my upmost goal to present this fuller sense of the lived struggles and strengths of my participants in a way that responds to this statement.

The relationally-focussed language of the MOTEM mission statement emphasises "touching broken, hurting lives" and "bringing positive changes." While they have big visions and goals for the scale of social change they hope to enact, it is a very interpersonal scale on which they enact this love and care daily. During the day the office door was always open, and various young visitors would drop in and out sometimes for hours, just for the warm, welcoming company. When we walked to somewhere nearby on an errand, it was always slow progress as people stopped us, or as Stephen diverted spontaneously, to greet friends, 'members', 'supporters' and even 'family' here and there. In MOTEM care is intimate, personal, and local; it has a smell and a taste, and those are the smell of cooking meat and open sewers, and the taste of

mountain dew and *muchomo*[8]. Not too dissimilarly, 'connectivity' was defined as a core value for youth work in Canterbury, in a useful, article about "best practice" for youth work, based on studies around the (secular) network of the Canterbury Youth Workers Collective by Boyce et al (2009). They write that "longevity emerged from community connectedness and enabled the establishment and development of meaningful relationships" (2009, p26). The words of the CYS leaders support this. For example Jay Gerald (the Director of the 24/7 Programme) told me that in Canterbury a 'good' youth worker "is very much invested in my people, my place." The passion for local communities manifests around particular suburbs of Christchurch, or hinterland towns, often with a church as the main node and schools providing other nodes for communal identity to build around. At the monthly 33k[9] youth worker networking meetings, the leaders introduce themselves first by the place/community in which they do their youth work. They bend over backwards to build a sense of community within their groups, and to build connections with individual young people. The mantra is to 'walk alongside' them, a metaphor expressing the grounded-ness of this form of care in their participation in local life worlds. Youth work in Canterbury we can begin to see, is about walking the suburban streets side by side, dodging the same earthquake cracks on the way to the corner store.

Davies has argued of faith-based youth work, that when activities are linked to individual churches, utilising donations by individual members, a particularly strong 'local' agenda tends to be formed (2012). He states that (quite antithetically to neoliberal regimes of care) 'community' is a foundation stone for faith-based work, along with an ethical orientation toward the other defined by a 'caring ethic.' Beyond the programs and events this is certainly evident in the youth work I observed in Kampala and Canterbury both; the relational core of forming relationships with young people, of becoming familiar with their life stories and situations, of trying to help them grow as a person, of praying for or with them, of talking, of listening; of caring. This certainly contrasts with Wuthnow's USA image of the increasingly disengaged volunteer populace. In response I investigate what the effect of the deeper, more interpersonally entwined forms of care labour I observed was on the wellbeing of these leaders.

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[8] Roasted/barbequed goat meat.
[9] This refers to the 33,000 young people in the Canterbury region, on whom CYS focuses.

"The very act of being compassionate and empathic extracts a cost under most circumstances" writes Figley (2002a, p1434). Accordingly there is also a considerable body of literature that focusses on what might broadly be called the 'cost of care'. It is also something explored in Elisha's relevant and interesting 2008 ethnographic study of evangelical activists providing faith-based social services in Tennessee (2008). He examined some of the emotional distress resulting from their care labours, which he frames as 'Compassion Fatigue', although his use of the term is somewhat erroneous in relation to clinical psychology literature on this (Figley 1995). The cost of care is theorised differently by different fields; burnout, compassion-fatigue, emotional labour, and moral distress are some of the terms and frameworks which I shall variously introduce over the next few chapters. I shall provide some additional discussion around the cultural and political factors by which they come to be a part of not only the clinical diagnostic terrain, but the embodied experience and life worlds of my participants, as they try to make sense of the moments of suffering, illness, and vulnerability they often experience.

As mentioned earlier, studies on the personal wellbeing of youth workers are few and far between. Kageler's quantitative US/UK study is a rare one of these, and like most others based in western nations only (2010). Even in the well-researched area of burnout, there has been only a small amount of research on Christian clergy in-depth, let alone youth leaders specifically. Schaefer and Jacobson's (2009) article 'Surviving Clergy Burnout' is possibly closest to offering at least significant context and background beyond the more common descriptive but decontextualised statistics of the few more academic studies. They provide an analysis of organisational, behavioral, interpersonal and psychological factors relating to burnout in the church, and culminating in a presentation of "twelve common causes of burnout" in North America. In this they focus on external factors such as role conflict, schedules, and [church/FBO] board expectations. Also in the USA, a brief article by Pector (2005) notes some scriptural touch points that relate to the way clergy might view their own wellbeing in relation to the ministerial responsibilities. I shall also focus on the use of scriptures in specific situated contexts as a way of elucidating the local knowledge systems that shape the practice of both care and self-care in my two communities. A small body of pastorally-focussed literature on the topic exists. In the USA John Sanford's (1982) book *Ministry Burnout* is probably one of the earliest and most common volumes.

Researching also in the US, while based in New Zealand, Lynne Baab's *Beating Burnout in Congregations* (2003) contributes to this discussion in a similar tone.

Outside of the faith-based sector Mark Krueger's (2000) study of community youth workers in the USA used qualitative and ethnographic techniques to uncover some of their challenges and stresses on an emotional as well as practical level. In the UK Helen Colley's (2001) study of the emotional labor of youth workers for 'disaffected' young people took a more critical approach to understanding the power dynamics in the dyads of mentoring relationships, using the theories of Arlie Hochschild and Pierre Bourdieu to interpret the 'disposition' of the mentors against their emotional management within it. Jeffrey Karabanow's study also focuses on the experiences of youth workers themselves at a Canadian Youth shelter, addressing many of the key themes that the present work will pursue, including care, emotional labor, emotional management, and organisational discourse (1999). However while it is an interesting, in-depth examination of the effects of both empathetic and relational labor, and organisational pressures, on the mental health and wellbeing of the workers at the shelter, it is again focused on secular youth work and therefore cannot speak to what I will show to be a qualitative difference in the faith-based sector.

Larger scale quantitative studies on the effect of spirituality or religiosity on individual wellbeing or mental health seem to show a positive link between them. In other words, they indicate spirituality can be both preventative of mental illness and effective at speeding up recovery from it (Furness & Gilligan 2009, Hook et al 2001, Fallot 1998). Only a few studies however explore *why* this might be so. Hook et al (2001) outline elements such as the edicts of many religious groups against substance abuse, and the community support structures, and the general way religious communities often "promote coping and help-seeking patterns" (p274).  Religion as a worldview as well as organisational structure has a commonly helpful effect on health, as a system which gives meaning and coherence to life events, a sense of purpose to otherwise painful and chaotic circumstances, via the belief that God is in control (Hook et al 2001, p278). Figley et al specifically notes that in the USA counselors with a strong sense of meaning and connection (factors often associated with the broad term 'spirituality') are less likely to experience vicarious traumatisation (1995), and in Canada, Jewish Rabbi Reuven Bulka also strongly advocates spirituality as an effective tool against burnout (1984). Compassion Fatigue (and the antithetical concept of

Compassion Satisfaction [Stamm 2002]) has been linked by several US studies to a spiritual sense of calling (in Conrad & Kellar-Guenthar 2006, and Hook et al 2001, Trippanny et al 2004). In another example, from Florida, Van Hook & Rothenberg's (2009) study of the quality of life of child welfare workers assessed compassion fatigue, compassion satisfaction, and burnout. It showed their interrelatedness and also their relationship to a sense of meaning spirituality can offer, which they posit reduces vicarious trauma.

These interface with a stereotype within churches as well, of the "perennially cheerful" believer (Greene-McCreight 2006, p15). Beyond statistics and stereotypes, in lived stories, this becomes "a cruel caricature for those Christians who are indeed depressed or otherwise mentally ill" (*ibid*, p15). Furthermore studies and stereotypes, research (in the USA) focusing on Christian clergy, ministers or leaders specifically shows that in fact they experience high levels of work-related distress and 'burnout' (Golden et al 2004). Clearly a study providing a more in-depth examination of the relationship between spirituality, care labour, and mental wellbeing through a contextually sensitive ethnographic lens, and considering the particular subjectivities of the 'leader', can make a useful contribution here. Cultural factors play a significant role in governing how discomforting experiences are perceived, labelled, explained and valued (Kleinman, Eisenberg & Good 1978). The Christian beliefs of these faith communities can be viewed as one part of these factors, although perhaps not strictly 'local' but rather 'locally articulated', as it has a shared global basis from which draws. Furthermore Elisha's ethnographic study, with its considerable parallels to my own in focus, explicitly states that he believes a cross-cultural element would be useful for attending further to this topic (2008).

## Comparative studies

Inasmuch as caregiving (and receiving) is done by individuals who themselves are complex and divided and who inhabit local worlds that are also plural and divided, it needs to be understood as a process that is affected by emotional, political, and economic realities.

- Arthur Kleinman (2012, p1551)

Youth work, as a form of care work, is affected by the moment in time and space within which it is undertaken. The experience of youth workers is therefore uniquely articulated through this socio-cultural terrain. It is this that makes a cross-cultural comparative study such an effective way to elucidate the relationship between 'macro' factors and individual embodied experiences of care and wellbeing. Kleinman observed that despite its constant ethnological comparisons, anthropology as a discipline tends to undertake "detailed, intensive, single-culture studies" which are then compared through literature and review rather than controlled cross-cultural comparison (1987, p450). There are some strong arguments both for and against the use of comparative studies at a methodology. It is a method that has been largely spurned by anthropologists, and particularly those following the American school, since Franz Boas' essay "The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology" in 1896. However since then there have been scholars who have steadily begun to argue once more for the usefulness of comparative work, in the pages of American Anthropologist and American Ethnologist among others (Eggan 1954, Rohner 1977, 1984). This has been also proved true in medical anthropology particularly where anthropologists such as Leslie (1977), Good (2001) Lock (1994) and Ohnuki-Tierney et al (1994) have conducted comparative studies that illustrate the specific and highly variable local clinical knowledges that underpin supposedly universal techno science. Kleinman himself has contributed to this, and advocates both appreciating and borrowing from psychiatry's cross-cultural methodologies when approaching the topic of mental health in particular (1987).

Having considered these various perspectives, my research goes beyond an ideographic comparative study and instead positions itself as a concomitant variation study. The premise of this is to study two populations, between which some variables remain constant, while others vary (Rohner 1977). As I have outlined, in this case the constant variables between my two sites were the religious faith (Christian), organisation type (interdenominational, 'umbrella', FBO), and the type of work (youth work). The organisations were selected because of these parallels. I was aware from my previous volunteering work in Uganda that the Christian church there engaged in what were structurally similar forms of youth work via church bodies and faith-based organisations. The variations which were clear from the outset were in geographic setting, socio-economic and political structures, historical trajectories, demographic

composition, ethnicity and cultural backdrop. Other deep-seated cultural and social differences which emerged as the results of this study were around variations in identity, narrative, models and metaphors of wellbeing, idioms of distress, and so on.

My analysis was not set up in order to view my two field sites as dialectically opposed in any way, and I have tried not to place the interpretive value of either one above the other. Instead I present my field sites as two detailed views of unique but not oppositional communities in two distinctly different geographical and sociohistorical settings. While I did select Uganda as a 'non-western' setting within which the existing western-biased literature around burnout could be differently investigated, I nonetheless took heed of Hammack's (2008) warnings around creating false east/west psychologies. Thus I refrain from making broad generalisations for whole populations or imagined communities. Fluidity, hybridity, diversity and agency, as I will show, were all abundantly evident in the complex social fields of both organisations (Hammack 2008). Uganda was also chosen because I already had some organisational connections, and strategic personal relationships there, and was cognisant to some extent with the day to day cultural realities of the place. These were factors I hoped would assist me in gaining access and establishing rapport quickly in order to gain a both focussed and intimate understanding of the field in the limited time I knew I would have available. I focussed my efforts on exploring locally embodied practices of care and technologies of the self, played out against broader trans-nationalised perspectives on wellbeing and care that formed part of the global Christian discourse.

While Davies (2012, p150) calls Christian morality 'objective', I argue it is perhaps better defined as 'transcendent'. This avoids an inaccurate focus on the Christian belief system as static, fixed understanding and repetition of doctrine. The idea of the 'transcendent' acknowledges the communicating and sharing of meaning throughout the history of the faith and across geographical borders, whilst also allowing a refocussing on the fluid and situated belief systems of Christianity as a 'lived religion' (Elisha 2008). Later (p154), Davies also clarifies his understanding of 'theology' as

> an active process, an embodied or *incarnated* business including human agency and material, social and political realities, rather than being simply concerned with the metaphysical or the systematic organization of belief.

I additionally find Elisha's trenchant description here of what he later terms 'vernacular' theology to be a useful way to frame my approach to Christian texts, scriptures, songs, and beliefs, with a focus on those that form significant parts of the life worlds of my participants in their specific faith community. In this way the symbolic material that was shared between my communities provided a significant touch point for analysis of the local articulations of a global faith movement.

## Methodological overview

I set about investigating these topics with a qualitative ethnographic approach. My mixed methods are outlined by Table 1. Over the two and a half year period I was undertaking focussed and deliberate research, my time in the field was broken into segments. In Canterbury this was mostly comprised of 1-2 week visits to Christchurch to attend CYS events (such as Easter Camp, Xtend, Southern Youth Leaders Training (SYLT)), and meetings (such as 33k and 24/7 monthly meetings), additional events and meetings run by individual churches, and to spend time in the CYS office. Prior to actively commencing the formal fieldwork period represented in the above chart, I also already had a cumulative five years of experience as a volunteer youth worker in Dunedin (and regularly visiting Canterbury for these same events), which I was able to retrospectively analyse as I engaged with this topic critically. In Kampala my research was conducted more intensively, over two trips conducted approximately one year apart. On these I was accompanied by my husband, Andrew, and on the second also by my 3-month old daughter. Each of these periods of fieldwork was six weeks long, during which time I worked as an 'intern' for Moment of Truth, which involved a variety of regular tasks and a large number of events. In both locations, in the interim periods between visits, relationships were maintained through technologically mediated conversations online and via social networking tools. I created a purpose-specific discussion group on Facebook for each site, which I used to 'add' the youth leaders I met in person during fieldwork. I used this to post questions around my emerging results and stimulate online comment and conversation, which contributed to a more reflexive methodology enabling participants to give feedback to my thoughts throughout the analysis process.

**Table 1. Data collection methods and numbers in both field sites**

| Method of Data Collection | Details | Number: MOTEM | Number: CYS | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interviews** | In-depth, semi-structured | Men: 18<br>Women: 5<br>*Total: 23*<br>*(see Appendix 1)* | Men: 10<br>Women: 9<br>*Total: 19*<br>*(see Appendix 2)* | 42 |
| **Focus groups** | 6-25 people in each<br>Facilitated by myself & husband | 7<br>*(see Appendix 3)* | 2<br>*(see Appendix 3)* | 9 |
| **Written stories** | Alternative offered to speaking in focus group | 12 returned | - | 12 |
| **Questionaires** | 13 open-ended questions | 80 distributed,<br>54 returned complete | - | 54 |
| **Large events (Youth specific)** | Camps/conferences attended | 6 | 6 | 15 |
| **Large events (Other, church)** | Camps/conferences attended | 4 | 2<br>*(+ many more in previous years)* | 6 |
| **Routine events (Youth specific)** | Services, meetings, activities participated in and/or attended | 36 | 9<br>*(+ many more in previous years & in Dunedin)* | 45 |
| **Facebook group** | Closed group, study-specific | 86 members | 22 members | 108 |
| **Field observation** | Handwritten & typed notes | 127 pages | 103 pages | 230 |
| **Photos** | Digital, taken or obtained | Aprox. 400 | Aprox. 100 | 500 |
| **Primary texts** | Organisational material, obtained for textual analysis | 15 posters<br>1 books<br>7 certificates<br>*(e.g. Figure 30)* | 2 training booklets<br>4 books<br>7 flyers<br>*(e.g. Appendix 5 & 6)* | 36 |
| **Digital artefacts** | Online spaces monitored & analysed | 1 Website<br>8 Facebook pages | 1 Website<br>7 Facebook pages | 17 |

**Table 1. Data collection methods and numbers in both field sites**

**Figure 11: A youth group arriving at Easter Camp, by bus. Credit: CYS, used with permission.**



**Figure 12: Xtend 2014. Credit: CYS, used with permission.**

I benefitted in both locations from being able to engage as a true *participant-*observer, in youth leadership activities. In New Zealand I remained as a (volunteer, part-time) leader in my own Dunedin group, often attending CYS-run events with my group of young people and/or co-leaders. This enabled me to actively participate in the activities, culture, and day-to-day work of a youth leader as an 'insider' to this professional habitus.

**Figure 13: Pallisa 'Go For Gold' Youth Camp 2013. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**



**Figure 14. Susan preaching at the Brethren Care (FBO) youth service in Kampala, 2013.**

**Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

In Kampala I also undertook (while observing, critically analysing and note taking), numerous youth work activities such as preaching, teaching, coordinating events, visiting and greeting, under the supervision and with the help of MOTEM Director Stephen Egesa. These roles provided a meaningful context for my presence there: although of course I was open about my research intentions and processes, the 'visiting preacher' was a more familiar and accepted trope than the anthropologist. I lived on site of the MOTEM offices during my first fieldwork visit, with many of the visitors who turned up at every hour of the day looking considerably startled to see white people open the door. During these periods I also travelled extensively around the city and some of the surrounding region to attend, observe, and participate in and sometimes even lead youth fellowship meetings, church services, conferences, and camps. Rebecca Allahyari, whose ethnography of soup kitchens shared a similar focus to mine, used her volunteering with the two organisations she studied as a centrepoint for her research, too (2000). She also argued that volunteering was ideally suited to participant observation, because it provided an already established membership role (2010, p18). I found my volunteering similarly useful in both field sites, avoiding the awkward positionality of an interloper in work that can be sensitive (because of the involvement of minors and because of the religious subjectivity among other factors) and giving me the common grounds of shared experience from which to approach my participants on intimate topics such as emotion, spirituality, and suffering.

In addition to a great many informal conversations, interviews formed a significant part of my methods. Interviewees were obtained through a mixture of purposive and snowball -sampling (Lindlof & Taylor 2002), the numbers and gender split of which are represented in Table 1. While there is a distinct gender bias in my Kampala participant pool, this is largely representative of the demographic makeup of leadership among churches in Kampala. All interviewees self-identified at the time as 'youth workers' or 'youth leaders', which included a variety of paid and unpaid, formal and volunteer, full-time and part-time roles, with some people having multiples roles between church-based and FBO-based work (see also Appendix 1). The figures in Table 1 include two separate interviews with CYS Director Mike Dodge and MOTEM Director Stephen Egesa, as my principle informants. In Kampala most interviews were conducted in the MOTEM offices, behind the big desk Stephen had set aside for me, as this was considered more appropriate for my position within the organisation. It did

assist in making the participants more comfortable with me by adding legitimacy to my presence. In Canterbury all except one were conducted face to face at a location of the participants' choosing, including cafés, churches and homes, usually suggested or selected for casual tone. The last was a phone interview with a leader with whom I had been unable to arrange a suitable time to meet with in person. The interviews were in-depth, and semi-structured, lasting between 45 minutes and two hours each. The questions I posed were open ended, aiming to elicit information in narrative format, around key areas of interest such as motivations for beginning youth work, negative experiences of youth work, the qualities of a good youth worker, self-care techniques and strategies, and beliefs about mental illness. Follow-up questions focussed on clarifying and enhancing details about embodied experiences, emotional states, language choice, and so on. Conversations, however, were for the most part allowed to take their natural course, and follow the participant's lead on areas of importance. This semi-structured format usefully allowed information to emerge iteratively rather than focussing on testing a pre-formed hypothesis (Van Heugten 2013).



**Figure 15. Andrew opening his focus group with a prayer at Soul Winners 2013. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Although I had not initially planned to use surveys within my methods, when a large youth workers meeting called 'Soul Winners' was especially coordinated by MOTEM to help me gather data during my first trip, I adapted and utilised this opportunity by creating a qualitative 2-page survey to glean a basic understanding of some of my areas of interest. When appropriate opportunities arose at Soul Winners and two other events, I also conducted focus groups. All focus groups were carefully facilitated by me or my husband (in the case of concurrent groups), who was also familiar with my research focus and received a short period of coaching on facilitation techniques. I engaged in this method of data collection with an awareness that focus groups are shaped by multiple social contexts which Hollander (2004) argues are usually ignored by researchers. In analysing these I acknowledged the influence of my own presence, the physical and temporal context (formal or informal spaces and times of day), and interpersonal factors (personality, status, gender, ethnic or institutional belonging). Silences, absences, and strategic angling of comments were all consequences of these factors which I acknowledged openly (Hollander 2004). Nevertheless the times I chose to employ focus groups was when this was the best or only option to gather this additional data in the time and space available. Furthermore as a culturally situated 'performance', the contextual factors influencing the data shared in focus groups became part of the important information I gleaned from them. For example, since I was investigating the social dynamics of emotional expression, collecting narratives shared in a peer-based social setting gave me a useful insight into which emotions were acceptable to share publicly and which were not, and how negative experiences were storied within this community.

In Canterbury the focus groups took on an informal, interactive tone where people were able to informally 'throw out' answers and build on one another's comments in response to questions or topics that I posed. However I soon discovered that often in Kampala this approach proved awkward and culturally ill-fitting, especially in stratified groups with too much internal status variation. Thus as I became more familiar with the group dynamics, I tailored the later focus groups towards collecting narratives in the 'testimony' format that fits with the strong oratory tradition of the African church. I also offered participants pens and paper to alternatively write their stories while others were talking. In this way I was able to gather around 27 additional (15 spoken and 12 written) short form 'testimonies' around calling. In one

MOTEM focus group only, a more dynamic (at times even adversarial) conversation arose, and this was around the topic of fasting. The to-and-fro between four or five of the leaders in that group provided its own interesting insight into the variety of views and internal diversity of meanings around this common practice. The University of Otago's Human Ethics Committee approved all aspects of this study (Approval number 12/228); all participants were voluntary.

Finally, in both places I also critically analysed many of the texts associated with youth work in those organisations, including the promotional event posters, training or supportive literature and resources, websites and a variety of organisational and individual online communications.[10] From these secondary texts and 'artefacts' I gained valuable evidence about the organisational discourses I was also identifying in oral discourse.

## Organisational studies

The decision to focus the study at an organisational level was a strategic one on a number of levels. It provided a clearer, bounded field site than geography alone would have provided, for more targeted analysis and the capacity to make knowledge claims without overgeneralising. Organisational studies also promote attention to the connection between broader cultural discourses that are enacted through institutions, and individual experiences and practices within them. Furthermore non-profit and faith-based organisations have a unique relationship to the neoliberalism that is increasingly shaping social work service provision; something I have already noted is under-researched, particularly in Africa.

David Boje examined the formation and dissemination of different types of stories in his book *Storytelling Organisations* (2008). This exposition on the different strategies and forms which stories take to create meaning within organisations supports the assertion Jeffrey Karabanow makes, that an organisation's culture is just as important as its structure (1999). Allahyari's was also examining the different 'cultures' of care between the two Christian organisations she worked with, using this as a springboard to examine the interplay of emotions, ideology, morality (2000). While both of the organisations she chose were within the USA, her comparative approach, as

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[10] Including Facebook posts by the 'CYS' official page and by individual youth workers, with permission.

well as her organisation-level analysis has a similarity to the way I managed my research. Another one of the few studies which were close to mine in both focus and methodology, Karabanow's study of a (secular) youth work organisation emphasised that each organisation has a "unique cultural form" that encourages strong collective membership within that organisation (1999, p340). However he studied a single youth centre, while both organisations I studied were interdenominational umbrella organisations with only a small staff of their own. Their centralised office spaces played a relatively small role in the work of most of their 'members.' Given this and the diversity of their wider network, they were in some ways more akin to a network of smaller communities than one single community. Nonetheless they did show very clear evidence for a shared set of beliefs and practices, disseminated through larger joint gatherings, shared resources, repeated themes and teachings, and online communication. Thus as Karabanow suggested, I did observe the manifestation of unique and distinctive 'cultural forms' for each one, identifiable through their shared stories, rituals, myths and symbols (1999, p 340). Allahyari asserts that the images and metaphors that frame care become sedimented over time into the structure of organisations (Allahyari 2000). The comparative element of my study brought the differences both in the organisational structures and the symbolic structures of these organisation-based communities into sharper relief. However it is worth noting that as a smaller and younger organisation MOTEM has had less time with which to 'sediment' their meanings into their still relatively fluid organisational structure and practice, and coexists with many other (and many larger) similar organisations, unlike CYS which is the dominant organisational body for faith-based youth work in their region.


## Analytic approach

I employed grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) in the process of analysing the multiple and multifarious forms of data I collected. Interview and focus group transcripts, as well as organisational and online texts (see Table 1), were all systematically coded for key themes. While many themes were taken initially from core literature, others were developed directly in response to my engagement with the language and practice of the field, and were modified iteratively over time, with earlier documents then reconsidered and re-coded accordingly. This enabled me to develop and refine areas of significance as they emerged, through ongoing conversation with my

supervisors and with participants from both my field sites. It was this that allowed for a refocussing of my research topic from 'burnout' to 'wellbeing' as these deeper themes emerged.

I have primarily employed a narrative discourse analysis approach to explore these topics, which according to a Foucauldian definition of discourse takes into account all forms of spoken interaction and written text, formal or informal (Potter & Wetherell 1987, Wetherell et al 2001). It recognises the productive power these are imbued with to create subjectivities and shape social reality. Many of the topics I investigate to some extent reach beyond the limits of academic knowability. Topics such as emotion, spirituality, and mental illness challenge the borderlines of human empathy and interpersonal understanding. In part because of this I have focussed primarily on language, metaphor, and narrative as "conceptual structures" by which the socially constructed aspects of these phenomena can be discerned and analysed, which is particularly crucial in cross-cultural research (Pritzker 2003, Czechmeister 1994, Emanatian 1995). Furthermore Beatty has made a strong argument for narrative being the best approach to analysing emotion, since narratives are able to "locate emotion in practice; in the indivisible flow of action, character, and history—[which] can reveal the dimensions of emotion hidden by other methods" (2010, p433). The narrative turn in medical anthropology and in trauma studies has reflected a growing awareness of this (*ibid*). Illness has been studied as a "moral occasion" in which narrative forms an important part of sense-making, self-care, and self-actualisation (Frank 1998, p329-330).

Alongside this, the heavy use of stories and quotes from my participants is one strategy I have used to remind myself and the reader of the lived and idiosyncratic realities of social life, and thus to avoid the tendency of anthropology to drift into abstraction and reification (Jackson 1998). Bauman writes that there is a *double* anchoring of personal narrative in social relations; both the relations in which the event has occurred, and the relations through which it is narrated (1986). Stories are always told *to* someone, and within a particular social context (Kirmayer 2007). As Lalvani explains, it is the dialogical process of interaction *between* the interviewer and interviewee through which meaning unfolds (2011). Boje further emphasises that within organisations institutional forces as well as social actors contribute to meaning production (2008). Arthur Frank describes the process he observed, where sick people

try to work out what story it is that the doctor wants to hear (1998). Similarly within my interviews, I was always aware that my participants were engaged not only in relating facts and experience but in working out what stories I - the nosy anthropologist, the fellow Christian youth leader, the potentially useful *mzungu* (white person) visitor - wanted to hear about. I made all reasonable efforts not to be leading in the formatting of questions, and to be a non-judgemental and empathetic listener to whatever they presented to me. Nevertheless the inescapable facts of my own positionality, both in actuality and in their perception of it, shaped these ethnographic encounters. The stories therefore represent co-constructed social realities rather than static cultural artefacts. Furthermore they also form a dynamic part of the formation of the self, and thus I have crucially examined narratives not purely as text but also as performative process by which individuals, in conversation with others (i.e. intersubjectively, dialogically, not only perform but constitute themselves as certain types of subjects) they are one form of the moral labour I shall argue is part of the process of being and becoming a youth leader.

My focus on language and narrative does not exclude the recognition of the deeply embodied nature of these cultural processes. Even to Saint Augustine, the very soul's fluctuations were discernible as physical events, and so he also studied the body to gain more knowledge of the soul (R.C. Dentan in Thomas 2000, p46). I undergird my approach with a phenomenological appreciation of experiences such as care labour and spirituality, being irrevocably tied to physical existence. I aim to treat the body not as a symptom of human experience, but rather the stage for it – the lens by and through and within which all of it is interpreted, shaped and understood. In discussing technologies of the self, Foucault specifies that these involve operations individuals enact on their bodies as well as their souls, thoughts, conducts and ways of being (Foucault 1997, p225, in Ryan et al 2010). Thus the body both acts and is acted upon in a part of negotiating the social meanings. This is not always straightforward, especially given that Christians have multiple paradigms of the body at their disposal (Synnott 1992). I pay attention to the body therefore as an overdetermined social object. Furthermore Anthony Synnott (1992) writes that there is no such thing as a body in general, only specific (gendered, classed, coloured, abled) bodies. Accordingly I take care to read embodiment against the young, middle class, able and white bodies of the CYS leaders and the young, working class, able, black bodies of the MOTEM leaders, noting their

gendering as carers as well. Kleinman writes that language plays a crucial role in 'somatization' (Kleinman 1982). Desjarlais also discusses the manner in which social formations and imaginative structures give rise to particular bodily experiences (1992a). Because of this he argues that subjective experiences (of distress, illness, and so on) are best approached through symbolic analysis, in a way that complements rather than contradicts an embodiment paradigm. Desjarlais therefore advocates a "visceral engagement with symbolic form" and "a phenomenology of aesthetic experience" (as Lock describes it [1993]).

Foucault was closely concerned with the relationship between truth, power, and self (1988, p15). In this thesis, too, I connect distinctive historically-produced systems of knowledge to the particular selves and subjectivities of the youth leaders; noting in particular where multiple meanings overlap, contradict or cohere in new ways. In this way many of my findings indirectly speak to the relationship between institutional power and individual agency. My post-structuralist approach examines how meanings are formed as part of negotiation and resistance to various institutional discourses, and also how they enacted and embodied in real everyday moments.

## Epistemological reflections

Reflexivity is about cultivating sensitivity to the socially constructed nature of knowledge production - to fieldwork as an intersubjective process and to analysis as a positioned and evaluative procedure. As I approached a topic centred on subjective social meanings, this has been particularly important. To make explicit my presence in the fields I seek to describe, I have not hesitated to employ personal pronouns throughout this thesis, and have included numerous anecdotes written in a more first person impressionistic or confessional style about my own point-of-view experiences. I now also seek to expand upon some of the dynamics that affected the process of co-producing knowledge with my participants. I focus primarily on the tenuous insider/outsider dynamics I held in each place, including my positionality in terms of religious faith, colour/ethnicity, regional belonging, and language.

Jackson (1998, p5) argues that the reflexive dimension of ethnography should testify to;

> The way in which one's ethnographic understanding of others is never
> arrived at in a neutral or disengaged manner, but is negotiated and tested in
> an ambiguous and stressful field of interpersonal relationships in an
> unfamiliar society.

I argue that undertaking the ethnographic process in a familiar society has some different but equally significant stressors. The positionality of 'insider' is just as situated, and just as important to acknowledge. Rylko-Bauer (2005) drew on the term 'intimate ethnography', which I draw from, to describe her auto-ethnographic, and family biographical work, in which "the personal and the emotional suffuse the work at all levels" (p12, cited in Beatty 2010). Independently it appears, Banerji & Distante (2009) use the term as the title of their visual ethnographic study of South Asian dancing bodies. They claim intimacy as a strategy for subverting the exotising impulse, for the collapsing of distance and the 'tangling' of identities. An insider status has the benefit of subverting some of the exoticising which just as often occurs towards members of the Christian faith in the largely secular contemporary academy, as it does towards the ethnic other.

Among the CYS youth leaders, as I have already explained, I considered myself for the most part an 'insider'. That is, I shared with them the title (and identity) of youth worker, participation in CYS events and training (even prior to fieldwork), and a longstanding personal belief and participation in the Christian faith and community. I was familiar to some individuals in the community prior to beginning fieldwork, and some were familiar to me; though of course not all. Even so I was able to fairly quickly establish rapport with most of my participants based on our shared youth worker identity. In saying this, as a resident not of Christchurch but of Dunedin, I share a 'South Island' identity but do not share the specific regional identity of the 'Cantabrian.'[11] Nor have I experienced quite so closely the practical and emotional upheaval of the earthquakes. My partial share in these effects, form a nearby city, is far from the same as the experiences of those living in Christchurch, and I fully acknowledge this. Insider status is always partial, and laying claims to the right to represent another based on this can be dangerous ground. I have no desire to overemphasise the shared elements of my identity in either field site. Banerji & Distante

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[11] A New Zealand term for someone who lives in, or identifies as coming from, the South Island region of Canterbury (see Figure 2 map).

argue that "Intimacy also involves a paradox: at the moment of greatest proximity, the difference of the other is also most evident and most dramatically encountered as the final border that prevents a full grasp of the other's interiority" (2009, p38). The personal and academic challenges I overcame in undertaking this research emerged from both aspects of this, in a way that was indeed paradoxical: from the emotional entanglement and the cultural 'closeness' to my participants, and from the immateriality and inaccessibility of many of the experiences I sought to examine.

The positionality of the 'insider' or 'native' has traditionally been a tenuous, contested and sometimes problematic one for ethnographers. As professional strangers, anthropologists experience a tension of their own in the field - a tension between personal intimacy and scholarly distance. One area where great concern around the validity the 'insider' perspective has been expressed is the area of religious faith. This is of considerable importance to my research. A number of scholars have highlighted the secularist basis of anthropology today (Howell 2007, Vanden Berg 2009). Theologically conservative Christianity has for some time been a particularly problematic positionality for anthropologists in the USA (Howell 2007), and Susan Harding's now well-known article identifies this group, as a "repugnant cultural other" (1991). It is reasonable to argue that the case is similar if not more pronounced in New Zealand, which has an even smaller percent of the population self-identifying as members of the Christian faith, and an even stronger political commitment to secularism (Davidson 2005).

My positionality during this study shares many similarities with what anthropologist Brian Howell experienced during his study of Christians in the Philippines, we both being in the situation of being a "Christian Anthropologist studying Christians". However this, he states, is often regarded as the epitome of concerning positionalities to secular institutions (2007, p372). I benefit from his well-argued presentation of some of the problems and possibilities that this positionality presents in the academy, published in an article entitled *The repugnant cultural other speaks back: Christian identity as ethnographic `standpoint'.* As a reflexive framework, standpoint theory rejects the positivist delusion of a "view from nowhere", and focuses on acknowledging that all subjects are within a particular place and time (Sprague [2005] in Howell 2007, p373). Howell argues that like other standpoints such as feminism, which are also characterised by particular moral or ethical commitments, a Christian positionality does not necessarily sit in antithesis to the aims of ethnography,

but rather could potentially provide a specific and valuable situated insight. As a more extreme argument for Christian scholarship, Milbank's work came to express an "intellectual exclusivity" whereby *only* those sharing the religious beliefs and life worlds of those they studied could truly understand them (1997, 2006). Howell's excellent article stops well short of this, arguing just that a shared belief system with participants does not preclude the kind of "split level analysis" or "bracketing" of beliefs that is necessary "to retain the integrity of the subject without abandoning the possibility of understanding." He compares us to the 'halfie' anthropologist, who is both self and other. In this ways, he says, the Christian scholar can "critically interact with key symbols and ideas without vacating those ideas of their moral or uniquely Christian content" (2007, p381).

In my Dunedin home I am a current member of an evangelical[12] Baptist[13] church, although I was raised in a non-charismatic Presbyterian Church. I have participated widely in more Pentecostal styles of meetings and worship, both at churches I have attended casually, at large Evangelical events, and through my volunteer work with short-term missions organisation Youth with a Mission (YWAM). This put me very much at ease with the charismatic elements of CYS events. In MOTEM it meant that I importantly shared the 'born-again' identity I have described earlier in this chapter, and was thus able to participate fully in MOTEM spiritual ministry and care activities. My own experience of studying a faith I continue to practice myself is that this is indeed personally challenging, and requiring of attentive reflexive care to foster and maintain an academic lens and 'voice', but that with care it provided a rich and no less rigorous standpoint from which my academic inquiry could occur. I lend my name as a scholar seeking to rectify the erroneous assumption that Christian scholarship will be inherently different to (or less valid than) non-Christian scholarship, even when conducted in secular institutions (Vanden Berg 2009). Beyond the epistemological concerns Howell addresses, at a basic practical level being an 'insider' to the Christian faith was strategically invaluable. It gave me a significant practical advantage, being already familiar with much of the language, idiom, custom, that forms part of the shared global faith. Particularly in Uganda where I did not have local cultural familiarity on my side, this greatly assisted in saving time (in my limited

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[12] Practicing the quadrilateral of Biblicism, crucicentrism, conversionism, activism (Bebbington 2004).
[13] Practicing believers' baptism, and congregationally governed.

fieldwork period) in accustoming myself to the 'strangeness' of the terrain, including learning local vernaculars. Jacobs-Huey writes that communicative competence (above and beyond simple language fluency) are important markers of cultural identity (2002), and in this way at least I was able to denote my shared religious identity with my participants in both places.

In other ways also language exemplified the dyadic self/other, or insider/outsider positionality I occupied in Uganda, representing the partiality of my participation in the local worlds of the youth workers there. Although I became conversant in a number of contextually useful words and phrases of Lugandan, this ethnography was formally conducted in English. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, my participants were not usually from Kampala originally, but came from a wide range of regions and ethnic backgrounds around Uganda, brought to the city for further education and work. Because of this, few used Lugandan as their first or even second language, speaking instead numerous different dialects, which would have been impossible to learn in the time frame available. All my participants, however, had a strong level of English. English is the 'language of education' in Uganda, being taught from primary school upwards, and used almost entirely in secondary and tertiary educations; in urban areas particularly the vast majority of people have conversational English at least. There is a variation across churches (by geographic area and socioeconomic zone), but in many the services are conducted partly in English, or have live translation provided. MOTEM conducted almost all of its proceedings – sermons, prayers, planning meetings - in English for similar reasons. All of my participants were studying, living, and conducting youth work in urban, English-saturated areas. Most had some level of tertiary education. This made English an appropriate medium that all my fluent, articulate, passionate interviewees were clearly comfortable with. I experienced only minor (and usually humorous) linguistic confusions during my interviews and other communications. However I did inevitably miss some of the casual one-on-one conversations conducted in Lugandan or other dialects, between Stephen and others for example, due to my decision not to commit the extensive time that would have been required to acquire a local language. While I was often able to ask for a translation afterwards, and Stephen was very forthcoming in 'catching me up' with any exchanges in another language, this was not always fully practically possible, nor do I expect that these fully captured the nuance of meaning on every occasion.

**Figure 16. Andrew and Susan among youth at Brethren Care. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**



**Figure 17. Stephen, Susan & Andrew sitting in the front row 'guest' chairs at Nile Baptist church.**
**Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

**Figure 18. Susan preaching, Nazarene Church youth conference 2013. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

To draw again from Howell's summary of his own parallel experiences, in Kampala while I was a religious 'self', I was most certainly an 'other' in all the traditional anthropological categories of ethnicity, language, culture and history (2007, p377). Despite building on my earlier visit to Uganda as a volunteer, I still had much to adjust to that felt 'foreign' in the day to day life world of the MOTEM leader. Far more significant a factor in my fieldwork encounters than language, the significance of my white skin was daily apparent. My skin (and to some extent I am sure, my accent and dress) ensured I was perceived as 'foreign' by all those I met, and perceptions of me formed around pre-existing knowledge of other white 'others.' As the capital city and centre for many national and regional multinationals and NGO's, *mzungus* are not an uncommon sight in Kampala – and yet still uncommon enough to draw attention, especially with their particular associations with wealth. Since the majority of tourists bypass the city in favour of going directly to the Murchison Falls Park or the adventure tourism of Jinja, most of the *mzungus* in Kampala are expats or senior positions NGO officials, missionaries or visiting church leaders. Thus the *mzungu* subjectivity came

with its own set of assumptions about the relative privilege, authority, and financial resources I possessed.

I often felt that these assumptions were shaping the friendships and interpersonal relationships I formed during my fieldwork, where my value seemed to be weighed strategically as a potential source of funds or personal advancement by those I met. I struggled considerably with the sense of isolation and (what I felt were often incorrect) expectations about what wealth or connections I might be able to offer. To my ethnographic sensibilities, the '*mzungu*' subjectivity was doubly problematic. Rather than being able to observe the usual functioning of the (normally) entirely indigenously staffed MOTEM organisation, I was frustrated to find more often than not I was expected or even pressured to be the one doing the speaking, teaching, or presenting, with my views assumed to be more educated and authoritative. This shaped what and how I was able to observe in the field. It undoubtedly shaped the content of formal and informal data-exchange between me and my participants, who had often heard me give a short sermon or message on a scriptural topic prior to us speaking, undoubtedly forming another layer of understanding about me, just as I was about them, through this.

One area in which Howell claims a particular usefulness for the awkward self/other duality of the Christian anthropologist studying Christianity abroad, is the attention it draws to local articulations of the faith. In this experience, because some identity lines are blurred and other aspects of the ethnographic space are 'familiar' or 'home', the sense of otherness is less "generalised" or "essentialised" and rather has an "intense specificity" through which the "contextuality and locatedness" of the uniquely articulated faith practices stands out much more clearly (Howell 2007, p376). I assert a similar benefit to my experience in Uganda. The basic transcendent tenets of the Christian faith being already familiar to me, and some of the linguistic and embodied cultural forms of Pentecostalism also being less overwhelmingly new, it was the specific historically, politically and culturally shaped local forms, practices and meanings that stood out most. The comparative lens of my study was greatly focused by my 'halfie' status in this way. Clearly not having this duality to benefit my work in Canterbury, in some ways this was the harder field to analyse, since I had to cultivate distance and critical thinking much more actively in order to 'see' culture written over the familiar terrain of home.

In Christian youth leadership, faith, self, and work can become "so interconnected they cannot talk about them separately" (Richards 2005, p46, in Davies 2012). In the following chapters I elaborate on several key topics that contribute to elucidating the complex webs of meaning and practices through which this occurs. In Chapter 2 I use a narrative analysis of 'calling' stories to examine how identities are embedded in local moral terrains. I look at the way that processes of subject formation also reflect emic conceptualisation of identity. In Chapters 3 and 4 I focus on the place and value of emotional experiences and labours - including empathy, care and compassion - within the cultural lives and moral worlds of the leaders in Kampala and Canterbury respectively, discussing their ambiguities, complexities, and tensions. I analyse some of the different models and metaphors of the self used to conceptualise the cost of care, and significantly reframe emotional labour theory with a more postmodern framework. Chapter 5 builds on this to contextualise emotion within broader metaphors of wellbeing, including the channel, the vessel, and the tripartite self. These effect the embodiment of distress in deep-seated ways, as well as the strategic practices of self-care and self-doctoring. Chapter 6 then explores the local psychologies and vernacular theologies of suffering, both of which contribute to the way dysphoric experiences are interpreted, and responded to in each of these organisations, noting again the influence of neoliberal notion of the good citizen and good worker on this. The role of biomedical diagnostic categories (including burnout) within these systems of meaning are also addressed directly. Finally, in Chapter 7 I return to the original question regarding some of the tensions inherent in the field, exploring the complex and sophisticated ways the leaders negotiate the social meanings of empathy, emotion, wellbeing, and suffering using all of the metaphorical, narrative and performative techniques I have identified. The tension, uncertainty and 'unfinished-ness' of social meaning making, and of the 'moral project' that is youth work, is made sense of against both social theory and the lived experiences for these two communities of faith-based youth workers.

# CHAPTER 2: The Good Leader

*Take your heart, rip it out of your chest, and take a real good look at it, and ask: "who am I?"*

- *Chris Folmsbee, Speaker at SYLT 2014, Christchurch*

Youth work is a job that is more than a job, and even more than a vocation… it is a subject position that deeply impacts the individual's sense of selfhood and identity (Dik et al 2009, Smith & Smith 2008). In addressing this the present chapter finds its focus in the nebulous, often controversial topic of 'self' (Chatterjee & Petrone 2008, Kristjansson 2012). In anthropology Marcel Mauss explored the self as the locus for self-awareness, introspection and imagination (1934), while George Herbert Mead emphasised its temporal, intersubjective nature (1934, in Ezzy 1998). I approach the topic from the perspective of the self as synonymous with self-concept – a "practical everyday accomplishment" (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p171) - which in turn involves aspects of both personal and vocational identity. However, ideas about what the virtuous or 'good' youth leader looks, speaks, acts, feels, and thinks like have always been defined socially, and according to the politically-invested interests of the age (Bradford 2007, p305). Accordingly I examine the subject as

> at once a product and agent of history; the site of experience, memory, storytelling and aesthetic judgment, an agent of knowing as much as of action; and the conflicted site for moral acts and gestures amid impossibly immoral societies and institutions.
>
> (Biehl, Good & Kleinman 2007, p14)

Subjectivities have a biology, an economic position, and a cultural specificity (Biehl et al 2007, p53). Thus while there are some similarities between the idealised attributes of the faith-based youth leaders in my two field sites, there are also key differences. In this chapter I examine some of these, while also asking about the processes of subject formation through which these individuals come to experience themselves in these particular ways.

Davies has written that the objective view of moral values within the church "offers an ongoing framework within which 'the good' is debated, measured, pursued

and realised. As a result, members of the faith community are engaged primarily in a moral project" (2012, p150). However FBO's must be examined as *over*-determining the 'good' subject, since they are also a site of employment, and the workplace has been determined to be another principle site of identity formation (Miller & Rose 1995). In increasingly professionalised and managed neoliberal settings, the subject position of the Christian youth worker is also governed by hegemonic discourses of the 'good' citizen and 'good' worker as well as ideas of the 'good' Christian. As part of the interpellating ideological power (Althusser 1971) of these institutions I look at the significance of the notion of 'calling' for faith communities, building on notions of the religious meaningfulness of the work, as Max Weber originally outlined in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905/2001). I address calling as a formative experience and a social signifier that articulates vocation, spirituality and identity.

Biehl et al suggest that subject positions can be analysed through examining the symbolic forms people use to represent themselves to themselves and to others (2007, p 7). Accordingly, I use a performativity-focussed analysis of the narratives of calling presented by my participants as the springboard for much of my analysis in this chapter. Using these stories I illustrate the tensions between competing (professional and volunteerist, aspirational and ascetic) discourses of the good leader, and how these are enacted and embodied. As Geertz (2000, p221) observed: "In a splintered world, we must address the splinters." This examination of selfhood reveals some of the tensions, contradictions and ambiguities that are present around the different qualities, characteristics, and subjectivities that faith-based youth workers are expected to embody within each local world. The elucidation of these contributes centrally to the purpose of this thesis in examining how they negotiate such tensions as part of lived practice.


## Identity formation and moral labour

The philosophical tension between structure and agency, between institutions and individuals, underlies any discussion of subject formation. The concept of interpellation, proposed by Louis Althusser in 1971 (as one of his 'Ideological State Apparatuses') meaningfully describes the way that ideology transforms individuals. Through a process he calls 'hailing' he describes the way ideologies can 'address'

individuals as certain types of subjects, and in recognising themselves accordingly, the individuals in that moment, take on (internalise) that subjectivity.  It is an ongoing process, occurring through social institutions, and relying on consent rather than force. Another useful way Foucault explains these outworkings of power on and in the individual, is through the concept of technologies of the self. This too suggests that power works not only via domination, but through co-opting individuals to enact discursive power *on themselves:* their "bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being" (Foucault 1997, p225). Steph Lawler's studies on motherhood give an example of this, where alongside the policing gaze of various professionals, mothers also examine and act upon themselves (2008, p63):

> In taking up the subject-position 'good mother' (and who would want to be
> a bad mother?) they are *subjected* to a range of discourses which specify
> what the good mother is. They must, then, try to approximate that discursive
> figure (knowing that if anything goes wrong in their children's lives, they
> will be blamed). They are brought into being as maternal subjects, only to
> be subjected to sets of authoritative knowledges. The power at work here is
> at work through their desires, not in spite of them.

In a similar way youth leaders enter into a discursive field about the 'good' youth leader, accompanied by enjoinders to undertake detailed, reflexive work on the self in order to become that kind of person (Bradford 2007, p295).

Foucault identified a number of different social techniques used by individuals to produce stories about themselves, and through this transform their self in such a way. These included personal letters, religious confession, self-focussed dialogue with others, listening to the self-declarations of others and subsequent contemplation (1988, p29). Weber noted among Protestants after the reformation, too, a tendency to use tools such as diaries of confession to "monitor his own pulse" (1905/2001, p76). I will give examples of these from both my field sites, including spiritual ministry and 'sharing sessions' in CYS, and the role of testimony and public confession in Uganda. The idea of the moral worth of living an 'examined life' has clear classicist roots, appearing for example in the teaching of Socrates (Foucault 1988, Frank 1995). It is an idea that also has a longstanding tradition in the 'truth obligation' of Christianity, whereby "each person has the duty to know who he is, that is, to try to know what is happening inside him, to acknowledge faults, to recognise temptations, to locate desire" (1988, p40). This

is part of a heavy emphasis on the 'interior life' of the believer, which Owen Thomas writes about as dominant in Protestant Christianity (2000). It traces through Jewish, Greek and Roman philosophers, and has a particularly strong articulation through the radical reflexivity of Augustine's writing on the 'inner road', i.e. "do not go outwards. Return within yourself. In the inner person dwells the truth" (in Thomas 2000, p45). However while Denys Turner posits that the inner/outer distinction is phenomenologically rooted in the human body, Charles Taylor rather argues that this inner/outer distinction only appears natural and universal, and is specific to Western culture (in Thomas 2000, p42).

Scholars generally affirm that the contemporary Western view of the self is agentive, rational, monological, univocal, and vested heavily in the idea that there is a private inner self where people think, imagine, and make personal choices (Kirmayer 2007, p240). Such views rely on what Norbert Elias has called Homo *clausus*, the self-image in which the 'true self' of a person is hidden deep inside (Elias 1978, p119). One key contributor to this stratified/concentric view of the self was Freud's idea of the unconscious mind, which supposed identity as largely an unconscious activity that only through close self-examination could be unravelled. Foucault also noted that the emergent Graeco-Roman notions of self-knowledge and self-cultivation/care went hand in hand (Foucault 1988, Ching & Foley 2012). To this he attributes the dominant conception of the self in early modern European times of the self as an ongoing project requiring individual and collective effort. Sociologist Nikolas Rose contributed by examining the popularisation of the psychological sciences (or 'Psy knowledges') which he argues are now "reiterated in the minutiae of daily life […] and inform the relationship of the self to itself through the 'unceasing reflexive gaze of our own psychologically educated self-scrutiny' to the extent that contemporary western society can be described as a 'psychotherapeutic society' (1991, p208, cited in Lawler 2008, p64). Makeover reality shows, confessional talk shows, the booming success of the self-help industry, and the proliferation of personality profiling tools are all examples of this contemporary project of self-actualisation. These, too, represent the workings of power, since power "is present in all appeals to self-fulfilment and self-improvement, whether of the mind or the body" (Lawler 2008, p56).

While MOTEM reflects some sense of the self as interior, and some interior moral labour as part of their role, I do not characterise it as a 'Psy society' in the full

sense of what Rose has described (1998a, 1998b), and what I have observed in CYS. In a globalised world these ways of viewing (and transforming) the self that have become characteristic of western culture are exported to many other places, and yet articulated differently in each, arriving unevenly and incompletely, changed and altered as they interact with local meanings. Processes of identity formation in Uganda, as I will later discuss, reflect some aspects the self formed in Europe (particularly those strongly present in Christianity) but also show quite distinctive ways of understanding identity and identity formation, as I will illustrate later in this chapter.

In mainstream Protestant Christianity the idea of the 'moral' life is contemporarily shaped strongly around the purification and sanctification of the soul and growth in the virtues, for which self-examination is an essential part of the process (Thomas 2000, p53). Rebecca Anne Allahyari's book *Visions of Charity* looks at charity, morality, and the process of self-improvement that underlies the experience of the Christian soup kitchen volunteers she studied in the USA. She uses the term 'moral selving' to describe the flexible, dynamic process of "creating oneself as a more virtuous, more spiritual person" (2000, p4). She discusses the different rhetoric organisations use to change the 'core self' of recruits, bracketing her conceptualisation of moral selving as one form of deep emotional work. The term 'moral work' is used by Ryan et al (2010) who examine narrative and subject formation through a Foucauldian lens, focusing on breastfeeding mothers. They note the way women balance public ideologies and practical constraints, drawing on both expert and experiential knowledge to construct their sense of self. In this thesis I use 'moral labour' to describe the specific forms of self-work I examined in MOTEM and CYS. I substitute the term 'labour' for 'work' as a way of recognising the distinctiveness of work done in the system of capital, in the same way Arlie Hochschild distinguishes (private) 'emotion work' from (commodified) 'emotional labour' (1983), although noting its deep performativity and effect on self.

Self-transformation as a prescribed and expected part of a work role (moral *labour)* has historically been an example of the governmentality of the individual by capitalist institutions. Miller & Rose traced the history of the use of psychological interventions in the workforce common since 1900's in Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States (1995). These practices arose alongside a view of human beings as a productive force needing to be efficiently utilised, from which emerged a focus on selecting and allocating workers to different tasks according to either their capacities or the demands

of the activity. The use of Psy techniques as part of this, fulfilled dual promises of productive output *and* the answer to movements asking for the 'humanisation' of the workforce, since they appeared as therapeutic tools for the actualisation of the worker as well (*ibid*, p434). As part of this neoliberal operationalisation of the "new psychological culture" in the latter half of the 20th century, expectations emerged of the individual finding fulfilment in work (rather than seeking emancipation from it, or viewing it with a utilitarian slant) as a realm to "produce, discover, and experience ourselves" (Miller & Rose 1995, p457).

## Calling: concept, story, performance

Bradford argues that calling has provided a powerful underlying ethic for the field of youth work (2007, p302). It is a concept that expresses the "dynamic congruence" between individual identities and vocational choices (Davies 2012, p155). Offering a historical view of the concept, Weber identified the notion of calling as emerging from the reformation (1905/2001). However this early idea of the moral worth of work then outgrew the church to have a wide societal influence even as the significance of religious life in western society diminished (1905/2001). He traces its development from an early economic traditionalism into a more middle-class Protestant work ethic, and its historically determined relationship to the progression of the capitalist ideology as well. Nevertheless it remains a concept with particular resonance in the faith-based sector, where it articulates with Christian spirituality and beliefs around selflessness and submission to calling as "a task set by God with a sense of obligation to work for purposes other than one's own" (Christopherson 1994, p219).

In faith-based organisations calling can act as a cultural symbol which establishes legitimacy and authority. Christopherson notes that calling makes visible to others the intangible links between the self and sacred other (1994, p221). It additionally represents a normative system that contributes to subject making. Christopherson (1994) draws on Karl Barthes' expression of the New Testament idea that "God does not just ask us: What are you doing? But in and with that: Who are you?" Calling is enacted as a social process as individuals ask and answer this 'Who am I?' with subject formation occurring as they search themselves and answer 'youth leader' in response. This can be interpreted through Althusser's lens of interpellation (1971). In this case it is the

institution of the church *calling* individuals to take up the discursively shaped subjectivity of the good youth leader. This parallels Althusser's own example of the policemen (representing the state) calling out 'hey you' to a man on the street. In both cases, it is the individual answering, and constituting-through-recognising their identity in that moment which is part of the fascinating process whereby they become ideologically constituted. The broader narrative of calling in my sites, as I will exemplify below, involves invitations, suggestions or urgings by other church members that someone take up a youth leadership role. So just as in Althusser's famous example it is a policeman through whom the state speaks, the youth worker's spiritual sense of 'call' to take up youth work, while it may be the voice of God they perceive, is augmented by the voice of other members of the faith in position of relative authority. Thus calling is both a personal experience that shapes one's sense of selfhood and identity, and a function of group membership and shared identity, simultaneously at work.

At the start of most of my interviews, and many of my conversations, I queried my participants in both locales about what motivated them to start doing youth work. What I inevitably received were personal narratives which I soon came to categorise as 'calling stories'. These made a great platform from which to explore other topics throughout the discussion, giving me a precursory idea of the background and professional context of those I was speaking with. However there was something more to them, and I became captivated by the repeating structure and flow I began to observe in these engagingly-related tales – the idiographic details sculpted into a practiced performance of the culturally defined version of the 'good' youth leader. These calling stories soon emerged as some of my most precious resources.

Calling stories were already commonly present in this social field, as part of the cultural tropes of testifying and of preaching. Roxborogh explains they can be a sort of currency in faith communities (2000, p 340). There they commonly feature experiences of faith in Christ, a sense of relevance of the bible to life, and referenced association to church groups that affirm those; all present in the stories I analysed. Identity for evangelicals, he writes, is about the relationship between personal stories and those of others with similar experiences, with meaning being forged through these connections and self-descriptions (2000, p345). There is an evident connection between this and Foucault's identification of the public recounting of life stories as a powerful part of the

development of self (1988). Indeed much of the literature that has emerged from the 'narrative turn' in the social sciences emphasises the way human beings use stories not only to make sense of the world around us, but to make sense of ourselves and furthermore (through a performativity lens) to *make* ourselves. In this way narrative is agentive (Langellier 1999) and strategic (Moore 1994), implicated not only in presenting but also in constituting the self as a certain type of person (Lawler 2008).

While many identities are owned from birth for the 'always already' interpellated human subject (Althusser 1971), the born-again Christian is by definition an identity you must decide to take on at a specific point in time. This means that the moment of 'becoming' a Christian comprises a significant amount of the work of identity formation. Calling stories did often encompass conversion stories, and thus these also bear discussing. In her study of contemporary US Christianity Tanya Luhrmann writes that conversion stories are both very personal and very generic… often containing so many standardised elements that they become more like collective tales (2004). Frequently they reflect the meta-narrative of 'redemption,' in the Christian faith, a theme also hugely popular across mainstream and secular contemporary Western storytelling forms, including in Hollywood. Their defining factor of a redemption tale is the turning point, which often marks a dramatic identity shift for the protagonist often from corrupt to righteous, from vulnerable to empowered, from stained to pure. This closely parallels the Pentecostal and evangelical ideologies of conversionism common across the world today (Mellor & Shilling 2014) in which as Robbins explains "the past becomes identified with the mundane and the goal is to jettison it so as to be better able to realise transcendent values in the future" (2003, p196).

While personal memories and experiences are all part of the narrative formation of identity, individuals also intertextually draw on the raw materials from the collective sphere (Lawler 2008, pp12-14). These wider 'cultural narratives' (as I shall call them) from which people draw are referred to variously by different scholars as "sedimented traditions" (Ricoeur 1985, p18), "historical narrative structures" (Evans and Maines 1995), "cultural repertoires" (Somers and Gibson 1994, p. 73), or "master narratives" (Hammack 2008). Hammack gives interesting examples of the use of these pre-existing, culturally given plots in Palestinian/Israeli stories of nationhood (2008). His approach provides a useful framework for connecting the personal, intimate and mundane life worlds expressed in story systematically back to the broader 'macro' factors within

which they are expressively constituted. However rather than adopting his emphasis on the way that "people are constrained by the limited repertoire of available and sanctioned stories that they can use to interpret their experience," I prefer to emphasise, as per Ricoeur's (1984) work, the fluidity of narrative identities and thus the creative, playful, and sometimes subversive way that these broader cultural narratives can be employed.

Storytelling is an intersubjective and cultural act. It can be part of the way people participate in both collective structures, including local and national communities but also distant, global or 'transcendent' communities, such as that of the Christian faith. Hammack notes the multiple axis of identities with which his participants/story-tellers identify, just as Allahyari noted that there are always multiple forms of 'selving' occurring at once (including gendered, social, political, ethnic and racial (2000, p205)). This assists in explaining why there are both striking commonalities and significant differences present in the calling stories from each of the organisations I studied. Kampalan and Cantabrian faith-based youth workers share one key axis of identity - that of the 'Christian' - yet they also each possess some different identity axis – those of the 'Ugandan' and 'African', and of 'Cantabrian' and 'New Zealander', respectively (in addition to gendered and classed identities). They have some shared and some distinctive cultural resources from which to draw in their personal narratives.  They share, too, a national connection to neoliberal policy, although more recently in the case of Uganda, which also arguably has its own narratives and values that are more subtly reflected in the leaders' stories.

## Neoliberalism, development and modernity

Kampala and Canterbury offer differently articulated but both exemplary studies of the effect of neoliberalism on faith-based social services. As an object of colonial and now global neoliberal development initiatives, Uganda's national identity is currently one of a 'developing nation', with all the fatalistic ring that term has come to hold in the international arena. Indeed the impact of the development industry and its foreign agents in Uganda has been not only material, but powerfully ideological and normative (Wiegratz 2010, p124). Particularly in the urban spaces of Kampala, where development efforts and offices are concentrated the influence is clear from what Knauft calls "the

force of the modern as an ideology of aspiration (2002, p33, in Karlstrom 2004). I refer to 'modernity' throughout this thesis not to denote a specific historical period or an actual political/financial/cultural system, but to reflect an ideological (and often idealistic) construct that has significantly influenced policy and practice. The "linear and directional chronotypes" of modernity frame history around the idea of "a collective temporal trajectory from an inferior past to a qualitatively different and superior future, often positing a radical disjuncture between the two" (Karlstrom 2004, p597).  In Buganda (where Kampala is located), the early Christian converts of the 19th century were also fervent aspirants to modernity. Karlstrom (2004, p600) writes

> Their linear sense of locomotion was rendered quite literally in the Luganda phrase *kugenda mu maaso*, "to go straight forward," implying movement along a straight and traversable path toward a vaguely Euro-Christian future.

Today in Africa many Pentecostal churches still present themselves as the ultimate embodiments of modernity (Meyer 2004). Furthermore Pentecostal and evangelical Christianity is traditionally characterised by the New Testament notion of being *called out* of the world (John 15:19 [Robbins 2004]) which is supposed to involve "changing their bodies so that they walk, talk, desire, think and feel in a manner entirely at odds with their previous existence yet reframed in transcendent terms" (Mellor & Shilling 2014, p30).

In Europe the competing discourses of professionalism and volunteerism have been significant all throughout the history of youth work (Bradford 2007). In England, in the field's early days, the tradition of voluntary social service was embodied in the character and identity of the *voluntary* leader (2007, p306, italics mine). Bradford suggests that the broad set of values in youth work are closely tied with doctrine around service, ministry and care which has been historically expressed through voluntary work (2007, p294). The trends towards professionalising Christian ministry have implications in the church, creating complicated and shifting identities for contemporary clergy (Christopherson 1994). Furthermore 'the professional' has always been a gendered and classed social form, with the autonomous practitioner associated with the individualistic values of the middle class 'gentleman' (Christopherson 1994, Bradford 2007, p294). Thus although still technically a mix of volunteer and paid roles, the increasing professionalisation of youth leadership (and other ministry roles) in the Christchurch church therefore links this community to concerns and values of the middle class.

Furthermore it has become closely associated with managerial organisational patterns forming under neoliberal reforms in many places, including New Zealand. In Uganda, despite very little professionalisation of the sector as a whole, there is a high level of bureaucratisation and democratisation in faith-based youth work. A modern' (organised, formalised, transparent) organisation is seen as more trustworthy by members, and by external funding bodies, whose attention is highly competed for. There is a value placed structure and procedure, on a highly polished presentation of self, and some of the language of professionalisation and managerialism, the latter including referring to young people as 'clients' at times, and giving formal organisational roles and titles even to volunteers. Such measures are strictly adhered to despite the informal and temporary nature of many youth leadership positions these young people are seasonally called for, and the overwhelmingly unpaid or underpaid, under-resourced nature of these formalised roles.

I explore stories of calling among the MOTEM leaders of Kampala first, before moving on to a similar analysis for the CYS stories, enabling a comparison of their shared features and culturally-articulated differences.

## Searching for the 'Good' Youth Worker in Canterbury



Figure 19. Youth leaders, CYS staff, and 'aspiring' leaders at Xtend 2012. Credit: CYS, used with permission.

> *There is a great rustling across the room as we collectively crinkle up the large oily sheets of newsprint from our* en masse *fish and chip dinner to make space in the church foyer. The group of 16 and 17 year old aspiring youth leaders from Darfield Baptist shuffle around the carpet to form a rough circle. They are still laughing about the impromptu full-body wrestling match that was playfully enacted here earlier, but Youth Pastor Sam draws the group to a hush with casual ease. Introductions are made, my dictaphone is switched on, and the clock is ticking before another 50 kids arrive to bundle into vans for tonight's bonfire. I dive straight in; "What makes a good youth leader?" I ask the group.*
>
> *"Friendly!" the pimply boy in the puffer jacket calls out.*
>
> *"Trustworthy" says the quiet blonde girl with the ponytail.*
>
> *"Caring" pipes in bearded, flannel-shirted Sam, leaning on one knee*
>
> *"Relatable" says the guy with the Hogwarts t-shirt.*
>
> *"Accepting."*
>
> *"Open-minded"*
>
> *"Empathetic"*
>
> *"Good listener"*
>
> *"Fun"*
>
> *"Flexible"*
>
> *The young people chime in all across the room to paint a picture of the various personal qualities and characteristics which they themselves will learn to embody as time goes by. Across town, with 15 years' experience under their belt, job-sharing Youth Pastors (and husband and wife) Simon & Annette answer my question about the ideal youth worker somewhat differently; "He's a 25 year old guy with a guitar and a van" they joke. It may be a stereotype but when I drove up just half an hour before, it was the burly white van parked outside that confirmed I was in the right place.*
>
> *- **Excerpt from field notes, Friday 12th June 2013***

In the task of mapping out some of the general qualities of youth workers, it is 'ideal types' (Weber 1905/2001) that I seek to elicit, rather than stereotypes, in order to build a picture of the subjectivity of the 'good' youth worker that is striven after by the diverse individuals who take up this unique form of care labour. In the brainstorming session I described in the field notes above, Darfield's 'junior' (high school aged) leaders – most of them at the very beginning of their journey as youth workers in Christchurch, and many fresh from the CYS young leaders camp 'Xtend' – paint a fairly good summation of what this subject position looks like. Fun, relaxed, youthful,

adaptable, and energetic, the average 'good' Christchurch youth worker successfully develops a casual, approachable manner built on the "high degree of informality" that characterises faith-based youth work (Davies 2012, p152). Looking around the room at any youth event, CYS leaders clearly physically embody this by dressing 'down' (see Figures 19 & 20), often appearing indistinct from their youth group members at first glance even though they are at least 1-2 years and on average 5-10 years older. The informality of proceedings belies the devotion, depth, energy, effort and passion for young people that is an even more central part of their role.



**Figure 20. Mike Dodge preaching (in t-shirt and jeans) at a youth conference.**
**Credit: Nathan Adams, CYS, used with permission.**

In the Canterbury community relational skills such as listening, intuition, communication, and empathy are seen as essential; youth workers, at the core, must be "people-people" I am told again and again. Rather than existing to fix specific problems in the lives of the youth, they are there to journey with them through life. "Focus on just *being with* your young people" (italics mine) Mike Dodge instructs the senior leaders in a meeting at Easter Camp 2014. "Just really try to get in there, spend time with them, be where they are… just do life together, aye?" This focus on 'walking alongside or just doing life together' are favourite adages which summarise the particular attitude towards the youth which is cultivated in this community- a committed, informal, intimate mutuality that most closely resembles the role of an older sibling in that cultural context. Although it is deliberately cultivated subjectivity, it is lived seamlessly as part of their day to day lives - a way of being, not just a form of doing (Smith & Smith 2008). For example the leaders were challenged by SYLT 2014 speaker Christ Folmsbee

> Do you EMBODY the very things God says are in his nature?
> Gracious, compassionate, slow to anger […] you have to
> EMBODY the virtues that Jesus lived out, not just use them.

Indeed Youth Pastor Sam described the way his identity became caught up in the role that is "your whole life, it becomes who you are." However there were conflicting opinions as to whether this common local attitude was "healthy" or not, with some suggesting it was better professional practice for it to remain something you *do,* rather than something you *are,* and others utilising ideas such as calling to emphasise the importance of implicating your whole self in the role for both legitimacy and effectiveness.

In a small modern meeting room in Opawa Baptist Church I conversed with two of their youth leadership team - Steve, the (paid) Youth Pastor, and Andrew an (unpaid) volunteer - about a similar topic. Andrew, having read my information sheet which specifies that the study covers voluntary, paid, part-time and full-time youth workers, wanted to assert that "In actual fact none of that really matters**,** because if you've got the right heart for the youth, and you actually care about youth, then whether you're paid or not is actually irrelevant." Rather than a differentiation between subjectivities for paid verses unpaid leaders, I observed an overall shared subjectivity in this mixed-role community, which drew on discourses associated with some aspects of professionalism

and some aspects of volunteerism. In line with more volunteerist discourses, Andrew argued that for *any* leader who 'really' cares:

> you'll spend time with the youth, you'll chat with them, you'll take them places, you'll spend money on them, and you'll spend extra time on them. […] it's not expected but to be a youth leader I think you kind of have to.

Steve concurred that when you're "actually really genuinely going to give everything […] you'll pay out of your own back pocket, you'll stay out those extra hours, you'll do that extra stuff, and you'll be connected and be involved." This was the only way to "live out" or show with actions what is "genuinely" in your heart, he said. There was little thanks or recognition for this effort, Steve said, the personal quality of humility as such another key quality: Steve gave the example of how a youth worker should be willing to get down to clean the floor, or arrive an hour early just to turn on the heaters, and I observed many such actions – small, unthanked, speaking volumes – among CYS leaders.

Such acts of going beyond what is expected are often illustrated in terms of the use of personal time and resources. Steve gave an example of the children's art programme that he and his wife run at the church, where they often take items from home to use for the activities. "We've never got any glue, we've never got any of that sort of thing at home" he says laughingly "yet we always seem to be BUYING them." He also illustrated his discussion about the 'volunteer' heart by sharing about a time when he changed from being a volunteer to a paid youth worker. In his new role he would work hard and "do everything" but then go home once his official hours were finished. This led to the realisation that his "heart wasn't really in it" he says, and the personal affirmation that the pay did not matter. His story indicated it disrupted his role identity which hinged on the selfless, unrecognised giving of volunteerism… although he eventually managed to reaffirm this even in his new role:

> Actually I tell the Senior Pastor right now, 'You can tell me you're not going to pay me at all, and I'll still show up on a Sunday.' And so I'm always like 'Don't take advantage of me over that!' [Laughs] But that's how it is, that's where my heart is over that.

His statements indicate just how central the selfless, unrecognised giving of volunteerism is to his identity. The humorous exchange he relates having with his

Senior Pastor reveals that this passionate, boundary-less giving he sees as essential, nevertheless fuels fears of being 'taken advantage of'. The cost to his personal life is exemplified and concretised through the story of the craft supplies. This is reflective of the tensions in the field between safeguarding one's own resources and wellbeing (often through practices of professional boundaries, see Chapter 4) and the volunteer heart that is essential to the 'good' leader, as defined in the CYS community. Another very common illustration given to me by the CYS was inviting the youth home with them for a meal. However this also illustrated a related collapsing distinction between public and private life, which can cause many complexities and problems (Davies 2012, see also Chapter 4).

## "Live a call, not just a job"

In CYS, leaders are encouraged both explicitly and implicitly to "live a call, not just a job." Calling is a concept of serious importance, as Jay Gerald, the (Christchurch-based) National Coordinator for 24/7 Youth Work elaborated.

> What makes a good youth worker?... I would have to start off by saying a calling. Youth work is very much about 'my people, my place'. So you've got to feel called to a group of young people. […] As soon as it becomes a job description, or a job, then you just give it the token touch up. So again for youth pastors, or youth workers, you go to a church and if you feel called to this, you'll probably stick it out through thick or thin. If it's a job, then you're probably out of there within 18 months.

- Jay, 24/7 Youth Work Regional Director

The New Zealand *Real Work* report notes that the stereotype of youth work as 'filler' work rather than real work is seen to foster a mentality of "putting in a couple of years before finding a 'real' job" (Martin 2006, p25[14]). Amidst this culture, CYS is immensely proud of the longevity of their youth workers. Although it remains a complex mixed volunteer/paid labor pool, they track the comings and goings of various

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[14] It showed a median length of involvement for a youth worker is now five years, but that this median value was insufficient to capture the interesting split a deeper data analysis revealed, where half youth workers had been involved for less than five years but another quarter for more than 10 years (Martin 2006, p25).

leaders in a metre long, colourful chart with each youth community they work with listed on it (see Appendix 7). The majority of people with whom I spoke, volunteers and professionals alike, referred to having experienced a feeling or 'sense' of being called to the role. At Southern Youth Leaders Training (SYLT) 2014, the main annual CYS conference for the region's senior youth pastors and leaders, the guest presenter spoke to the room of a hundred or more youth workers about calling. "The place where your greatest joy and the world's greatest need overlap, is your calling" he said. His describes this melding of external need and internal compulsion as something which is experienced as an "impression felt deep on your soul." This 'sense' of calling as a "transcendent summons" (Dik et al 2009) is often experienced among the CYS leaders both as a motivator to begin youth work, and as a powerful strengthening factor in continuing youth work. When things got tough and they wondered why "why the heck am I here, and what am I doing?" (Youth Pastor Steve), they went back to that experience as a touchstone and encouragement. Thus it emerged as a topic significant also to the way they understood themselves in the face of challenges, and often too as a guiding principle in weighing up decisions about personal and work decision, hinging on the prayer and self-reflection around "Is God calling me somewhere?"

There were a number of characteristics I found commonly throughout the 20 or so calling stories I analysed from Canterbury leaders - the accidental leader, the identification of a trait, and diverting from the path are some I will discuss. These in turn are built drawing from several different strands of cultural narratives, including a New Zealand specific pioneer narrative, a Christian ascetic narrative, and a western self-actualisation narrative. Several of these emerged in the tale Jay told me of his own experience of calling, which involved a failed attempt at University, a mission trip to Taiwan, a vision from God and a "midlife crisis at 20." He concluded by saying "It was sort of like an accident, but God was so in it, you know, the way it works." Similarly Andrew explained to me with a laugh that he *had* been on a search for career work, but "God had other plans, so I kind of got THROWN into [youth work]." The majority of stories I heard where told with something akin to the tone these reflect; a humorous, self-deprecating, sometimes confessional tone. Terms such as "just happened," "fell into," "thrown into it," "default" and "accidental" feature in order to emphasise the role of circumstance, accidents, and unsolicited opportunity as a means of narrative progression. While it is fairly common for them to reference a personal interest in (or

connection to, e.g. via family) some element of youth work, the individual's actions leading up to their commencement of youth leadership are frequently shown as haphazard or merely opportune. This functions to de-emphasise the agency or purposiveness of the narrators. The "calling" and plans of the unseen person of God become the focus instead.

Another trope common in the CYS tales is the identification of specific qualities or 'giftings' in the individual, by someone else. This sometimes also functioned to deflect attention away from the teller as someone 'carried' or 'thrown' into the field by the will of others. I will discuss this again later around the broader trope of reported speech, but here I wish to highlight the attention to inner and individual qualities as markers of calling. Youth Pastor Darren explained of his entry into youth work:

> To be honest, all of the leaders I had for youth group were like 'Oh you've got a lot of potential to be in leadership and do all that stuff with young people.' And part of me was cynical around everybody saying that, because they wanted to have more help! The other part of me was quite excited by the idea, just to help out. Yeah, so mixed motives really: Wanted to help, fell into it. And it became clearer the further along I went.

In Darren's tale (and more widely) the identification of this potential by others also connects teleologically to the 'chance' opportunities that the accidental leader experiences. As Steve succinctly put it: "I was able, I got the ability, I got the chance." The eventual recognition of the traits in oneself by oneself is often the second important element of the narrative. For example, Sam recalled the moment where he looked another youth worker and thought "I could do that!"

Sam's calling story, like Jay, involves initially "trying out" University because he "didn't really know what to do with life, and just thought I'd better get a degree." However a few months later he was offered a 12-hour per week job coordinating sports at his old high school, after which he gave up study. Such stories of changed plans were common, with a very high number specifically involving an attempt at and eventual decision away from tertiary/university study. While this of course has a common basis in the New Zealand educational system and middle class family expectations, the choice to include that particular episode as part of the active interpretive work of the narrative indicates its importance in relation to the identity of the Christian youth leader, too. I

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argue that it provides an example of a 'mainstream' path, which youth work is framed as a departure from. For example Hannah who had a felt a strong calling for "something a little bit different". Like many others her identity as a believer involved being called 'out of' a mainstream, secular career path, if not the (secular) world in its entirety.

The CYS leaders' stories reflect broader cultural narratives. For example, the early colonial days of New Zealand still feature prominently in the collective imagination of *Pākehā* New Zealanders[15]; tales of explorers, early settlers, gold miners, and early missionaries are retold regularly through museums, tourism, social studies education in primary schools, family genealogy as a hobby, film[16] and literature[17]. In a literary sense the archetypal 'pioneering' story I identified tends to be an individualistic tale of 'man[18] versus nature', which is echoed elsewhere in the way particular historic and media events are framed. In my calling stories, this divergence from the 'beaten path' is often shown in leaving university, leaving home, or going travelling (i.e. the kiwi 'big OE'). Youth work itself is framed as the 'unexpected' path which is embarked upon as part of this journey.  Early on, before its association with middle class values, the concept of calling was linked to economic traditionalism, encouraging believers to abide with their predetermined (often inherited) vocational spheres, but newly attaching religious and moral significance to these (Weber 1905/2001, p44). It is a point of contrast to this that the CYS stories of calling reify a radical break from expected vocational (and educational) trajectories.

Weber discusses the Christian theology of asceticism as also having a sometimes interwoven sometimes dialectical relationship with the Protestant Work Ethic (1905/2001, p74). The ascetic tradition is about self-denial - traditionally around worldly, physical or material pleasures - as the road to spiritual enlightenment (Synnott 1992, p86). As Darren said "I could do other types of work, and earn some MONEY you know. So there's the earning potential I'm giving up, the security with that."  The CYS leaders' stories commonly reflect this, emphasising their awareness that the more

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[15] It undoubtedly takes on a different meaning for *Māori* and Pacific Island New Zealanders, who were part of the CYS community if in minority. Nontheless I speak here in relation to what I observed as an overall trend there, perhaps reflcting, even across its actual ethnic diversity, the relative hegemony of stories and histories from the *Pākehā* perspective as the more available culture resource from which these leaders draw.

[16] For example Oscar-winning film 'The Piano' (1997), directed by Jane Campion.

[17] For example 2013 Mann Booker prize winner 'The Luminaries' by Eleanor Catton.

[18] I use the masculine term deliberately here, as the archetypal narrative is gendered this way.

traditional work paths they were leaving (as a faithful response to God's calling) would likely have been much easier, more prestigious, and considerably more financially rewarding. Overwhelmingly, the journey on which the narrator begins by diverting from the mainstream is primarily framed as a quest for self-discovery and self-actualisation: a 'quest inward', as a locally specific expression of the individualism and interiority of the contemporary western self. In these tales through coincidences, trial and error, through wise insight from others, through brave traversing of difficult paths, through selflessly giving up the comforts they might have had, the authentic internal qualities of the self are revealed. In this way an underlying emic framework for understanding identity is made clear- as inner, as individual, as fixed, and as a pursuit.

## "Know yourself"

In my initial efforts to hone in on the qualities or characteristics of the 'good' Christian youth worker in Canterbury, I noted with surprise the frequent discomfort with which direct questions about the topic were met. Many people corrected or admonished me, or changed the question to avoid what was intended to be a simple conversation starter. Why was this? The follow-ons tended to elaborate a link between individuality (and thus intra-community diversity) and identity. Emma, a (volunteer) church based and (paid) 24/7 worker responded in a way that was characteristic of this wider trend

> I think what I've noticed in my youth group, is we've 15 leaders or
> something [and] is that we'd have such a variety of people. We have SO
> many people with different skills, SO many different skills. So many
> different personalities. And because of that we can reach so many different
> kids. So I don't know if I'd say that there's any one particular personality
> type, or… skillset.

This is not to say that individuals in CYS do not experience normative pressure towards particular ways of being and behaving. Rather it shows a particular conceptualisation of selfhood through which subjectivities of the 'good' leader are understood and communicated as individual experiences. Emma's self-talk process is a good example, since she admits struggling with feeling different to other youth leaders, but has learnt to 'act like herself.'

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I've really had to take quite a long time, and really STERNLY tell myself

that actually, no, if God's put me here then God has put me here for a reason

[…] I mean we work with so many different people, that there is no right

way to do something […] it's also good to go, 'God made me, God gave me

these strengths, wouldn't God want me to use them?' To know that yeah,

it's good to be different.

The CYS website slogan declares their organisation as the place "Where each person is recognised for their unique strengths." As part of my research I attended as many CYS events as I could, particularly leadership training events. Xtend and SYLT were the main two examples of these. While leaders do sometimes receive additional training within their own churches or denominations, these annual CYS events are a big part of "setting the culture"[19] for the youth workers across the region. When I registered for the 5-day Xtend conference in 2012, the confirmation email immediately directed me to a link for a survey I had to fill out before the camp began– a hundred or more multiple choice questions which would indicate my top 5 'Strengths' (out of 34 possibilities) on the Clifton *StrengthsFinder* assessment. Several weeks later as our van pulled into the gravel parking lot of 'Living Springs' conference centre above Governor's Bay, we stepped out and stretched stiff limbs as we admired the stunning view of the harbour and hills spread out below us in the later afternoon light. As we hauled our bags and bedding through the doors of the main complex, the CYS staff greeted us at a small table to one side of the foyer, and bestowed upon each of us small laminated brown paper cards (see Figure 21 below). Printed on these were our names and our top 5 Strengths, and they were on lanyards for us to wear for the entire week. The moment of accepting this lanyard, and hanging it around my neck, provides a striking example of being interpellated into not only the identity of the 'youth leader' along with the other 150 attendees wearing these lanyards, but also into the individual, fixed understanding of identity.

At the CYS offices in the Northern Christchurch suburb of Papanui, the sign on the door proclaims them as also being the office for the 'Strengths Network South Pacific'. Indeed several of their staff (including Mike's wife, Tessa) split hours between

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[19]This is a phrase they actually use to describe the task of CYS as an organisation in relation to youth work in the region, and to describe individual youth workers in relation to their youth groups/communities.

running youth work meetings and events and teaching the (#1 Wall Street Journal bestseller) *StrengthsFinder* leadership training programme to corporates, schools, or other directly to other youth workers. Each of the CYS staff members' office doors sport a printout of the occupants top 5 Strengths. The movement to take up this tool as a core part of their work both reflects and contributes to a wider professional movement to "shift collective thinking about young people from a problem-based to a strengths-based approach" (Ministry of Youth Affairs 2002, p.25, cited in Boyce et al 2009). However more broadly it also forms part of the trend of managerialism I have discussed earlier in this and the previous chapter.
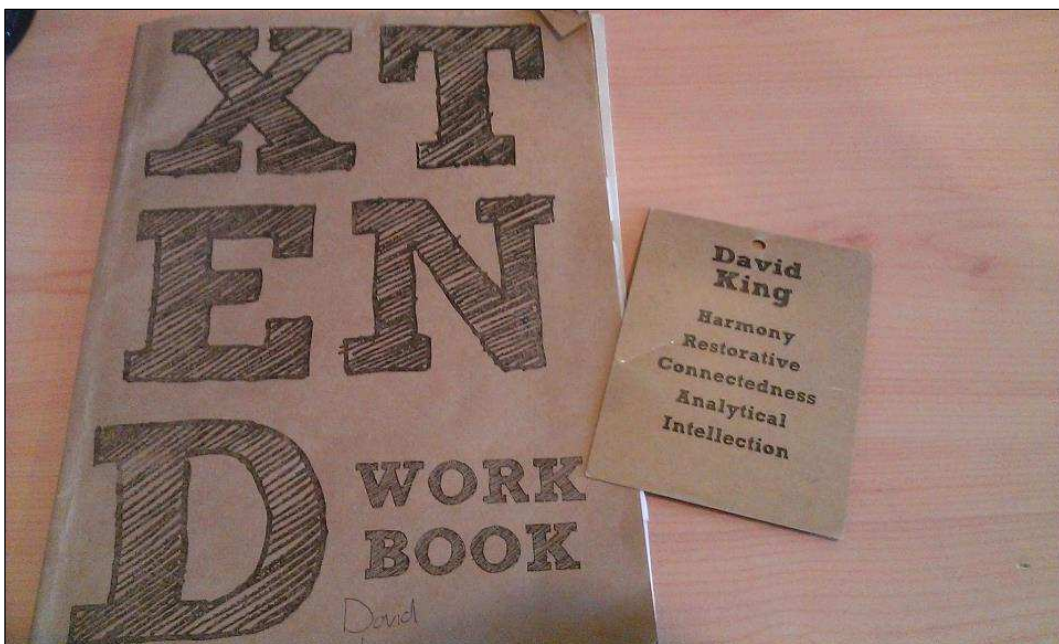


Figure 21. Xtend (2012) Work book and *StrengthsFinder* tag.  Credit: David King, used with permission.

At the Xtend camp (which runs on a 3-year cycle of themes), the 2012 year was heavily devoted to teaching the Strengths-based leadership principles. We took the quiz, found out our top 5[20] Strengths, had individual coaching sessions with a specialist about how these articulated in our lives, discussed enthusiastically at the dining tables with others, and even played bingo with our Strengths as an icebreaker. Most of my interviews over the following two years were saturated in the *StrengthsFinder* language,

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[20] The first tier of the training. This was provided 'free' (as part of the base, subsidised cost of the camp). Outside of this there are extensive fees associated with each subsequent tier of coaching. Those trained to do the coaching, of course, know all 34 of their ranked Strengths, but we were taught that this can be detrimental at times as it can allow people to focus too much on their 'lowest strengths' (i.e. their weaknesses).

for example the following exchange with Hannah, a youth pastor who is also trained as a *StrengthsFinder* coach[21].

> **Susan:** So what sort of things do you do that excite or invigorate you when you are feeling down? Like thinking about things, or talking to other people?

> **Hannah:** Umm, I think both, like, I'm a real thinker, like I love just like dreaming, like I've got Futuristic and Ideation and Strategic, so they are all real thinking ones. Yeah and it's just so crazy like how all my Strengths really helped in the job that I'm in. Like my Futuristic I just have this big picture about actual restored communities, and people actually feeling just something that means they have purpose. That probably comes into Individualisation as well, like thinking about the individual, reaching their full potential, being connected.

The ideological performative and positioning power of the *StrengthsFinder* testing is significant. It employs a reified quantitative metric on identity, prior even to the face to face sessions of this camp and the identity of the leader is very efficiently constructed in the process. Foucault writes that it is "through knowing ourselves that we devise ways of living in the world" (Foucault 1998, p117). Certainly there is a strong understanding among CYS leaders that it is only through knowing themselves (the selves they see to be individual and fixed) that they can devise ways of being a youth worker that are specific to them even whilst fitting with the locally specific subjectivity of the 'good' youth workers. Furthermore Lawrence Kirmayer argues that an appeal to the "true self" is one way that western values of individualism become transformed into tacit facts about the mind, through systems such as psychodynamic psychotherapy (2006, p237-238). In this way such systems construct not only personal identities, but socially shared "tacit facts" about what identity - the mind, the self - *is,* i.e. individual, fixed, and (as I shall show) biological.

On the first morning of camp, we were given an hour of individual time for short contemplative devotions, during which we reflected on a scripture. While some retreated to their bunkrooms to bury back into their sleeping bags, many more, myself

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[21] Someone who runs one-on-one sessions with people to help them understand their own Strengths profile. CYS trains senior youth leaders/pastors as coaches to enable them to assist with coaching other younger leaders, and young people, in this at events like Xtend.

included, zipped our coats up, wound our scarves tightly, and pressed out into the fresh morning air to settle on the grass overlooking the bay.  Printed in our workbooks was one of the more commonly known, cited, and taught verses among the Christchurch protestant faith community, Psalm 139 begins;

> *1. O LORD, you have examined my heart*
> *and know everything about me.*
>
> *2. You know when I sit down or stand up*
> *You know my thoughts even when I'm far away.*
>
>  *[…]*
>
> *13. You made all the delicate, inner parts of my body*
>
> *And knit me together in my mother's womb.*
>
> *14. Thank you for making me so wonderfully complex!*
>
> *You workmanship is marvellous – how well I know it.*
>
> *15. You watched me as I was being formed in utter seclusion,*
>
> *As I was woven together in the dark of the womb.*
>
> *16. You saw me before I was born.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *23. Search me, O God, and know my heart;*
>
> *Test me and know my anxious thoughts.*
>
> *24. Point out anything in me that offends you,*
>
>   *And lead me along the path of everlasting life.*

The first and last verses of this Psalm illustrates God undertaking the same kind of close interior examination that youth leaders are also entreated to undergo in order to know their hearts. However it is also taught (verses 13-16 particularly) in a way that reinforces a contemporary biologised view of identity as largely fixed before birth, by emphasising the presence of God during the creation of the physical form of the person, in their mother's womb. "Be who God created you to be" is the common phrase that encompasses this. This association reflects the biomedical discourses of the wider secular New Zealand society within which CYS operates, where genetics is popularly understood as establishing the fixed and unique combination of traits for individuals before birth.  Ian Hacking uses the pertinent term 'folk-genetics' to describe this contemporary interpretations of genetic science as supportive of this idea of the essential self (2004, p286). Similarly folk neurology (Vrecko 2006, p300) has seen the

term 'hard-wired' spread as a common colloquialism, along with an idea that some elements of the human mind are fixed and unchangeable. In a way this is another aspect of the embodiment of identity for youth workers; since identity is seen as fixed but hidden, to be pursued and uncovered, and literally written into the interior of the body as well as the interiority of the soul - fixed, individual and internal.

The *StrengthsFinder* mantra declares (on the printout on every CYS door) that "to discover your calling you must listen to your strengths, and to fulfil your calling you must follow your talents and build your strengths." This all lends itself to self-knowledge (of one's calling, talents, strengths) being a highly valued quality in the 'good' leader. In 2014 at SYLT Chris Folmsbee talked about 'living close to your own heart', with this verse emblazoned on the PowerPoint slide all night:

> Make a careful explanation of who you are and the work you have been
> given and sink yourself into that. (Galatians 6, MSB).

A significant proportion of his sermon was devoted to the concept of calling. As part of this he differentiated between "general versus specific" callings. What he meant was that individuals may have callings that are seasonal (short-term), or those that are lifelong. When I describe the concept of calling I encountered in Canterbury as 'specific', I mean this in the sense of being individually tailored, rather than general. For the CYS leaders your calling – your sense of purpose, of spirituality and vocational meaningfulness – is tied directly to your (individual) identity. We are told that "If God has called you to be a youth pastor, never sink so low as to become the prime minister."

As a way of performing this virtue of self-knowledge, youth leaders tend to be quite articulate on the subject of themselves, and can usually discuss these with the language of several different psychological tools. Alongside *StrengthsFinder* many leaders are also still 'fluent' in the language of Myerrs-Briggs Personality Indicator, which remains very popular in churches for leadership training, team-building, and pre-martial counselling. More Christian-specific personality tools such as 'love languages', 'worship pathways' or 'devotional pathways' are popular and widespread too. These also formed part of the teaching programme during the following (2013) year of Xtend, under the rubric of "becoming self-aware about how YOU connect with God.

## "Refine yourself"

"You do have to *reflect* and *challenge yourself* on the way you do things" Sam mused to me (emphasis mine). There is an important pairing of self-knowledge with self-work in this community, which reflects Foucault's assertion that in Christianity self-knowledge is an essential precursor to self-renunciation (1988, p22). The Christian truth obligation to 'know oneself', which I have already discussed, articulates here in the active labour of searching one's heart, and allowing God to search one's heart, for sin (as in Psalm 139, v23-24), and the focus on the interior life of Christian morality also mentioned earlier. CYS events systematically include spaces for self-reflection and self-work. This is exemplified in the 'spiritual ministry' times on one or more evenings which usually take a more charismatic, spontaneous format than the structured sessions of the day, combining various elements of music, prayer and sharing/prophesying with a focus on individual reflection, interaction with God, and emotional/intellectual 'breakthroughs' (including conviction, encouragement, or revelation) leading to spiritual and personal growth. Another relevant practice is the sharing sessions, usually held daily at an Xtend camp.

> *The high school students, aspiring leaders, line up across the room, waiting quietly for their turn to take the microphone. Some are jittery and excited, others nervous, some still clearly in the throes of the emotion we will hear about soon. It is one of the several sharing sessions in camp, where people present thoughts, insights, and things they have learnt (mostly about themselves) to the entire group of friends and strangers alike. It is entirely voluntary. Almost everyone participates. They introduce themselves, then nervously with long pauses or with words jumbling, spilling out too quickly, they tell stories, dreams, prayers, and personal, painful details about their lives.*
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> *We hear about depression, social isolation, even suicidal thoughts. We hear how distant they have sometimes felt from God, or how low their faith has been, before camp. We hear how they hated who they were or couldn't forgive themselves for something. Some cry as they speak, and have to pause to a sympathetic silence in the room. Then they share scriptures, or songs that really "touched their heart" over the weekend... emotional breakthroughs told in descriptive details, some of which we witnessed in the former evenings spiritual ministry time. In this unique atmosphere of acceptance and expectation, one by one, in a line snaking around the room, they come to the front to share, and then leave the stage with an air of lightness, relief, and a sheepish grin to return to hugs from their group as the room breaks into applause.*
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> - *Excerpt from field notes, Saturday 28th July 2012*

Events like Xtend are places where self-knowledge is performed as marker of 'good' youth leader who has "really got something out of" a camp or conference. People who share are commended for being 'brave', and crying in particular is seen as a marker of authentic emotion and openness. In the same way that patients in psychotherapy learn to make "their inner experience (or self) and social roles, identity and interaction (personhood) a central topic of conversation" (Kirmayer 2007, p237), the younger leaders learn to identify and perform their innermost, and sometimes most painful processes to the group. Those sharing holding a microphone are standing literally and metaphorically on stage, forming a striking parallel with the performance of an 'AA' style support group meeting. It is worth noting this is the *junior* (high school aged, aspiring) leaders who partake in this. The expectations change somewhat for more mature, acting leaders, with emotion display rules being altered for them in these mixed age settings, as will be discussed in the next chapter around the similar sessions that occur at SYLT, which is for senior leaders alone.

All these types of sessions are specific CYS example of the longstanding Christian tradition of confession; a practice which Bradford argues promotes "ethical work on the self that seeks to shape subjects in specific ways" (2007, p295). Through these practices the leaders are able to problematize themselves and to recognise their obligation to become a particular kind of person . At SYLT, a workshop presenter asks us how we 'work' on our vulnerability, people discuss the 'work' they've done on their mind, and someone promises to 'work' on a personal weakness or character flaw. The language of this kind of work on the self abounds. As the quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests with the visceral imagery of ripping out one's heart, this is not always easy or pleasant. Self-work is, indeed, work. The process of examining, critiquing and shaping oneself can be painful. But undertaking it is an essential part of the job of the 'good' leader in Canterbury, making it moral 'labour', not just moral work. As Jim said:

> I think you're failing as a youth worker if you are not looking for ways to
> improve yourself. If you are sitting down quite comfortably and going 'OK,
> I'm doing well, and this is how it should be', then something's wrong.

The process of self-improvement which he refers to is clearly also a project of subject formation. At times this is referred to as the 'Refiner's Fire'. This refers to the process

of refining gold, in which it must be heated to over 1000 degrees Celsius so that all the impurities (or 'dross') will rise to the surface of the molten liquid, and can be swept away by the smith, the 'refiner.' In Christchurch a popular worship song by Brian Doerksen (2008) asks God to 'Purify [the singer] like gold', and make them 'holy.' A common saying is that 'God cares more about our character, than our comfort', and so the understanding of a loving God, like a loving parent, does not exclude the possibility of difficult experiences as part of moral growth. The metaphor of pruning is also sometimes used to similarly indicate that a painful or difficult period of work on the self (by God, and by the self).

Although 'seasons' of growth are acknowledged, there is an expectation that one will always be undertaking some form of moral labour, albeit not always so publically performed as it is in the sharing sessions. The printed A4 booklet we were given at the start of Xtend were used several times a day. It had bible verses, notes and diagrams, and a number of blank lined pages left for every sermon, workshop, or devotional time for us to write our own thoughts and experiences. We were reminded continually to bring it with us, to take notes. And we did; an example of the effective use of this as a technology of the self used to both describe and transform the self (Foucault 1988, p29). Crucially not only are these self-reflexive practices moralised as spiritual disciplines, but through neoliberal managerialist discourses they become part of the responsibilisation of the worker (Rose 1999). People are only held responsible for what they are aware of (Kirmayer 2006, p240) and thus I argue that such practices contribute to bringing increasingly more parts of their interior lives into this purview, using managerialist tools and techniques including ideas around emotional intelligence (Hughes 2010 – see also Chapter 4) and tools such as StrengthsFinder. For the responsibilised CYS leader these and other technologies of the self are employed to achieve this are framed as a necessary part of becoming a better Christian, a better person, and (implicitly) a more responsible citizen and worker. It is moral labour undertaken willingly as they strive to become the 'good' youth leader, as it is specifically constructed according to local Cantabrian discourses and interests.

## Searching for the 'Good' Youth Worker in in Kampala

Fourteen thousand kilometres around the globe, another community of Christian youth leaders worked, worshiped, cared and were called by God in locally-specific ways. To my benefit, the youth workers of Moment of Truth love to talk about all of this. Unlike the Christchurch conversations I had to ease into, slowly building rapport and drawing out stories, the young people in Kampala were hard to slow down; collecting calling narratives from them came effortlessly. In the hours snatched between our seemingly endless strings of youth events around the city, I sat in the dim MOTEM office across the desk from these passionate, well-groomed young people and listened intently. However I also found myself having to adapt my methods towards the end of my first trip when I faced the prospect of a large crowd of eager-to-share youth workers turning up at my doorstep all at once for the leadership training breakfast that Stephen had decided to run, entitled 'Soul Winners.' While this was ostensibly for me, it was also a way for him to maximise his resources and kick off the year with an event tailored for networking and motivation.



**Figure 22. Stephen addresses guests whilst waiting for others to arrive at Soul Winners 2013.**
**Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

**Figure 23. People ponder over questionnaires at Soul Winners 2013. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

*On a blazing African afternoon, 70 youth workers gather in the shade of the large white marque that barely fits between the banana trees marking the edges of our small grassy lawn. I have handed out pens and sheets of paper out to each of the people sitting on the white plastic chairs, from a hot-off the-printer stack of questionnaires. Cars and trucks rumble, squeak and bump along the rough road out the front and passers-by carrying fruit, animals or small children glance over the low hedge at our party. The Gaagaa birds add their cacophonous pronunciations to the mix. I gaze across the small crowd, heads bent and frowning at the documents in their hand; a noisy mix of youths just half an hour before, now turned very serious. They tap their pens nervously and I notice a few quietly consulting amongst themselves... No one seems to be writing much, though I know the majority are university students, so I doubt there are literacy issues at play. "There are no wrong answers" I interrupt the head-scratching to emphasize. I'm not sure they believe me. I glance down at the spare papers in my hand.*

*"Q1. What qualities or characteristics make a 'good' youth leader?"*

- *Excerpt from field notes, Saturday 19th January 2013*

As I sat in my dim Dunedin office poring over the dog-eared stack of paper a month later, the answers I read, alongside an expected emphasis on love, care, and the relational, showed an overwhelmingly focus on morality (see Table 2). Limited though such a short-answer format is for a complex topic such as identity, the thoughtfully penned answers of the Soul Winners crowd that day nonetheless offered a snapshot of the 'good' youth worker that these eager young 'born-agains' were trying to be. The qualities listed aligned with what my in-depth interviewees communicated, and were reflected repeatedly in the subjectivities I saw them enacting as I travelled around the city to visit their various churches and fellowships, to hear their stories.

**Table 2. Categorised results from Q1. What personal qualities and skills does a 'good' Christian youth worker need?**

| Category | Quality/skill | No. # | Sample of specific phrases |
|---|---|---|---|
| **RELATIONAL** | **Love** | 21 | "Care and loving"<br>"Loving, caring, kind"<br>"Love as a driving forces"<br>"Love one another" |
| | **Social** | 9 | "Supposed to interact with others"<br>"Available"<br>"Creating time for others" |
| | **Selfless** | 8 | "Doing work for God, not personal benefit"<br>"Sacrificing for others"<br>"Giving"<br>"Sharing with one another" |
| | **Listening** | 6 | |
| | **Kind** | 5 | |
| | **Empathetic** | 3 | "Helping those in need" |
| | **Compassion** | 2 | "Compassionate heart to reach out" |
| | **Team work** | 2 | "Networking"<br>"Cooperative" |
| | **Others** | 13 | "Good mentor"<br>"Motivational"<br>"Passion"<br>"Inspirational"' |

| Category | Quality/skill | No. # | Sample of specific phrases |
|---|---|---|---|
| ACTIONS | Prayerful | 9 | |
| | Reading the Bible | 4 | |
| MORAL CHARACTER | Honesty | 11 | |
| | God-fearing | 11 | "Believing in God" |
| | Patient | 10 | "Be patient in good" |
| | Faithful/Loyal | 8 | |
| | Humble | 6 | "Live a humble life and come down to everyone's level" |
| | Trustworthy/ Integrity | 6 | |
| | Committed | 4 | |
| | Exemplary (General) | 4 | "Good morals" "Good moral conduct" "Exemplary" |
| | Peacemaker | 2 | |
| | Others | 12 | "Respectful to himself and people" "Focused" "Polite" "Discipline" "Abstinence" "Tolerance" |
| SKILLS | Communication | 7 | |
| | Speaking/ preaching | 3 | |
| | Other | 7 | "Innovative" "Practical" "Educated" "Bible knowledge" "Training others" "Creative" |

In my interviews and focus groups the qualities represented in Table 2 emerged as part of particular care subjectivity. Despite working mostly with their age-mates, these leaders adopt what I call parental caring roles (see Chapter 4) and work tirelessly to give their peers the best outlook for life possible. They do so with a very different sense of self and of calling than what I observed among the faith-based youth leaders in Canterbury. Pulling our plastic chairs around into small circles, once everyone had finished writing, the Soul Winners breakfast broke into focus groups to give people the chance to share more lengthily. As usual, the sharing formed itself naturally into stories, the group eagerly responding to my questions about why they had become youth leaders. Told boldly and expressively, their stories were undeniably idiographic, and yet across the 45 or more I analysed there were a number of shared elements. These included conversion as narrative turning point, reference to education (as both journey and virtue), the power of the spoken word, and a standardised before/ after format.

"I decided to give my life to Christ and I have never regretted. It has never been the same, because my life was a mess" one Soul Winners attendee shared with the group: "When I gave my life to Christ, everything changed, and that's it." In almost every case, when I asked someone about how they came to start youth ministry, their responses came in the form of the story of their 'salvation' (the preferred emic vernacular, over the more common non-religiously specific etic term 'conversion.') Becoming 'born-again' formed the focus of the story, and provides its structure in the form of a dramatic turning point in a before/after structured tale. In these the 'before' part emphasises either physical hardships or moral dangers with some, some involving elements of both. These commonly include references to clubs and discos, alcohol, and casual sex, all functioning as shorthand cultural signifiers for immorality and risk. Also common were references to sickness or death in the family, poverty, and Islam. Through these themes in the 'before' phase, the narrator was portrayed variously as vulnerable/helpless in a contaminating world, or immoral/corrupt, having internalised this contamination. In MOTEM partner Pastor Baker's calling story, for example, he also related the struggles with poverty and recurring sickness that he faced when he was younger, and still a Muslim. His *Jaja* (Grandma), whom he lived with and who was a Christian, would tell him "my Grandson, if you could get born again, everything would be successful". Indeed Baker shared that "The time I got born again, what used to torment my life was STOPPED. And diligently I posted my life in Christianity." Throughout these stories

the word "changed" was hammered repeatedly, with the 'after' phase built around both changes in the person themselves, and in their external circumstances.

Fellowship leader Papa Edson's narrative begins when he is orphaned[22] at the age of five when a malicious neighbour uses witchcraft to kill his Father, their "only source of survival." Edson's family remained living in 'the village', in poverty, and one of his six siblings died in childhood. He describes his mother as "a peasant, who somehow had a heart for education." After finishing primary school, however, he found he had no way to get money for further education. He recalls

> In Primary 1, we used to sing these songs 'Who will you be, in life?' then I
> used to sing 'I will be a doctor, I will be a doctor. 'So that was my dream!
> But at one point it seemed like it was being silenced.

His Mother perceived that he was suicidal with despair over this, and encouraged him to take a copy of his school results and go door-to-door to look for sponsors. He managed to gather just enough money to return to school. On his first week there, at the Sunday Service, he heard a man visiting form a local university preaching at his school:

> So while he was preaching he tells us [boomingly] 'THINK of where you
> came from […] how will you go back?' and he concludes and says 'Without
> Christ it is all in vain... come and receive Christ'. That's' the way I got up,
> crying, in front of the whole congregation, and waited for prayers. He
> prayed for me, because I was meditating on how I came from the village,
> how I got into that school, out of the mercies of people, and I realised at that
> day, Christ […] I was really committed, I walked into the decision.

Edson's narrative continues to chronicle the responsibilities he is given (chairperson of Scripture Union), his increasingly good marks, and God's continual provision of money for school and "opening doors". He finishes by referring to my original prompt.

> I wanted to answer your question 'Why am I doing all this?' How FAR I
> have come! I actually say 'Ebenezer' with the Lord. And this far I have
> reached. Yes I am from somewhere, I have reached somewhere, but I do
> believe I'm going somewhere with the Lord.

---

[22] The term is used in Uganda to refer to the loss of either parent, not necessarily both.

Ebenezer is a very common and popular phrase in Ugandan Christianity, often chosen as the theme for conferences or events, emblazoned on the back of vehicles, in shop names, or used as a general exclamation (to much enthusiastic echoing) in churches or general conversation. The term was not familiar to me in that context, and I puzzled over its meaning here. "Ebenezer hair salon!" I exclaimed one day as we walked along the road with our awkward armfuls of pineapples, potatoes and bananas, dodging the enormous potholes and roadside pits. I queried Stephen about it. "You don't know Ebenezer?" he was surprised at me. "It means 'Thus far the Lord has brought us[23]'"

Edson's story typifies the high level of content related to education in these stories. While this no doubt did in part relate to my positionality as a visiting University researcher, and the demographic pool from which my participants came, I assert that it also has a broader cultural significance. Education was depicted as a journey through which time was marked and the intervening hand of God in the life trajectory identified. The stories focussed specifically on personal educational struggles and successes, including grades, scholarships, and fees, also structured into a before/after format. Education was also, in a powerful way, a 'virtue' through which the new transformed identity of the 'born-again' could be performed.

The before/after structures echoes the broader 'redemption' narrative, and yet it also plays off against another locally-specific cultural narrative that I shall refer to as the 'African Tragedy'[24] story. Despite their own strong forms of (national) Ugandan patriotism, the Kampalans I met were frequently and systematically negative about the 'nature' of the African person. Many times when something went awry, Stephen and other MOTEM leaders would exclaim in frustration and by way of apology, "Africans!", as if this explained all. When a police officer stopped us on the way to a church service, to try for a bribe… when the bodaboda driver who hit our car paid the police off and left without a trace… when a church group we were supposed to be meeting arrived four hours late … when the guys transporting our gear lied on the phone about how far away they were… when a young musician was accidentally shot by a security guard walking past a bar brawl… These and many other negative happenings we encountered were attributed by other locals to the character of

---

[23] Taken from scriptures chronicling Israelites defeat, then victory: 1 Samuel 4:1-11, and 1 Samuel 7:2-14
[24] Aristotle's definition of a tragedy (and the original use of the term) was when someone is brought down by a flaw in their own character, right at the height of their success.

"Africans", implicitly asserting many of the negative stereotypes from colonial days - corrupt, ignorant, greedy, lazy, and violent. "If you want to hide something from an African, put it in a book" is a common saying, and example of the type of self-denigrating humour that expressed this. Statements such as these stood as 'disidentifiers' to this stigmatised identity (Goffman 1963/1986, p43-44).
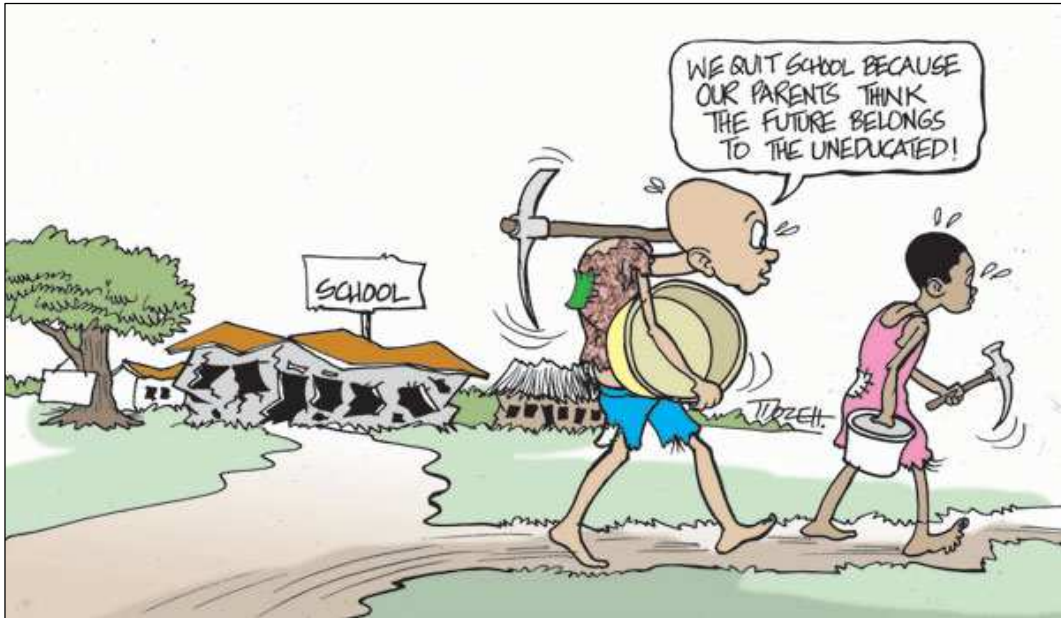


Figure 24: Ugandan social commentary cartoon. Credit: Gammz



Figure 25. Ugandan political cartoon, 2013. Credit: Gammz.

There was, surprisingly to me, very little negative talk about the effect of colonialism, colonial powers, or contemporary western political powers on Uganda (with the exception of the US trade pressure to drop anti-gay laws in 2013) whilst I was there. Rather an exceedingly positive attitude towards European peoples and cultures was evident. Social problems, what is perceived to be widespread political and organisational corruption (Uganda is ranked 142/175 on the Corruption Perception Index [Transparency International]), and much of the nation's tumultuous political history, is interpreted in formal and informal media through this negative story about the flawed African character (see Figure 24 and Figure 25). This often functions to essentialise, racialise and contextualise complex political situations. The African identity thus becomes a 'spoiled' identity (Goffman 1986), and a risky one, that the youth leaders I met worked hard to story themselves away from. Often they did this utilising a meta-narrative of the pursuit of modernity.

One facet of my understanding of this emerged through the (many) MOTEM leaders who featured Islam as part of the 'before' phase of their personal narratives of calling/salvation. This had wider significance than simply reflecting Islam's statistical presence in the nation, drawing on history as a resource for narrative meaning-making. As mentioned previously, the 1970's presidency of Idi Amin, the nation's only Muslim leader, ushered Uganda into a period of anarchy, brutality and despotism which has significantly shaped its national identity (Gifford 1998). As the nation was retaken by the popular, relatively stable government of Christian leaders, Islam became part of a 'spoiled' identity associated with the instability and violence which so often stereotypes the region, while Christianity continues to stand for stability, civilisation and progress. Echoing and revitalising negative colonial stereotypes of the 'barbarous' and pagan native, in these narratives Islam stands in as a cultural signifier for the moral danger of the 'old' identity, which can then in a strategic manner be narratively cast of in favour of the transformed born-again identity in line with the ideologies of evangelical conversionism that affords a "break from the past" (Meyer 2004, p448).

Closely associated with the redemption tale – and following the same before/after structure with a clear turning point - is the 'Rags to Riches' tale. Rather than the internal transformation of the redemption story, the focus of these archetypal rags to riches narrative is on an external transformation. Cinderella is the most famous French-European example of this, focussing on (in modern iterations) a magical

transformation of the disempowered but virtuous protagonist, as she rapidly and completely changed her material and social circumstances. Rags to riches stories are a favourite story trope of Hollywood, where they appeal to the strongly individualistic, consumeristic discourses of North America. Nevertheless the unique politico-economic positioning of Uganda gives it a distinctive resonance there, as a response to the frustrations of structural inequality and the aspirations of modernity.
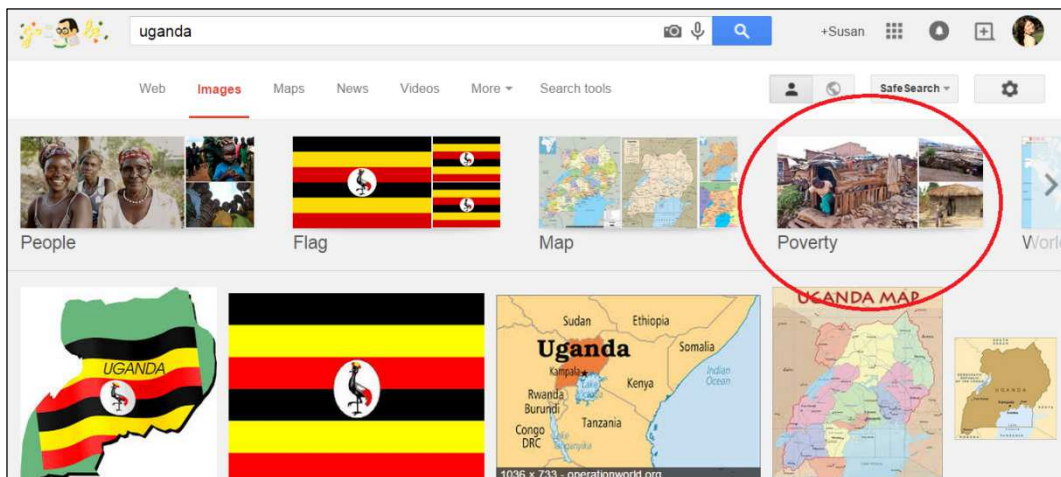


**Figure 26. Results from a Google Image search for 'Uganda' (05/03/2015).**



**Figure 27. The image for a story entitled "G8: 'Poverty in Uganda is the never ending story'" published in the Guardian, June 2010. Credit: Martin Godwin.**

Poverty significantly characterises the way the (western) world and media comprehends and communicates Uganda as a nation, and often 'Africa' as a region, as the examples of common charity campaigns and news items in Figure 26, Figure 27, and Figure 28 show. Its colonised history, weak international voice, reliance on foreign aid contributes to a subaltern subjectivity. In the context of poverty and inequality many people experience very real *dis*empowerment as part of their formative years. However while the stigma and vulnerability of poverty conflicts with the discourse of the 'good' Christian youth leader, in the MOTEM stories initially rather than de-emphasising this aspect of their personal history or family background, the leaders often descriptively outlined the extremity of their poverty 'before'. In this way if becomes symbolically operationalised as part of the old 'polluted' identity with which the good Christian youth worker's new identity in a dramatic performative tale. For the individual living among a large population with limited resources and opportunities, restorying their lives according to this rags to riches narrative enforces an enduring belief in the possibility of transformation and success.

'Youth empowerment' is a major buzzword at Moment of Truth, and more broadly in the non-profit sectors of Uganda in the time I was there as well. Kampalan

youth workers had a very hands-on involvement in the social and economic lives of those they cared for, considering this as being part of their role. The focus on 'empowering' the person as a whole included attention to education, basic needs, skills, employment, financial security and more – a full package of holistic caring angles. Therefore to be "an example" to the youths they sought to lead in these directions of success, prosperity and opportunity, it follows that being empowered is at the core of the requirements, or idealised attributes of the faith-based leader in Kampala.  These three cultural repertoires - Redemption, Rags to Riches, and the African Tragedy – come together under the idea of the 'quest upwards', which differs quite notably to the 'quest inwards' of CYS leaders. Furthermore these can be located within the nexus of class, whereby middle-class aspirations are typically around self-actualisation while working class aspirations are for self-betterment (Bujold 2004).

## "Going somewhere with the Lord"

> *I am sitting in what seems to be a converted classroom. The blackboard across one wall has the menu scrawled out in chalk. The Ndejje University canteen offers a grand total of six food options. Students come and go, looking quietly curious to see us. But today as I lean forwards on our wobbly plastic table, my attention is on the new addition to the sparse room that has become familiar. Mounted to the top of the usual fridge full of sodas, is a shiny 25" TV screen courtesy of Pepsi. All the while we wait for our beans,* kalo *and* matoke *to appear this TV is pumping out a single music video… on loop. It is colourful, highly produced, and hard to look away from. In the clip an array of African and international pop stars with shining white smiles are rocking out to watch is a catching, energetic tune, singing:*
>
> > *We'll do what it takes to get to the top*
> > *Of the highest mountain*
> >
> > *We'll do anything*
> > *We've got to prove ourselves*
>
> *Dancers leap to the beat of a large drum, coloured dust flies, soccer goals are scored, a mural comes to life, and my foot is tapping along too on the concrete floor of the dusty makeshift restaurant where the future professionals of Uganda come between classes.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 9th  January 2013***

In the late 1990's Paul Gifford identified "an almost palpable spirit of optimism" in Uganda (1998, p116).  Indeed around this time Uganda earned international approval as a developmental success story in some areas, including AIDS intervention. This seemed to affirm the reality of the rhetoric that permeated Museveni's reconstruction campaigns, framed around "creating a new country from the ashes of the old" (1998, p170). This Pepsi promotional song, performed by African-American pop superstar Akon, reflected the way that many of these aspirational themes and stories that have become told and retold, repeating like a fractal throughout the different levels of national, community, and organisational meaning-making projects (and read against and as responsive too other negative stories of the 'dark' regional past). I also recognised in this song the same sense of energy and ambition that permeated the Christian communities around Kampala as well. The churches we visited were often named 'Victory' or 'Winning' church, and many of the conferences whose posters lined the MOTEM office walls were themed "Open Heavens" and "Go for Gold" "Preparing for the Next Level." In 2013 Stephen's theme for the year's preaching was 'The Open Door'. "God has given you an open door, that *no-one* can shut!" he cried again and again, to the rooms of jumping, whooping University students. On any day I might

arrive with him to a church built simply from tin sheets and branches, with a dirt floor, to find the impeccably groomed population singing an immensely popular praise song in which the worship leader chants a variety of areas of life (such as 'in my family' or 'at my job') and to which the entire group responds by singing 'Double! Double!' repeatedly. Or I might sit knee to knee across the MOTEM office desk, with one of the zealous young leaders, who had needed help to cover the cost of the 1,500USH[25] bus fare to get to our meeting, and yet was speaking enthusiastically about the 'thousands' their ministry was going to impact. Stephen regularly claimed a vision for reaching one billion souls over his lifetime. "I have a policy within my spirit that everything is possible" another leader told me, characteristically of those I met, who were relentlessly ambitious and optimistic not only regarding ministry, but on a personal level, in relation to education, employment and career as well.

"Whoever you are, wherever you are, you can be whatever you want if you only can overcome fear of failure" Pastor Raymond shared on Facebook. Maxwell calls this pattern, also observed by him in Zimbabwe, a 'redemptive uplift' (1998, p354). The "anything is possible" mantra emerges from favourite repeated scriptures such as "we are more than conquerors" (Romans 8:37) and "I can do anything by him who strengthens me" (Philippians 4:13). Such attitudes are reconciled with the social inequalities and structural constraints of many African lives through a sense of expectant waiting. It emerges in popular 'bumper sticker' slogans such as "Your Miracle is on the Way" that draw on emotional force of the "unfulfilled, yet resilient expectation of modernity" (Meyer 2004, p460). "You are stronger than you think so just keep on walking because your breakthrough is at hand!!" Stephen echoed this. The MOTEM leaders love to encourage youth that with God they can 'make it in life.' Papa Edson, for example, advised that

> Number one is to know WHO called YOU! Yeah. He is the faithful one.
> When he calls, he has all the resource to train you. He has all the resources
> to equip you! To encourage you! And to lead you for your calling! And not

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[25] Around $NZ 00.70c at the time of writing

until he sees you are there, yeah, that he will leave you[26]. So he has reasons

to give you results.

His optimism is centered not on innate qualities of the individual, or indeed of his society, but around the transcendent qualities of God.

Among Kampalan youth leaders, success and spirituality have become closely interlinked. The moral salvation of a Redemption story and the material transformation of a Rags to Riches tale are performed in parallel to one another, interwoven, so that social and material successes begin to be interpreted as (and performed) as *evidence* of an inward transformation, and a new subjectivity. In Kampala it is not uncommon for preachers to promise to born-agains "a great wife, a great job, a great suit, a great car," along with the great peace and joy of the gospel. This must be viewed in context of the triumphalism and prosperity theologies that emerged in the US in the mid 1900's and were brought to African churches through US missions, crusades, and written and media technologies and resources including those from Oral Roberts, Rick Warren, Benny Hinn, Warren Buffet and Joyce Meyer (Maxwell 1998). For example, when not at the Ndejje canteen we often ate lunch at the enormous complex of the 'Miracle Centre Cathedral', the second largest Pentecostal church with a 10,000+ capacity auditorium, just half a block away from the MOTEM office. The emphasis on miracles, healing, and wealth there exemplified such ideologies. However the complex provenance of several waves of Pentecostalism into Uganda (Gifford 1998) is evident in the way such teachings exist aside more traditional interpretations of *spiritual* prosperity. Papa Hillary, in our interview, mentioned Oral Roberts and his problematic "American Gospel of materialism" as one of the "doctrinal differences" that causes problems within the Ugandan church. Even within MOTEM, among his prolific Facebook ministry posts Stephen recently put up a status reading: "I strongly believe that God has called preachers of the Gospel to be Faithful rather than successful" and in another he claimed that cars, houses, companies, travel, title and money "lack meaning and have no satisfaction" without greater purpose. Yet in a third he prayed (for the reader) for God's favour, ending with the words "May the Angel on the Lord escort you to your wealthy place."

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[26] Referencing Philippians 1:6, another very commonly cited and preached verse: "being confident of this, that he who began a good work in you will carry it on to completion until the day of Christ Jesus." (NIV)
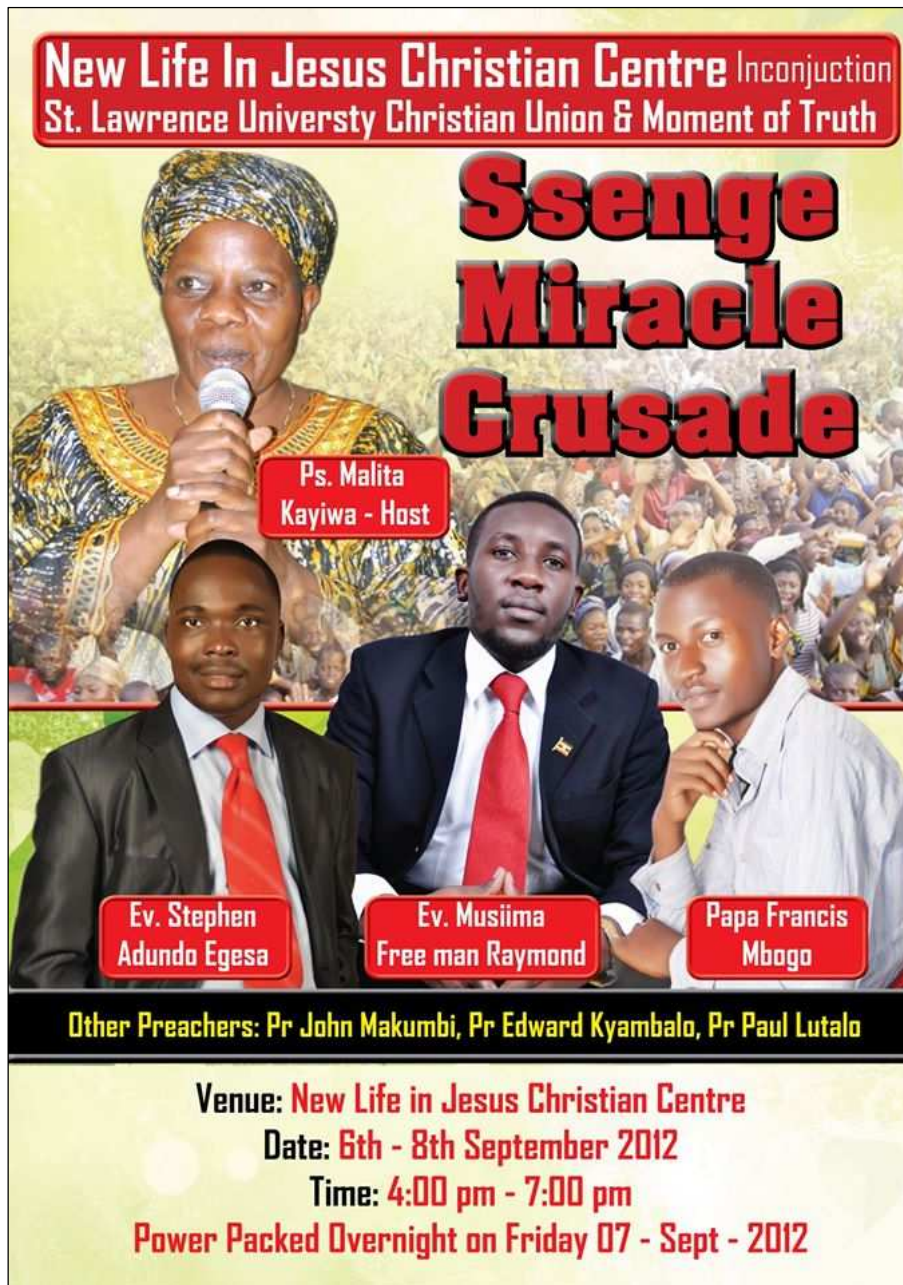
**Figure 30. Poster for a "power-packed" "miracle" conference. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

"The person you see on top of a mountain didn't just fall there" Raymond was fond of saying to the young people during our MOTEM events or presentations, and at crusades such as above. Indeed so many of the young people I met had struggled, worked, sacrificed much in order to pursue their education, since to be educated means opportunity, status, prestige, and access to wealth… at least in theory[27]. However the way these leaders continually reference education and scholarships in their calling

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[27]In reality the employment rate of around 75% is just as high among college graduates, Pastor Raymond asserted.

stories also reflects the meritocratic principles that are seen as the mechanism to turn rags into riches, even whilst 'grace' and the 'gifts' of God maintain a central role in their faith. In evangelical churches in Kampala – even those whose walls were stick and tin, and whose roofs were canvas - I often heard the ethics of working hard, dressing well, and trying to climb the social and economic ladder preached as a moral good. This contributes to the moralisation of education and of work that forms itself around a Protestant work ethic - building good citizens at an individual level through making them responsible for their own success.  In the MOTEM leaders' narratives they also perform this identity as a protagonist who struggles, works, climbs, and exerts effort to overcome obstacles and reach the 'success' expected of them as good neoliberal citizens *and* good, empowered Christian leaders.



**Figure 31: An example of one of the many small roadside businesses in Kampala. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Being 'entrepreneurial' was specifically listed by quite a number of my participants among the qualities of a 'good' youth leader in my survey. This initially surprised and puzzled me, but soon came to make sense is the broader discursive scheme of the good leader whose spiritual empowerment would be expected to evidence itself in their social and economic success as well, confirming their legitimacy and performing the correct subjectivity. Maxwell (1998) provides a useful reference point in

his thorough ethnographic examination of Pentecostalism, prosperity and modernity in Zimbabwe, discussing the 'penny capitalism' that is preached there. In Kampala also I attended more than one youth conference where entire sections of the day were given to discussing small businesses. Entrepreneurialism (like education) was both a capacity and a moral good. This was outlined as a part of the Protestant Ethic, made sense of against shifting meanings of work and wealth, by Weber (1905/2001, p109), who explained the Parable of the Talents (Matthew 25:14-30) as a common touch point for illustrating that "making the most of opportunities is a virtue." He explains later, and significantly, that a predestination theology created a desperate drive to know if one was saved, and that while it was not believed that Salvation came *because* of hard work or material success, these factors were often taken seen as evidence or assurances of salvation (Weber 1905/2001). In Kampala, too, neither hard work or success can buy the salvation that is a 'gift', but they are nonetheless both crucial outward signs of a virtuous and correct inwards subjectivity.

### "A changed man"

In what is notably a demographically youthful population, young people are often framed as being responsible for the worst social changes. As Papa Moses himself said

> You KNOW, in any nation, if you see these people who are taking
> marijuana, alcoholism, and all that stuff… even homosexuality[28]. It is
> beginning with the YOUTHS. Not old people.

In contrast to this, and to his own former vulnerability, Moses referred to himself as a "changed man". He spoke about seeing his life "changing and changing and changing" as God did "wonderful things" in his home, as he grew in the spirit and joined a ministry to start speaking to others about the gospel too. "In the religious language of vocation the meaning of the "call" is found in the transformation of the self […] into a tool or vessel suitable for godly work (Christopherson 1994, p234). In the calling stories of MOTEM leaders both their past struggles or sins are highlighted these in 'confession'

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[28] In Uganda largely seen as sinful and socially damaging, associated with AIDS and preached against by the church. Controversial (church-supported) 'anti-gay' legislation was going through parliament during the time of my fieldwork, making this an even more salient cultural reference point for Moses to use here.

style narratives, which Foucault tells us can be tools for subject formation (1988). Bruner usefully elucidates the role of public confession in his study of the history of the East African Revival specifically (2012). He suggested that the *Balokole* movement constructed and defined new moral boundaries, and the act of public confession was "the performance of a new moral personhood that expressed one's habitation of a new moral universe" (*ibid,* p256). This was also part of shaping and disseminating into the public sphere discourses around appropriate behaviours. Indeed in the MOTEM stories I noticed the same 'sins' repeated again and again– sexual immorality, and alcohol use, primarily – as 'standing in' for the general sinful state of the unsaved person, and - bearing in mind that many of these stories were collected/performed in group settings as part of focus groups, e.g. at Soul Winners - contributing to the formation of a common moral imagination in the MOTEM community. Gusman also included an examination of conversion stories of some of the Pentecostal youth he studied in Kampala, similarly noting that these usually featured an old sinful self dying after the individual received a Baptism of the Holy spirit, and entered into a new group, the "saved people" (2013, p284).

Bradford notes that in England the wartime 'national crisis' mind-set played a significant part in the mobilisation of youth leadership (2007, p297). This was at a time where there was considerable social anxiety over a perceived increase in the promiscuity of young women and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases (2007). In Uganda too there remains an immense anxiety in the national consciousness about the transmission of AIDS, and a subsequent heavy emphasis by the church and state on what is seen as problematic promiscuity among young people. The youth leaders are painfully aware of both the rhetoric and the social reality. Yet Christiansen argues that young Ugandan Pentecostals often instead reframe the older generation as the morally corrupt ones, and the young born-agains as moral vanguards of the 'new' Uganda (2011). The MOTEM leaders indeed more often spoke to me about young people as having "energy, brains and potential" (Papa Edson) and being "the future, the candidates for [positive] change in the whole world" (Papa Solomon). In this way, and forming an interesting parallel to what Bradford (2007) described of England in the early 1940's, the Moment of Truth leaders accordingly focussed on directing the life choices of young people in line with broader moral values, with a sense of not only

personal but social good they are working towards: "to run into our dream, into our beautiful tomorrow" as Papa Edson poetically envisages it.

Officially 'becoming' a youth leader in Kampala usually often begins with the election to a certain position – or the beginning of one's own ministry - allowing the right to the title of 'youth worker', 'youth leader', 'papa' or otherwise. Yet as the MOTEM leaders emphasised in their own narrative focus on the conversion experience that preceded this, their 'change' is seen as having been already achieved through the transformative experience of salvation. The stories performed indicate that individuals are transformed or 'interpellated' into the concrete subject position of the 'born again' in the moment that they recognise the hail addressing 'children of God', or 'believers' or similar as *really* being addressed to them  (Althusser 1971). Through narrative the MOTEM leaders both perform and constitute themselves (as young people, also) according to a positive new subjectivity that draws on the tenets of transformation in evangelical conversionism, and implicates calling itself in this. However the sense is of this transformation as a poignant past experience, meaning that while it may be repeatedly reinforced through the storying and re-storying of the experience, the ongoing processes of subject making are not located in an overt quest for identity, as it was in CYS. As I will illustrate it is instead enacted as an already-claimed and collective identity.

In saying this, one additional interesting point the MOTEM leaders made to me many times, about the broader population of Kampala youth they ministered to was that 'winning souls' was easy, but discipling them was hard. Half-jokingly and half in genuine frustration, they complained that sometimes an individual could get 'born again' (i.e. have a conversion experience, respond to a ministry call for salvation in a church service, be prayed over, and received the Holy Spirit) every week, for months, despite the fact that being born-again is supposed to be a once-off, transformative spiritual event. After learning this I found myself wondering, always, at the small throng of people that sometimes emerged at the front after Stephen, hoarsely, finished his enthusiastically belted alter call … were they 'real' converts? Was this the moment their lives would change forever? Or had they been times before as well, in another empty and failed repetition of the movements that were supposed to sanctify, transform? I wondered too if such doubts were why the pastors sometimes treated these prayer-seekers in a coolly practiced manner rather than with the astonished excitement I often

felt as each one moved forward. In light of the social context I have given I believe that the trend of repeated salvation performances can be interpreted as an ongoing effort to rid oneself of stigmas, or spoiled social identities (which do tend to be 'sticky') and attain new, empowered ones. It reflects the reality of this process as ongoing and continually negotiated, a fluid social dynamic, rather than the single transformative event it is storied as … thus the frustration of MOTEM leaders at observing this 'improper' behaviour of the congregations of youth to whom they ministered, who seemed unable to fully, once and for all, claim their new "changed" identity. The significance here was as much in the expectations and frustration of the leaders trying to assert their normative understandings of the transformative power of the born-again identity, as in the actions of these youth.

## "Joining Christ"

Many times throughout our visit, some person or another was introduced with the special explanation that he or she was "part of us" at MOTEM. When we left, my husband and I were thanked by many MOTEM staff and members for "being part of us." Such words were intended to indicate a closeness of relationship, and a mutuality of shared identity. Similarly one of the most common vernacular terms in this community for conversion is "joining Christ", a term used in preference to 'receiving Christ' or 'accepting Christ.'[29] This reflects the reason why thus far my discussion of the identity of the Kampalan youth worker has not differentiated greatly between the formation of the 'good' Christian, and the 'good' youth leader: the two collective identification points are very much intertwined, partly due to the lack of a professionalised/vocational identity, leaving the religious identity to dominate. The framing of conversion as 'joining Christ' is in itself is a pertinent indicator of the sense these individuals have of both the relational aspects of contemporary evangelical Christianity (i.e. being in relationship with a personal God [Luhrmann 2004, p519]) and the collective identity it bestows not just to a geographically specific community of believers, but to an international, inter-temporal 'body' of Christ. This experience and

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[29] These others are in use but which while in use are more common in Christchurch where 'joining Christ' is not a phrase in use at all.

revelation of the self as a 'believer', 'a follower of Christ' and 'an apostle' was a main contributing factor in young people's decision to become a youth leader.

Without wanting to lean too heavily on the traditionally overstated and essentialised dichotomy between the sociocentric and egocentric, and without claiming any kind of east/west generalisability, I must note that facets of this did emerge in the differences in the emic understandings of the locus of identity between my two field sites. Compared to the Canterbury youth workers, who have a sense of self strongly rooted in the individual (or egocentric) identity, in Kampala the youth workers' more general sense of calling is related to their primary identification point in the collective (and transformative) "born again" identity. This in turn alters how calling is understood. Pastor Raymond summarised this (italics mine);

> Being a born again […] *we are called* to, to be a light unto the world, *we are called* to be that kind of person someone will look up to and believe that everything is possible. And with that kind of assignment in the scripture that gives *us* a great commission to go out and preach the world it automatically makes you a leader because you are going out to meet people who are hurting, who are in pain, people who need someone to encourage them, and by the mere fact that you are doing that it automatically make you a *leader by default.*

As Raymond's explanation typifies, what the MOTEM leaders usually referred to as having the deepest impact on their lives and their identities to draw them into their current roles, was "the call on all believers" that they often hoped, prayed, and believed their entire generation would rise up in response to. This collective identification (the language of 'we' and 'us') of the youth leaders' identity leads to a more collective and generalised sense of calling. Although they experienced the process of calling in specific and idiographic ways, the nature of the calling to which they felt drawn was the broader 'task' given to all believers – the task of caring, preaching, teaching, empowering, giving and serving others, which was as non-optional - a command, not a request, as Edson put it - in reference to the Great Commission of Jesus[30]. Their

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[30] Matthew 28:16-20: Then the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain where Jesus had told them to go. When they saw him, they worshiped him; but some doubted. Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and

participation in youth ministry (as a subset of the broader category of 'ministry') was often more a matter of timing and opportunity. It was the type of work they had most access to, being young people themselves, and it was a social category perceived as most pressing in need. This contrasted with the Canterbury view that God has a specific task waiting, to fit someone's individual identity – with individuals being called specifically to youth work as a sector with a more distinctive (although still forming) professional identity that did not exist in the same way in Kampala.

## "Be an example"

> You [as youth leader] have to keep the hope, you have to keep the strength, you become like the pillar of their foundation, you become like a pillar of their success, a pillar of their increase, prosperity… of their excellency.

- Papa Solomon

In saddened and sometimes angry tones, people told me stories about those leaders they had known in the past who had quit youth ministry. The causal attribution in these almost always centred dually on *a)* unacceptable moral behaviour, e.g. "living with" a boyfriend/girlfriend or getting pregnant out of wedlock and *b)* disengaging from the broader church body (i.e. ceasing to be 'in Christ'). These two were not unrelated, since the moral uprightness of the MOTEM leaders was largely enabled by their embeddedness in the local community through many layers of interpersonal connections. Foucault's work explored the socialising force of community membership as an element of ethics, in that it forms part of the drive to be a 'good person' (in Bradford 2007, p305). As Pastor Baker expressed, he is held to a standard of behaviour because "when I go out, I know wherever I go, if I'm walking or going, people know me." The identity of the MOTEM leader, in this way, is very much intersubjectively constructed – in and through the expectations, monitoring and regulation of others, both other MOTEM leaders, and the youth themselves, and the wider community.

Being 'exemplary' or being 'an example' was a common response to my querying about the role of a 'good' youth leader, reflected also in the extensive focus on moral characteristics in the questionnaire results (see Table 2). Many of my interviewees

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teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age." (NIV)

expressed this more directly: as with Papa Solomon's statement above, or Pastor Baker who said "I ought to be a model to other people to admire me, like the youths, to say 'if Pastor Baker did it, even me I can do it.'" There are two aspects to the notion of being exemplary as an expression of the transformed, empowered identity of the good leader in Kampala; being 'upright' (i.e. *morally* exemplary) and being successful (i.e. *socially/economically* exemplary). For both conduct and presentation are ways of performing and embodying these values and identities.

At Xtend, the young Cantabrian leaders are told that "Who you are is more important than what you say." This is not the case for the MOTEM leader… or rather it expresses what they would see as a false dichotomy. In Kampala who you are is expressed *through* what you say, and how you behave. "You become identical with what you have behaved", as Mama Hope observed. Their sense of 'doing' identity is much more overt, and the virtuous leader identity experienced and constituted more through bodily practice than in Canterbury. Papa Solomon reminded me of James 1:22-25 where the scripture indicates we should be "doers of the word, not only hearers of the world". He continued to emphasise that not 'doing the word'

> … Is like a man beholding his natural face in the glass, but he forgets himself and goes his own way, and forgets what manner of man he was. But whosoever looks into the perfect law of liberty and it consumes therein, and do what it ways, HE be not forgetful hearer, but a doer of the word, this man shall be blessed in his deeds.

This verse pertinently illustrates the link between the focus on behaviour as an expression of identity in this community. The looking glass becomes a way of internalising an identity and behaviour a way of performing that, as argued in Chapter 2.

The behavioural identity markers most heavily emphasised for MOTEM leaders were the spiritual disciplines of prayer and reading the bible. Also forming important physical expressions of morality, were pure speech, sobriety, and chastity; all seen as difficult for the excitable, imminently corruptible young people. Not only in the avoidance of sinful practices such as drinking alcohol or taking drugs, but in closer regulation of eating and drinking, they enact the values of self-control and self-discipline at the level of the body. This labour of and on the body can also itself be moral labour. This includes the common practice of fasting as the symbolic repression

of the physical in order to strengthen the spiritual, which I will discuss extensively in the following chapter. The same Christian tradition of asceticism informs this and, at least in part, the sexual politics of virginity and chastity in Uganda.

After reading Gusman's (2009) work on the what he calls the 'Joseph generation' (which emerged around the Pentecostal churches new theologies of sexual purity forming in response to their involvement in AIDS intervention and service provision) I did retrospectively recognise that that some of my participants did use this same scripture as a touch point for the idea of the morally pure leaders. Edson for example emphatically expressed his desire to be "like Joseph [who] says 'I am not going to defile THAT which is in me" that is, to be "upright and honest even when no one is watching." It is therefore not merely a matter of *appearing* exemplary to others. Rather it is intimately entangled with processes of the self, so that taking up subject position of the good leader means embodying the moral standards of the born-again Christian "even when no-one is watching." In this way he expresses the nature of the self-gaze, and self-work or 'moral labor', whereby in and through these behaviours and practices individuals shape themselves around the values - such as empowerment, purity, and self-control – that characterise local discourses of the good Christian youth leader. Tracy and Trewerthy use the term 'auto dressage' to reflect a similar process of strategised subordination "for an audience of one" which they observed as part of the emotional labor of service workers, an aspect of emotional labour the following chapter will address. It shows the way this social power comes to govern the individual, even in private, and applies to the youth workers' rigorous attention to the morality of their bodies and behaviours.

"Physiology, politics and morality are all *one"* Synnott writes (1992, p96). Historically the body politic has come increasingly to have power over the body physical (*ibid*). The Ugandan body also has a particular history of being discursively constructed as a vehicle for contamination (literally and metaphorically) through disease, as for example in Figure 32 from the Daily Mail in 2012, which when posted online with accompanying news article elicited many fearful comments about the risk of the 'infected' travelling to the UK and spreading the disease. As Figure 33 and Figure 34 also show, sexually-transmitted disease such as HIV/AIDS has also formed a central part of this. This can be held more recently against what Gusman identifies emerging

from Pentecostal theology, which is a framing of the social world outside the church as dangerous and contaminating (2013, p288).



**Figure 32. Crowds fleeing in Western Uganda after 14 Ebola victims confirmed, 2012. Credit: Daily Mail**



**Figure 33. HIV poster from UNICEF, Uganda, 1995. Text at bottom reads: "The Answer is No! The AIDS-Virus can hide in a person's blood for many years. People who carry HIV may look and feel healthy, but they can still pass HIV to others!" Credit: Wellcome Library.**

Among Kampalan Pentecostals Gusman noted that the turning point of salvation is also is intended to meaning a cessation of the improper or risky behaviours, such as sexual practices associated with AIDS risk, pointing out the parallel between being spiritually 'saved' and physically 'safe' (2013). Their influence has meant that a huge number of public health billboards, posters and campaigns focus on abstinence and faithfulness. The *Balokole* movement sought not only for individuals to break from their own sinful past, but this was seen as achieved in and through a break with "tradition", "cultural practices" (relating to alcohol, marriage and gender relations), and a dark national past (Christiansen 2011, Gusman 2013, p287). It is significant and related that the MOTEM leaders I lived and worked with highly valued both modesty and personal hygiene alongside chastity. In such ways the body becomes a site and a mechanism for moral control.

The power held over the bodies of my participants was held both by the state (to modernise) and the church (to moralise). The attire of the good youth leader also embodies the second aspect of their 'exemplary' nature, too – as examples of social success and the 'good' modern neoliberal citizen. As an example, I think of one of the large youth meetings I attended at the UICT[31] campus. The female leaders were

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[31] Uganda Institute of Information and Communication Technologies.

bedecked in matching bright purple satin blouses, perfectly pressed. The male leaders were in shirts and suit jackets, dress pants and shoes, some also with neckties to top it all off. There was no mistaking 'who was who' around there. Although this was a special 'Thanksgiving' service in the large University hall, even in the regular meetings I had been to with the same group of 100 or so people, in the same space, the leaders would still be identifiable at a glance in formalwear, heels, jewellery and carefully attended-to hair. This was actually the case for all the churches I attended, and even outside church meetings, the importance of "looking smart" (alongside looking modest accordingly to appropriate gendered versions of this) was constant for both male and female leaders. On the rare occasions I de-rumpled my woefully inadequately hand-washed clothing, or put extra effort into restraining my heat-frizzed hair or donning jewellery to attend an event, Stephen was ample with his praise. It mattered.



Figure 35. Susan, a Bishop, Stephen, Andrew, and Papa Timo dressed up nicely to preach at Nile Vocational Institute, Jinja. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.

Maxwell notes that the re-socialisation of the believers in Zimbabwe into their new identity as 'born-agains' is also reflected in their physical transformation; smartness and cleanliness, dressing up for church, and "flaunting" suits and watches for men (see Stephen in Figure 37) and jewellery and elaborate hairdos (for women) (1998,

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p354). For the MOTEM leaders, too, their bodies were an embodiment of aspirational qualities; vehicles for the embodiment of many of the nebulous ideals of the 'modern' and the 'western' which I have been discussing.  This was set against the important backdrop of the black, African body as historically constituted as an object of colonisation, and (more recently) an object of development. The MOTEM leaders regularly made their bodies modern through dress. Amidst the flurry of colourful, traditional garb among (particularly older) Christians in church settings, the young leaders wore tidy, clean, business-like or dressy western clothing, in line with the ideal of modernity (see Pastor Carol in Figure 37). Hair, often understood in African women to be symbolic of the problematic aspects of self-representation created by colonial stereotypes, here too  represents many of these ideals, with preference being tightly controlled, elaborate, salon-treated 'do's' that mimic smoother Caucasian styles (see again Figure 37) and reflect many careful hours of care and preparation, and or the considerable expense of purchasing wigs, since short hair is seen as provincial and linked to poverty. This is all related, also, to their interpellation into the subjectivity of the good worker, as Maxwell convincingly argues: "as well as becoming freer to accumulate, the new believer is smart in appearance, trustworthy, hard-working and literate, and hence employable" (1998, p354).

In a conversation after the UICT event with one of the leaders, I asked for an example of a stressful time he had had with youth work, and he told me a story that is very relevant here. Only a short time after they had been voted in and the year had begun, one of the other elected leaders had started to turn up to their meetings dressed very poorly. He continued to come to each event or meeting (which are held every weekday, usually around lunchtime, in University fellowships) dressed casually, even shabbily, and people in the fellowship became upset, and disgruntled, talking among themselves about this particular leader. One woman in particular became incredibly irate about his dress, and called up the Papa I was speaking with about it. He was shocked by the force of her venom for the other, poorly-groomed leader, and suffered a lot of stress fielding angry calls about it, and promising to try and talk to the offending guy about the problem. The woman eventually left the fellowship for a time, and had to have several people counsel her about her extreme offense to the situation, and the problematic leader was spoken to, and told to take to take his role more seriously. At the time this story confused me considerably, and I wondered what unspoken subtext I had

missed; what gross misdemeanors that poor grooming might be indicative of. While I am sure there were various layers of social and contextual complexities to the situation, what this story expressed about the subjectivity of the 'good' youth leader is pertinent indeed to my argument. In Kampalan churches not only does dress and grooming give an indication of economic status (as well as generation and sometimes ethnic identification), but it is imbued with a moral quality. Hence while fellowship Papa Timothy told me some truly amazing tales of his own self-denial and self-sacrifice (of time, money, and food) in order to help other youth over the years, he was adamant that "you can't say 'I will not buy a shirt, I will not buy [anything],' when you have gone to minister. People first have to see that God in YOU."

Situated complexities were present around such ideas. Organisations in Kampala tend to be highly structured and bureaucratised, and roles very formal and restricted - guests and leaders sit up the front, dress differently, and are given food/drink that the congregation does not partake in. However the Kampalan youth leaders I spoke to often expressed their deep concern around corruption and greed among some church leaders. They described Pastors who drove around in fancy cars, never even stopping to speak to their parishioners walking alongside in the dust, and commiserated about those who entered ministry purely to with the goal of accumulation riches for themselves, from their congregations Part of the exemplary nature of the youth worker that *they* held to, in opposition to this, was that of transparency, honesty, and humility, concreted around the biblical principle of the 'servant leader'… something Stephen said was how he wanted to be remembered as. He told me;

> One of the FIRST, first, first skills, [you need as a] CHRISTIAN leader, I would really say this, that someone needs to be humble. If you are to work with young people, you must have a sense of humility. You must show these people that you are down to earth, just as Jesus happened himself, to the level of nothing.

Thus I would be amiss in painting a picture of the MOTEM leaders as people who are superior or self-seeking in their emphasis on appearance and the hierarchy of leaders 'above' others, when actually their humility and selflessness was often extreme and impressive. There is clearly an internal tension here between the 'good' (humble, servant) Christian leader, who invests everything they have back into the people they care for, keeping nothing back.

Pastor Carol was as impeccably dressed in person as her poster suggests (Figure 37). She wore high heels, fashionable clothes, and a lot of jewellery. We were crammed together, sweating, in a full *matatu* on the way to visit her ministry (Women's Life Network) when I casually complimented a black diamante bracelet she was wearing. She gave it to me on the spot: "I can easily buy another" she said. I wondered at that, given her budget-conscious choice of transport. On arriving I discovered her home and ministry were one in the same - a squat concrete bungalow, where she slept on a mattress on the floor alongside two other ladies who she introduced me to warmly. When they wanted to host a prayer group or women's event, they just rolled back the mattresses. I could not believe this was where the stylish Carol lived. However I soon came to realise she embodied the contradictions and tensions in the ideas of the 'good' youth leader in Kampala, doing her best to enact both as once, in action and dress. I made sure to wear the bracelet each time I preached, after that, better understanding then how body is an important social symbol for the youth leaders' participation in the collective of the born-again and for their 'exemplary' identity specifically. Their chosen modes of bodily self-presentation indicated their authority, trustworthiness, and spiritual empowerment, in ways that notably parallel the signification of the modernity, material success, employability and hard work.

In many ways the MOTEM leaders were negotiating the same tension as many Christian protestants have had to for centuries, around the meaning of work and wealth following the reformation and the rise of capitalism, which is what Weber's seminal essay addresses (1905/2001). He explains that historically, what emerged from this is a 'Protestant Asceticism, which encourage of the accumulation of wealth, but *not* the lavish enjoyment of it. Hard work was a tried and true, morally validated method of achieving this (1905/2001, p104). This is very similar to what I observed among the Kampalan leaders, whose aspirations towards (and hard work towards) money, wealth and success were condoned, while the "greedy" individual enjoyment or flaunting of it, was not. For the 'good' (empowered, modern, humble, hard-working) Ugandan leader, these polysemous, sometimes conflicting strands of identity were expressed and negotiated bodily in day to day decisions about when to drive, when to walk, what to wear.

## Dialogical processes of calling

One final trope I wish to pinpoint in the calling stories of the MOTEM leaders, was the spoken word, as another expression of both social and spiritual empowerment. At Soul Winners, Papa Moses told our group how his family used to make alcohol as their only income, which is a prohibited activity along with drinking for most Ugandan evangelical Christians, but a nevertheless traditionally common source of income for poor families. In explaining his role in distributing alcohol – forced by his family to participate to help pay for his schooling - Moses illustrated his original vulnerability, disempowerment, and immersion in an immoral world. "I was unable to say 'please stop that'" he told the sympathetic audience. However, his story turned around he decided to put God first and found himself able to say 'no' and stand his ground against their cajoling and threats. His moral transformation was then further evidenced in social transformation, as he got a scholarship, improved his grades, and joined the Christian ministry at his high school where he also began "speaking to other students about Jesus".

Among the MOTEM tales the expression of the power of words was at times contextual, and at other times reliant on performative language (Austin 1962); talking, telling, saying, speaking, preaching, testimonies, and counselling were powerful actions influencing the narrative outcome of these stories, reflecting the importance of spoken rhetoric in the traditions of the Christian believer. Additionally in many stories God himself is also depicted as enacting his will via the spoken word, in a voice which becomes part of the process of identity formation for the listener. For example in Papa Timothy's story he described how:

> In fact after my confession of my sins on the 25th of December 1999, I had
> a vision of Christ holding my hand, and leading me through crowds of
> people, then he said "You are the next in the coming generation" So that
> voice has always come back to me, come back to me. Whenever I feel like I
> am perplexed, and I am discouraged, [he puts on an authoritative voice]
> "You ARE the NEXT in this coming generation". So! It was inspired me to
> carry on the work of Christ.

In Susan Harding's examination of fundamentalist Baptists in the US, she also noted that rhetoric rather than ritual was their primary vehicle of conversion (1987, p167). As such the spoken word also represents a site of interpellating, ideological power.

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In calling stories from *both* my field sites, the reported voices of others featured strongly, although they had some different reasons for this. The voices featured were not only God's voice, as above, but frequently also the voices of other people who were asking, cajoling, and convincing the narrator to take up youth ministry. Again in a common pattern across both CYS and MOTEM, the narrator responded to this with several rounds of protest before giving in. Pastor Carol provided an excellent example of this, in telling me about how she was initially co-opted into the leadership team of a University fellowship, when she first became a Christian:

> So they asked me "PLEASE you look like a good leader, can you be one of our leaders in the fellowship?" So I was like:
>
> "You people, I got saved just like two month ago! What am I going to DO? I don't know how to PRAY!"
>
> They said "No, no, no, we shall teach you." So they gave me [the role of] publicist/secretary [saying] "Can you be our publicist/secretary?"
>
> So I said "Fine." So since then I became a leader for the born again.

One of Hammack's contributions, as I earlier introduced, is the identification of 'axis of identities'. The shared 'Christian' axis of identity explains the shared form and content of these calling stories between my two sites. The differences in the particular use and meaning of shared tropes such as reported speech can be attributed to the different cultural/national axis of identities. Both reflect an existing biblical narrative pattern, in which a person of importance is first called by God (in the spiritual sense of his purposing for their leadership) and then confirmed, or directly summoned (in the physical sense of acting as God's mouthpiece or prompt) by a prophet, as was the case with King David and the prophet Nathan (in 2 Samuel), and even Jesus himself with John the Baptist (in Matthew 3). In other similar tales, such as Elisha (the source of the 'passing the mantle' saying, in 1 Kings 19:19) or Simon Peter (being called to start the church, in John 1:42) a more mature Christian leader nominates, encourages and trains a younger one to take up their ministry, and a version of this trope also common in my stories. Using similar patterns that reported their 'nomination' by others, the faith-based youth leaders I spoke with were able to express the ascetic, non-competitive aspect of their calling (Christopherson 1994); they could perform the humble, self-effacing

subjectivity of the good Christian leader event whilst still strategically claiming the clear presence of a divine 'calling'.

In Canterbury specifically, there are strong implicit (aside from joking recognition such as Figure 38) edicts against self-promotion, as the pejorative Anglophonic idiom 'Tall Poppy Syndrome' indicates. Accordingly in the CYS leaders' stories, the identification of the qualities of leadership by a third party – usually an existing youth leader or pastor - is a strategic and effective way to remove the possibility of being seen as self-promoting or overly self-confident, while still highlighting their legitimacy and suitability for the role as individuals.  In MOTEM stories often reflect, as Carol's does, stringent procedures to democratically 'elect' Christian fellowship leaders each year in Kampalan universities, which in turn is understandable in relation to the ongoing concerns around corruption in East African politics (see Figure 39 ). In the MOTEM stories the voices of others tended to be a collective voice, often in the form of people nominating or even begging them to enter the campaign for a leadership role. The voices therefore evidenced a sort of popular election by peers, buying them legitimacy in that particular political climate which highly valued democratic procedure.



**Figure 38. A humorous (and literal) representation of Tally Poppy Syndrome in NZ. Credit: Kiwianarama.**
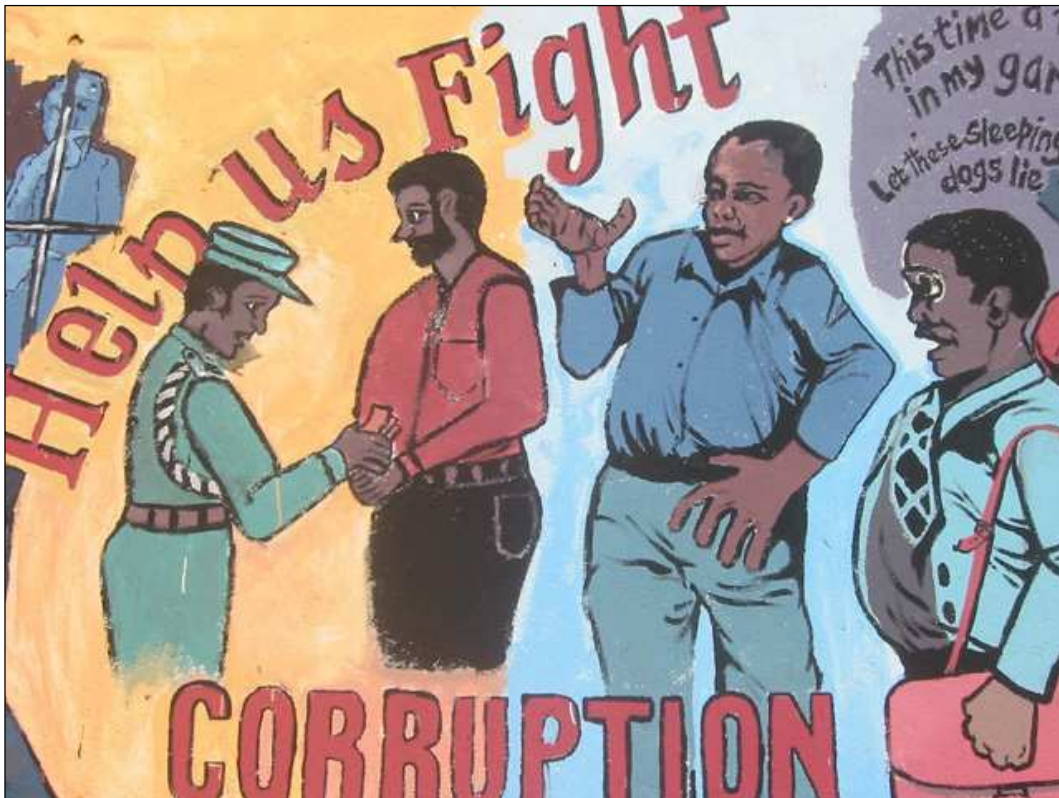
Figure 39. Mural in Kampala. Credit: Internationalrivers.org.

The reported voice of the 'other' is explained by Ricoeur as that which summons the self to responsibility (1992, p187). This, he argues, is how a self-narrative takes on meaning, or how it is evaluated as 'good'. Similarly Bakhtin directly addresses the significance of reported speech in narrative, writing that (in novels) they act as an 'idealogue', giving voice to an ideology (1981, cited in Bauman 1986, p77). In the stories I analysed, the exchange of the narrator with these other reported voices can be seen as a representation of their interpellation into the role and identity of the youth leader. An eager young woman in my Soul Winners focus group told a story of starting a ministry in her primary school, where they recognised her maturity and said "This one is a Pastor." From this point she began to preach boldly and her reputation as such grew. With their words, and her recognition that she was indeed "this one" to which they were referring, it became suddenly true that she *was* as 'Pastor'. Furthermore the process of protesting and then relenting shows the struggle of power/agency in identity formation. The leaders are summoned quite often by someone who can act as an authoritative representative of the church as an institution, and thus their eventual consent represents the consensual basis of interpellation even while it also reveals the workings of institutional power.

Calling, as a site of interpellation, forms part of subject formation in both places. I have illustrated in this chapter how in Canterbury calling is experienced as specific, individual while for the Kampalan leader calling is experienced as general and collective. Narratives of calling reflect these situated differences as well as in and of themselves doing identity work; constituting an 'essential' inner self for CYS leaders, and transforming a vulnerable social self for MOTEM leaders. Furthermore the MOTEM understandings of identity as enacted contrast strikingly with the CYS more western view which counterposes 'being' (as authentic) with 'doing' (as performing, and inauthentic) (Lawler 2008, p101). Indeed in CYS, despite the fact that the extensive moral labour they engaged in there was very much part of 'doing' or performing identity, it was viewed emically more as part of the search for an essential self that is seen as existing deeper than and beyond the behavioural modifiers of the social world. Weber's work highlights that often for work done as one's calling, the manner in which it is accomplished can be more important than the labour itself (Weber, 1905, p161).

In this chapter I have also looked at many of the locally specific ideas of the 'good' leader in each of my two field sites, as well as looking at the processes of narrative sense-making, moral labour, and embodiment through which the leaders come to take on (and actively, ongoingly strive towards) these subjectivities. I have deliberately set aside one significant aspect of their identities in order to be able to address it in the depth it deserves in the following two chapters instead: the affective aspects of care labour. Kristjánsson notes that "emotions are implicated in the self at all levels of engagement and that the moral self is quintessentially an emotional self" (2010). Thus having in this chapter established the close relationship between vocational identity and personal self-concept for both youth work FBO's, I now respond to Ashforth and Humphreys work demonstrating the way role identification can mediate workplace emotional experience and practice by extending my discussion of *moral* labour into observations about *emotional* labour (1993).

# CHAPTER 3: The Conquered Body in Kampala

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*[Emotion] is raging on in the inside of you. It is an inner man fight. But it doesn't show, on the outside you are smiling, you look smart, but inside there is a HUGE world war going on!*

- *Pastor Carol*

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"God is love" and being loving is one of the central facets of the leader's identity in the Kampalan youth work community. "It is impossible to be a Christian without love" according to Papa Solomon. Jesus is described above all as being "compassionate", and both passion and compassion, are supposed to be the defining features of his followers[32]. Mama Suzan said that compassion was essential to truly serve young people. Pastor Raymond similarly named the "unquenchable passion" that drove all his ministry activities as "love". Additionally empathy, although sometimes problematic, is seen as a bridge between the feeling of sympathy and the 'active' compassion. The care labour of youth work involves aspects of all of these, and I began my fieldwork by querying my interviewees extensively on the nuance of these different words. Nevertheless as Papa Solomon exclaimed in eventual frustration at my dogged pursuit of the topic: "That's mere semantics!" I take my cue from him, since my purpose is not to create taxonomy of affect, but rather to conduct an "archaeology of feeling" (Desjarlais 1992a, p249), situating the affective components of care labour against and within the specific socio-historically and politically shaped discourses that shape their practice and embodiment. This involves describing both the public and private face of what Hochschild calls an "emotional system" (1983/2003). I examine both the emic models and metaphors for understanding 'emotion' in Kampala, and the relationship between these and the particular forms of emotional labour occurring in MOTEM. I seek to locate them within broader social discourses that both constitute and constrain emotional experience.

Emotions, from a biomedical perspective, are grounded in bodily experience; they are physiological reactions which occur in response to external stimuli. Even

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[32] John 13:35 (NIV): By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another."

within early anthropological work, the Jamesian approach (owing in turn to Descartes and Hume) saw emotion as an unlearned physical reaction until Geertz' symbolic interactionism arose to offer an alternative view of emotions as cultural artefacts (Mageo 2002, Ahmed 2004). Having received steadily increasing attention, Lutz & White's systemic review in 1986 outlined that there are a range of theoretical and epistemological tensions that structure scholarship and debate around emotion. I will proceed by taking an idealist, interpretivist (Lutz & White 1986) focus on emotion as involving social evaluation and meaning. I attend to language around emotion, and particularly metaphors, as "rudiments of form" and "imaginative force" (Desjarlais 1992a, p253) according to which acts of emotional labour (that is, done *with* emotion) and emotional management (done *on* the emotions) are shaped.

Religions each prescribe certain emotions to their adherents (Kim-Prieto & Diener 2009). Indeed in the previous chapter I explained that for the MOTEM leaders, taking on the "born again" identity, there is a reframing of emotional experience according to a shared moral imagination (Mellor & Shilling 2014). Organisations also have feeling rules that shape the frequency, intensity and variety of emotion of their employees (Tracy 2000, Ashforth & Humphrey 1993). In trying to communicate the experiential fabric of their lives (Desjarlais 1992a, p252) here I make references to both of these relevant contextual factors, looking at how they have each contributed to the creation of the specific local aesthetics which govern how faith-based youth workers in Kampala understand and instrumentalise their emotions as part of their care practices. I use the term aesthetic here as Desjarlais has formulated it, to refer to a 'sensibility' or embodied cultural value (1992a, 1992b)[33]. Desjarlais' idea of aesthetics is a useful way of identifying concepts that resonate through different levels of the community, as guiding principles (often with moral values attached) which appear not only in 'high' culture as the term suggests, but also more widely to "shape cultural constructions of the body and social actions" and lend "specific style, configuration and felt qualities to local experiences" (1992a, p65). For Kampala I focus on the aesthetic of self-control, while in the following chapter I discuss authenticity and then balance in Canterbury.

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[33] It could alternatively be conceived of in line with Csordas' idea of the 'psycho-cultural theme' (1997), although I think that Desjarlais' (1992, 1992b) term, while a more unusual word, more gracefully captures the way a motif like this can be articulated throughout all levels of a community through tacit cultural forms.

**Figure 40. A 'viral' Facebook image and (unattributed) quote. Credit: PicGerm.**

When Pastor Carol shared this (Figure 40) image on Facebook, it was 'liked' by a number of her youth worker friends. Another MOTEM leader, at a different time, also shared the quote as his status. The idea it expresses – smiling even with tears in your eyes - epitomises the locally articulated virtue of emotional control. In a formal labour setting, effort such as this expended by an individual to conform their external expression and/or internal experience to organisational feeling rules and norms is referred to as 'emotional labour'. This is a concept that has received more than 30 years of research following Arlie Hochschild's seminal work proposing this idea, in *The Managed Heart* (1983). Emerging from this is a strong body of literature connecting emotional labour with care work (Cropanzano et al 2003, McGuire 2010). Some of this has also created strong links between emotional labour and burnout (Karabanow, 1999; Mumby & Putnam 1992). Rarely has either been examined in relation also to spirituality or religion, with Allahyari (2000) and Wuthnow (1995, 2012) providing some rare examples.

Hochschild's theories provide an important connection between organisations, emotions, and some of the negative psychological effects of emotional labour, basing this on the idea of "emotional dissonance". However while she places careful quote marks around terms like "true" self (1983/2003, p34), Tracy & Trethewey argue that there are nonetheless remnants of a simplistic modernist dichotomy of real vs fake self

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present her work (2005). Hughes also states that much of emotional labour theory is built around the idea of a "real, pre-social emotional self - residing exclusively in the private sphere" (Hughes 2010, p40). This is deeply problematic to a post-structuralist perspective which sees the self as neither fixed nor 'essential' but instead "as a product or an effect of competing, fragmentary and contradictory discourses" (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p168). Cropanzano et al (2003, n.p.) also effectively summarises Tracy's application of a more Foucauldian framework to this problem, noting that in this revised perspective

> Emotional labor manifests itself when we try "to perform two acts at once" (Tracy 2000, p. 117). In other words, it is the clash of incongruous social acts, and not the clash of real and faked emotions, which produces discomfort.

Tracy is identified by Cropanzano et al (2003) as the only one (at that time, and to my knowledge to date) to take this perspective. I respond to and extend this in my own field sites, having already identified some of the multiple, sometimes conflicting discourses that are implicated in prescribing multiple and sometimes contradictory social/emotional acts (see Chapter 2). A postmodern view of identity is as bricolage, where "people come to understand themselves through overlapping identifications with multiple organisations and professions" (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p171). This, however, can mean they internalise, in parts, multiple and sometimes competing sets of rules and values around the appropriate emotional subjectivity.

I use an interpretivist lens to view even 'private' emotion as discursively and intersubjectively created, examining the theoretical consequences for this alteration to the usefulness of emotional labour theory as an evaluative tool for the cost of care. Just as Tracy & Trethewey (2005) work to "tease out" an alternative vocabulary for their post-structuralist reconceptualisation of emotional labour, so too will I introduce an alternative term: the 'cherished self.' The 'cherished' self is a preferred self. It is the one is perceived to be the 'real' one by the individual, the one they are most attached to, and have most internalised. It is the identity that has, through the constitutive power of the modernist discourse of self, come to be experienced as a private interiority. Emotions that affirm this cherished self are therefore seen as 'authentic', even though a poststructuralist perspective notes both that self and those emotions as discursively shaped. Those emotions which contradict and therefore threaten the cherished self will

be seen as 'fake. With this notion I thus take up a more post-structuralist angle on emotional labour as a stronger explanatory framework for my observations of the painful psychological consequences of managing (or perhaps more accurately, failing to manage) 'discursive conflict.' Therefore I move the understanding onwards from one of 'emotional dissonance' (between a real and fake self) to 'discursive conflict' (between two discursively created selves, where one may be 'cherished'), as a stronger explanatory framework for the multiplicity of discursively shaped subjectivities I observed the faith-based youth workers grappling with.

## Mamas and Papas - Caring Identities

> *"Youth work is all about people… that is the definition of ministry. When you look at Jesus Christ, he spent most of his time with people. You have to be available to them." Stephen is saying emphatically. We are bumping along the road towards the airport. It is our final day of fieldwork on my first research visit to Uganda. When we first bundle into the long-suffering Ipsum, Stephen is uncharacteristically quiet - clearly still half-asleep - but in a merciless panic for a final few moments of data collection I have pulled my dictaphone out and am plying him with questions anyway. Also crammed into the car are my husband, our luggage, and two other people I don't even recognise – other youth leaders, guests from last night's farewell party who apparently never left and whom Stephen has invited along.*
>
> *Partway through our conversation Stephen confesses that he didn't get to bed till three or four am the night before, having been beset with requests for assistance from people who hadn't organised (and couldn't afford) transport home, or hadn't eaten an evening meal yet, or who simply wanted time with him. I feel guilty for having retired from the party at a respectable hour; No wonder he is tired, staying up caring for the multitudes till 4am!*
>
> *I remember the icing on last night's cake: "Thank you for your care." In glittery pink sugar crystals the cake was paying us the highest compliment this community could muster. In our last moments with MOTEM, that is what it came down to: "Thank you for loving us" the youth leaders, our friends, said over and over again, shaking our hands earnestly. As we bump along Entebbe road I shuffle my messy field notes, poised to ask Stephen another question… but in the moments of my silent musing he has pulled his cowboy hat over his eyes, leant back in his seat, and (for the first time I have ever observed him doing in the presence of others) retreated inward. He is asleep.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Sunday 3rd February 2013.***

The relational focus of youth work befits the relaxed, people-focussed 'polychronic' time often attributed to Africa (Gifford 1998). However in urban Kampala, so fervently pursuing modernity, the faith-based youth organisations and fellowships in which the caring and loving activities occur often instead seek to align themselves with more 'modern' western organisational patterns and proceedings; failingly often, to their frustration, as at our farewell party where the carefully time-lined proceedings ran late primarily because we waited a full three hours after the stated start time for all the guests to arrive. The Christian organisations I observed do succeed in achieving a high level of formality and bureaucratisation in other areas. Titles, uniforms, record-keeping, are prioritised in the context of severe resources scarcity; the MOTEM event budget always has a column for certificates (see Figure 41, and Appendix 4). Furthermore leaders for fellowships in particular enter into their roles formally through rigorous democratic procedures: both for administrative positions and for the elected positions of primary leadership.



**Figure 41. Certificates awarded to supporters at the MOTEM 5th Anniversary party. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

The use of the familial titles of 'Mama' and 'Papa' mentioned in Chapter 1largely structure the caring roles of youth leaders and are standard in the Kampalan youth work community. Despite the ambiguities and abuses that often occur in real-life

family settings, in the social imaginary, the family remains an often idealised social form within which 'authentic' care might be given and received (Hockey and James 1993). Parental love in particular tends to be characterised as enduring, strong, and embedded in supportive social networks (Hochschild 1983, p69). This is particularly pertinent in Uganda, since the MOTEM leaders often lamented to me the hunger for parental love that they perceive in the communities in which they work. In many parts of the country poverty, low-life-expectancy, disease (particularly AIDS), conflict and displacement have led to a high number of orphans, child-headed households, or convoluted extended family situations. Furthermore, although disapproved of by the church and becoming rarer, the practice of polygamy remains present in rural areas. These factors all contribute to rendering the stable nuclear family that is the Western media ideal, a relatively uncommon phenomenon.

The MOTEM leaders also use the parallel language of "spiritual orphans" to reflect the lack of caring mentorship they have experienced from older generations of church leaders. In Christiansen's study of the ideologies of youth in Uganda, in context of religious and political issues, she observed there among the youth a 'yearning' for engagement with older generations, and disappointment in what they see as disengagement, disinterest, and neglect of their generation (2011). She observed an increasing reliance on 'age-mates' for social and emotional support because of this. The parental caring roles of the MOTEM leaders can be interpreted as a direct response to these conditions. Mama Suzan of Uganda Christian University (UCU) was a good example of the way this identity is internalised and practised. Suzan is the student board President of the University, as well as being a leader in the UCU fellowship and of a youth worship band at her church. She describes these roles as often hinging around "the task, the responsibility to be a Mother, even though you've never given birth biologically." Suzan refers to having "adopted" several of these girls who are only a year or two younger than her, having shared her food, money, family home, even her sleeping space. Like a mother she counsels them, feeds them, and worries about them walking alone at night. She calls them her daughters - they call her "Mummy". Many have come up to her directly to ask "Can you be my Mother?" This represents a moment of interpellation into this specific caring role and its associated emotional forms. As she answers 'yes', recognising herself as such, she truly becomes 'Mummy' to them. This enables the distinct forms of emotional labour that are an essential part of

fulfilling this role. For example Mama Suzan says when "her girls" call her at midnight to say they are missing her she "must be able to miss them too." In other words, she has to generate these emotions in order to fulfil an idealised organisational identity (the 'good' leader as mother) which she has internalised.

A parental identity renders the love the youth worker gives as 'authentic' (as above), personal, and non-sexual - the latter being crucial to the emphasis on sexual purity among the young born-agains in Kampala. Colley's study in England similarly found that (secular) youth workers there were constructed within the role of an idealised parent with a focus on the characteristic of selfless devotion (2001). She also noted this often also included a feminine gendering of the work. However in Moment of Truth the male leaders took up the role of 'Daddy' in a similar way as the female leaders did 'Mummy', and engaged in similarly high levels of care work and emotional labour to do so. Another fellowship leader, Timothy gave a closely paralleled example of his relationship with a fellow classmate in primary school, whom he supported financially and emotionally for years. This friend still calls him 'Daddy' today, even though they are the same age. Some literature does reflect differences between how the genders engage in care in the same institutional setting, with Wuthnow suggesting that females are more likely to identify caring as an expression of the self, a route to personal development or an intrinsic value, and males more likely to associate care with specific roles and thus pursue it with an instrumental logic as part of the goals of the organisation (1995). Hochschild also argued that not only are women gendered as more emotional, but they engage more in emotional work… especially middle class women (1983/2003, p164). Despite this in MOTEM, the primary gender differences I observed between the Mamas and the Papas were in the stringency of display rules, rather than around the core concepts or practices of care.

## Emotional control within a dichotomous model of self

The way that emotions are understood in any culture is closely linked to the emic models of the self within which they are located. This includes their relationship to the body. As already noted, for Christians (Synnott 1992, p86) the body has been seen variously at different points in history as a loathsome object to be overcome through mortification, or a sensual component of a healthy life (Synnott 1992, p84). Synnott

notes that Pauline teachings on the body in particular are complex, including that it "should be bruised, but honoured; mastered, but hallowed, crucified, but glorified; it is an enemy, but also a temple and a member of Christ" (1992, p86). A Platonian dualism between flesh and spirit is the one of these that emerged during my research as a defining feature of the Moment of Truth community. Extending beyond a neutral Cartesian dualism, they attributed a weighted, oppositional relationship to the body/spirit dichotomy.

Mama Hope described that when frustrations arise in her fellowship: "Me, myself, my carnal person… I'll get pissed [off]!" Here she maps her emotions onto the dichotomous model, locating the negative emotion of anger within the physical ('carnal') aspect of herself. Pastor Baker describes that people have an 'inner man' controlled by the spirit, and an 'outer man' of body and flesh. "If you do something emotionally, most of the time it is bad, you regret [it]. Emotions are part of flesh, outer man, you need to control." Both these examples are characteristic of the most immediate association the MOTEM leaders make between the word 'emotion' and the 'negative' emotions of anger, frustration, lust, hurt or despair. I wondered how they made sense the emotions associated with care - love, compassion, or empathy – in such a model. Stephen was quick to clarify that "those are spiritual things." Others also confirmed explicitly, and in the way they referred to these, that rarely were such sensations considered as 'emotions' at all, but rather understood as spiritual experiences. Thus 'emotion' is a negative, animal force that is constructed oppositionally to the 'spirit' or inner man', in which experiences of love and compassion are located.

This shaped the nature of emotional management here, which is then conceived of (and enacted) as a battle, a tug-o-war, where the soul (the 'will' of the person, in Baker's explanation) is caught between two sides. "It is a go between of two people… which to win?" Pastor Baker asked rhetorically of me… but was quick to add that "when you have God, in fact, the body cannot win." Much of the emotional labour I observed the MOTEM leaders performing was that of 'conquering' negative emotions. Papa Solomon evinced that:

The GREATEST man, who you can ever conquer in life, is yourself[34]. If you don't conquer YOURSELF, no man can ever conquer you. Not even God.

It was therefore essential for the 'good' Christian leader (who *does* have God) to perform this in the way they conducted themselves, and the way they managed their bodies. Stephen's book *Authentic Relationships,* which I assisted him to edit on my second fieldwork visit, typifies both the negative framing of emotion and, crucially, its association with sexual desire: "You are more than an emotion" he wrote, "you can make choices without being guided purely by emotions like attraction. You are not helpless, but a being with free will to choose Godly ways." This focus on individual agency through motifs of choice, encourage the youth leaders to act *upon* their feeling – a form of emotional labour (Hochschild 1983/2003, p19). They do so 'conquering', which is closely linked to the aesthetics of empowerment and of self-control for the exemplary MOTEM leader.

"The bible says a MAN that doesn't have CONTROL over his own spirit, is like a sea that MOVES without direction" Solomon informed me. Among the nine 'Fruits of the Spirit' from Galatians 5:22-23,[35] self-control is emphasised above all others in MOTEM's moral rhetoric, with the possible exception only of love. Self-control was the tool needed, Solomon further counselled, in order to ensure your emotions do not dominate you. Ashforth & Humphrey notes that according to different self-concepts, some people see emotional restraint as part of their self-image, while others see it as hiding their true self (1993). Bradford describes self-control, alongside personal responsibility, as part of the "bourgeois cultural capital" in early modern English youth work (2007, p297). In a not so dissimilar way, self-control in Uganda is a "key element in the striving for social becoming", in the context of the stigmatisation of youth, the born-again ideology of moral transformation, and the neoliberal discourses of responsible citizenship in a landscape of HIV/AIDS, according to Christiansen (2011, p129). The Canterbury leaders have a very different view of emotional restraint or

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[34] A reference to a quote attributed to Louis XIV - "There is little that can withstand a man who can conquer himself."
[35] Galatians 5:22-23 reads "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control. Against such things there is no law."

'repression' which conflicts with core community aesthetics there, while in Kampala self-control is indeed internalised as part of the self-concept or 'cherished' self.

## The imaginative structures of control in Kampala

Metaphors such as that of the emotional 'battle' are relevant to expressions of emotion and prescriptions for emotional management for several reasons. Building on Ortony's (1975) inexpressibility hypothesis (cited in Fainsilber & Ortony 1987), Lakoff (1993) also suggested that "Metaphorical understanding is the norm when considering emotions, because of the sensitivity and hiddenness of them in contemporary society." Lakoff and Johnson's early work - The *Metaphors We Live By* (1980/2003) - had laid out a seminal argument for the fundamental role of metaphor in human meaning-making. They asserted that the root metaphors in a language tend to draw from the phenomenological basis of the human body, bodily movement and function, posture and positions in various emotional and physical states (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). It is this mutual dependence of culture and biology which lends an element of universality to metaphor. However metaphors, including those around emotion, are also richly culturally articulated, and deeply embodied; they can structure and constitute subjective emotional experience in line with very specific local values, discourses, and understandings of the self that are locally situated and culturally specific.

In Kampala alongside the interlocking emotional metaphors of the flesh as 'enemy', emotional management as 'battle', and self-control as 'conquering or victory', another metaphor that structures thinking on the topic is that of 'emotions as heat.' Both in the ancient Chinese language (of Chinese medicine) and in the English language metaphors for emotion have typically centred on fire, fluid or gas (Pritzker 2007, p16). Similarly in Kampala stress "boils up," and, as Solomon warned me "when your emotions are HOT, your emotions are dominating." You need then to utilise the spiritual characteristic of self-control to "push down" and "cool" the emotions instead, he explained. There is also an accompanying idea of the flesh and the emotions being 'fast'. For example Youth Pastor Deo told me that "the outer man, the flesh, reacts very quickly". Stephen was fond of warning that "when you rush you crash". These in some ways sit in tension with the aesthetics of zeal, movement, energetic-ness and empowerment that I also observed MOTEM leaders embody in various aspects of their work, including but not limited to speaking, singing, dancing, worshipping, praying and

preaching. The discursive tension present there is best examined around the related metaphor of 'passion as fire' and the related negative experience of 'burning'.

Passion is usually spoken about positively in reference to a passion for young people, ministry, or God himself (synonymous with 'zeal'). The Holy Spirit is also frequently depicted or symbolised through fire. Spiritual passion or zeal involves being "on fire for God" and many popular hymns as God to "set us on fire." Youth Pastor Deo described the first time he read the bible – "I caught fire then and there" he says. Somewhat more ambiguously, Papa Edson described the experience of "speaking out of zeal" as feeling as if he was burning painfully inside. Papa Timothy dramatically informed me that people sometimes go up to "the [prayer] mountain[36]" to pray and fast, because they are "so burning", but they end up dying there. The idea of emotion (particularly negative emotion) as heat dovetails with notions of passion as fire, in cautionary tales such as this which focus on the consequences of being *too* passionate, or being passionate/zealous without the appropriate wisdom, patience or Godly purposing behind it. Other metaphors of emotion have similarly dual natures that warn about the consequences of engaging in intensive emotional labour.

When engaged in care work it is not only one's own emotions, but the emotions of others that must be considered and managed. An understanding of emotions as socially transferable is acknowledged in literatures and in this community is summarised in the subtle use of the metaphor of 'emotions as contagious disease', or 'emotion as contagion.' The body becomes a metaphor for the self, as Robinson et al (2006, p150) argue is common through the use of ingestion and contamination as a strong phenomenologically-based reference for the way social relations are conceptualised and communicated. This model, influenced by Silvan S Tomkins' work (cited in Ahmed 2004, p17), usefully highlights the sociality and transferability of emotion. Similarly Carl Jung theorised an "unconscious infection" may arise from working with the mentally ill (1966, in McCann & Pearlman 1990). This metaphorical structuring of emotions has in fact emerged in a few new clinical psychology theories as well, which focus on the psychological distress found in those working directly with traumatised populations. Categories such as Vicarious Traumatisation (VT), Secondary

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[36] Located on a hill around 7 miles from Kampala city centre, along the road to Entebbe: a piece of land privately owned by a group of Pentecostal churches, which is popular for church and individual spiritual retreats.

Traumatic Stress (STS), or more recently as Compassion Fatigue (Bride et al 2007, McCann & Pearlman 1990, Figley 1995, 2002a, 2002b), which I shall discuss further shortly, rely on the idea of psychological symptoms and sensations (of distress) transferring from patients to counsellors. In Kampala the sense of threat and risk around infectious disease remains high, making it a particularly salient metaphoricisation.

Emotional management strategies that functionalise this metaphor of contagion are enacted in two different directions. First, in a sense of a need to control your own emotions for the sake of those you minister, so you "don't transfer to the children" as social worker Richbay told me. Second, in a sense of threat from the young people they are caring for that "if somebody came and told you his [emotional] problem, and you took it, at night you even think about it, you are more likely to get that problem" as Papa Evans said. As Evans put it: "If somebody has a problem, let God help him to be like me, and NOT me to be like him!" Youth leaders are advised to "guard their spirit" against the transfer of these emotional problems in the same way as they understand the need to guard themselves against a transfer of demons from a sick or possessed person – another salient connection, since performing deliverance is a reasonably common part of a youth workers work, and many had stories of people who had prayed for a sick person and, having laid their hand on the person, had the demon move into them instead. Yet whilst guarding themselves they are supposed to enact a flow of spiritual power into the ill person. Similarly, on an emotional level, Richbay characterised her psychodynamic work with Gulu Support the Children Organisation (GUSCO) in Gulu among former child soldiers, as getting the children to "open up" to *her*, but Evans emphatically cautioned me that a youth leader should never "open up wholly to receive" someone else who has come to them with a problem. Here the parental caring identity shapes understandings of the relations of care that the MOTEM leaders are engaging in as inherently asymmetrical. 'Open' and 'closed' were clearly important metaphorical ways of structuring relational orientations– in fact even more prominently so in Canterbury. Both spiritual and emotional examples the metaphor of contagion (and the self as an open/closed to it) draws on biological experiences of the bounded but porous nature of the physical self.

## The embodiment of control: illness, abstinence, and fasting

Mansfield suggests that the body itself often becomes a sign of the "correct subjectivity" (2000, p76 in Ryan et al). I have argued that the subjectivity of the good youth worker in Kampala is pure, chaste, exemplary, empowered and self-controlled. This is articulated through the dichotomous model of self, drawing close parallels between physical/emotional conquering and spiritual empowerment.

The aesthetics of energy, movement, and zeal were significant here; being healthy and able-bodied was performed, many of them told me, even when they felt or were sick (with Malaria, for example) at the time they had to stand to preach. While Ugandan culture is relaxed and not time-orientated, moments where the leaders physically expressed tiredness or ill health (rather than mere relaxation) by slumping, reclining, yawning or similar, were few and far between even where we knew they had had little sleep or come from another energetic activity or long period of travel directly before. Their bodies enacted spiritual empowerment by arms lifting in worship, voice singing praises, hands clapping, feet dancing, and tongue proclaiming, loudly, the word of God. Papa Solomon made a direct link between emotional and physical 'conquering'. He told me about a time he was sick ("with blankets on me, very cold!") and was scheduled to go and preaching in church.

> Susan, when I put on my suit and stepped to the pulpit, that thing dissolved, whoosh! It just disappeared! So I'm telling you: emotions, put them aside. It's not about you. It is God at work. This should be the confidence behind what you believe… it is not of emotions. It is not of being broken. It is not of being deceived and betrayed. Put it aside.

This exemplifies the way in which the MOTEM leaders perform their values over and over again through rituals and practice relating to illness, sexual desire, and hunger.

Youth Pastor Deo, a city church leader who focussed his ministry particularly on young men, said that "Emotional, flesh, can take you from certain things you don't wish majorly in our stage, where we are between [ages] 16 or 18 to 20. […] The body says 'give me this!' The heart[37] says 'no, wait a little bit.'" The 'certain things' Deo refers to as weaknesses for young people particularly, are sexual appetites.

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[37] Emotions here are associated with the body rather than heart, as is the case in Canterbury (see following Chapter), so his reference to the 'heart' is more as the seat of spirituality.

At the 5ᵗʰ anniversary celebrations for MOTEM, held to coincide with Stephen's book launch and with the final day of my second fieldwork visit, we had a number of important guests from around Kampala in attendance. One of these was a Bishop[38] who managed to hijack the microphone for a long spiel that was both very typical, and very telling, of the emphasis of this community on sexual purity. "STDs!" the large man boomed into the microphone at the well-groomed crowd, seated around tables decked with orange satin, on the MOTEM front lawn. And louder: "STDs! Do you know what they stand for?" He paused from dramatic effect. "Sexually…. Transmitted …. DEMONS!" I have already established, in the previous chapter, sexual purity is important in the specific social context of Uganda. In regards to emotional management and care labour, this community builds on the riskiness of social relations as parallels to the riskiness of sexual relations, and the need to control, mediate and 'guard' oneself in response. This was similar to a reference Mike made, at a CYS camp where he talked about relationships and sexual purity, to relational intimacy as a "soul tie", or an irreversible mixing of two different sands. "Protect yourselves" he encourages us. "You need a condom for your *heart"* he joked. What the Bishop added was a dramatic link between this and *spiritual* purity, drawing on both Christian and indigenous beliefs around contaminating spiritual forces. Empowerment, as a key part of the local subjectivity of the 'good' leader, thus relies on these sorts of purity too: any threat to them would present an unnegotiable threat to the leaders' exemplary, and spiritually empowered identity. The performance of self-control on any and all fronts was thus identity-protective and affirming, with sexual and physical control irrevocably tied to moral and spiritual purity.

Fasting is another crucial performance of the conquering of fleshy appetites through spiritual exertion, in a way that parallels chastity as a form of self-control. I focussed on fasting in many of my interviews, two of my focus groups, and many more conversations. It is not a common spiritual practice in my home faith community, and thus I allowed the MOTEM leaders, bemused by my ignorance on the topic, to explain why this was a "major" or "essential" part of Christian life for them. Christian fasting involves abstinence from food - and if a "dry" fast, also liquids - for a set period of time. In Kampala it is undertaken in a variety of ways, sometimes corporate and

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[38] 'Bishop' here being used as a title or respect for an important Christian leader, rather than necessarily referring literally to someone ordained by the Church of Uganda.

sometimes individual, sometimes routinised and at others times in response to a particularly dire or unexpected need. It is inextricably linked to prayer. While the diversity of practice means it is hard to gauge how frequently and to what length it is 'normal' to fast in the Kampala youth ministry community, a few common examples the participants of my 2013 Soul Winners focus group gave me were to fast from waking till an evening meal after sunset, or for a set period 12 or 24 hours, or occasionally for several days. They described the experience in visceral detail: the weak muscles, extreme fatigue, reduced concentration, hunger pains… and the constant temptation of food smells from the open cooking all through the urban streets. However although in the focus group the leaders shared their struggles to cultivate this bodily practice early on, "at the start", they were generally also quick to add that they were now "used to it" and it had become "no more" to them as they became spiritually stronger through practice and prayer.

They also put a lot of emphasis on the importance of not putting on a "miserable face" or proclaiming to everyone that you were fasting, but instead "putting on a smile" when others are present. Indeed many times in our one-on-one interviews, the young leaders struggled to politely refuse the soda or bananas I was stubbornly and repeatedly offering them, blind to the their predicament. Some eventually explained, while for others I only realised later, groaningly, the explanation for their discomfort. The reason for fasting secretly, they explained later in the group setting of Soul Winners, was so that their reward would be spiritual rather than as human attention. The MOTEM community spoke of fasting as a reminder to them to be careful how they behaved since they were "in the presence of God." As such it was a way to align them to the correct (pure, moral, controlled) subjectivity of the 'good' leader through bodily practice. Martin Luther, in the 1500's, also wrote about fasting as a way to "subdue and control" the body (cited in Baab 2009, p 60). As such it became evident that fasting was an excellent, lived example of the model of the see-saw of the spiritual and physical: a practice of self-control of the body (which, recall, is closely associated with the emotions), which was embodied, ritualised, and private. Fasting can in this way be viewed as a physically enacted form of the 'auto-dressage' - control and discipline for the sake of self (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p180).

Johnson argued that "There is a dramatic difference between how the West thinks of body practices as irrelevant to analysing states of consciousness and how other

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cultures make direct links between these practices and the shaping of consciousness" (2000, p46). Attending to this, I sought to closely examine the practice of fasting as not only an embodiment of these values, but as a technology of the self, a spiritual discipline through which they brought other nonphysical aspects of their self (their consciousness, mind, emotions, and spirit) into line to discursively maintain an ideal state of control, purity and selfless caring. It both represented a parallel metaphor, and also actually contributed, to the 'overcoming' or 'conquering' of the negative emotions that are schematically associated with the body. This was of course essential work, in order to allow other positive 'spiritual' emotions/states, such as compassion (so integral to their identity) to emerge as a primary mode of being.

**Table 3: Selected quotes from MOTEM leaders on their reasons for fasting**

| Reason | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| **To enact <u>internal</u> (spiritual) change** | **Solomon** | "Fasting does too many things to your spirit. Fasting exercises your spirit, whereby your spirit becomes more SENSITIVE to listen to God. That's what fasting does. Fasting positions your spirit. As you eat food daily for your body to live, now for the spiritual to live, you need to deny it food. Why? Because the spirit doesn't rely on food, it relies on the food of the word of God. So as you are fasting, you position your spirit to FEED on the food of the word of God, that is the spiritual food. Fasting conditions your spirit to listen clearly. Now when you listen clearly at the end of the day you have a clear direction. Why, because if you don't fast, you cannot tell me that you eat and pray for your kingdom. When you eat, you become very heavy, and you cannot pray effectively. But when you fast, you can go deep." |
| | **Baker** | "Some people take [fasting] as if you punish yourself. But there are things you do, others see it as a punishment, but actually it is a success for your life. It is for your personal benefit. Profitable and beneficial to himself as a person." |
| | **Moses** | "When my flesh is demanding so much, taking over my spirit, I do that [fasting]. Because when you fast, you get another kind of power joins you. You FEEL a spirit is within you. You feel like you are increasing." |
| | **Carol** | "[Fasting] is a major, major part of my spiritual life. When I want my spiritual man to blossom, I beat down the body. Fasting draws you into God, but prayer drawers God to me. Invites God, calling God to get down into my life, my situation. [...] But when I fast I am beating down the physical bit, the bodily bit, so I can narrow the gap between me and God. So I find it easier to draw to God." |

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| Reason | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| **To enact external (social, situational, financial) change:** | **Raymond** | "That is a time when the ministry has nothing like a penny. When we were surviving on bread and water EVERY day, but believing and fasting and praying. I think in that moment I have even taken a longer fast than ever. Going over 5 days without anything to eat. But in that moment when we were praying and just crying to God, and then these things happen, and then someone just comes and says 'you are going to make it! They have only done you a favour. Look on the bright side in moments like that as a leader. When you have friends. When you have people who can speak to you. Then quickly... quickly, in the snap of a finger." |
| | **Moses** | "Fasting, you need a purpose why you are fasting. Like prepping for some ministry" |
| | **M1, Participant 12** | "So whatever I could go for fellowship and organising people to PRAY, we had challenges from the administrators, since they were Muslims, so they persecuted us. But through prayers and fasting and believing in God, ah, everything was CHANGED. [...] what we achieved is that, we believed God and really we made wonders in that school." |
| | **M4, Participant 1** | "So, I want to encourage us that when you fast, and pray, your life will never remain the same. You will just out, demons out of people, you pray for people and they will get healed. The miracles and signs and wonders will happen. Believe me or not. And maybe what you are desiring for, still you will get it, because when your heart is, ah, when you have an upright heart, an you are fasting and you are praying., believe me or not, God is going to answer you. You will never remain the same." |
| | **M4, Participant 4** | "I thank God for it. I'm able to, I thank God for that gift because I'm able to pray for the sick people, through fasting still, I thank God I'm able to ... ok... let me say it's dreaming, and I can tell what's going to happen tomorrow. It's only through fasting, and I thank God for that, because it's working for me." |
| | **Timothy** | "I was too stressed, and I had that, that season I went into an absolute fasting, but it wasn't because God has told me, but it was because of the stress on my mind!" |

Remnants of the more ascetic religious interpretations of the body are clearly present in my analysis of fasting in Kampala, just as they are in Solomon and the other leader's continual insistence on working through any kind of sickness, ailment or exhaustion and the Bishop's insistence on sexual purity. Yet for the most part among the MOTEM leaders, fasting rather than being a punishment for the self, is seen as "healthy for your body, and your spirit" as some of the quotes from Table 3: clearly

show, and as is the more common contemporary Protestant interpretation of the act (Baab 2009). In Kampala, in the same manner that abstinence is seen to protect youth from becoming psychologically (and financially, socially, should they become unintentionally pregnant or contract AIDS) "messed up", fasting and praying keep your spirit disciplined, and prevents it from going astray. Emotional control not only performs to the world a good Christian subjectivity but keeps the subject psychologically stable as well as spiritually pure. These are practical, protective, positive and identity-affirming measures rather than punitive ones.

One final link to be made here, is one that Weber brings forward: an association of the "struggle against the desires of the flesh" with the struggle against greed, covetousness, and 'mammonism' (worship of money) (1905/2001, p115-117). The previous chapter's explanations of the ascetic tendencies flourishing in Kampala even alongside imperatives to be 'exemplary' in working towards social and material success, are an exercise in the denial of the 'fleshy', selfish desires for physical comfort, which parallels denial of food or sex as other forms of physical comfort. They represent the same underlying asceticism and also, in the connection I am trying to make in this chapter, prescriptively translate to a routine and virtuous denial of one's emotions as another part of the 'selfish flesh' (according to their dichotomous model of self).

## "I cry in my house" – private and public emotional rules

> Whatever problem you have, put on a smile and help. That's one thing I was taught way back. No matter what you are going through as a person, even if you've lost a loved one back home, you have a job to do. Don't show your feelings.

> - Richbay

In 1983 (p7), researching then mainly among human service workers, Hochschild described emotional labour as "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display." This is in fact an accurate description of what Richbay was doing, too. When I queried Richbay about who had taught her to do this, she told me that before becoming a youth worker she had worked as a receptionist and it was the "same idea!" The work of Carol, Richbay, and other MOTEM leaders to portray happiness and warmth but not sadness or distress, to repress tears, to summon up

feelings of care and affection, or to overcome/suppress feelings of anger, despair, or desire, all constitute acts of emotional labour which follow specific organisational display rules and feeling rules.

While I have described self-control as an across-the-board rule for emotional management, not all 'negative' emotions carry the same weight in the MOTEM emotional system. For example the MOTEM leaders were quite free in telling me about the times they were "pissed off". While negative, anger at least was seen as a 'hot' state of energy (and perhaps even empowerment) which were valued local sensibilities. It could also be framed at times as the permissible, biblically-distinct emotion of 'righteous anger.' Sadness, despair, and depression however were described by all my interviewees as states in which one was mute, passive, withdrawn and 'dormant.' Thus these expressed a vulnerability and disempowerment that conflicted unacceptably and irreconcilably with the subjectivity of the 'good' (empowered) leader in Kampala. As an affective display related to these emotions, crying therefore received particular attention in the leaders' explanations of the appropriate emotional expression of the Christian leader. It also serves as a case study for the public/private split of emotion.

Richbay described her work having a deep impact on her, and yet summarised the times where she felt overwhelmed with care and pain as moments "when tears come around your eye and you try to wipe them away." While crying in front of people was seen as unacceptable for a leader, it is important to note that this is not a complete cultural sanction on tears, but is rather related to 'keeping position' as a leader: you can let the youth relieve their emotions by crying, and you can break down and cry yourself in private, but you can't cry in front of those you lead. Stephen explained this again in parental terms, saying that to cry or show negative emotions in front of those they lead would be as inappropriate as a man and woman speaking of their marital problems in front of their children. Pastor Baker offered a story of another Pastor he knew who called a meeting to share "a mistake he had made" with his congregation… only to have the congregation dwindle to a third of the size as a consequence. "People follow people who are stronger than them" he told me, "so when they see your weakness…" he trailed off ominously. Stephen gave the historical example of King Louis the 13th [sic] whom he had studied in school, as a model for his own emotional control. He said that when King Louis was invited to explain to his masses about the financial bankruptcy and loses, all he could do was cry. "That proved his weaknesses as a leader." Stephen said.

"As a leader I keep my tears for myself, and I say 'I won't cry, I won't cry.' But painfully I cry. And privately I cry. I cry in my house."



Figure 42. Stephen praying at the front with his family, at the book launch. Credit: Susan Wardell.

It was on our first trip that Stephen told me adamantly that he could "never" cry in public. On our second trip we saw him moved to tears during the launch party for his book. Struggling against those tears, he wiped his eyes again and again, turned into the shadows, and hid his face behind his hand, behind a tissue, behind his bible, behind his parents beside him see (Figure 42 & Figure 43). Stephen's tears that night were happy tears, and so more acceptable. Yet as for the more 'painful' tears he claimed to experience, I never saw them. They were intensely private experiences. When the leaders had such emotions come to them *during* ministry or social occasions they would "retreat to go and cry before God". To them, to cry in public is not only to undermine your own authority but to selfishly foreground your own emotions and cloud your ability to perceive and understand the needs of those you are supposed to be serving. "Tears don't solve the problem" my first focus group concurred. Thus they would retreat so they could return "with boldness and with solutions" as was expected of them, explained Papa Timothy. The MOTEM leaders are aware they are seen as problem-

solvers and solution-givers. In order to maintain this subjectivity, while everyone else brings problems to the leader; the leader must take their problems directly to God.



**Figure 43. Stephen holds back tears as his Mother stands beside him. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

"We have created a veneer of being exceptional, of being the givers of the help. We are the people that the youth are looking at" says Raymond. But although the idea of a 'veneer' would be negatively taken in a western context, here he was using it in a positive or at least matter-of-fact way. While the asymmetry of the relationship between youth worker and young person is not necessarily greater in Kampala than in Canterbury, it is certainly more explicit, and more formalised among the MOTEM leaders. Statements such as Pastor Carol's, at the beginning of this chapter, are therefore not conveyed with a sense of falsity or guilt, but rather satisfaction around the correctness of separating private emotion and public control. This recalled to me the comments Mageo made comparing the emotional culture of the USA to that of Japan,

where it is normal to have a wide gap between private experiences and public displays (2002). There, the face shown to others (as *tatamae*) remains a valued part of the self, rather than being deemed inauthentic because it does not fully reflect the private world of feeling (known as *honne*). To them "it is a sign of psychological health and moral maturity to discriminate clearly between *tatamae* and *honne* and present the correct face to the social world", she writes (2002, p347). A similar understanding was present in the attitude of youth leaders in Kampala towards emotion display, which strikingly contrasts with the aesthetic of authenticity and the constant quest for a single, essential self, which governs Canterbury youth work.

Irving Goffman's *Presentations of the Self in Everyday Life* (1975) theorises identity using a front stage/backstage dramaturgical model that is useful for understanding this. He conceptualised emotion as being part of a performance which related to the context and audience, and was used as part of impression management. Goffman's view of identity as situated was a fairly dramatic divergence from views of the self as a stable psychological entity that predominated in earlier times, and this perspective can be fruitfully applied to investigations of emotional labour and its consequences. Indeed Hochschild draws on Goffman's theory to explain the enactment of display rules through surface acting, as one form of emotional labour (1983). Importantly however, as previously discussed, according to Tracy & Trethewey, the backstage self should not be considered any more 'real' than the front stage self, since both are constructed in relation to social and organisational discourses (2005, p185). In Stephen's case, for example, his emotional strength and control in public expresses one facet of the 'good' leader while his compassionate tears in private express another aspect. Clearly *both* draw from specific (local and global) discourses. I contextualise and complicate the case study of crying among MOTEM leaders by relating this to some of the seemingly paradoxical discourses around empathy. I will now use this to provide an example of what occurs when two such discourses conflict rather than cohere or split easily between public and private behaviours.

## "Crying with" – the ambivalences of empathy

At one point in our interview Mama Suzan broke down in tears as she told me, painfully, about a young friend of hers who had an unwanted (out of wedlock) pregnancy. She described standing on the street corner screaming when she found out. Many of the MOTEM leaders expressed to me how important it was to "*feel* for" the

youth. This sort of 'feeling for' someone was how empathy was usually described by the MOTEM leaders – putting themselves "in someone's shoes" as an imaginative, intuitive experience. Throop defined empathy from an etic perspective as an intersubjective process with imaginative, cognitive, affective and communicative elements (2008). The relative emphasis also relates to the particular concepts of emotion held by a community (Kirmayer 2008), which I have already discussed). In more general discussions in MOTEM, I observed that many leaders commonly relegated empathy to the realm of shared experience, or at very least shared life worlds. People spoke to me often about things they had "passed through", comparing these to the similar problems "the youth of Uganda" more generally were facing. In this way tacit knowledge of the particular struggles – certain diseases, conflicts, or social problems – of the groups they visited or worked with was performed as a form of cultural capital, affirming their legitimacy as leaders as carers for the youth. At one important time Stephen used bodily positioning and shared experience to explain the difference between sympathy and empathy.

> Sympathisers will only laugh at you by the end of the day, but empathisers will FEEL the way you feel. When you are empathetic with someone you put yourself under somebody's situation. For example Susan, I want to say this on the recorder: you have been sick. And the ONLY way I could be of help to you is to FEEL the way you are feeling. I saw [your husband] Andrew not eating, when you are not eating. I would also eat very little. In fact, Andrew's eating level reduced, seriously I wondered why?: Because the wife was not eating! That is empathetic! He is empathising, but a sympathiser will keep on eating even when you are not eating. You understand? So young people are going through issues, but they need empathisers, not sympathisers: an empathisers who will empathise with them, who will FEEL their pain, who will FEEL their agony, who will FEEL their distress and challenges."

Internal, private, inaccessible, the stomach is paradoxical in that it represents otherness and yet often embodies the felt presence of empathetic practices. Food as well carries a social importance far beyond its utilitarian value. Stephen's use of this story as a parallel metaphor for the caring role of the youth worker highlights the importance of the affective aspect of shared experience, and shared

suffering, with others. This in turn reveals a view of emotional experience as located intersubjectively; in shared experiences and exchanged meanings. This constitutes 'empathy' by formal and informal emic definitions of it.

Hollan and Throop claim that while anthropological scholars seem to presume the importance of empathy to social life; it is not often defined or contextualised in literature (2008, p385). Throop calls the lack of explicit attention to empathy within anthropological research "rather surprising" (Throop 2008, p402), particularly since empathy seems to be a growing research area within psychology, medicine, neuroscience and psychoanalysis (Hollan & Throop 2008). As I turn to this topic, I keep in mind Throop's assertion that ethnographic studies of empathy should explore not only "how empathy is both recognised and enacted by individuals in its marked and unmarked forms", but also pay close attention to those situations where empathy is *not* possible, or not valued.

Table 4. Categorised results from Q2. What motivated you to begin doing youth work?

| Category | Sample of quotes |
|---|---|
| **Spiritual experience/ Belief** | "I heard the voice speaking to me that am chosen to do his work"<br><br>"The clear voice of the Lord Jesus back with Mark 16:15"<br><br>"My calling as an evangelist"<br><br>"I was created to serve God ... God said, serve me as you are in your youth serve me"<br><br>"Inspiration by the word of God and youth works by other people"<br><br>"Because I have so much love for God and he died on the cross for us"<br><br>"Love for Christ"<br><br>"To build the kingdom of God because God did not call me to be bench warmer but to preach and spread his work"<br><br>"Being co-workers with Christ" |
| **Personal life experience** | "My life experience an orphan at the age of 13 this motivated me to help other people not to experience what I went through" (Kyaterekera Jamie)<br><br>"I was motivated by myself, because once I was at one street of Kampala. So I got help from a Christian person."<br><br>"The situation I passed through when I was growing<br><br>"I was once reached out to and helped"<br><br>"Through the suffering I went through when I was growing, needed to give back to the community" |

| Category | Sample of quotes |
|---|---|
| **Awareness of need of youth in Uganda** | "The overwhelming number of youth killed and prisoned" <br><br> "[Youth] have a lot of untapped energy and so needed to be directed to the right things" <br><br> "The desperate youth generation" <br><br> "I looked at the generation we are in and thought for us to make a better generation tomorrow" <br><br> "People and children suffering... depression among different kinds of people, trauma and grief." <br><br> "To strengthen people with broken hearts as I carry their burden (Ga; 5:5)" <br><br> "I saw kids on the streets and I made up my mind to start working with the youth and helping them in some things." <br><br> "The problems these young people were passing through for instance those with HIV AIDS. There was a need for young people to know God <br><br> "The orphans and vulnerable children in eastern Uganda" |
| **Internal compulsion** | "Desire to help the needy <br><br> "Desire to be a preacher since childhood, <br><br> "The attitude of wanting to do something about it <br><br> "I felt in my heart to help others who may not be able <br><br> "Wanting to reach out to the hurting world" <br><br> "Desire to minister" <br><br> "Love for change among the young people, wanting to see them live up to Godly standards <br><br> "I have love for the children and I realised that most people don't understand them i.e. their feelings, their attitudes and most parents don't know on how to care for the children's needs and some don't know their children's needs" <br><br> "The love I had motivated me to do so" <br><br> "I love children, because even my vision is to open up an orphanage school. I love helping people." <br><br> "Love for mentoring others" <br><br> "The heart of serving the Lord" <br><br> "I had a passion and still have a passion for young people and wanted them impacted with the gospel of Jesus Christ and see their development socially, economically and intellectually." |
| **Own skills** | "It is a calling from God because even my sisters and brothers do the same work" <br><br> "Being a social worker and studying social work at university" <br><br> "The desire to package my CV" |

As a young lady, I was moved to do what I do because of the hurting past experience I went through. Being denied by the man that was supposed to be my father and then having to lose my beloved mother to a killer disease AIDS in 2008. That's why I reach out to the girl child going through similar problems and those that might need to be helped.

As this quote from Esther (Focus group M3), and many others from Table 4 show, the MOTEM leaders experienced their calling to ministry, and to the subject position of 'leader', as related not only as an internal compulsion or a spiritual experience, but as related to the awareness of suffering in their local life worlds, and in most cases to a shared (though past) experience of the struggles and needs that they perceive now in others. Thus empathy forms a part of the formative calling experience of these leaders, as well as part of their ongoing practice. Yet "Empathy is imbued with deep ambivalences" (Throop 2010, p772, Hollan & Throop 2008). This was true in the complexity of meanings of empathy in both my field sites.

In Kampala the most common way in which empathy was described to me was with reference to the verse Romans 12:15, which says "Rejoice with those who rejoice; weep with those who weep[39]" (ESV version). How do the MOTEM leaders understand this against the edict *not* to cry in front of anyone? One scriptural counterpoint they use is the shortest (and hence one of the most well-known!) verses in the bible: "Jesus wept" (John 11:35, NIV). Pastor Baker used this verse to emphasis to me that Jesus had compassion, and empathy. Therefore this association of empathy with the affective display of crying places it at the intersection of two differing discourses of the good youth worker as exemplary and empowered – which prohibits crying - and the good youth worker as humble and compassionate – which encourages it. As Goffman suggests, context and audience are important, thus any performance of tears in public draws a fine line between showing yourself as compassionate by crying someone else's tears with them, or on their behalf, and showing yourself as morally weak by being embarrassingly unable to control your tears. In Csordas' relation of the empathetic experience of Charismatic Catholic healers, such healers describe the emotions of others 'moving through' them, and as being poignant but distinct from their own emotion (1997, p91). This is another reason why the emotional performance of empathy

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[39] Or in other translations, "mourn with those who mourn"

(through empathetic tears) must be done clearly and deliberately – to avoid the sense of emotional contamination from letting others emotions 'into' the self, and harness instead this notion of bearing *on behalf* of others, as a selfless act leaving the self pure.

Although I do not focus closely on this, I cannot fail to note the gendering of emotion in a culture and faith system, which tends to value traditional gender rules, and a common perception of caring labor as women's work (as Hochschild argues is common in the west, and globally, 1983). In Kampala I was told that men were "Genetically made in a way less likely to cry in such moments" (Papa Edson). Crying was "unhealthy" for men – a sign of weakness and lack of the control that would threaten the impression they worked so hard to manage. These men were also adamant that the female leaders were "naturally" more nurturing and more emotional… which I observed left them freer to use empathy as part of their relational toolkit. This included admitting tears to others, when re-relating particularly tragic stories of young people gone astray, and even sometimes crying among other leaders in recollection of those stories, as with Mama Suzan in our interview. Nevertheless *all* genders were subject to the ideological power of discourses around crying and self-control to some extent. Female leaders became more constrained in emotional expression as they embodied the community's sensibility of self-control and empowerment. Male leaders became freer to express caring emotion as they adopted the identity of loving Christian and compassionate, humble leader. Both moved directionally closer to the emotional norm of the MOTEM youth ministry community.

## Emotional Labour: forgetting and conquering

Emotion work appears to occur on as both surface acting and deep acting among faith-based youth leaders. Emotional labour theory suggests that surface acting involves managing the displays of emotion without changing the actual emotion experience (Cropanzano 2003); much like Goffman's idea of the front stage work of managing impressions by creating expressions (Tracy 2000, Goffman 1975). In this and the other chapters I offer many examples of surface acting, whereby personal feelings of weakness, brokenness, sadness or anger are suppressed during public or 'on duty' youth work times, in favour of fostering feelings of energeticness, empowerment, and passion. Deep acting, however, involves reshaping internal emotions to fit role requirements:

employees must "change how [they] feel by… deliberately visualising a substantial portion of reality in a different way" (Hochschild 1990, p12). Where surface acting is response focused, deep acting is antecedent focussed (Byrne et al 2011) and thus arguably links to many of the broader organisational rituals and practices that seek to shape care praxis on a daily basis. Deep acting is even more important in Moment of Truth, because through it the leaders are not only temporarily putting aside 'negative' emotions, but "really" get rid of them.



Figure 44. Stephen's energetic preaching at a University fellowship. Credit: Susan Wardell.

Solomon was adamant that suffering was only lengthened by thinking and talking too much about it. Overcoming, supressing, putting aside, or 'forgetting' emotions in this community is seen as a positive action, first because the act of dwelling on emotions is seen as unhealthy for the individual and counterproductive to the role of the youth workers, and second because it is an exercise of the value and virtue of self-control. Solomon tells me passionately that Christian leaders must "consider not[40]" their

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[40] He is referencing Romans 4:19-20 (KJV) "And being not weak in faith, [Abraham] considered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred years old, neither yet the deadness of Sara's womb: He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God"

problems or suffering around money, love, hunger, or negative words from others. His booming voice fills the tiny concrete room:

> You refuse to consider [that] YES I'm broken, YES I'm broken, I'm doing nothing, I do not do well... but he who is in me, is faithful… At the end of the day, you become a CONQUEROR.

The specificities of language around how this 'considering not' is enacted involved phrases all throughout my interviews such as 'putting aside,' 'waving off,' 'ignoring,' 'not looking at,' 'distracting from,' or 'selectively forgetting' emotions in order not to be distracted or overwhelmed by them. In an applicable piece of research conducted among the Acholi people of Northern Uganda, Neil Bilotta compared western psychodynamic interventions in this post-conflict zone with 'traditional' ways of managing trauma (2011). While his study focuses on a region which is geographically removed from my (urban, modernised, ethnically mixed) field site, the study nevertheless makes some pertinent parallel observations of the Acholi emphasis on *not* talking about, dwelling on or reliving traumatic experiences, but rather engaging in appropriate ceremonies then 'forgetting' the prior trauma and pain, which contrasts greatly with western psychodynamic logic. A similar contrast appears between MOTEM and CYS approaches to negative emotion, although I must clarify my research emphasis on individual experiences of emotional pain rather than social suffering. In this context at least, my participants in Kampala focused on *not* thinking on, talking over, over dwelling on bad emotions.

Richbay described this process to me and answered an underlying question about the nature of this type of emotional labour too.

**Richbay:** Most of the days when I have bad days, I try to find something to occupy me.

**Susan:** To distract your mind?

**Richbay: …**to distract my mind, and to wave off that bad feeling I have at the moment

**Susan:** Do you later go back and deal with the feeling, or it goes away?

**Richbay:** No, no, it goes away! I don't keep things. I don't' normally do that, I don't, I don't. If it's really bad feeling and its there, I'd have to see it

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every day. [So] I try to resolve it as clear as possible so I can see clearly, for me to be in better position to help someone else.

While some leaders acknowledged that in some circumstances the thoughts or emotions may return again later, even these minority cases did not invoke the sense of dangerous repression (seen in Canterbury, in the following Chapter) in which waving off emotions was temporary and risky. Rather, like Richbay they emphasised that "whatever you let go, you let go." Such acts build on the oppositional 'see-saw' model of emotions as part of the flesh, polarised against the spiritual; it is the visualisation of 'conquering' emotions by pushing down the physical in favour of the spiritual, which is embodied and enacted in this form of deep acting. This is seen as a genuine, healthy, and effective way of responding to emotional suffering… the emotions are not 'repressed', rather, they are 'really' gone. Similarly positive emotions summoned up are things you 'really' feel, not only pretend to display or feel. Deeply saturated in a western, psycho-dynamically informed cultural perspective myself, I found this initially difficult to accept at face value. When I queried Solomon as to whether it seemed false to him to stand up and preach and act like he was well and happy he said: "It doesn't look false. Why? Because at that point, it is the work of God, and you will feel strong."

Hochschild's description of deep acting asserts that there remains an awareness in the individual that the new emotional state is self-induced, that it is separate from "myself" (1983/2003, p35). Such literature distinguishes deep acting from surface acting, but also distinguishes both from a third type of emotional expression classed as 'genuine' emotion. It labels 'false' any emotion that has been "actively induced, suppressed or shaped" according to organisational norms (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, p93). Again we see a modernist conceptualisation of self, and a positivist view of emotion emerging here, that leaves Solomon's new state of strength, just as much as Carol's smile, as 'fake.' Yet Solomon is adamant that it is a genuine, effective transformation of his state of being that occurs in those moments. To him it is indistinguishable from 'real' emotion, contrasting Hochschild's idea of a remaining awareness of 'not me'-ness. These shows up some limitations to the usefulness of standard version of emotional labour theory when applied here… adjustments are needed for a more post-structuralist reading of emotion and emotional labour. In this direction, Tracy's (2000, 2005) posits that the self *actually* changes in deep acting. Since all emotion is discursively created, the emotional labour the MOTEM leaders

engage in to enact organisational discourses on their emotions constitutes new emotional states that have no less validity or authenticity than the previous states. Furthermore because of the integration of these 'new' states of strength, empowerment, freedom, into their cherished identity, the leaders gain a sense of self-consistency and identity-affirmation which reduces, in many theorisation of it, the painful emotional 'wear' of having to frequently alienate one's emotions, as I will explain shortly.

## "Too many stories" – care, cost, and compassion fatigue

> *Mama Suzan is still mopping up the tears that spilled out as she related her friend's painful pregnancy story. Something has shifted between us, loosened, and she relaxes her formerly polite, upright stance in her chair. My own eyes are damp, and I sit raw-hearted in response to her pain. She rubs tired, bare feet together – shiny high-heeled shoes tucked just the door behind her. Outside the sound of rain is rising, rising, and cocooning the two of us, alone, in a bubble of steady white noise. She reflects now on the caring motherly love and compassion she has to show the young people she leads. "Sometimes it is very tasking" she admits with a deep sigh. "Sometimes I've cried alone and asked God 'Why? Why did you call me to this ministry?"*
>
> *Caught up in a wave of compassion for her, I have not even noticed the little red light of my Dictaphone blinking 'low battery,' and finally stopping altogether. I kick myself later… then decide our moments of shared understanding were worth it.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 23rd January, 2013.***

It is important to distinguish that while emotions such as anger, frustration, disappointment, betrayal, hurt, pain and sadness were unacceptable for a youth worker to display, this did not mean they were unacceptable to experience (in line with the strong public/private or front stage/backstage split I observed). In fact, they were seen as unavoidable in the type of work that youth leadership involves. When dealing with the problems of others, as Hope told me, "there comes a cost". Many other leaders narrated even more dramatic stories of the struggles of the youth, that after the interview left me, too, sitting in the office in weary shocked silence, reeling with *third*-hand trauma. Poverty, abuse, AIDS… they counselled and assisted young people with every kind of small and large problem. Even though it is awareness of (and sometimes personal experience of) these struggles that is part of their motivation to begin youth

work, unsurprisingly there is also often a sense of overwhelmingness, over the numbers and extremities of need in their communities, once they begin. They speak of the people that "keep coming, one after the other", of "so many prayer requests that you can't even read [them all]", and of "too many stories." Across the board the leaders described at times being "over-talked, and over-strained", weary, depressed, hurting, tired, emotionally stressed, physically fatigued, and 'broken' as a result of this work.

**Table 5. Categorised Results from Q5. What causes each of these?**
**(KEY: CF = fits with compassion fatigue diagnosis. MD = fits with moral distress diagnosis)**

| Problem | Causal attribution (quotes) |
|---|---|
| **Stress** | "Inability to achieve objectives" (MD) |
| | "Naturally the way you see things is not always like everyone else, so you have to try to let them see as you" |
| | "Lacking something to give the children" (MD) |
| | "Poor leadership and poor interpretation of issues" |
| | "People not doing what they are told" |
| | "Working but not progressing" |
| | "Passing on something God has told me, but they refuse when they fail to achieve what they yearn" |
| | "Losing your beloved one, i.e. friend, mum, dad" |
| | "Frustrations, high expectations" |
| | "Peer pressure" |
| | "Seeing a youth already in a wasteful life style" (CF) |
| | "When people disappoint you" |
| | "After missions e.g. crusades, conferences" |
| | "Questions I'm not ready to answer at that time" |
| | "Over-talking to young people who do not want to listen" |
| | "Failure to raise fees in time" |
| | "Poor attendance, worrying people have left the group" |
| | "Misunderstandings" |
| **Burnout** | "Inability to achieve objectives" (MD) |
| | "Over working" |
| **Anxiety** | "Inability to achieve objectives" (MD) |
| | "When programmes scheduled are put on hold" |
| | "Pressure with no faith in God |

| Problem | Causal attribution (quotes) |
|---|---|
| **Anxiety (continued)** | "Insecurity"<br><br>"Wanting to impart something in [the youths'] lives that they can't recognise or see" (MD) |
| **Depression** | "Not being understood"<br><br>"Many youth are being abandoned by their parents or guardians" (CF<br><br>"I feel to help those but sometimes I feel I lack what to use to solve their stress" (MD)<br><br>"Failure to open up"<br><br>"Feeling sorry for youth but knowing that I cannot help them, you feel you are not helping" (MD)<br><br>"Losing a loved one" |
| **Feeling Hopeless** | "Not achieving aims" (MD)<br><br>"When you counsel on abstinence and youth do not follow it"<br><br>"Others disagreeing with your teaching, threatening to quit"<br><br>"Running out of options to [deal with] the problem" (MD)<br><br>"When one is being rejected from the family" |
| **Wanting to quit** | "Inability to achieve objectives"<br><br>"When they don't want to pray"<br><br>"Lack of focus"<br><br>"Lack of members"<br><br>"Failure to be paid on time"<br><br>"You get tired of talking the same thing every time you meet" |
| **Tiredness** | "Working long periods of time"<br><br>"Things that move slowly"<br><br>"Doing ministry [all] throughout the year"<br><br>"I do not want to do the same thing [repeatedly]"<br><br>"Tired of performing poor in class"<br><br>"Long hours of gathering in anticipation"<br><br>"After missions e.g. crusades, conferences"<br><br>"Too long hours"<br><br>"Over-shouting at children, making them settle"<br><br>"Poverty bring about physical exhaustion"<br><br>"At times you can use a lot of emotion and physical effort to show them" |

| Problem | Causal attribution (quotes) |
|---|---|
| **Emotional breakdown** | "Lacking something to give the children" (MD)<br><br>"Stories about people with HIV" (CF)<br><br>"Having many problems in life and no one to counsel" |
| **Compassion fatigue** | "Having too much compassion" (CF)<br><br>"When I see children or women suffering or crying due to poverty and its effects" (CF)<br><br>"When a client's situation is hurting you" (CF)<br><br>"It feels bad, disturbing, and it's all brought about because of the love you feel for others" (CF) |
| **Spiritual Low** | "Getting event driven and failing to meet your personal spiritual needs"<br><br>"Someone annoys me to extend of not praying"<br><br>"Giving God little time, and praying less"<br><br>"Prayerlessness"<br><br>"Not enough time for God" |

Compassion fatigue, as I briefly mentioned before, is defined as "the natural and consequent behaviours and emotions resulting from knowing about a traumatising event experienced by a significant other – the stress resulting from helping or wanting to help a traumatised or suffering person" (Figley 1995, p7). While I contest this 'naturalness', I have certainly observed this process occur as part of the discursively shaped emotional landscape of carers in Kampala. It is often denoted as the 'burden' of caring, however it is simultaneously linked to the metaphorical structuring of emotions as contagion. Much academic research around Compassion Fatigue focuses on trauma counsellors (Figley 1995, 2002a, Bride et al 2007). In her previous role doing just with – as part of her social work with the former child soldiers in Gulu - Richbay often had counselling sessions with between five and ten children each day, all with the same traumatic stories. "How would it not traumatise you too?!" she demanded of me, of this. She described feeling depressed in this role, and going back to bed and thinking or even dreaming about the stories she had heard that day.

While usually dealing with more insidious forms of trauma, in Kampala the Christian youth leaders were exposed to some fairly horrific stories of violence, abuse, poverty and despair among those they ministered too. Along with feelings of care and

empathy for them, the leaders often told me they felt a lot of pain and brokenness hearing some tales. In Christian care work specifically this is an acknowledged part of the intimate nature of empathetic entanglement. As Henri Nouwen writes (1979, p72):

> Who can save a child from a burning house without taking the risk of being hurt by the flame? Who can listen to a story of loneliness and despair without taking the risk of experiencing similar pains in his own heart and even losing his precious piece of mind? In short; who can take away suffering without entering it?

Thus the emotional distresses that might be (clinically and somewhat pathologically) framed as compassion fatigue was not always seen as a sign of poor practice among the MOTEM leaders. Instead it was accepted as natural consequence of (morally correct, encouraged) care. "If you have never hurt, that means you didn't love" Stephen said, expressing this inevitability: "To love someone is to empower them to hurt you so, so, so much."

The 'fire' of passion can burn, the emotions of others shared in empathy are 'contagious' and the burden of caring for them is 'heavy'. Each of these different (metaphorised) understandings of care labour in this community has an associated and acknowledged aspect of personal cost, risk of threat. The burden metaphor is most commonly drawn on to express the cost of care in the way I am discussing. It draws on the phenomenologically grounded root metaphors of "happy is up" and "sad is down" which broadly structure many other metaphors around emotion and mental health, cross-culturally (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Pritzker 2007). In the language of burdens among Kampalan youth workers needs are "pressing" and "overwhelming", problems are "heavy", stress is felt as a "weight" that "weighs you down" or "puts you down" and demands are "*on* your shoulder". However, when they spoke of "carrying other people's burdens" this also encompassed the positive elements of the burden metaphor, whereby someone or something can be "*on* your heart" as part of your calling. Choosing to selflessly engage in a God-given calling is often framed around "picking up your cross to follow Jesus[41]". It is a therefore a metaphor with significant constitutive power to shape their visceral, felt experiences of care labour. Because of this the expression of these negative emotional experiences could in fact be a positive tool for identity-

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[41] Matthew 16:24

affirmation and performance, since when managed correctly it expresses the subjectivity of the 'good' relational, empathetic, selfless leader who takes on the burdens of others even at cost to themselves. The way to perform this carefully, and correctly, had to be discerned against other scriptural assurances of God's ultimate help with those burdens.

Matthew 11:28 reads "Come unto me, thee who are heavy laden, or are tired, and I shall offload you". When Youth Pastor Seith quoted me this verse, he emphasised the role of the leader to surrender your burdens to God:

> You have to give it to him […] yes that emotional problem, like depression, now LEAVES you[…] so anything, I always lift it and give it so him.

All of my participants at some point referenced the practice of taking burdens to God. The sense of relief and wellbeing that this (usually private) process of prayer and worship, and imaginative enactment of "giving over" or "offloading" of burdens brings was palpable as they spoke of their spirits "lifting up" or "rising up" as the burdens are lifted.  Thus the burden metaphor formed a key imaginative structure in the way the emotional labour of dealing with negative emotions, to make one a more useful and efficient tool for youth work, enacted. It functions in the form of deep acting, where 'lifting' parallels 'forgetting' and 'conquering' as a way to manage negative emotions. Keeping hold of burdens was seen as having the potential to cause serious mental health problems, including depression, stress, burnout, and even leading to suicide. Since Matthew 11:30 says that "My yoke is easy and my burden is light" for the MOTEM leaders, this frames the experience of a (Godly, ministerial) burden to be *too* heavy as outside the realm of possibility. "If you do [youth work] with God you feel free and not burdened" Pastor Baker assured me, "Nothing can become a burden to you".  He elaborated that it was only if you took on the work with the wrong motivations, or without God's support, that it would become a burden or a challenge to you. This has implications for causal attributions and the allocation of blame around mental health problem, a topic I will discuss further in Chapter 6. Youth work in Kampala requires a careful negotiation of the positive aspects of selfless care as 'carrying a burden' for others, and a wariness of the consequences (and blame) for having a burden that is "too much" and not giving it up to God.

## The 'solution-giver' and moral distress

"It is so hard to eat while someone else is not eating" said Stephen. Yet in the reality of poverty in Uganda, there is always someone else not eating. Stephen often gave up his food to others who were hungry, and went hungry himself because of it. Yet worse still were the *emotional* repercussions he experienced when someone came to his house, hungry, and he empathised with them but has no food in his house. "I feel SO bad. I feel so so so so bad!" he said of such situations: "I feel stress and even may break down." As we often observed at the ministry house, a veritable stream of people came with such requests throughout the day.

> What you have to realise working with these people, you are also a human being. Empathising with them, there are moments when you BREAK down. Everyone comes to me with a problem, this one comes, says I am hungry. This one comes, says I don't have [any]where to sleep. This one comes, says 'I am poor, I have no rent.' This one comes … so they come with very many different problems, so at the end of the day you break down. Why? You have really sympathised with them, you have put yourselves in their shoes, you have felt his or her pain, but you don't have the best alternative for them […] you fail to get the solution.

The key in Stephen's words is not only the process of empathy being taxing in itself, but the distress he finds in his personal limitations as "a human being". More widely too, some of the most frank distress, pain and frustration I saw amongst the MOTEM leaders during the months I spent working with them was in such situations not where they experienced a personal lack because of helping another, but where they found themselves unable to help. Yet as I have said, money, food, equipment, transport, school fees, buildings and numerous other pressing needs always seemed to be lacking, making this an all too frequent experience. It creates a type of distress formulated in some clinical literature as 'moral distress.'

Moral distress is defined in nursing literature as what is experienced when one's values are compromised by (internal *or* external) constraints. Specifically "it results from the inability to provide the desired care to patients" (Harrowing & Mill 2010, p724). As a researcher functioning within the particular socially and historically prescribed role of *mzungu* in an otherwise entirely indigenous organisation, I experienced immense pressure and expectation, particularly financially, to aid those I

came in contact with. My personal value systems meant I dearly wished to help, yet my personal resources at the time were extremely limited. This upset me deeply, more and more with each new request I received, or need I perceived. While I am not claiming anything like the same experience as the day-to-day demands of the MOTEM leaders, I did from my own different social positioning, experience moral distress of my own. It represented an excruciating disjunct between belief and ability, between self-concept and situational constraint. I located one study of this actually focussing specifically on nurses in Kampala. Like my own study, Harrowing and Mill wrote of having constructed their research in order to observe a mental health aspect of care labour that was studied commonly in the west but little described in non-western developing nations (2010, p723). They observed that moral distress differed somewhat in Uganda, in comparison to high-income countries. The identified lack of resources and infrastructure as a key constraint, but noted that their participants focussed on the implications of this for patients rather than on their own subsequent suffering (2010, p724). In my observations also, unlike the faith-based sector in Canterbury where internal constraints tended to cause most moral distress, in Kampala constraints were primarily external and economic in nature. Stephen's use of food, hunger, and economic scarcity to exemplify empathy and moral distress in the above quote is contextually significant rather than incidental.

The leaders of MOTEM all were adamant that spiritual care was only a component of the care they gave, and that the work of attending to other's physical and financial needs must also be accounted for. Pastor Raymond said that "there's a time when they cannot eat the spiritual things, and you have to go into your pockets." Papa Evans also emphasised that "the bible says when a brother comes to you hungry, don't say 'may God's grace be enough for you[42]', [and leave]." Thus for MOTEM leaders, generosity and financial provision was an important part of the 'solution-giver' identity. This meant that personal poverty was a significant identity-threat, disenabling them from embodying and enacting these ideals. Moral distress can hence be related to a threat to a cherished self-concept. However competing notions of the 'good' leader complicate this: while it is therefore difficult for leaders to keep anything back for

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[42] James 2:15-16 (NIV): "Suppose a brother or a sister is without clothes and daily food. If one of you says to them, "Go in peace; keep warm and well fed," but does nothing about their physical needs, what good is it?"

themselves, they must somehow still embody the quest upwards, with a 'successful' visage, as part of being and embodying the 'good' Christian leader. Of relevance here to us is Foucault's work which also highlights the body as being at the centre of the struggles between formations of power and knowledge; the site at which the micro-physics of power were applied (Foucault 1982). Just so, hunger and poverty in Kampala can also become embodiments of a complex interpretive 'dance' between dichotomous discourses of triumphalism/prosperity and humility/selflessness/generosity. This is an important means of understanding the significance of fasting, which has, historically also, been associated with self-denial in order to give to the poor (as promoted by Augustine, for example), giving a precedent for the coalescence of these two types of hunger in Kampala (Baab 2009, p55). It also gives significance to the way hunger became a complicated virtue at the centre of competing discourses, lived out alongside the moral angst of being "willing but not able" to help.

## Dissonance, discourse, and distress: a reframing

Emotional labour has long been associated with service work, people work, and care work. In all these cases it has played a significant role in defining and explaining why these types of work can have such a cost for those engaged it. While an overarching framework explaining the established link between emotional labour and burnout has yet to be posited (Brotheridge & Grandey 2002), emotional labour scholars generally rely on the notion of 'emotional dissonance' to explain the negative psychological effects of regularly operationalising one's emotions in the workplace. This 'dissonance' normally refers to a mismatch between 'authentic' private emotional experience which exist externally to organisational discursivities, and the 'false' emotions generated in response to the feeling rules of the organisation (Tracy 2000). However a more fluid, post-modern conceptualisation of the self notes that while the 'private' self may be experienced as interiority, it is nonetheless socially and discursively constructed. The remaining question is how might the distress experienced by youth leaders in response to their work be alternatively theorised in absence of an 'authentic' self?

One response that this chapter has argued is that the emotional dissonance becomes a mismatch not between authentic emotions and false, discursively constructed

ones, but rather a mismatch between two or more emotional value systems that are each discursively constructed and constrained (Tracy & Trethewey 2005). In this revised understanding, a dissonance (perhaps now better expressed as a 'discursive conflict' or 'discursive tension') between two such emotional states is still possible, and thus the psychological consequences of emotional labour are still explainable under the useful framework of emotional labour even in absence of an authentic private self. Examples I have given from MOTEM include the tensions between ideas of the 'good' humble, compassionate leader (who cries and *feels with* the youth) and the 'good' exemplary, empowered leader (who is self-controlled and puts aside feeling to provide solutions). Negotiating these is difficult in any case. Though both are socio-historically, discursively constituted, in some cases one or the other is a preferred or 'cherished' version of the self against which conflicting emotional acts may engender a sense of falsity, dissonance, or inconsistency. In Canterbury, as the following chapter will discuss, this is accentuated because 'authentic' holds a strong emic value, in comparison to MOTEM where following different emotional rules in different settings (including public vs private) is seen as part of emotional maturity.

Ashforth and Humphrey note that anything which threatens one's sense of identity will have an effect on wellbeing (1993). Peter Burke similarly theorised that it is experiences which interrupt the verification of one's social identity that can trigger distress (Burke 1991). Since "People value self-integrity and a sense that they are internally coherent" (Steele 1988). I have previously established a close entanglement of the identity of the 'born-again' and of the 'youth leader' for the MOTEM leaders. Under my adjustment the close role identification I have noted for MOTEM leaders therefore becomes an incorporation of organisational discourses and identities into this 'cherished self'. Research indicates that this means they would be a) be more likely to comply with emotional labour demands by using deep acting and b) be less likely to experience negative psychological consequences from doing so, since for them these acts are identity-confirming rather than identity-conflicting (Brotheridge & Lee 2002, Ashforth & Humphrey 1993, Byrne et al 2011).

In the complex discursive terrain, where there are multiple and sometimes competing notions of the 'good' leader and the 'right' emotional expressions in play, it would be impossible for all experiences to be identity-affirming. Indeed it is many of the places in which emotions conflict with their cherished identities that most

psychological distress is observed. In light of this I have focused, and will continue to focus, on the places where there is an obvious tension between the values, aesthetics, or ideological underpinnings of certain culturally articulated care practices with others. Through these I will identify areas of emotional dissonance, or 'discursive conflict', as one of the key components in understanding why there is often such a personal cost to emotional labour, and thus to the care work of MOTEM youth leaders. I retain this attention to discursive tension as the next chapter turns attention again to CYS, in Canterbury, to examine, compare and contrast the metaphors and discourses relevant to care and emotionality there.

# CHAPTER 4: The Bounded Heart in Canterbury

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> *Listen, receive, absorb, sit in it with them… the healthy heart does this.*
>
> - *Di Sargeant, Workshop presenter at SYLT 2014*

Different aesthetics shape the quality of emotional experience in Canterbury, compared to those I have discussed for Kampala. Emotions are also understood within quite different models of the self. Both of these factors shapes the way emotional labour is carried out by CYS youth leaders. In this chapter I discuss, for example, the way emotions are articulated through a stratified model of the self that is also axiomatic to managerialist discourses of emotion in the workplace, including both Hochschild's emotional labour and Goleman's view of 'emotional intelligence' (Hughes 2010). As I discuss this for the Canterbury leaders, I draw on some of the same literature and theory as the previous chapter, taking a similar approach of a poststructuralist reframing emotional labour theory from emotional dissonance between 'authentic' and 'fake' emotions to the idea of discursive conflict. I investigate the way the CYS leaders' ideology of personal, intimate loving care intersects with the cautious, structured logic of professionalism and managerialism. I also draw on some different literature, particularly around managerialism and emotional labour, to explain this as a situated examples of the 'tension' this thesis explores in the social world of faith-based youth workers. I discuss the role of the aesthetic of authenticity, in shaping confessional narratives of emotional transgression, asking what role such narratives play in the formation of particular emotional subjectivities.



Figure 45. 'North City' youth wearing their colours at Easter Camp. Credit: CYS, used with permission.

> *"We're all pretty crazy", says the middle-aged American guy in jeans and hoodie. "That's the first C". The SYLT 2014 guest speaker is Chris Folmsbee, and it is the first night of the conference. He is standing in front of the crowd of 150+ youth leaders and summarising the six 'core qualities' (internationally, he asserts) that youth workers possess. He has formulated these into six handy 'C' words, for memorability, of which the first is 'Crazy.' "We're all pretty crazy," he continues, "We give ourselves up for other people, saying 'My life isn't for me, it's for the other."*
>
> *Compassion is the second 'C': "Your heart breaks for the teens... you can't NOT love them... the compassion, the love, that just OOZES out of you." He urges the crowd, who he labelled 'Convinced' of the hope of God, for the third 'C', to tell the young people "We are here for you, we are right beside you." 'Committed' is the next word – appropriate for the strong focus on longevity and 'putting down roots' that is present here. The final 'C', ringing with psychodynamic danger, is 'Complex'... as in 'Hero Complex'. This moves us into the main message of the night, which despite the earlier emphatic language Chris has used to illustrate the extreme, selfless, relational nature of the work, turns out to be about not taking on a sense of complete responsibility for our young people's spiritual journey, because in fact "God is always the hero."*
>
> - **Excerpt from field notes, Friday 6th June, 2014**

With the same underlying basis of the Christian faith as was present for the MOTEM leaders, this outlook is also built on an understanding that "it always starts with 'God is love'" as Mike says: "If we are not loving, we are basically not really Christians." Modelling, embodying, or 'being an expression' of God's love through caring for young people is at the centre of the organisation's theology. Loving the youth was the "number one" thing a youth worker needs, according to one leader, and the only "right" motivation for the job according to another. Youth pastors are employed "to care for kids" Mike Dodge says simply. As Sam said, "If you can't care, if you can't show somebody love, you are probably in the wrong job!" The day to day practice of care in such a context has the youth workers conducting specialised yet holistic caring practices that are intimately relational, and relies on them becoming deeply embedded in the life worlds of the young people they work with. Subsequently they can be highly impacting on the self. "You should be caring… but not *too* caring" part-time youth leader Natalie told me, when I asked her about the qualities of the ideal leader. Mike also acknowledges "It can be hard work learning to love people. Because once the nice

feelings go... it's also very costly". The tension between love as essential, and love as costly is what I will seek to illustrate within the specific context of Canterbury youth work. In this chapter I illustrate the particular relational identity of the CYS leader, which in contrast to the parental role of MOTEM leaders, tends to take the shape of a sibling relationship.

## Brothers and Sisters – Caring Identities

> *In a dimly lit wooden bunkroom perched on the side of a hill below the main conference rooms 28 year old Hannah is playing with 'her girls'; the teenagers from her small suburban youth group. There is giggling, there is teasing, and conversation slides seamlessly from the hilarious to the salacious to the serious and back again. 17-year-old Jenny dives under the pile of sleeping bags to curl up with Hannah, who pretends to object loudly. They tousle a bit before adjusting the bedding to snuggle cosily side by side. They rest there, talking and laughing. It is hard to imagine a more perfect 'sisterly' moment between these two biologically unrelated young women; a young professional youth pastor and a high school student.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 10th July 2012***



**Figure 46. Verity (third from left) and some of her youth group members posted on Facebook captioned "my girls." Credit: Verity, used with permission.**

"I love my girls… They are like little sisters to me" another youth worker, Verity, tells me at the same camp. "Being a big brother, or a big sister in their lives" is also the foundation, Jay Gerald says, of the 24/7 youth work programme which both Hannah and Verity are part of in addition to their church-based work. The relaxed, playful mannerisms and colloquial language of the Canterbury leaders again closely parallels an idealised sibling role in the broader New Zealand society. Some of the CYS staff are explicit about this, explaining how the younger leaders tend to take on a sibling role, but as they age they naturally move more towards the role of aunts/uncles, and more mature youth workers may function in a way more akin to parents and even eventually grandparents. Indeed a few of the older male leaders I spoke to in particular mentioned with a mixture of discomfort and pride that they sometimes felt as though they were filling a fatherly role for some of the young people who came from broken or single parent homes. However my observations of large events like Easter Camp or Xtend makes it clear that numerically the majority of youth leaders are younger (aged 17 to 30) and the role of 'camp parent' is defined and staffed separately. Thus I assert that the relational identity featuring most prominently at the core of the youth work culture in CYS was that of the older sibling. It is from this positionality that they expend so much energy to build a sense of community, and even 'family', in their groups, using team activities and bonding exercises, uniforms mascots and flags and team youth group competitions (structured into the Easter camp proceedings) (see Figure 45).

At the most basic level, most leaders are motivated to start youth work to begin with, just because they like to spend time with and build relationships with young people, Mike believes. CYS admin and youth leader Laura said that probably 90% of them are "naturally relational": this is the personality type drawn to the job, they assert. From an academic perspective I would also emphasise the interpellating power of the organisation and the church institution, in shaping subjectivities towards this extroverted, people-focused way of being in the world. As CYS addresses youth leaders as this type of person (through statements like Laura's, tailoring of games and activities towards extroverts, assumptions in language and teaching), those who respond create themselves according this that pattern of being and feeling. Power as "productive" in a Foucauldian perspective *creates* identity, experience, emotion, rather than only repressing or controlling it (cited in Frank 1998). In MOTEM, it creates emotional experiences and expressions of parental love, strength, and self-control, and in CYS it

creates youthful, sincere, extroverted individuals who experience care towards young people as if they were their own little brothers and sisters. I have mentioned already, too, the use of tools such as the Myer's Briggs test and Clifton *StrengthsFinder* to interpellate people into specific categories related to care and emotion, including 'feelers' and 'relational'. Within the manifold care practices and emotional states wrapped up in the Christian edict to love, empathy is of particular interest, since it, too, takes on a new and distinctive dimension of meaning in the context of the managerialist *StrengthsFinder* language.

## "I don't have that" - Empathy as subject position

Literature suggests that empathy is a form of the emotional knowing or 'emotional intelligence' (White 1997). Just as in Kampala the idea of "walking in their shoes" is used to understand empathy in Canterbury, but here it coheres particularly strongly with the CYS mantra of "walking the road beside them". However the *StrengthsFinder* training, rather than a skill or feeling, frames empathy as trait that you either do or don't innately 'have' depending on how God has wired you. Those who complete the full Clifton *StrengthsFinder* profiling procedure find out where among the 34 'themes' empathy is 'ranked' for them, but most people refer simply to having either 'high' or 'low' in empathy[43]. This creates a logical framework (again based on the notion of an 'essential' self) to explain situations where empathy is absent or impossible. For example Steph, a leader who identified herself as having 'low' empathy, told me a story about one of her co-leaders who has 'high' empathy and was working alongside her to care for a certain girl. She recalled a time when the other leader "Just went and hugged her, and the two of them just sat down and cried together, and I was like 'What? There's no way I can do that.'".

Philosopher Ian Hacking asks "Does one feel different; has one a different experience of oneself, if one is led to see oneself as a certain type of person? Does the availability of a classification, a label, a word or phrase, open certain possibilities or perhaps close off others?" (2004, p285). Accordingly, the question for Canterbury is

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[43] As previously mentioned, although the initial level of testing only shows your top-five, so only those who have done the training to a full extent, as the CYS staff and many senior leaders have, will necessarily know exactly *how* high or low in empathy they are... others may only know if it is in their top 5 traits or not.

how the formulation of empathy into a distinct classification might open up or close off certain emotional experiences and forms of practice within the caring labour of youth workers. Tracy & Trethewey explain that discourses 'fix' identities and constrain alternative truths and subject positions (Tracy & Trethewey 2005). Similarly Hacking's philosophical position of 'dynamic nominalism' emphasises the creation of certain 'kinds' of people through the creation of categories, and vice versa. He specifies the way experts and institutions are implicated in the process through ten 'engines', within which counting and qualifying are the first two; clearly employed in the qualitative metric of StrengthsFinder. Engines five, six and seven, are to medicalise, biologise, and geneticise, which are evident here also in the emphasis in the CYS community can be heard on the way the traits identified as "natural" or "hard-wired" into people. While I am not arguing that 'people with empathy' or 'people without empathy' are new social categories of personhood, I nonetheless see useful parallels from Hacking's work which can be used to understand the way CYS as an institution and CYS staff trained as Strengths coaching 'experts' are opening and closing certain possibilities for empathetic labour through the creation of 'empathy' as a discrete category rather than general capacity, as it is in MOTEM. After all, there are distinct behaviours and emotional experiences (both emically 'good' and 'bad') which are associated with empathetic labour. The giving of particular names and categories to an individual can also be seen as part of the process of interpellation. In CYS, in relation to empathy, it reflects the interpellation of youth leaders not into a single, uniform 'youth leader' subjectivity, but into the idea of individual identity and the fixed self (see Chapter 2), who may or may not have empathy, but must either way enact their care labours according to the category (or 'high' or 'low' empathy) to which they have been hailed, each differently, but each 'authentically' to his or her type.

In many cases, my conversations with the leaders who *did not* identify as 'having' empathy were significant contributors to my gleaning an emic image of empathy as both potentially useful and admirable, and potentially dangerous. It was agreed that some of the consequences of being a youth worker with 'high' empathy included: Thinking too much, worrying too much, wanting to rescue everyone, getting overly emotional when hearing a painful story, becoming burdened by an ongoing problem with a young person, getting caught up in things easily, going on an emotional rollercoaster, becoming exhausted in a room full of teenagers, and dwelling on your

problems. The summary was that empathy was a useful trait that should nonetheless "come with a warning tag" (Laura). It was spoken of as needing "boundaries around that feeling" lest you yourself "become hurt, or tired," and needing "balance" lest you "become heart-broken all the time!" I shall elaborate on the metaphor of boundaries later in this chapter, and balance in the following chapter.

Interestingly the ideological transformation around the meaning of empathy was 'in process' rather than totalising, when I conducted my research. In other words, there was still some acknowledgement that empathy could sometimes be learnt, or utilised even by those who did not 'naturally' have it. However it was seen to be both ineffective and potentially dangerous to your wellbeing to do so (see also Chapter 6). It was understood that someone who does not 'have' empathy but tries to care empathetically will become stress, fatigued, and even burnt out… even more than the more accepted costs or consequences of using a 'natural' empathy as above. Yet because of the association between empathy and compassion, those 'without' empathy (or at least one of the other 'relational' *StrengthsFinder* traits) frequently seemed concerned to justify that they were not actually hard-hearted or uncaring. "There's other ways of caring as well" Steph was eager to assert, protective of her cherished identity as the 'good' (compassionate, relational, emotionally-aware) youth worker even in absence of the specific trait of empathy.  Furthermore the awareness of one's own emotional capabilities, limitations and strengths was actually a key part of this process of being a caring, effective, responsible youth leader in Canterbury in and of itself.

## The responsible feeler: stability, self-awareness, and emotional intelligence

> *Verity and I are sitting at the Christchurch airport at 9pm on a Wednesday. She has just flown in from a week long youth work conference in the North Island of New Zealand, and I am driving back to Dunedin the next day, so in a manner typical for a CYS leader we are doing a late-night coffee meet-up.  No, she isn't too tired, she tells me… although she has an early morning start to look forward to and some possible intensive work later the next day. In her various roles (as a church-based, community-based, and school-based youth worker and as a social worker) she professes herself to be somewhat of a magnet for people with serious issues to want to relate with and open up to. "To deal with other people's stuff, you really have to have your own stuff sorted."*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 2nd June 2014***

In 'being' a relational person and performing a sibling role, the youth leader's job is to foster the emotional tenor of an approachable, empathetic open-ness. This relies a lot on their wholehearted participation in activities, conversation, and relaxation – the whole culture of the youth. Despite the cultivated air of mutuality that underpins the sibling-like relationship of the Cantabrian leader, the relationship remains irrevocably asymmetrical. In leaders meetings, CYS leaders still lightheartedly talk about the relief of being able to "chill out where we are not having to be good role models." It is exhausting to be both playful siblings and good rolemodels, just as the maintenance of the separate, exemplary 'parental' identity is for the MOTEM leaders. In both cases, leaders perform one half of a dual relationship of sameness-and-difference which youth workers must always negotiate, crossing the social boundaries between the adult and the youth world (Whitehead 2010). Both emotional subjectivities require a high level of emotional labour to achieve, event whilst each relies on different types of emotional labour, modelled around different imaginative structures and guided by different aesthetics.

In Canterbury youth workers are also supposed to be the "light" and the "rock" for the young people, which means foregrounding the youth's emotional needs and experiences over their own. Yet it requires a good deal of self-work and self-awareness (see Chapter 2) in order to have, as Verity suggests the emotional stability to effectively manage other people's problems. Furthermore the aesthetic of 'authenticity' in CYS dictates to "really" be emotionally healthy and stable, not just to act that way… engaging in 'deep' emotional and moral labour rather than surface acting. For leaders specifically this can create a morally-weighted discursive tension between the investment in self-work/self-awareness needed to achieve the emotional stability of the 'good', and the Christian/volunteerist discourse of a self*less* investment of personal time and resources into others above oneself. This was evidenced at one Xtend (aimed at junior leaders, with senior leaders attending in a supportive role) when a senior youth leader shared at a leaders meeting about some personal growth and self-work she had undertaken over the week. Anxiously she made sure to first loudly clarify that she was 'here for the kids" first and foremost "of course, totally." In the same way, aside from the minority events tailored only for senior leaders, Mike generally encouraged leaders to 'do the journey' (the activities, listening to teaching, worshipping and praying) during such camps, but to engage with it as a private activity rather than "go up the

front". This expresses a similar logic to that which underlay the edict against crying in public for the MOTEM leaders, who nonetheless "cried before God' often.  In both cases the tension between investment into one self to become a self-controlled, spiritually connected leader (in MOTEM) or a self-aware, emotionally stable leader (in CYS), and the youth worker's goal of selflessly assisting others, was managed by drawing on the same instrumentalising logic that knowing, improving and using ones' 'inner' self is in fact part and parcel of the work.

Here I must draw back to Chapter 2's discussion of self-awareness more generally, and the responsibilisation of the youth worker as a good, self-aware citizen. The notion of emotional intelligence from Goleman's (1995) 'EQ' model clearly has resonance here since it focusses on *knowing* one's emotions (and the emotions of others) (in Hughes 2010, p30).  It relies on a strongly managerialist discourse which has seen its enormous popularity in the service economy. However Hughes argues that while emotional intelligence (EI) relies on emotional *expression* as much as *repression* it nonetheless represents a new modality of emotional control: a neologistic, positive 'packaging' for emotional labour (2010, p28). Indeed it relies on the idea of the workplace as a site of 'self-actualisation', as scholars suggests is characteristic of the discourses behind the use of 'Psy knowledges' in organisations (Miller & Rose 1995, see also Chapter 2). In this way Hughes identifies Emotional Intelligence as a discourse that seeks to "colonise" employee affects and subjectivities (2010, p18). While the term itself is not a common one in CYS, its logic nevertheless underlies many of the managerialist tools (such as StrengthsFinder) and values (such as self-awareness) which are present there. It is enabled by the particular metaphorical structuring of the self, and the way the emotions are placed within this.

## Emotional expression within a stratified model of self

This sense of there being invisible (and unconscious) parts of the self is something the CYS youth leaders are very aware of, in their practice as well as personally. The ability to perceive things occurring at these levels when working with young people is highly valued: they speak of "listening below the surface" or "looking below the iceberg", metaphoricising the hidden, private or authentic as 'depths.' Cartesian dualism frames the body as a vessel for the (more important) 'rational mind'

that then becomes associated with the 'deep' in a similar way (Pritzker 2007). The Christian tradition of the tripartite self adds a third element to this – the spirit, which is seen as 'deeper' (and thus more 'essential') still.

For Canterbury leaders, the placing of emotion within a layered or 'stratified model' of self achieved through a number of overlapping metaphors, which frame emotion quite differently to the way the dichotomous body/flesh model does in Kampala. The first element is the important synecdoche of 'heart as self', which comes from the Judaic tradition. In the Hebrew language of the Old Testament the heart was "the innermost spring of individual life[44]" (Thomas 2000, p51). Today in the Canterbury Christian community the 'heart' is shorthand for the whole person, and/or the most essential inner parts of the person, such that people "give their heart" or "open their heart" to Jesus.  Other phrases such as "from the bottom of my heart" or "deepening in the spirit" also evidence an association of emotions with depth and thus with the spiritual. Spiritual experiences and the voice of God are described (and viscerally experienced) as something "felt in the heart." In this way, through the metaphorical coherence between the depth, the spiritual, and the emotion, emotions have become reified in CYS youth work. By virtue of their interiority and 'depth' they are construed as 'pure' and authentic, inchoate responses untainted by the outer, social world – expressing a romanticist view of emotion (Lutz & White 1986, p409). Although emotions are privy to intensive scrutiny and 'work' in this community, emotion in and of itself is seen as a somewhat sacred part of faith experiences, and a locus for spiritual knowledge.  For example, things that "get past your head, down into your heart" (a phrase used at Xtend) are seen as truly being comprehended or believed.

Lutz & White argue that the modern, symbolic use of the heart as the seat of emotionality is sustained by a myriad of historical western dyads including feeling/thought, information/energy, rational/irrational, controlled/uncontrolled, culture/nature, truth/value and male/female (1986, p430). Thus it becomes contrasted with the 'head', and rationality. This dichotomisation can be seen through the popular Myers Briggs test, which is still, as I mentioned, popular in Canterbury. It notably sets individuals in distinct and dichotomous categories of traits, so that one must be *either* a thinker (T), *or* a feeler (F). While the *StrengthsFinder* has formulated its language in

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[44] From Proverbs 4:23 (NIV) where the heart is described as the 'wellspring of life.'

such a manner that people 'have' particular traits, the Myer's Briggs test arguably has even more direct performative power in that people 'are' a particular personality type. Most youth workers, the CYS staff believe, are 'Feelers' on the Myer's Briggs test, and more specifically are 'ENFPs', who are defined as being people-centred and relational.

If in Kampala it is too much attention to one's emotions that is harmful, among the Canterbury leaders it is inattention to or repression of emotions that is dangerous. "Bottling up" your feelings, or "putting a lid on things" is seen as very problematic, with the solution being to "open up", "vent", "let go" or "release" their feelings (or indeed, other people's emotions taken on as part of empathetic labour) as part of good emotional health. At one of the Xtend sharing sessions, one of the up-and-coming teenage leaders shared a vision he had had the previous night during the spiritual ministry time, which was of "a bottle full of bad, sad things, which had a lock on it, but slowly opened to release them." Like gas or hot liquid the emotions themselves were not harmful when released, but held within the hydraulic system of the self are seen as having destructive potential or 'pressure'. They draw from a tradition of Psy knowledges that build on Freud's idea of emotions as part of a private world 'beneath' observable human behaviour, which could 'erupt' or be 'unleashed' if not handled appropriately (Rose 1998a). Hydraulic metaphors have influenced generations of academic theories of emotion (Lutz & White 1986) particularly in psychiatric sciences, to become deeply embodied in the experience of emotion in Psy societies (see Chapter 2, Rose 1999). Just as the idea of burdens provided an imaginative structure around which the emotional labour of 'lifting' negative emotions away to God could be structured in Kampala, a hydraulic metaphor structures the way emotional labour is engaged in, in Canterbury.

## The spontaneous, the authentic, and the cherished

Youth Pastor Darren confessed that he'd had what he called a "negative feeling" - the feeling of pointlessness, "like I was wasting my time" - after regular coffee meetings he was having with a particular difficult young man. He felt "drained", "frustrated" and "depressed" after almost every session. On top of this he felt deeply guilty for experiencing those emotions "because spiritually I had these beliefs, and I *still* have these beliefs, that […] we should care for those who are kind of… marginalised", which is why he kept scheduling meetings and trying to care for this person. In Darren's

story he is trying hard "to perform two acts at once" (Tracy 2000, p117). This is how Tracy, in a poststructuralist vein (and mentioned in the preceding chapter), theorises emotional labour – in a way that sees his two different feelings states as two different discursively constructed acts (related to two different subjectivities). The 'beliefs' Darren identifies – based on an internalised Christian ideology of selfless care – construct one emotional response as appropriate, while other discursive forces (deep-seated cultural and neoliberal values of egoism, productivity, and so on), create a different emotional response to the experience.

In an evaluative statement following this story Darren mused that "The truest emotion is the one I felt straight away, like 'ohhh' [tired sigh], right after I left". Hochschild traces the ideas of 'spontaneous' emotion as a virtue back to Rousseau's conceptualisation of the 'noble savage' (1983/2003, p192). Trilling (cited in Hochschild 1983, p190) theorises that it was the cultural context from the 16th century onwards particularly that led to the emergence of first sincerity, then authenticity, as key cultural aesthetics. Hochschild builds on this to argue that it is against the increasing instrumentalisation and management of emotions in the late 20th century that such a high regard for and protection of 'natural' and 'spontaneous' feeling has developed (p22). Emic CYS understandings of the emotion as an 'authentic' pre-social inner experience relies on the same base understanding as Hochschild's work on emotional labour, which both values and reifies spontaneous emotion, contrasting this with discursively constituted or deliberately produced emotion. However it is also in part because of this aesthetic of authenticity that Darren shared with me his initial feelings of frustration, even though they violate the implicit emotional rules of the organisation and threatens his key organisational identity as the good (caring) leader.

Hochschild says the difference between false and true selves is not the content of feelings, but that which we choose to claim as our own (1983/2003, p194-5). Extending her statement and connecting it to a more poststructuralist perspective on identity and emotion, we may understanding the false self as the unclaimed as Hochschild says, but also understand the 'true' self as not so much natural, private, or pre-social, but the particular discursively constituted self we choose to claim… to 'cherish.' Notably these are not always necessarily rosy, positive views of the self, only those we find it easiest to lay claim to. So whilst Darren is unable to claim the idealised, selfless carer self (and its associated emotions) as 'really' him, he does hold to ('cherish') a relational

individual who is frustrated by entirely one-way encounters, and a productive individual who values a sense of progress in his work. The emotions produced around this easier to claim ('truer') self (the frustration, depression, feelings of pointlessness caused by the eliciting encounter with the stubborn young man), is experienced as interior, and thus those emotions seen as spontaneous, and thus more 'authentic.' Conversely he interprets the care he feels at other times as 'false' in the sense of forming around his religious beliefs and taking notable effort. Despite Darren's own determination of one emotion as more "true" than another, a post-structuralist approach appreciates the discursively constituted nature of even the 'internal', 'authentic', or personal, cherished self. Claimed or unclaimed, cherished or rejected, all emotions are social acts. Psychological distress can arise from a conflict between two sets of emotional experiences and values, especially when this involves a threat to a cherished identity, since people deeply value a since of internal coherency (Dutton et al 1994).

## "I don't want to feel that" – Confession as emotional labour

Anger is an (implicitly) prohibited emotion among the CYS leaders: those I spoke to often avoided, denied, or carefully reframed feeling anger in their practice of youth work. Like many other negative emotions, although the suppression of anger is not explicitly taught (since suppression/repression in itself is seen to be 'unhealthy'), anger remains an 'unavailable' cultural script. I argue that in CYS the social meaning of anger is over-determined by three key discourses; one from Christian theology, one related to the political context of contemporary faith-based youth work, and the third to the gendering of care work. In one striking story showing the moral consequences of anger, Mike Dodge tells a story from early in his career when he was overworking and facing burnout. He was employed at the time by a faith-based trust running a group of halfway houses[45] for young people. He narrates how he had one girl, around 18 years old, who had a glue sniffing problem. He came in one day to find her sniffing in the house (strictly against the rules), and sent her outside to get rid of the glue. A short time later he came back to find her prostituting herself with a man in her room (also against

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[45] Facilities for persons with significant mental or social problems to live in the community, rather than complete state institutions (e.g. psychiatric wards or jails), while retaining a reasonably high level of support.

the house rules) and both of them still sniffing glue. Things went bad quickly when he tried to intervene.

> *The thing that really got me" he pauses contemplatively as he remembers "was when she stabbed me."*
>
> *"Wait... Literally?!" I ask him in shock.*
>
> *"Yeah," he says with a tone of sadness I find unusual, in place of the outrage I might expect. "[She] put a knife right through my hand." The sadness, however, is not about the stabbing which he brushes aside nonchalantly as he tells me what happened next: shocked and with adrenaline pumping, he tackled the girl to the ground. Yet immediately after doing this, a sense of horror hit him. "In my mind I'd overstepped a boundary. And I wasn't sleeping enough, and I'd just been stuck by a knife...but that was a first time I'd ever hit a kid in my life. I mean just knee swept her, and dropped an elbow, totally justifiable, right?" He sighs. I agree, of course, but years after the fact Mike clearly still sees his own emotional response, embodied in his forceful take-down of the girl, as inappropriate: the story is performed not as evidence of good practice, but as confession of a past failure.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Thursday 8th November 2012***

I noticed in Mike's story that he subtly slipped in a mention of the girl's age: no longer a minor but legally an adult, though only just, and still bracketed as a 'youth' in this professional sector. Any work done with minors in New Zealand is highly governed: legally, ethically and bureaucratically. It becomes additionally complicated in a faith-based setting where work is conducted through a mix of formal and informal programmes, training, and staff. Most churches or organisations have written 'Codes of Conduct' for the leadership team to sign and adhere to, which is intended to safeguard both the kids from danger and the leaders from situations that could be misconstrued or manipulated, particularly in relation to relationships between the sexes. Police checks are sometimes but not often undertaken. There are written and unwritten rules about finances, provision and living arrangements too, which are a source many internal struggles for those who "just want to rescue" the youth from oppressive or unhealthy family situations. Faith-based leaders at times interface with governmental bodies such as Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS) or with health and mental health professionals, yet just as often themselves they are performing similar social work and counselling services at part of their multifaceted roles. The legislated, mediated,

monitored, and managed realm of most (secular and governmental) youth services in the current New Zealand political terrain of managed care puts additional tension around the perceived association between anger and violence or physical force, and therefore the experience of anger is evocative of the tenuous nature of youth work.

I also argue that gendered identities, for which different emotional prescriptions tend to be made, are also implicated in such situations. Care-work in general (Tracy & Trethewey 2005) and youth work specifically (Colley 2001) tends to be gendered as female. Despite the predominance of males in faith-based youth work it retains some of the emotion rules of the female gender, in the prohibition against anger particularly. Emotionality generally has been seen as both more common and more acceptable (and more instrumentalised through emotional labour) among middle class women in the western world (Hochschild 1983, p164). Canterbury specifically sits within a culture where sadness is accessible for women, but not anger, and the opposite is often true for men: "Psych wards are filled with women, and prisons are filled with men because as a generalisation, in our culture women tend to turn emotions inwards while men tend turn them outward" Canterbury Pastor Di Sargeant taught in a SYLT workshop. This puts male leaders (who are dominant in numbers) in a particularly awkward position where traditional masculine tropes of emotional management are challenged by more femininely-gendered caring practices and values. New Zealand culture maintains a strong edict on men to be emotionally reserved and stoic and contrastingly stereotypes women as overly emotionally expressive and 'soft' or 'weak' (Cottingham 2014, Chananie 2005).

Jim, a youth worker of 15 years in both church and community settings, has struggled with the way the church and wider society genders emotion, both in relation to his own mental health problems and his care work practices. I first met Jim at a focus group and workshop I ran on mental health and emotional management for youth leaders, at the SYLT camp in 2014. There he rand I both shared a surprised and disappointed response that out of 18 or so attendees, he was the only male (see Appendix 3). "Being emotional" overall is unacceptable for guys, he explained in a one-on-one interview we had some weeks later. The cultural trope of the tough, individualistic Southern man is a key element at work here, and in acknowledgement of this many New Zealand public health campaigns around depression particularly have begun to target men, including the Journal program and associated advertising which

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uses John Kirwan as a spokesperson (Wardell 2013). As in MOTEM, crying is a particularly good example of the way some (gendered) 'rules' for emotion can be experienced in tension with other organisational affective prescriptions, and as also with MOTEM the "crying with" practices of empathy form an excellent case study of this. While several of my (male) informants talked about 'crying with' people it is clear that the culture's hegemonic gender roles still problematized many of the normal expressive practices of the 'love' and 'care' that are so central to the youth workers' identity.

The emotion identified as 'care' was the singular most significant emotion within the emotional system of CYS. It was the most often and most explicitly talked about, closely implicated with their vocational identity, as I have discussed. However Allahyari writes that while the moral rhetoric of an organisation may challenge the worker to feel charitable love for someone, this does not mean it will come 'naturally' or spontaneously (2000, p208). My observations in CYS affirmed this. Despite of (or perhaps because of) it's centrality to the Christian youth worker identity in Canterbury, considerable emotional labour was performed in order to create and maintain the emotion of care, which arguably is 'transmuted' (Hochschild 1983, p5) and 'sold' as central part of the service being provided.

For the CYS leaders there is a close overlap between their cherished self and their vocational identity, just as there is for the MOTEM leaders. Also like the youth leaders of Kampala they too tend to employ deep acting (in the moment) and moral labour (long-term) to 'really' alter their feelings to fit emotion norms rather than just alter surface emotional displays. The community aesthetic of authenticity (arising from the distinct western sense of the individual, fixed, inner and 'authentic' self, as per Chapter 2) necessitates this strategy, since it creates a view of surface acting as in violation of core values of authenticity, and creating an internal inconsistency that will be experienced as intolerable. For example at one of the SYLT 2014 workshops we were taught that "emotional numbing" is bad, and that faking empathy is a warning sign of workaholism and poor wellbeing. The aesthetic of authenticity focuses less on which emotions are appropriate than which are 'real', and in doing so it draws on the stratified model of self (and additionally the hydraulic model of emotion) to evaluate them according to the level or depth to which they are undertaken. It is the correspondance of caring emotions to the private 'inner' self which gives them the mythical legitimating quality of the 'authentic' emotion.

Good care is "deep", and even a 'bad' emotion such as anger needs to be "brought to the surface" to be acknowledged and dealt with. Hiding or repressing emotions consistently would be seen to be unhealthy according to the hydraulic model of emotions, and would additionally violate this aesthetic of authenticity and thus conflicts with their identity as 'authentic' carers. Subsequently youth workers must really generate a feeling of care (deep acting), rather than simply display it (surface acting). Youth pastor Sam tells me matter-of-factly:

> I think if I couldn't care. I would judge myself too harshly! I would feel bad afterwards, if I didn't. But I don't think I've ever got to to that point. Because it's just like 'Oh, what do you do in that situation?... you care for someone.'

Theodore Sarbin talks about 'the dramatistical': where subjects can draw experienced emotions only from culturally available scripts, and repress anything which does not fit with these (cited in Froggatt 1998). Sam's expression of an inability *not* to care indicates a similar discursive constraint at work in the CYS community, just as many others' inability to admit anger does also. Yet this theory rings true here only at exclusion of the curious confessional practices which emerged from my interviews and conversations, and ultimately cannot be excluded from analysis.

Despite the strong cultural scripts around caring as an essential quality of the good youth leader stories of *not* caring abounded here. After I had known them, or been speaking to them for some time, almost every leader in varying degrees, forms, and narratives, confessed their sense of "not caring enough." 'Not caring' itself is portrayed as a distinct (and negative) emotional state. I hence feel it is best examined as a problematic, guilt-inducing *lack* of care rather than a distinctive emotional state of 'apathy', not a term commonly evoked here. Tales of not having their "heart in it" or of feeling annoyed, anxious, or other sanctioned emotions, were told to me quite commonly. For example like many of the leaders Darren admits that "the emotions bit hasn't always been there" and that it is mainly his commitment and a sense of calling that have kept him going. However he also draws out how problematic this is to his sense of identity and morality.

> The rubber meets the road and you realise that you're not as good a person
> as you think you are, or that intellectually we have ideas about things that

are good and virtuous but to actually FEEL those things, maybe you kind of have to … maybe I have the idea that our FEELINGS will follow our PRACTICE.

Darren worried aloud as we talked that he sounded "like a robot" – clearly reflecting even as he speaks on his own words and the image he is presenting. This is also an expression of the value of self-awareness among the CYS leaders – an aesthetic so embedded that the youth leaders choose to perform self-awareness through confession, even at the cost of revealing occasional emotional transgressions. The society Foucault observed had become obsessed with "the infinite task of extracting from the depths of oneself, in between the words, a truth which the very form of confession holds out like a shimmering mirage." He examined confession historically, and within the (formal) Christian tradition, as in the Catholic church, also noting its dispersal from ritual to many other aspects of modern society (1978) Yet Foucault wrote that confession was not an outworking of top-down power, but rather functions in a form of self-work (a technology of the self), whereby the existence of an inner 'secret' or transgression is assumed, and revealing it is done in order to liberate the self (Foucault 1978).  In this way confessions not only relate, but *create* truths (1988, p295). As they carefully narrated their failures to me the CYS leaders were able to reflexively analyse these, identify the alternative desirable emotional subjectivities, and work on shaping themselves accordingly, making it "ethical work" as Foucault argued, and "moral labour" as I have termed it (see Chapter 2). I also argue that when it relates to emotion, it constitutes (as a sub-category of moral labour), a deep, antecedent-focused form of emotional labour.

In general people often prefaced their statements about not feeling caring with "I realise how bad it sounds…" and conveyed tangibly a sense of guilt, discomfort and uncertainty around this, and as one girl put it, they "don't want to feel like that!" Syed notes about emotional norms that "It is important to examine the aversive state(s) that may follow one's transgression and how this is managed in the workplace" (2008, p182). The internal sanctions such as guilt, shame, and embarrassment occur when the moral or emotional norms concerning approaches to others' welfare are violated, according to Wiegratz (2010). Those who have internalised their role obligations experience anxiety if those obligations can not be fulfilled (Ashforth & Humphrey 1993).

Darren's concerns about being 'robotic' (i.e. not having any emotion) almost directly contrasts with the worries the MOTEM leaders revealed in our exchanges, about sounding *too* emotional. After confessing times they did not care, they tended to quickly amend or add to clarify that they "don't normally do that!" or other qualifiers. They often focused on the fact that while they do not always *feel* caring towards an individual in a particular moment, they still *care* about that person's wellbeing in a broader sense i.e. "It doesn't mean I don't still love them!" or "I have empathy where it counts." As Burke suggested, they also often made excuses or explanations for the lack of caring emotions, such as overloaded schedules, being in a rush, being tired. Kenneth Burke's dramaturgical argument states that people are ultimately and deeply motivated by the desire to purge themselves of guilt (or anxiety, shame, disgust, embarrassment, or notably for my argument, tension) and that public speaking is the mechanism for this (1945). Outside of Burke's hypothesis it would have seemed more reasonable for the CYS leaders to instead solely perform the 'caring' leader to me, as there was no interpersonal imperative on them in our interviews to share this problematic transgression of the required emotion of caring. However in admitting to their failures they were also able to recognise and rework them even as we spoke. This occurred in the form of both emotional labour (more widely), and discursive management of meaning (in the speaking/narrating experience).

Emotional labour, as a type of moral labour, was used to bring emotions closer to organisational norms. The CYS leaders regularly asked God to shape them into caring, compassionate people; in worship they sing 'May my heart look like your heart', in prayer they ask God to 'change their hearts.' This can be seen as another technology of the self, a way to enact institutional, ideological power on the self, by the self, to constrain and create particular forms of emotional experience in line with desirable organisational identities. Furthermore it creates a sense of the spiritual as a powerful interior force for changing and actualising the self, which can be seen as a deep-acting form of emotional labour, since it involves changing the emotions experienced (supressing frustration, impatience, or anger, producing feelings of love and caring), in an antecedent-focussed manner.

Through the performative/constitute power of narrative I also observed the re-storying, re-construction, and re-constitution of these problematic elements of the self. For example Darren, confessing that he often felt angry at youth who were acting self-destructively, admitted that "that sounds terrible" and clarified quickly that he was not angry *at* that particular girl, but at the situation; reframing his anger is in the more acceptable realm of 'righteous anger' towards unjust situations or suffering. He recasts his anger from something that would interfere with the caring identity (hard-hearted, incriminating, and impatient) into something that reinforces his preferred self (a sensitive, caring person who desires to see individuals whole and healed). This form of restorying his emotions does so in a way that enables him to affirm and promote a different (positive) aspect of the youth worker's identity, and one that likely forms part of his cherished self.

Confessions stories such as this, in my interviews, mirrored what occurred in the 'sharing sessions' of CYS camps (as described in Chapter 2, at the Xtend camp, but also practiced at SYLT) as another form of moral labour or moral selving, albeit on a different stage and for a different audience, so with some different parameters. My analysis of the particular patterns through which they managed this in narrative, was that they tended to draw from both alternative discourses of emotional management and the 'good' leader in order to contest or resist. For example, someone might draw on the discourse of professionalism to talk about the need for distance and boundaries to justify why they did not let themselves feel particularly sympathetic or involved in hearing someone's tragic story. In this way these narratives and conversations often contain both self-subordination *and* contestation of these dominant discourses with alternatives ones… providing subtle veins of resistance running within. Many of the competing, interlocking and sometimes contradictory discourses the youth workers drew from in order to do this related to emotional management, and the perceived risk or cost of care labour.

## Multi-directional power

> *Youth Pastor Hannah and teenage Jenny are sitting, talking, and laughing on the bunks together. Jenny is burrowing under the blankets were Hannah had, till that point, been cuddled up and reclining restfully, since before the girls entered. Hannah jokingly pushes Jenny away, lightly protesting about 'trying to sleep.' In response, Jenny pulls an intensely sulky face and flops forcefully down onto the mattress beside her, face down. There she stays. After a few moments Hannah (looking ever-so-slightly worried) gently shakes her huddled form and tries to re-engage.*
>
> *"Noooo..." Jenny's voice comes from the covers, full of angst. "I'm trying to have a CONVERSATION with you and you aren't LISTENING, and you don't CARE." The others in the room quieten... and Hannah's face tightens with anxiety, trying to pull her up by the shoulders.*
>
> *"Jen, I'm sorry!" she wails, with failing attempts to stay smilingly light-hearted. "I AM listening! Come here!" Shortly after Jenny jumps up laughing and assuring us it was all a joke. Everyone laughs, half-heartedly it seems to me, and Hannah is less relaxed and more attentive to her following that.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 10th July 2012***

Tracy related a similar story to this from her time researching cruise ship workers. It is one of her first nights on the job and she is at the disco 'on the clock' (working) at nearly midnight, when she inadvertently yawns slightly. "Hey, you can't do that!!" jokes a nearby guest, and she find herself apologising to him. "Through the façade of a joke" Tracy writes, the multi-sourced power of emotional norms are enacted (2000, p108). In the bunkroom performance, Jenny as one of the youth and an 'object of care' for Hannah uses a joke to enact the power of the discourse of youth leader as selfless Christian carer (with the accompanying emotional norms of being energetic, attentive and caring) onto Hannah.

The processes by which individuals come to take on particular emotional subjectivities are not purely the individual, private ones of moral labour, but they involve intersubjective processes. The individual experiences 'hailing' from multiple different levels and sources. Hochschild calls these instances 'rule reminders' (1983/2003, p58) – social prompts reinforcing the feeling and display rules that guide emotional labour in that setting. However I believe they are in fact more significant moments of subject formation (through interpellation) into the particular identities these

emotional systems form around which helps me, in retrospect, understand this scenario better.

The complexity of the role that youth workers within faith-based institutions face means that power, responsibility, accountability and care expectations form in incredibly complex and power-laden webs around the individuals; church leadership, boards and congregations, mentors and supervisors, senior and junior youth workers, CYS staff, parents and the youth themselves all play roles in the multi-sourced power and knowledge networks which reinforce emotional labour norms for youth leaders. However since identity is over-determined, it also involves a dance of resistance and domination (Tracy 2002). Thus emotional meanings too are fluid and constantly being renegotiated and retested in specific situated social contexts. Even while this leaves room for agency and change, many of my examples show that emotional and psychological distress can also result from trying to manage the tension between multiple discourses around care, emotion, empathy and the 'good' youth leader… or more accurately perhaps from the sense of internal inconsistency that arises when this is not achieved satisfactorily.


## "Some people are Teflon" – managing the cost of care

"I think some people are Teflon and it really doesn't affect them… but not most people" Mike said about the emotional intensity of youth work. None of the youth leaders I met were 'Teflon' people, as it turned out (as I doubt anyone truly is), but all had been emotionally 'affected' by youth work, and all had strategies to mediate and manage this cost. Throughout the earlier part of our interview Jay emphatically proclaimed he didn't 'have' empathy, and that hearing traumatic stories from young people didn't leave any lasting impression on him. Yet towards the end of our interview he told me that "It definitely affects my emotion and thinking down to the core." He gave a visceral description of the emotional cost of youth work, as a sick feeling similar to guilt that sometimes stayed with him even when he went home to his family. Unlike the MOTEM leaders who told stories of suffering that rounded off with victory, this was a resounding pattern with the CYS youth leaders I spoke to; beginning with stories about how good they were at managing their own emotions and eventually sharing stories which alternatively revealed just how much emotional cost their work can have

at times. "If I don't process it, then it just eats away at me [....] it's going to affect everything if you don't deal with it." Jay said.

"Your tendency when you first come to youth work is to keep everyone right close to you, and then you realise that it's costing too much" Mike told me. The specific way this effect or cost is experienced can be linked to the sub-clinical categories and patterns of Compassion Fatigue and Moral Distress, just as they can in Kampala (see Chapter 3). As a specific example from early in his youth work career, Mike told me about when he was working at St Auburns "just doing life in the community" and how he ended up running a funeral for a teenager who had died in every year he was there. "Looking back," he says "the compassion fatigue thing is what gets you. Dealing with those emotions is… it's a privilege, but it also costs you." Karen Hanafin the CYS counsellor, discussed this relationship between emotional labour and the cost of care, too:

> You need to show, through your face or your body language or whatever, that you can understand, you can empathise. But have that in control [...] we don't need two of us on the floor in a groveling mess. My own emotions would get in the way. You have to be very attentive to what they are saying, and what they are not saying. But again that leads on to what do I do with that [emotion] at the end of the day?

Karen identifies both an element of emotional labour – the production/suppression of the 'correct' emotions for the role - but also a form of emotional management. Emotional labour and emotional management are both continual and intertwined (sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory) practices which occur as part of the relational and caring practices of youth work. Emotional management, as Karen says, is what people do "at the end of the day" in order to protect against perceived risks, minimise perceive costs, and maintain wellbeing.

The focus of much teaching and conversation in Canterbury was about ways to avoiding the negative effects of caring through 'healthy' caring and emotional management practices. This notably was quite different to what I have illustrated of the Kampalan leaders in the previous chapter, who acknowledged the inevitability of these experiences of the cost of care, often through the metaphor of the burden, but then

focussed on 'lifting' it to God, as an always-available solution.  In the messy day-to-day emotional milieu of building relationships and caring for young people (whilst juggling event management, budgeting, study planning, admin and any number of other tasks), CYS youth workers have their own working metaphors for the emotional management, including, burdens, balance, openness, and boundaries, which also structure their embodied understanding of the cause of and appropriate response to the cost of care in a more nuanced way than simple categories such as 'compassion fatigue' can express.

> Emotionally, you carry a lot of other people's crap […] I know the stories of so many other people's lives. And they're not all good. You can't just, like, FORGET that you know that stuff. So if someone tells you a sad story, that's a little bit of extra sadness that YOU'VE got. And when someone tells you a great story, that's a little bit of extra greatnness, too. Um… but people tend to tell you their bad stories! [laughs] So they tend to outweigh the others.

It is a natural thing to care, Sam tells me, and aligning yourself with God and his will to care for his people means that "you are actually working with God in the care" which means it has *less* of a cost. However, Sam continues…

> That cost is definitely REAL. As much as you might think that's worth giving it up for, it actually HURTS, and people do get really sick… and that sucks! Yeah, and I suppose there's a loneliness too, and being, the fact that you … get to, to carry other people's stories.

Sam's description of the personal impact of emotions like sadness being transferred, and cumulative tiredness from the 'weight' or effort too, utilises the metaphor of burdens in a similar manner as I observed it being used in Kampala. Not quite as prevalent in Canterbury, it was still relatively common and when used it had a similar mix of negative uses alongside positive aspects relating to calling and selflessness. Steve, for example described the effect of having intense empathy for one of his youth as something he didn't lose sleep over "but when I woke up in the morning again, it was a thing I picked back up, and walked with." Here he positively ties it to the specific CYS trope of "walking with" the youth as well. A key extension of this metaphor, in relation to the sometimes lonely weight of carrying confidential stories alone was the practice of 'offloading.' This was a mental and emotional practice engaged in with mentors,

supervisors or sometimes friends, which this thesis shall address further in Chapter 7. This also related to spiritual practices of 'offloading' to God through prayer, which were similar to 'lifting' burdens to God among MOTEM leaders (see Chapter 3).

### Open and closed: balancing competing virtues

The stratified self model and the metaphor of self-as-container (see also Chapter 5) construct empathic practice as 'opening' or one's heart, one's inner self, to another's heart and another's pain. As the quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests, there is an idea that the "healthy" heart is able to "listen, receive, absorb", i.e. be open. Conversely yet relatedly, as part of the local care praxis, being someone the youth can 'open up' or disclose to is highly valued among the CYS leaders, and being able to open up yourself is seen as one key tool to create intimacy, elicit disclosure and "help them open up." Indeed in youth work self-disclosure is often seen as not only inevitable, but as potentially useful as part of the relational toolkit a youth worker can draw from when seeking to relationally engage with a young person (Murphy & Ord 2013). This fits in as well with the specific Christian care ethic, reflected in Henri Nouwen's seminal work which calls on Christians to "make one's own painful and joyful experiences available as sources of clarification and understanding" (1979, p72). His language emphasises mutuality and egalitarianism in the caring encounter; the shared human condition, shared "confession" of brokenness, and shared basic hope (pp92-93). This fosters a personal openness that becomes a significant part of the role of the youth worker in this community.

Verity describes herself as "quite open, which could be a bit of a bad thing." Indeed it is a trait, or state of being, that becomes complicated and contested when held in line with discourses of professionalism where filtering, distance and boundaries are contrastingly seen as part of good practice. Indeed even Nouwen cautions against "spiritual exhibitionism", writing that "open wounds stink and do not heal" (1979, p88). In recognition that "you can also disclose too much" Verity explains to me that she tends to open up to tell the youth *some* of what is going on with her in a form of "controlled emotional involvement" as she herself puts it. In counselling, mentoring and supporting youth through the 'deep' issues they might struggle to disclose to most adults, the emotions and the relational connection itself become instrumentalised as a tool for the essential work of their role. In the process, intimacy is fostered through the

presentation of some (selected, mediated) emotions being performed and shared, while others (those that are "too much") are withheld, put off or reformulated.

One of the stories Verity told me illustrated the complexity of the way that ideas of open/closed are utilised and morally weighted in the CYS community. She shared it as a way of describing (and through this performing and constituting) the change she has experienced in herself over the last few years, since she first began studying social work and doing youth work. She said that initially when girls disclosed sexual abuse to her she "took it all on board […] it was very HEAVY." The metaphor of burdens is often used alongside that of open-ness in this way, and both are intimately entangled with conceptualisation of empathy and empathetic labour. Verity goes on to say

> I didn't know kind of how to deal with it. I'm quite empathetic, and so sometimes I can kind of feel what they are feeling, or kind of take in on board, when I don't necessarily have to. And I'll be like 'Wow!' [overwhelmed] and trying not to cry.

These days she says she is still empathetic, but knows how much to "put yourself in it." She gives another example of managing the culturally-suspect emotion of anger in a situation where a little girl was being abused. When she first received this case she described her anger being to the extent where "I wouldn't trust myself if I had a pistol in the room [with the girl's parents] with the stuff they've DONE." She says she has learnt not to "allow" herself to get emotional about such situations. The process by which this occurred involved speaking to supervisors (another site of the multisourced power of emotional norms) and through the self-work of widening the scope of her imaginative empathetic practices to include the girl's parents who, she reasons, must also have been very hurt and broken people to take those actions (i.e. "Hurt people hurt people", a common phrase here). She still feels "upset" by such tragic situations, she is quick to clarify, but without the extremity of directed anger she had initially experienced.

Verity's narrative was a very complex performative piece. In it she juggled several potentially paradoxical elements of the identity of the 'good' youth worker. The concern about not being "too open" or "putting too much of yourself in" is part of a discourse of professionalism which emphasises that the relationship should be deliberately and consciously asymmetrical. It suggests openness can be selfish (in that it focusses back on the leader) and also dangerous, in that it makes a leader vulnerable.

Verity talks about trying to find a balance between "not being a heartless robot" and yet not becoming so emotionally entangled with the situation that it "tires" or "drains" her, reducing her overall capacities to work and help. The complex tensions of working with minors in the informal youth work setting, as I have mentioned, contributes to the sense of relational intimacy as fraught with risk as well. The difficult task for youth workers then becomes to integrate the idea of being 'closed' or having distinct boundaries and safeguards (both practically and emotionally) while still being authentic and performing the selfless, wholehearted caring that is at the heart of the identity.

In explaining all this Verity relies upon several different metaphors for emotional management including boundaries, burdens, balance, and the vessel metaphor of the self. While self-control was the embodied value that dominated MOTEM, in CYS the aesthetic of balance is much more evident (see also Chapter 5). I argue that in Canterbury the sensibility of balance is used as a way to mediate the tension between competing discourses, through compromise and syncretic interweaving in places of tension, that promise a 'both/and' approach rather than an 'either/or' approach to competing emotional values, where possible. Verity did just such a thing with her approach to carefully performing the dyadic values of open/closed. In MOTEM this is present too - for example in the careful use of empathy, where leaders balanced ideas of the emotional control of the exemplary leader, with discourses of the emotional engagement of the humble, caring leader, by *crying with* others but not crying their own tears publically.

## Boundaries as an imaginative structure for emotional management

I have already established the significance of metaphorical structures for shaping conceptualisation of abstract emotional processes, with the examples of burdens and contagion in Kampala (Chapter 3). In Canterbury hydraulic metaphors are often utilised in similar situations, to explain the cost of care. These involve an internalised sense of pressure rather than the external weight of a burden, and they interface with the notion of 'boundaries' shapes much of the way emotional management is conceived of. As an imaginative structure the 'boundary' lends itself in a number of different directions, including the private/public division and the self/other division.

In Europe, the role of the youth worker is often framed around them "entering the worlds" of young people as fully as possible, to "meet them where they are" (Davies 2012, p155). Sercombe's writing around the nature of the faith-based youth worker's relationship with their young people, should be focussing around creating a covenant, a "sacred circle", or a partnership within a special space in which they "work together to heal hurts, to repair damage, to grow into responsibility, and to promote new ways of being" (2004). Darren summed up the ambiguity around how to manage relationships according to such imperatives:

> Boundaries are a good thing professionally, but…. I don't' think they're even ALWAYS a good thing… pastorally. Because I think there's a certain sense that you have to open yourself up. You know, to gain that relationship with people. Yeah you feel a sense of expectation. Like your life's an open book. And it IS in lots of respects.

Here he creates a portrayal of intimacy, egalitarianism and openness. It draws on the meta-narrative of the Christian faith, the pattern of Jesus that Christian youth workers seek to model, which is one of a radical dissolution of boundaries; Jesus, God incarnated, en-fleshed to become human, to form a bridge of relationship between God and man (Richards 2005, cited in Nash & Whitehead 2014, p117). As a concept, empathy expresses a similar notion of radical connectedness, of the dissolution of the self/other dichotomy… in other words, spatial intimacy and the removal of boundaries. In this way it sits somewhat at tension with the managerialism and professionalism that emphasises the importance of boundaries between the self and other.

Jo Whitehead's youth work manual on "managing yourself"- as an example from the (limited) pool of resources on faith-based youth work, and a reflection of the discourses within this very specific vocational field - devotes an entire chapter to "boundaries" (2010). In it she cites examples of God drawing boundaries, and then moves into discussion of professional boundaries (taking for granted the professional nature of the work as the status quo) including the home/work split, and exercise of individual agency in learning to say 'no'. The importance of this topic is set against the wider acknowledgement of a lack of boundaries as a predictor of or contributor to burnout (Davies 2012). In the many CYS teachings on this and related topics, there is a similar focus on boundaries as essential for the maintenance of an appropriately asymmetrical relationship of care, for personal emotional safety, and for long-term

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sustainability in the role. Yet in day-to-day practice it remains a topic fraught with complexity when articulated with other aspects of the care identities of these leaders, as Verity's story indicated. Boundaries are talked about in two senses, which are by no means mutually exclusive; practical boundaries, the separation of time and space, and emotional boundaries, the management of affect and empathy.

> *Sam leaves his gumboots at the door of the classy little bar-come-café; one of two coffee places in the small country town. He greets a handful of people on the way in, and another different handful on the way out an hour later, after our long interview on the plush couches in the corner, coffees in hand. At the high, polished wood bar we argue briefly, amicably, about who will pay for the coffee. At the till, however, the middle aged woman with the dye-bright hair leans over the counter towards Sam. "How's Jane been at youth group lately?" she asks leadingly.*
>
> *"Oh … yes, she's been fine." Sam answers noncommittally, though I can see his mind ticking over. The nearby door is suddenly far away. "Why?"*
>
> *"She's been having some issues lately.…"*
>
> *Despite the nearby presence of a couple of other well-dressed farmers wives waiting for a refill of red wine, the lady then proceeds to relate her daughters' recent school change, her self-harm, and her problems with the psychologist they sent her to. Sam strokes his beard, his face arranged in a perfect display of concern, and makes the throaty humming noises of intent listening. I wonder how much of this he already knows from Jane herself, and how he will navigate his response.*
>
> *The conversation closes when Sam, still a picture of concerned kindness, promises to keep an eye on her, and we exit into the chilly late afternoon air. He re-dons his gumboots. "I had no idea who that woman was at first" he confesses to me as we slide into the car to drive the three blocks to the church. We laugh a little over the shared awkwardness of it all. Out there in public he belongs to the parents, to everyone. Behind the doors of the church, with music playing now, he belongs to the rag tag bunch of teens who find a tentative safe haven there each Friday night. The line must be walked between accountability and confidentiality, safety and relationship. Now in here as the youth trickle in he will turn into a younger, louder, more energetic and colloquial version of himself: "Sam-the-Youth-Pastor." But clearly even in the coffee shop, wearing thick farmers socks with mug in hand and guest in tow; he must be the responsible, parentally trustworthy, constantly caring Sam-the-Youth-Pastor at a moment's notice then too.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 12th June 2013***

Sam's small town experience where "You can't go anywhere and not be the Youth Pastor" is one echoed by Youth Pastors in many of the more central Christchurch communities as well. It exemplifies the weight of a role where rather than a set of actions which occurs in a set time period; youth work is also an identity and thus cannot be 'removed' for relief. Richards recognises that in faith-based youth work there tends to exist a "multiplicity of overlapping personal relationships potentially makes the boundary between personal and professional life almost non-existent" (Richards 2005, cited in Nash & Whitehead 2014, p117). Nonetheless a completely collapsed distinction between public and private life is uniformly seen as problematic (Davies 2012). The use of 'hours' as a time resources was part of the representation and negotiation of this, and the division of time, space, and wealth all used as examples of how this tension was lived out between practices that blurred all of these lines, and values that promoted them.

Role-sharing CYS youth pastors and spouses Simon and Annette, like many others, spoke articulately about their awareness that youth work was "more than a job" and their constant awareness of the way it is entangled with their family life. With 15 years' experience to help them learn to "separate out a bit" what often feels all-encompassing, they do also note that between them they have quite different ways of managing this, based on different levels of need for separation between work and home. Annette laughs about this:

> We'll be in bed and it will be 11pm at night, and I'll will start talking about work stuff, and Simon will go [in an automated voice] 'that extension is currently unavailable; please try again in the morning.'

Many of the leaders were explicit and insistent on the topic of boundaries; knowing your limits, learning to say no, and putting boundaries in place were common tropes. Boundaries can be understood in terms of the flow of resources towards youth work, where practical boundaries limit the flow of time resources (and sometimes financial) resources towards others, and emotional boundaries limit the flow of emotional resources towards others. Thus in many ways the discussion of boundaries is about the designation of personal space, time, and even emotion, from professional (role related, public) space, time and emotion. However this is not an easy or natural split for the Canterbury leaders, conflicting with many other values and discourses of the 'good' leader, whose identity as a youth worker cannot be taken on and off. This means the

emotional norms of the organisation do not have distinct on and off times either. A common example, cell phones often represent the pervasive reach of the 'needs' of the youth into what may be designated as private or 'backstage' time; turning their cellphone off or not answering messages is commonly cited as a form of practical boundary setting, and yet this conflicts so deeply with the internalised identity of carer, and the desire to help, that it is not an easy action.

Decisions about how to enact boundaries were wrestled with very seriously, and they had high stakes morally and practically speaking. This was illustrated in another one of Mike Dodge's stories. He relates it with uncharacteristic solemnity, voice hushed despite there being no one but he and I in his booked-lined CYS office. Many years prior, he tells me, there was a time when he had three girls he had worked with suicide in the space of a few weeks. "One was the success story of the health board" he explains to me; after months of work to get her back into the community, in a small group and a workplace that cared for her, things seemed to be going exactly on plan, until…

> She told me one day that she was thinking of jumping off a building… so I
> looked at her suicide plan. And three days later she suicided. I talked her out
> of jumping off a building, but she OD'd [small sad laugh]. And so it was that
> 'GUTTED' [feeling]. She started it, and the other two suicided very quickly
> afterwards, and I REALLY hit rock bottom. I hit the wall. Because I hadn't
> answered my cellphone. And you think 'Oh, if I'd only answered my
> cellphone that day.' So you beat yourself up. So it was a couple of years of
> therapy to deal with that. That's scary! I felt very responsible, because I'd
> never had someone suicide. And.... yeah I think it took me a long time to
> work out of that. ... Still pretty raw now in fact.

That much is obvious. Mike circles back to describe this girl - a 'darling', he says, who despite the way he keeps many people at a "safe distance", managed to get right "under my defenses." Ahmed argues that to love is to create dependence, and thus it is intimately linked to anxieties about the boundaries of self/other (2004, p125). Threats to the self are often viewed as a violation of boundaries, with spatial-representations of closeness with others utilised (Robinson et al 2006, p149). These are phenomenologically rooted metaphors that in turn shape the experience of empathy and care among CYS leaders (similar to what Froggatt [1998] has observed among hospice nurses). However as Fitzgerald observes of the care ethics of hospital clinicians in New

Zealand, 'distance' as a protective counterbalance to empathy is not the same as 'distant' (2004, p338). In the same way in CYS 'distant' would be an unacceptable violation of the relational subjectivity of the 'good' CYS youth leader, and yet 'distance' is a part of 'good' and 'healthy' professional practice.

In Mike's story, emotional boundaries and practical boundaries mirror each other and both fail, with serious emotional consequences. If the understanding is that practical boundaries can prevent burnout by mediating the amount of work that is done, then emotional boundaries prevent compassion fatigue (the topic I had been querying with Mike when he responded with this story) by mediating the level or depth of connection, or emotional entanglement, with the suffering other. However even when this second frame - of boundaries as protective - was employed, it was done so within an instrumentalising explanation (see also Chapter 6) whereby the leaders' self needed to be protected and preserved only out a desire to maintain them for service the role: as Darren put it: **"the ability to be able to do it long term and not wanting to just CRASH and BURN."** Richards responds to Sercombe's idea of the intimate circle discussed above with the suggestions that rather than conflicting with this image of openness, boundaries exist to ensure the intimacy it fosters there stays within its purpose (2014, p114). He draws on the aesthetic of balance to suggest a 'zone of helpfulness' between under involvement and over involvement: being "friendly" but not "a friend", in recognition of the inherently unequal power dynamic. Real life, however, is much messier, and the youth work experiences swing back and forward between both ends of this scale with different relationships and at different moments; emotional entanglement and under-investment, boundaries and intimacy. In narratives, conversations, and through reflection and self-work youth workers analyse, worry, and confess, and in doing so attempt to reshape their moral selves problematically around both seemingly contradictory ideals, using embodied values such as balance as a guideline.


## Identity, emotional labour and the total institution

Hochschild writes that organisations carefully manage their 'front stage' - drawing in part from Goffman's work on impression management, but at an organisational level (1983/2003, p51). CYS carefully manages its image through social media and at large events such as Easter Camp where design teams, videographers, and photographers

make polished, 'cool', themed material for each year (see Appendix 5). They include giant cut-outs for the *literal* stage that the band uses, at the front of the main marque (see 7). However although a significant culture-setting annual event, this is a relatively small part of the day-to-to-day, year long reality of 'youth work' in the region. In many ways the everyday face of the organisation is the literal faces of the youth workers. While they do not control the bodily presentation or behaviour of the leaders to the same extent as occurs in the faith community of Kampala, CYS manages their leaders in another significant way - in and through shaping their emotions and emotion display in minutiae, in all the ways I have discussed. It is particularly effective at doing this through co-opting them to engage in emotional labour using and on (managing) their own emotions, in deep ways, through moral labour and deep acting.



**Figure 47. The stage at Southern Easter Camp 2012, with custom made 'EC' backdrop. Credit: CYS, used with permission.**

When Tracy researched on a cruise ship, she argued for the relevance of this site for the study of emotional labour because it constitutes a 'total institution' (2000). While the CYS youth work community is not technically a total institution, neither is it a 9-5 job. Without set hours, or formal times on and off 'duty', and with technology increasingly impinging on private time, the private/public divide is almost impossible to clearly delineate here and weighted strongly towards always being 'at work'. MOTEM is the same, if not more, of a total institution. In Uganda a lack of professionalisation in

the youth work sector means that discourses of 'boundaries' in ministry find less purchase. This is in part because the Ugandan cultural context has less emphasis on personal space or personal time – something we longed for each night as the day's guests lingered on in our tiny living room. This also relates to a more sociocentric perspective on the rhythms and resources of life. For example in Kampala living arrangements rarely prioritise the separation of individual spaces, and shared sleeping arrangements are actually preferred. There are different proxemics paradigms with less emphasis on 'personal space' and less concern about touch in public spaces. Similarly there is less emphasis on time as an individually 'owned' resource and thus less delineation of time as work versus private time, which puts an interesting paradox in light of the prescriptive split between public and private emotion. While the idea of physical rest is present, the idea of private rest or leisure (i.e. "taking time for oneself") is largely absent.

The CYS community does not have different emotional rules for different contexts, as in fact this would drastically violate their dominating aesthetic of 'authenticity.' The deep emotional labour they undertake to protect their cherished selves is therefore relentless, and seemingly constant. Tracy believes that the negative effects of emotion work can be eased by "opportunities for backstage interaction with similar others allow[ing] employees to engage in hidden transcripts, social support, role distancing behaviours" (2000, p279). Having the opportunity to relate in a backstage setting, she insists, can help workers to (re)construct a preferred sense of self.  I am reminded again about the example of Xtend Youth leadership camps, where the focus is on the leader "mingling" with the youth, and even sleeping arrangements involve leaders spread out amongst the young people's bunk rooms. Away from the presence of their care objects, the excitable teens, the brief daily leaders' meetings are held in the small upstairs conference room with a view of the bay and a wood burner in one corner. I found myself looking forward to these every day. Here, leaders stroll in around 7:30 each night to take up positions on the couches and chairs in a rough circle. Led by Mike Dodge himself – as always light-hearted, and full of jokes -  much of what is reiterated in these meetings is the need to "be with" and "be attentive to" the youth… to be discerning, to be listening, to be *there*. One night after a comfortable lull at the meeting, Mike quips lightly [emphasis his] that "it's NICE to have some ADULT time." Without missing a beat, another leader pipes up from across the room: "go and find some then!"

Here, amidst the humour, we see the dual discourses within which the 'good' leader is constructed, and by which individuals navigate and crystallise their own preferred self (Tracy 2005). The youthful, energetic, casual attitude that they pursue in order to fit in alongside the young people is first problematized (by Mike): he implies it can now be 'dropped' for more adult behaviour in this ostensibly 'backstage' setting, which is in reality although it is in a literal back (and upstairs) room remains a stage in its own right, with an audience of other leaders and authority figures. The response indicates that even in this setting, the authenticity of that 'crazy', youthful subjectivity acted out in the downstairs rooms with the young people, was seen as 'really' their true, personal identities, repeated here in an ostensibly private 'off-duty' setting. Thus the 'private' or cherished self is brought back into line with institutional discourses.

Having a context that is 'safe' for self-disclosure and self-examination is believed widely to be a remedial response to the 'over mixing' of self, faith and work (Richards 2005 cited in Nash & Whitehead 2014, p118). Many youth leaders did speak about CYS leaders meetings as safe and supportive spaces - the '33k' meetings in particular. Run by CYS, these occur once a month at around 7:30am, each time with a different church physically hosting the meeting in their buildings and providing hot drinks and breakfast nibbles. They are often deliberately tethered with a regional 24/7 youth work meeting, which will occur directly afterwards and with many of the same people. Most in attendance are youth pastors, or the primary/senior leaders from each church or 'youth community', although it is by no means compulsory so not all youth communities will have a leader present every month. Mike Dodge generally leads these, and it is a time more of mutual sharing than structured teaching, whereby going round the circle each person has an opportunity to share how things are going with them currently, or to answer a couple of key questions, before Mike shares some brief thoughts on a particular topic or skill he feels pertinent to where youth work in the region is 'at' currently. There is also a lot of informal chatting before and afterwards between leaders who are from different parts of the city (and even the region), and different denominations, and may otherwise be unlikely to see each other between the large CYS events such as Easter Camp, Xtend and SYLT.

These events have the potential to be a platform for leaders to support each other, and many do experience 33k meetings as a great encouragement. However while Tracy suggests that such spaces can be useful for engaging in "role-distancing"

behaviours, allowing personal and professional identities to be briefly untangled, in my observations they just as often functioned as another facet through which emotional norms and institutionally shaped subjectivities were reinforced. I attribute this largely to the previously noted aesthetic of 'authenticity' in the CYS community which means that a disjunct between backstage and front-stage emotions would be almost untenable. As Tracy (2000, p120) again nicely terms it;

> Through a Foucauldian lens, the pain of emotion labor in a total institution has less to do with losing the real self and more to do with having to understand and construct one's identity in an arena wherein a conflictual landscape and a dialogic conversation are relinquished.

I will return to the 33k meetings for further analysis in Chapter 6, as a site where narrative analysis from sharing in the circle shows some of the strategic and agentive undercurrents of negotiation of institutionalised meanings around emotional distress and mental illness.

Elisha argues that studying the institutional contexts (Christian or otherwise) through which social actors internalise and enact altruistic ideals, can give a valuable insight into "the contingencies of religious subjectivity" (2008, p182). In this chapter I have built on earlier discussions of the subject and subject formation to look at how the 'good' youth worker as a loving carer is embodied in locally situated ways, and how emotion is implicated in this. My argument here has been that emotions are discursively created and culturally specific ways of experiencing and responding to the world related again in turn to models of the self. The psychological distress associated with the deep forms of emotional labour that this encourages, is not only because work is done on intimate or 'inner' parts of the self, but because the multiple competing discourses often call for contradictory emotional acts, around conflicting subjectivities, to occur at once. For example (professional/volunteerist) notions of openness, closedness and boundaries illustrate some of these embodied ideals, which can be internalised as discursive tensions which in turn can contribute to psychological distress by necessarily threatening cherished identities with multiple ideas about how to feel and how to care as the 'good' leader.

Unlike in Uganda where moral maturity was constructed around the controlled presentation of emotion in public (based on an oppositional body/spirit dyad where they

must be 'overcome), the aesthetic of authenticity in Canterbury instead creates a view of emotional expression as healthy and thus 'good'. Forms of public confession were used in CYS events, but the stories I collected also represented another form of confessional tale, which also functioned as a way for individuals to reconstitute themselves around emotional norms. The influence of managerialist and neoliberal ideologies which operationalise emotions as important tools for the responsible and effective worker are also strongly evident, encouraging this to an even greater extent. Self-awareness and management of one's emotions are part of a broader self to manage one's own being, which is shared between both of my sites but also patterned against locally specific and phenomenologically informed metaphoric structures. The following chapter will further discuss this for both field sites around the shared schematic of the self-as-vessel, and the important variation of the self-as-channel.

# CHAPTER 5: The Empty Vessel

*People have just been giving, and giving, and giving, and all of a sudden just stop and go 'I've got nothing left'*

-   *Mike Dodge, CYS Director*

Cognitive linguists and psychologists assert that because the way we think in the everyday is inherently figurative, our use of metaphors reveals the ways we think about and experience ourselves (Pritzker 2003). Robert Desjarlais advocates analysing "the contours and boundaries of the 'selves' as they are culturally constructed" (1992b, p1106). In order to understand how youth workers think about and experience themselves, framing itself against Desjarlais' work this chapter will ask what "imaginative structure […] animates the language, actions and dispositions" of the youth workers in each place and "what are the key forms and tensions marking their experience, social history and moments of illness" (Desjarlais 1992a, p37).

Kirmayer credits the metaphoric with providing a unique link, in the translation of symbolic systems into physiological, phenomenological, interpersonal and social transformation (2004, p37). This occurs, he says, in healing practices cross-culturally via linking levels of sensory, affective, and conceptual meaning (2004, p37). It is clear that metaphors can have powerful roles in shaping people's experience of themselves and their world, and attention to the relationship of metaphor with the body a crucial aspect of this. The previous chapters have already unfolded some metaphors around emotional management which are crucial parts of these of the way tensions between care and self-care in these two faith-based communities are addressed. Adding to these other imaginative structures, I examine the self-as-vessel and self-as-channel as two ways that two faith communities in this specific moment in time have made sense of the embodied experiences of the cost of care on individual wellbeing. These models of the self are significant in that they 'map' out answers to the questions that arise during experiences of illness or dysphoria. It is this metaphorical self-concept which is then used to locate the compromised area (i.e. where does it hurt?), to make causal attributions (i.e. why does it hurt?) and to determine response (i.e. how can I stop it

hurting, or avoid getting hurt again?), and which provides a crucial link to the discussions of the following chapter. The variations in usage of the self-as-vessel metaphor in each organisation elucidate some important cultural specificities. Comparing and contrasting the two provides a sense of the way context and culture shapes language, practice, and embodied experiences of health and illness, particularly around mental and emotional distress. There is also a comparison to be made between how these articulate with the common Christian tripartite self model and the further effect this has on the meaning and practice of wellbeing in each site.

The presence of multiple and even competing schemas around health and wellbeing within any given culture is well established. Kirmayer argues that individuals draw from these in plural, rather than sequence, so that understandings of illness are often build around a "nested series of cognitive schemas" which may each variously utilise different models of affliction or notions of the person. As such, I argue for the co-existence and at times overlap of the metaphors of self as vessel, channel, tripartite structure, as dichotomous 'see-saw'' (in MOTEM), and as stratified 'depths' (in CYS). Indeed the focus for this research has consistently been around areas of cultural paradox: the moments of apparent contradiction or discursive conflict where two different models such as these meet. Just as Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003) manage to show interesting overlapping metaphorical coherence, I argue for the points at which these different schemas or 'models' of selfhood and wellbeing overlap as producing particularly fascinating locally specific sets of meanings. Rather than static cultural knowledge systems, Desjarlais conceives of models of the self as occurring within dynamic situations of social agency where social actors "compose, manage, and evaluate their forms and those of others in everyday social contexts" (1992b, p1106). Just so, in this chapter I use examples from MOTEM and CYS to illustrate the agency individuals express in managing their own wellbeing against the conflicting discourses and identities of the 'good' worker, through creative and strategic use of these imaginative structures in conversation with one another, and in contextually-specific ways.

## CYS and the Self-as-Vessel(s)

> *Verity makes her way to the front of the room. The Holy Spirit has been here, and you can sense something of the stillness, the vulnerability it brings in the expectant faces of the group. Many of the young people have moved from the formal rows of the earlier sermon, into the intimate unplanned clusters of spiritual ministry time. "Speak to us, refresh us, fill us up" they pray.*
>
> *The keyboard music has quietened as Verity steps onto the stage. "Verity had something she wanted to share" Mike explains, slinging an arm warmly around her "and I just want you to listen, and if you feel that it applies to you, if God is maybe tapping on the door of your heart a little bit, then we'll get you to just come up the front and she can pray with you." Verity takes the microphone to share the vision she had whilst praying, symbolically representing, she believes, someone's relationship with God.*
>
> *"If that's you, come up to the front now" Mike says. Someone quietly stands to move forward. Then, Verity's face registers surprise as a second, third, and yet more people also stand. Soon she is seated on the floor, to one side of the stage, with a cluster of nearly a dozen teenagers. Eyes closed, she lifts a hand, open towards them, and begins to pray.*
>
> *It must be well over an hour later when I meet her by the coffee machine. She looks exhausted. "I was a bit nervous about sharing that" she intimates with a small laugh. Gratefully gulping at her caffeine, she smiles valiantly, but confesses that although she felt "stoked" at the response, she was also a bit overwhelmed when she first saw the multitudes approach. She leans back in her chair: "I feel really spiritually drained."*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Saturday 28th July 2012***

The metaphor of self-as-vessel is an important element of self-concept in CYS; as part of a map to the 'landscape' of the self, which reflects key cultural concepts of the person (Kirmayer 2007, p232). Modelling the self as a vessel reflects particular local knowledges about the shape, form, nature and parts of the self, as well as the relationship between these parts, and the nature of its internal and external boundaries. Specifically, it portrays the self as individual, bounded, yet permeable entity. It emphasises a metaphysical interior space which can contain other substances that are not necessarily a fixed or endogenous part of the self. It also highlights the finiteness of

the 'capacity.'[46] It is relatively common for container metaphors to be used to represent the self (Robinson et al 2006, Kovecses 2000, Lakoff & Johnson 1999). The etymology of the word 'body' shows relevant shared phenomenological roots for such ideas: it stems from the old Saxon 'bodig', which in modern German is 'bottich', meaning vessel (Pritzker 2007). The language I have identified around filling and draining constructs a number of different 'substances' as flowing in and out of, or being stored within a person (more widely than just a body, as I shall discuss). Emotions, energy, spirits, power, and love are five of the most prominent of these in CYS, while a few others feature with more prominence and a different focus in MOTEM. Each 'substance' is not only significant individually, but within this metaphor they show a fascinating conceptual coalescence, that I believe creates a complex interpretive package of meanings that is specific to each community.

The CYS community is laden with the language of the vessel, used with condensational effectiveness and comprehensibility around personal wellbeing. Table 6 shows some examples of the way these leaders express states of poor wellbeing as feeling "drained," "empty," "dry," or "low." Not only is it a verbal pattern, but the sensory-affective-conceptual links (Kirmayer 2004) function to shape the embodied experiences of suffering among the CYS leaders according to this metaphor. In other words, people's experience of being 'drained' or 'empty' becomes a visceral, complete, bodily experience, and part of their idiom of distress. In parallel to this, and also deeply embodied, states of wellbeing, or activities that contributed to wellbeing were communicated around the idea of "replenishment", "refreshment", and "filling", and similarly also "building up" (which can be related as 'building up resources.') Specific iterations of this root metaphor included wells, rivers, rain, cups, and tanks, some drawing from scripture and others representing idiosyncratic and uniquely situated ways of expressing difficult concepts.

When we met in the airport, Verity told me about another area of youth work she is involved in - a community youth programme called 'Flame.' She laughingly explained that at the centre she coordinates, she is known as the 'issues lady.'

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[46] 'Capacity' is also a colloquial term in English for personal capabilities or limitations e.g. 'your capacity to give.'

[That] is good, because they know they can come and talk to me about stuff. But last week I put myself in the lounge, which is just the general hangout chat space, and just the WHOLE night, the whole two hours that we were over there, I'd just have one girl after another girl after another girl coming up to me. At the end of the night, I was talking to my boyfriend about it, and I was just like… 'Ohhh, I'm *quite* tired, I'm quite emotionally drained.' It *is* quite draining.

The depletion of 'emotion' Verity (and others) refer to here does not indicate a lack of emotional experience (i.e. emotional numbness), but instead refers to emotional *resources*. This relies on the idea of the self as a vessel within which (finite) resources can be stored, or depleted. This aspect of wellbeing is often bracketed under the term 'energy': an encompassing buzzword in this professional community. Energy is a comfortably neutral, flexible term which is employed in the wider secular New Zealand society as well as a primary folk measure of wellbeing. The term has clear links to eastern medical knowledges, being akin to 'vital energy' of life force. It builds on the common root metaphor of 'vitality as substance' (Lakoff & Johnson (1980/2003, p5).

Table 6. Selected quotes from CYS leaders showing the language of the self-as-vessel (bold added).

| Term | Participant | Quote |
|------|-------------|-------|
| DRAINING | Simon | "We identified quite early that it's really **draining** for us to be involved in [pastoral care] long term" |
| | Annette | "I do kind of DWELL on things. Like I'm terrible at a funeral! Oh my gosh, funerals **DRAIN** me. Even if it's total strangers!" |
| | Steve | "I could easily just be like 'I can't come tonight because I'm actually physically and emotionally **drained'.**" |
| | Mike | "It is around all that thing of going 'Yeah, I'm living the way God wired me': It's not as **draining.**" |
| | Emma | "Because church wasn't **building** me up, it was **draining** me…" |
| | Emma | "But it's really important to KNOW these things so you aren't inadvertently chucking yourself into a whole lot of situation where everything is being **drained** out of you are you are doing NOTHING that **builds** your soul up again." |
| | Hannah | "I think the other thing that's **draining** is when you do so much work and you don't see much results form it" |

| Term | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| **DRAINING** **(Continued)** | **Darren** | "We just went round in circles together, over some issues, for a long time. And I found that really **draining**." |
| | **Verity** | "If I put myself in it, or allow myself to get to EMOTIONAL over it , then it will **take stuff out** of me, like I'll get **drained**, and tired." |
| | **Jay** | "So I think that it's quite TIRING. When I talk about the spiritual stuff, I fire up, and get excited about it. Some people get **drained** by it: it's all different personalities as well." |
| **EMPTY** | **Steve** | "I also see it that if I'm giving and giving, from my well, then my well is going to be **empty**." |
| | **Emma** | "I've never got to a point when I'm totally **empty,** so I don't know how I would react." |
| | **Darren** | "If I'm spiritually **dry**, it's not hearing, not hearing God" |
| | **Steve** | "And at the time I know I probably, like my spiritual and my emotional side were really **low."** |
| | **Laura** | "When God takes something from us, he doesn't just leave us with an **empty** void, he replaces it." |
| **FILLING** | **Verity** | "Like on Sunday, having that as a rest day to kind of **fill** you up so you can work for the rest of the week, and then rest again." |
| | **Jay** | "You are often **giving out** socially. And you are often **giving out** spiritually in conversations. And what happens is you can just give, give, give, and if you are not **replenishing,** that part needs to happen." |
| | **Jay** | "Jesus was, he had a calling… [laughs] BIG calling. But he always had time to go away and **replenish**. He went away with the disciples, to sleep, even on the boat." |
| | **Steve** | "Having a really supportive wife that's able to […]just have that listening ear […] those are my sort of, I guess my **refilling."** |

Mike Dodge, in explaining to me about the need for youth workers to monitor their wellbeing, interrupted his words to use a nearby whiteboard to draw a rough set of graph axes and a plot of what he identifies as 'energy levels' for youth workers. The common CYS references to energy 'levels' is another subtle reflection of its basis in the container metaphor of self. In its most commonplace (secular) use, being drained relates

to low levels of vitality, or physical energy, and thus a state of tiredness or fatigue. This is built on biomedical/scientific ways of understanding basic bodily processes of metabolism and movement, and thus relates the vessel metaphor to physical wellbeing. However at many times 'energy' holistically encompassed, or actively tied together, aspects of the physical, spiritual and emotional, and thus captured a sense of overall wellbeing. Indeed in Canterbury being 'drained' was just as often attributed to intensely emotional or intensely spiritual activities, as with Verity, as it was to physical exertion.

### The 'Love Tank': Depletion as the cost of care

When you are caring for others continuously, Mike Dodge explains, sometimes you can discover, quite suddenly, that your "love-tank" is empty. This delightful, idiosyncratic idiom for the cost of care is an example of the self-as-vessel model applied to love as one type of energy, or emotional resource. "To hear a youth […] to walk those sorts of things with them, to take that on board… that is what is emotionally draining for me" Steve said. Given that these same types of caring labour that produce compassion fatigue, it is evident that 'drained' is part of the embodied experience of the cost of care for CYS leaders, linked to the emotional and empathetic labour I have described in Chapters 3 and 4. This is in part because 'love' itself is often metaphorised as a substance within the self-as-vessel. In common usage of the English language it is common to express being "filled with love" in reference to the affect or emotion of feeling loving. Through the transformative power of this metaphor, rather than an emotion, love becomes conceptualised more as a force, ability, or a resource which is then also subject to the other parameters of the metaphor, too. Specifically, it becomes a *finite* resource which can be given out (reducing one's stores), and can be gained (increasing them). This zero-sum equation of love structures the CYS leaders' understanding of both care labour - as Youth Pastor Hannah told me "I can only care so much" - and of the threat, risk or cost of care that accompanies a state of depletion Emma expresses the latter:

> I guess if you really kept [catering to a youth's every emotional need] then
> that kid is just going to DRAIN and drain and drain and drain and drain.
> […] I've never got to a point when I'm totally empty, so I don't know how I
> would react. I imagine that it would be like, physical, like the burnout from
> overwork. And I imagine it might be too, even more damaging. Because it's

not just like an 'aw, I'm too tired from doing so much'. It's more like 'all
my compassion, all my love is actually drained out of me'. You might
actually really struggle to get back into a position of being able to love and
care for other people.

The vessel metaphor holds significant explanatory power around the costs and
consequences of care work, including experiences of illness, and in particular of mental
illness. It frames these, overwhelmingly, around depletion. "We need to be very self-
aware, a bit cautious […] when we've given out a lot" said Simon.

Freudenberger's original work on burnout was also built around a
conceptualisation of caring as 'giving of oneself', in a zero sum equation that involved
balancing helping others and helping one's own self (cited in Friberg 2009, p543).
Giving too much of oneself psychologically without any return was what led to illness,
or specifically to burnout, he theorised. Among CYS leaders (drawing on the clinical
psychology terminology), compassion fatigue, stress, depression, fatigue, burnout or
something "even more damaging" (as Emma ominously suggested in the above quote)
were all named as possible consequences of the resources in the self being depleted or
diminished due to 'giving and giving.' What is evident both in his work and, more
explicitly, in the use of the vessel metaphor in CYS, is a theory of affliction (Kirmayer
2004, p34) that is based on depletion. While psychodynamic hydraulic metaphors focus
on an *excess* of emotion within the self as dangerous, the use of the self-as-vessel
metaphor in relation to wellbeing portrays a *depletion* of emotions (and/or energy, love,
or power) within the self as dangerous. This resonates with much of contemporary
biomedicine, which also draws strongly from a depletion model, sometimes but not
always with a direct phenomenological basis. Examples include monitoring,
maintaining or replacing the correct levels of different bodily substances, such as blood,
platelets, vitamins white blood cells, hormones, proteins and many more.

A depletion model is particularly evident in contemporary psychiatry and even
more so in simplified popularist understandings of it (including psychopharmaceuticals
advertising) where mental illness is now often simplistically reduced to "brain
chemistry", (Wardell 2013). This "modern neuro-mythology" embraces and over-
simplifies the still largely unproven serotonin hypothesis, which states it is simply a
depletion of serotonin (or other hormones) that cause mental and emotional disturbance,
and that a chemical 'top up' will fix it (Solomon 2001, p22). Not only

psychopharmaceuticals, however, but other nonmedical self-care activities are also often framed around 'topping up' brain chemistry and thus mental wellbeing, in popular western media, as exemplified by Figure 48.
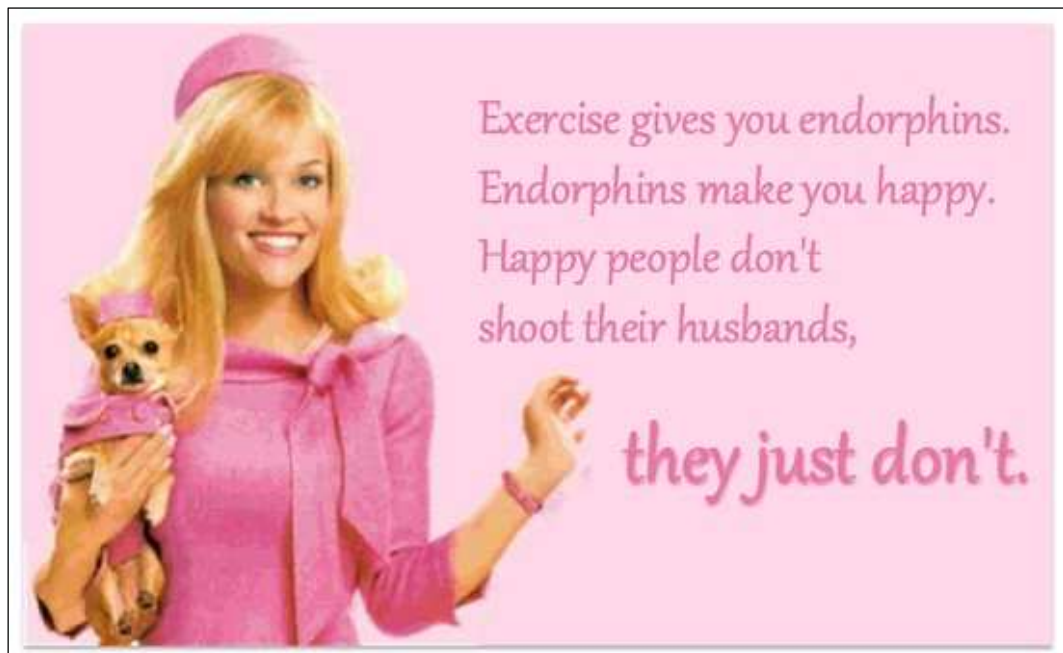


Figure 48. Viral internet image, featuring a quote from hit Hollywood film 'Legally Blonde' (2001).

Additionally, the danger of 'depletion' is made salient on a day to day level as a technological metaphor. It reflects the increasing permeation of digital technology into the lives of the younger generation of youth and youth workers in Christchurch, where a depletion of energy/power/charge on devices is anxiety-inducing. The constant awareness of monitoring of 'levels' of charge on various portable technological devices, parallels the constant self-awareness of the self-monitoring youth leader who, in parallel, see's their wellbeing in terms of 'levels' of these various substances, across various spheres of self. Being 'drained' or empty of love, power, or energy, is seen as a serious threat to wellbeing. However, this type of depletion has an additional, special resonance for these youth workers, since being drained of care means not being able to care. This represents a threat to the core identity of the 'good' CYS leader as carer. The inability to care is also seen as a symptom of burnout. Thus this metaphor adds another explanatory layer to the cyclically painful cost of care; as a carer, they must care, but according to this model doing so will eventually deplete their 'stocks' of love, care, and emotional energy. Self-care as a way to 'replenish' is something I shall discuss at length throughout this chapter. However levels of wellbeing are also mediated by another

factor I shall propose - building on Stephen Hobfoll's (1989) 'Conservation of Resources' (COR) theory - which is 'identity affirmation.'

## Identity-affirmation as a mediator for 'depletion'

The amount that a caring transaction 'costs' a youth worker, turned out to be a complex equation for the CYS leaders. The amount of hours, the level of emotional investment, and the depth of the trauma they were dealing with… none alone were clear predictors of which elements or cases for youth worker had the most effect or cost on them. Rather there was an additional factor, of a sense of 'progress' or 'having helped' the young person in some way. An identical scenario, I realised, might be experienced either as positive, affirming, encouraging and 'filling', or as exhausting, disheartening and 'draining', depending entirely on the eventual outcomes. Its effects seem to rely on a retrospective re-inscription of the caring experience that puzzled me for some time. This resembles, in reverse, the additional pain, frustration and 'cost' of thwarted helping impulses which I have discussed as 'moral distress.' It forms a seemingly parallel model to emotional labour theory (as Byrne et al [2011] have illustrated), around the link between emotion/care work and negative psychological experiences but using examples from my research I shall use it as a complementary building block in a broader theorisation of this.

COR theory premises that the reason that stressors cause *dis*-stress is a loss of resources, and thus people act to conserve resources and will minimise threats to resource loss wherever possible. Some primary examples of the 'resources' to which COR theory refers are time, knowledge, money, physical strength, and sociocultural resources. Emotional labour could be translated, under this theory, as an act which gives out socio-emotional resources, that may at times be depleted at a faster rate than they can be replenished (Byrne et al 2011), which would explain its long term negative effect on wellbeing. COR theory is useful in that it parallels depletion models of affliction and captures the sense of risk or threat I saw embodied. However it is very individual, and transactional, tending to gloss over any local, cultural or historical specificities of different types of resources and different ideas over what 'takes' or 'bestows' the more ephemeral types of resources such as prestige and emotional energy, as I myself have tried to elucidate. The theory is also not explicit in acknowledging that it is built on a metaphorical basis. However, I have drawn some useful theoretical components from it,

to apply to articulate with the power local self-as-vessel schematic in other to gain a better understanding of how the CYS leaders experience, mitigate, and respond to the cost of care.

Another way it is useful in elucidating the experience of Canterbury leaders, is that Hobfoll (1989) theorises that one type of resources may be swapped for another, for example time and energy for power and money, or (importantly here), time and energy in exchange for rewarding social interactions. Thus while the relational elements of caring work have a substantial cost (see also Chapter 3 & 4), and this cost through the vessel schematic leads to a 'draining' or resources that can be dangerous to personal wellbeing, they also in and of themselves provide a return which can sometimes offset its own cost. This was just as the CYS leaders observed when they explained, to my initial consternation, that acts of what I interpreted as 'emotional labour' had varying effects on them, depending on the sense of 'progress' (including relational depth/growth as progress) with the youth in question.

**Table 7. Selected quotes from CYS leaders, referring to 'stress' (bold added).**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Darren** | "I REALLY want to invest in this young kid! He's a good, good guy and I kind of write him off a little bit, in the programme I'd sort of even avoid him at times because he'd **stress** me out! Because he was, he had kind of like behavioural management issues, I guess." |
| **Darren** | "I'll go for a run, I've started running regularly in the last month, that's really good. That's a good **stress release.**" |
| **Mike** | "And we are absorbing the **stresses** in society." |
| **Sam** | "In the actual **stress** of the situation where you see, um, like you can, like not panicking I suppose, and taking a break." |
| **Jim** | "He was quite restless, and he was always **stressing** and forgetting things, he was not organising his group very well." |
| **Steve** | "My emotional drain would be things being able to hear a youth, and walking those sorts of things with them, and hear their EMOTIONAL sort of **stresses** in life, and taking that on board would emotionally be draining me." |
| **Hannah** | [About emotionally distancing herself] Yeah, it's just like 'oh, you're just complaining about that, it's not a big deal', but mm, I think I don't think I get really **stressed** out of like the little issues in their life. |

COR theory focusses a lot on stress, although as Hobfoll notes, stress is a rather vague heuristic. Terms like 'stress' heavily saturate the managerial language of CYS and stress forms the most easily accessible term/frame/idiom of distress to the Canterbury youth leaders (see Table 6). Hobfoll outlines that "*Psychological stress* is defined as a reaction to the environment in which there is (a) the threat of a net loss of resources, (b) the net loss of resources, or (c) a lack of resource gain following the investment of resources" (1989, p516). It is this third which may apply here, and can be articulated with emotional labour theory around labour which either affirms or threatens identity (see Chapter 3 also) as the mediating factor to whether care/emotional labour leads to psychological distress. In MOTEM this is also very apparent, where being "down" and even "heartbroken" were associated with the stress that comes "when you begin to love someone and they become part of your life, and whatever happens to them, whether good or bad, you feel connected, and when it is challenging you are STRESSED." However the tension between 'spending' your resources on others, and focussing on building your own resources, is also mediated somewhat by an idea of 'exchange', which is evident in Freudenberger's model of giving and receiving, and is explicated in COR theory. It particularly changes the outlook when the importance of the 'drain' of these caring relationships is understood against the importance of the relational in the self-concept of the youth worker.

Having established that what is 'identity-threatening' is also costly to wellbeing, I posit that 'identity-affirmation' might be fruitfully considered as 'resource' here. To elaborate, in faith-based youth work, when the 'giving' of time, emotional resources, energy, spiritual power, or love/care to a young person does indeed help them, the identity of the youth worker as 'carer' is affirmed. Thus while the leader may conceptually (and phenomenologically) experience 'loss' of love/energy that they have given from the self as vessel in this encounter, since their self-concept is built on being 'loving' or 'giving', they receive identity-affirmation back. Whilst the self-as-vessel schematic interfaces with a depletion model of affliction that explains why *over*-giving might cause significant personal distress, this additional aspect of theory, articulated with identity, also provides an explanatory framework for why many youth workers can 'give and give and give' and, by gaining affirmation of these aspects of their identity, still *not* experience some of the more serious costs of personal wellbeing that one might expect.

Having therefore 'exchanged' or 'invested' rather than just 'given', they do not experience so much the state of 'depletion' that is synonymous with distress and poor wellbeing there. Having established in literature and through my own examples that youth workers do closely line up their self-concept (or 'cherished identity') with the organisational expectations and identities, this is a reasonable interpretation of the link between identity and the much-varying experiences of care labour as costly but also "fulfilling" and "satisfying", as many find it. Additionally, emotional labour literature has shown this exact link between lower levels of burnout and distress in those who shape their identity to organisational norms (Brotheridge & Lee 2002, Brotheridge & Grandey 2002).

## Refilling, replenishing, refreshing as self-care

> We get taught it somewhere, to make sure that your in-goings are at LEAST as high as your outgoings […] So for me it's a real balancing act of really being very AWARE of where I am in all of those areas of self.

- Emma

With a depleted state being both dangerous to wellbeing and problematic to identity, practices that are understood as ways to 'fill' or replenish the vessel become very important. Mike's impromptu graph of energy levels, was his way of explaining how some points of the annual youth work calendar (such as the huge Easter Camp event) are exhausting and draining, while others are less busy and are a time to build up reserves, or recover. Other leaders gave similar examples about Easter Camp, or other longer events, which showed me just what close tabs they keep on their own states of wellbeing, in order to continue giving energetic, engaged, caring attention to the young people throughout. One touch point for such teaching in global evangelical culture, who both refers specifically to 'levels' and promotes careful self-monitoring is American author and pastor Bill Hybels[47]. Apparently leading a very busy, yet balanced life himself (as he illustrates in numerous listed examples of his long work hours and enormous number of commitments) he uses a mechanical metaphor to reach '*Reading your gauges: How to monitor your fitness to minister and make sure you don't run out of fuel*' in a 1991 article. He splits these gauges into three parts. Notably it is self-

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[47] Pastor of one of America's most attended churches.

knowledge (i.e. "knowing what gives you life") and the need for constant self-awareness and assessment (i.e. "looking for signs of being drained", "asking yourself") which crucial to achieving wellbeing. In just this way, like all CYS leaders, Emma has been implicitly ("somewhere" along her journey, as she says) taught to monitor her own 'levels' and practice strategic self-care accordingly.

> *It is one year later – we are back in the same place, for another camp. It is the evening of Day 3, but this time Verity is looking remarkably relaxed and fresh, so I don't feel too bad for choosing this moment to pick her experienced brain. "What is your advice for other youth leaders?" I ask her. "Work out of rest, don't work out of the need of rest" she says, and explains that sometimes you need a rest day to "fill you up" so you can work the rest of the week. This is much better, she asserts, than letting yourself become so drained that you* have *to rest, which I recognise as the much more common response here. Verity says she has given herself a lot more "permission" to rest lately. She sips her drink, gives me a cheeky grin, and confesses that she has skipped quite a few sessions during this camp to just go and lie down in her room. "If I do things like that, while they're a bit NAUGHTY [humorous tone] I find that I don't get drained, I don't feel tired at the end of it." She concludes, with a distinct sense of satisfaction, that while she doesn't always get the 'balance' perfect "I think I'm starting to manage myself a little bit better."*
>
> - *Excerpt from field notes, Thursday 24th July, 2013*

Mike says that where we spend our energy is a measure of what we care about. This is not only a reminder of the finiteness of the youth leader's resources, but also a reminder that it is the leader's responsibility to manage their own resources well. Where 'well' is of course defined through locally-specific moral discourse. The conundrum remains, between spending one's time and energy on the young people as a performance of one's selfless care for them, and spending time on oneself to retain one's own emotional efficiency. In identifying her actions as "naughty" (and, later in the conversation, wondering whether her roommate was suspicious of her) Verity was acknowledging her deviation from the norms and ideals of the selfless, ever-present 'good' leader. However she manages to positively frame her actions under the arguably even more important aesthetics of balance and self-awareness. These in turn relate to neoliberal, managerialist discourses on the responsibility of the individual to maintain maximum efficiency and effectiveness, and to work *sustainably* so they can stay useful for the long-term.

Since "youth work does take away" Jay is adamant that replenishing after you "give, give, give" is important. However the variety of activities to which both draining and filling were attributed speaks to the complex and various ways this schematic has shaped the praxis of the 'good', happy, healthy, self-aware, emotionally stable youth leader. The 'refilling' activities of self-care that are commonly cited include many mundane and biomedically prescribed activities such as walking, exercising or socialising, but are framed in a way that reflects the individualistic framing of identity I discussed in Chapter 2. "I always say to people", said Mike "just think about where you get your energy from, and do it that way. There's no 'this is the right way'." Similarly Karen said youth workers "need to discover what works for them. [...] there's no right or wrong way."

At least some of the source of your 'filling' should be spiritual, I am told, and even this is often individualised rather than ritualised, since on top of existing interdenominational variety in faith practices, CYS teaches different 'worship pathways.' They frequently encourage people to use all sorts of different ways of having devotional times or praying, based on how they are "naturally wired" (Mike) to relate to God. These encourage the tailoring each youth worker's practice to their individual selves, and their individual selves to their work environments, reflecting the long history of the alignment of management and conceptions of personal identity in western capitalism (Miller & Rose 1995). This involves "the calculated administration of life that seeks to make operable a particular identity for the worker and at the same time to embody principles compatible with a particular understanding of democracy" (Miller & Rose 1995, p457). They effectively operationalise discourses of self-actualisation, whilst maximising the efficiency of re-filling/re-charging times and therefore also maximise the amount of time left for the youth worker to be productively engaged in their task for.

The key was to be "fed from heaven", as Jay put it. Thus prayer, reading scriptures, fellowshipping, worshipping, and other spiritual disciplines all retained importance as ways of replenishing energy/emotions/love in the self-as-vessel, through refilling with the Holy Spirit, and spiritual power. One of the dynamic local youth workers who spoke at a large Canterbury inter-church youth service called 'East-Side Merge' gave the poetic description of their experience of God as being a sensation of 'liquid love.' The established identity of God as 'love itself' links together the

phenomenological experience of being filled with the Holy Spirit, being filled with spiritual power, and being filled with love. In this way the parallel layers of association solidify caring as a spiritual activity for faith-based youth workers, giving it the qualitatively different meaning and experience as the broader secular youth work sector.

## Power as a spiritual flow

> *The sun is streaming in from the tall windows at the back of the room, but everyone's attention is focussed forward on Mike Dodge. At the front of the room full of youth and leaders he stands with an odd arrangement before him: a carefully balanced glass and a jug of water atop a large tray, which is on top of a tall stool so we can all see it. He picks up the glass… and unceremoniously spits in it. A ripple of surprised, laughter goes through the room, and Mike laughs too, making a joke about his shared immaturity. He waits for the quiet to return. "We are all vessels", he says, "and sometimes we hold a lot of crap in our lives." The saliva, he explain, represents this 'crap': our own sin, and our brokenness caused by others sinning against us. He picks up the jug of water and slowly pours it into the glass, washing away the glob of saliva, sunlight now sparkling through the clear, fresh liquid in the cup. But he doesn't stop pouring. The glass overflows, the water spilling over into the tray. The water represents the Holy Spirit, he explains, with the power to cleanse and heal the crap in our lives. "Just like you need to keep drinking to stay drunk," Mike explains to the young people "it's not a once only event. We need to keep coming back and keep getting filled up by God."*
>
> - *Excerpt from field notes, Thursday 23nd July 2013*

The Christian use of the container schematic in relation to spiritual forces and practices, brings in a new, situated facet meaning to the self-as-vessel metaphor we have been considering around care and wellbeing. Alongside energy-as-substance, and love-as-substance, I consider now spirit-as-substance, and power-as-substance. Even more importantly I consider how these overlapping layers of meaning create a strong and situated conceptual package around the way this faith community understands wellbeing, and negotiates the problematic identity threat that the cost of caring (on the ability to care itself) can create.

The self-as-vessel metaphor bestows upon the self certain properties: most importantly boundaries that are permeable and an abstracted internal space that can be

indwelt (or 'possessed') by spiritual forces, either benevolent or malevolent. Protestant Christian doctrine encompasses a dualistic belief in an 'indwelling' of the Holy Spirit in believers, and in the possibility of possession by evil spirits commonly called 'demons.' As an interdenominational community in a largely secular society, CYS places relatively little focus on possession or deliverance within youth work, compared to the importance this plays in Kampalan communities. Nevertheless it remains a part of doctrine, varying person-to-person, and between different denominations, in emphasis and approach. For example while distinguishing himself from people he knows who are "super-spiritual" (a pejorative vernacular for *over* spiritual) Sam asserts you do need to be "aware" that "God and the Devil are real […] there's a battle going on, there's attacks on your life." Jay similarly observes that he's seen youth workers "getting taken out" in ways that appear as mental health problems, but that results from spiritual attacks. Notably any causal attributions focussed on demonic actually, for believers usually focus on spiritual *attack* rather than possession, since as Mike says "they can't go *in* you when Jesus is in you."

The Holy Spirit is described as 'filling' a person first when they first personally encounter God and become saved. The metaphor is so fundamental to the faith system that being "filled with the spirit" is synonymous with being a 'real' Christian. This indwelling or is crucial to the spiritual aspect of the life and work: keeping God "in" their lives, and trying to bring young people to a place of receiving Jesus "into" their hearts (where the heart is a synecdoche for the most inner self). This was sometimes expressed as Jesus "knocking on the door of your heart" [48] using a house as a spatial representation of intimacy and interiority, and again, boundaries and permeability. Although God dwells within a person constantly after their initial receiving of Him through salvation (as long as they continue to believe in Jesus, a point of considerable teleological and inter-denominational tension) there is a strong emphasis in evangelical circles on 'receiving' or 'refilling with' the Holy Spirit repeatedly, through communal ritual, as Mike suggested. This takes a spontaneous and charismatic form, facilitated by prayer and music, and is viscerally experienced as refreshment and renewal.

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[48] Drawn from Revelation 3:20: "Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with that person, and they with me." (NIV)

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> *The sun has set and we are gathered back in the same room, curtains closed against the dark vista of hills and harbour outside. Mike's 'props' have been cleared away. He doesn't need them any longer: he is about to turn us into the props. The kids seem quietly attentive when Mike addresses the room, and the leaders too are primed for what is to come. "Hold your hands out in front of you, like a cup" he says. Around the room people place their hands shyly before them. "This is the symbols of saying 'Here's my life God, fill it up'" he states gently, before explaining that we are about to start a time of worship, of being in God's presence. He encourages them to ask their leaders for prayer "about anything God is starting to speak to you about, or wants to heal in you." He invites the youth to "open your heart to be filled with the Holy Spirit." The music returns. Around the room, a few at a time, hands are cupped, stretched upwards, opened to heaven as heads tilt back and eyes close, and people are filled. Time twists, distorts around the emotion, the experience, the hush of God's presence.*
>
> *Later everyone will be formally excused to supper and will walk out of the door to transform back into noisy, giggly teenagers. Many, however, choose to stay and linger in the presence of God. The leaders stay too, still deeply involved with the small clusters of young people around them, and can be seen sitting beside the youth, arms around them, whispering and gesturing intently, hugging or holding them, laying hands on them in prayer, or lifting hands their hands too... channelling the power of God into the young people they love.*
>
> - **Excerpt from field notes, Thursday 23rd July 2013**

Strathern writes that ritualised gesture and posture in spiritual practice is imbued with performative power to catalyse spiritual experience (1996, p30). As I saw in this and many other CYS ministry sessions, it is the vessel schematic which structures much of the performance and experience of spirituality here. Very similar performative repertoires were used in MOTEM, which shares the same global faith system and thus many of the same ideas. Kirmayer similarly writes that metaphor theory links mental concepts with bodily action, and sensitive-affective imagery (2004, p37). Thus with the bodily action of the youth leader laying hands on someone to pray for them, the abstract conceptualisation of the transfer of spiritual power flowing out of them becomes a real phenomenological experience. Similarly raising their hands in worship enacts the metaphor of the 'flow' of the Holy Spirit and of spiritual power from 'above', into the body, refilling, and - in part because of the overlap with metaphorical conceptualisations of energy in the self-as-vessel – deep sensations of refreshment.

**Figure 49. Hands lifted in worship at a large youth event in Canterbury.
Credit: Nathan Williams, CYS, used with permission.**



**Figure 50. The vocal leader in the worship band at Southern Easter Camp. Credit: CYS, used with permission.**

It is common to refer to youth leaders as being 'a vessel for God's power.' The presence of, or filling with, the Holy Spirit is closely linked to the presence of, or filling with, spiritual power. The idea of 'spiritual power' can be seen as a religiously specific articulation of the broader cultural notion of 'energy' within the self, which as I noted does encompass aspects of the spiritual. However it is not related as much to individual qualities or capacities as energy is - even in CYS where the individualistic and biologised view of leadership qualities and callings predominates. Rather leaders are taught, from 2 Corinthian 4:7[49], that the power is "from God and not from us." It is an instrumentalised and depersonalised force, which is used to *do* something else as part of ministry. When Mike speaks about the spiritual dimension of the cost of care, he gives the illustration of the woman reaching out to touch Jesus and get healed, at which point "he knew that power had left him.[50]" Mike says that when you have that experience, "you know that it cost you", but because that person is healed it is still "good" and "worthwhile." Unlike *spirit,* references to "spiritual *power"* include notions of its transferrable, transformative properties when shared/given/enacted on others, and also that it can diminished or drained according to this usage - thus it is related to but distinct from the personal (and constantly present) indwelling being of the Holy Spirit.

The draining of energy and emotion can be seen as a metaphoricisation of emotional labour, but in a faith-based context and (especially considering the metaphorical links between energy/emotion and spiritual power that I have just posited) it can also be examined in light of McGuire's idea of *spiritual* labour (2010, Byrne et al 2011). While faith practices are usually seen as deeply personal, McGuire argues that spirituality should not be perceived by social scholars as strictly a private matter (2010). Indeed for the CYS leaders, much of the spiritual ministry time in which leaders draw

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[49] But we have this treasure in jars of clay to show that this all-surpassing power is from God and not from us" (NIV).

[50] Mike is citing Luke 8:43-48: "And there was a woman who had had a discharge of blood for twelve years, and though she had spent all her living on physicians, she could not be healed by anyone. She came up behind him and touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately her discharge of blood ceased. And Jesus said, "Who was it that touched me?" When all denied it, Peter said, "Master, the crowds surround you and are pressing in on you!" But Jesus said, "Someone touched me, for I perceive that power has gone out from me." And when the woman saw that she was not hidden, she came trembling, and falling down before him declared in the presence of all the people why she had touched him, and how she had been immediately healed. And he said to her, "Daughter, your faith has made you well; go in peace." (ESV)

deliberately on this 'spiritual power' occurs within their organisational roles or responsibilities. Whether paid or unpaid, it is part of the 'work' of youth work. Accordingly, even as an intense, embodied experience it can be instrumentalised, codified and regulated by organisational norms (McGuire 2010) when "spirituality becomes part of commodity or service an organisation offers" through the youth worker (p75). What this means is that the management of both in-flows and out-flows of spiritual forces is perceived as the responsibility of the individual youth worker just as much as any other aspect of self-care, which will be important to keep in mind in the following chapter as I discuss this more directly.

## Managing wellbeing as a tripartite vessel

In examining the influence of the self-as-vessel metaphor on prescriptions for self-care, it is important to recognise the internal complexity of this schematic. As Desjarlais notes, selves cross-culturally tend to have multiple parts with specific names attributed to them (1992a). In both CYS and in MOTEM, though with variations I will discuss, the self is essentially seen as tripartite. When I queried them on the 'parts' of the self, they generally identified these as the body, mind and spirit… each which has associated 'spheres' called the physical, mental (or 'psychological') and spiritual (see Table 8). This draws on a long Judeo-Christian tradition, including earlier iterations of this model involving the body, spirit and soul. In New Zealand this three-part self has a significant parallel to the '*Te Whare Tapa Whā*[51]' model of *Māori* health, which based on the image of a *Māori* house, focuses on wellbeing across the four areas of *whānau* (family health), *tinana* (physical health), *hinengaro* (mental health) and *wairua* (spiritual health) (Durie 1998). Despite this parallel, in a more typically European, individualistic manner wellbeing in CYS tends to be primarily spoken about around the three elements of the individual self.

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[51] Developed by Sir Mason Durie, in his work to promote *Māori* perspectives in health care, in 1982.

**Table 8: Selected quotes from CYS leaders, referring to the parts of the disarticulated self (bold added).**

| Illustrating | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| PARTS | Mike | "I think that there's 3 dimensions to it, **body soul spirit** [musing] but soul and spirit are almost the same. Maybe it's better to say **body, soul, mind."** |
| | Andrew | "It makes me want to be there for them **physically**. But also **emotionally** and **spiritually** as well." |
| | Sam | "Yeah I suppose it takes a **spiritual** toll and that's something to be aware of. [...] And **physically** I don't think… well actually probably I eat too much, and sit too much, with people. I actually did sports, like sports practices, and actually then my body was in a lot better shape than it is after 10 years of this. Yeah I don't' know, **emotionally** too… I tend to break things down into those areas." |
| | Annette | "[An ideal youth worker] for me does the WHOLE thing… the whole thing. **Physical, mental, emotional, spiritual**. so all of those things." |
| | Simon | "I think we've learnt after camps and things, I mean it exhausts you **physically,** but also **spiritually** and **emotionally**... I think after that we are a bit… there's a bit of a downside to it. A **spiritual** or **emotional** cost there as well. But because we KNOW that we are aware. We are a bit more AWARE. We are aware that we've given out a lot, so we need to be a bit cautious." |
| | Jay | "I think there's a couple of models which I like, and I think that umm you have the four walls, which you have the **social** life, you have your i**ntellectual** life, you have your… do you remember what they are? It's **mental, social, physical** and **spiritual.** [...] So I think that again, mental health, you know we've talked about the three part triangle." |
| | Emma | I guess I see myself as separated into… **body, mind, emotions** and **spirit.** |
| RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTS | Emma | "I can generally tell these days, um, when I'm getting tired, which one it is, in which way? Like am I **physically** tired, or the rest of me is totally fine? Or am I **mentally** tired from thinking really hard, and actually working through something, but the rest of me is fine? THOSE two tired, are totally acceptable. They're a good kind of tired, because they come from working hard, and achieving things. **Emotionally** tired, is what I get I guess from my personality. The being around the kids, the rushing around like crazy [..] But for me it's definitely **spiritually** down that's the most dangerous." |

| Illustrating | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| **RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTS** (continued) | **Mike** | "And so your **body** is absolutely stuffed, and your **spirit** is going 'this is fantastic, I could do this forever.'" |
| | **Darren** | "But I hope if I went to see my pastor about my prayer life for instance, or if I was feeling **spiritually** dry, I'd have a lot of respect for the pastor who'd say, 'tell me about your [**physical**] exercise, tell me about your **emotional** wellbeing, like how, has anything happened in the last month that's been really upsetting. Um yeah, do you feel anxious or depressed, you know? I think I'd really respect that. If I was treated holistically, but... I hope I'd treat other people the same, but... yeah I still would refer to expert needs I guess." |
| | **Hannah** | "For me if I'm praying for someone, and they're being honest about where they are in life, for me I get a lot from that. [But] it's draining, and at the end 'I'm so exhausted, I just need to watch TV or something!' but at the same time I'm like, LOVE it! [...] I think probably like **mentally** draining, just that kind of concentration, and just the intensity I guess. But then it's, but then it fills my **heart**." |

The way emotion is located within this model is relevant for how mental disorder, dysphoria, and distress is conceptualised within this community. In CYS occasionally 'emotion' is added as a fourth distinct category; one that is linked with the 'heart' and separate from the mental/psychological processes that reside in the 'mind.' However more often the 'emotional' is bracketed as a sub-category of the mental sphere. This is quite different from MOTEM, where the 'emotional' receives a murkier attribution, sometimes as part of the mental, other times (with caring emotions) the spiritual, and still other times (with negative emotions), the physical.

As a massive 5-day effort with a huge build-up to it, the annual (3,000 teenage attendees strong) Easter Camp event is where youth workers are often most aware of the toll that youth leading can take on them personally. Youth Pastor Steve, for example, talked about giving "absolutely everything you've got" and said that at the end of it he felt emotionally drained and physically drained, and yet felt spiritually "awesome". In other words, they could experience quite different levels of wellbeing in each part of the self at any one time. Despite acknowledgement that the different parts could influence

one another, the qualities ascribed to them generally were as somewhat disarticulated. This contrasts with the conception of a more unified tripartite self I will illustrate existing among the MOTEM leaders.

The tripartite self may seem initially a very different model of self (and indeed a different type of model, being typological rather than metaphorical) than that of the self-as-vessel. Nevertheless the two articulate to form unique local understandings of wellbeing and practices of self-care creating, I argue, an image of the self as a collection of *multiple* vessels, rather than a single bounded container (as was more accurate for the MOTEM leaders). Each variation creates differences in the way wellbeing is understood and managed in relation to 'filling' and 'draining'. I observed that in the CYS community there was a focus on first identifying the specific part of the self in which the problem or depletion was located - through self-awareness and discernment to 'look below the surface', as I have previously discussed -  and then addressing it accordingly.

Mike explained that psychiatrists often criticise the Christian social service sector for finding "a demon under everything", while the "demon chasers" criticise them for trying to counsel everything. He told me "I think it's both/and." Indeed CYS leaders acknowledge a broad number of different possible causes for mental disorder, including chemical imbalance, an emotional trauma or problem, 'unhealthy' lifestyle (and working) patterns, negative thought patterns, spiritual forces, and spiritual attacks. Because of this the skill of identifying the source of a perceived problem highly valued among the CYS leaders as part of the local skill/virtue of 'discernment.[52]' You have to be able to distinguish dreams that are from God, from "having too many sugars in your coffee" Mike jokes. Similarly towards the end of a camp Mike usually warns the leaders to be particularly aware of where their young people are 'at': although "spiritual opposition" can increase towards the last day, the "kids" are tired, excited, eating lots of junk food, he reminds us: "and there's no use trying to cast out testosterone!"

Even when a case was understood to implicates several parts of the self at once (as they often were) the CYS community tended to maintain that each part must be addressed independently, according to its own logic: "you've got to ACTUALLY work on the ACTUAL area. I can sleep as much as I want and that's still not going to

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[52] Distinguished from the similar but more secular concept of 'intuition' by  being related to the spiritual sphere as either a direct insight from God, a natural God-made quality in a person, or a spiritual gift from God which focuses on seeing 'within' or 'beyond' the apparent.

improve my relationship with God" Emma explained. Similarly Jay recommended employing pastors to deal with the "spiritual element" of problems, but also utilising counsellors alongside this to simultaneously deal with the parts of the problem which were psychological. He gave the example of:

> Sometimes you'll meet with the pastor, and he'll deal with the spiritual stuff, but actually you need to deal with some crap. Like someone's sexually abused you, and it still hurts. And nothing you can pray over… well it will help, but probably you actually need to talk it through and come up with some strategies to deal with.

Thus CYS was pluralistic in its beliefs and practices around health care, utilising 'experts' and professions related to each separate sphere, as needed. This was similar to what Csordas observed occurring among the charismatic Catholics he studied in the USA (1997). He noted that for them 'healing' could equally include physical healing (through medical intervention), 'inner' emotional healing (through counselling/psychotherapy), or deliverance/spiritual healing (through prayer and spiritual ministry) (1997, p40).

## The aesthetic of balance

Among the "implicit, culturally constituted 'aesthetics'" that shape how wellbeing is made sense of (Desjarlais 1992b, p1105), balance is a significant sensibility for CYS leaders that I have only briefly mentioned thus far.  I argue now that balance both patterns local experiences of the tension between care labour and self-care in day to day practice– as tenuous, and taxing in itself – and also functions at an ideological level to mediate between these and other competing discourses and identities.

Balance appears to be a concept common cross-culturally in association with affliction, healing and wellbeing (Kirmayer 2004, p35). The depletion model in biomedicine and in psychiatry, which I have already discussed, also lends itself closely to the notion of balance. If mental illness is caused by a serotonin deficiency; it is redressed through medications or activities that promote chemical balance. Antidepressant medications are advertised with similar metaphors of refilling or rebalancing the 'container' of the brain (Wardell 2013). Interestingly Buddhism

**Table 9: Selected quotes from CYS leaders referring to 'balance' (bold added).**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Jim** | I think it would be a temporary mental health problem... well it could be long term if he let it get to him, but, I think in that situation he had the right people around him to sort of keep it **balanced.** |
| **Jay** | You've done things that are inappropriate, or you haven't had a good **balance** of life. You've decided 'hey I can do 40 hours a week in 3 days' |
| **Jay** | It's mental, social, physical and spiritual. And so... that would be, I think you have to get quite a good **balance** around. |
| **Hannah** | Yeah. I think for me it's about having a **balanced** life, um, and I think I'm actually really good at saying no to things |
| **Verity** | If I allow myself to get to EMOTIONAL over it , then it will take stuff out of me, like I'll get drained, and tired. And so not being a heartless robot, but... I don't know, I don't think I've find the right **balance** yet |
| **Steve** | This is something that I guess that I'm still trying to work out and learn in myself... is times that not being aware of where my physical state is, and wondering why my emotional side and my spiritual side seem to be lacking, and then to be able to realise, ACTUALLY just need SLEEP... you know?! There's that sort of side of things, and how that sort of counteracts and keeps everything sort of **balanced**." |
| **Darren** | So I guess that's something I'm figuring out vocationally as well, is how do you get **balance.** Because I think there's a lot of expectations on people in ministry, and youth ministry. |
| **Sam** | To try and **balance** the decisions around that, to care for everything. |

premises that imbalances of the mind underlie all mental suffering and illness (Wallace & Shapiro 2006). The concept of balance also underlies the Yolmo Shamanic healing tradition which Desjarlais studied (1992a, 1992b). There is more than one form of balance, however (Jackson 1998). Static equilibrium, harmony, dynamic equilibrium, and homeostasis, as well as homeorrhesis[53] are all different ways that balance can be understood. Freudenberger's early writing on burnout has a focus on balance that in some way echoes humoral theory (cited in Friberg 2009, p543). This seems similar to the homeostatic balance Hobfoll notes is part of COR theory, which governs the monitoring and maintaining resources between demands and capabilities (1989). Jay,

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[53] Defined as "a turbulent eddying in which crosscurrents and continual interchanges prevent absolute divity and rest" (Serres 1983, p74, in Jackson 1998, p 19).

Emma, and many others (as per some of the examples given in Table 10) referred to 'balance' as a central facet of their understanding of the task of monitoring and managing their own wellbeing, against the 'cost' of care, through these ingoing and outgoings, in just such a way.

CYS counsellor Karen says that wellbeing in the role "always comes back to getting that balance." The type of balance she refers to, and which is commonly utilised in CYS, is the idea of moderation, limitations, compromises and boundaries. This similarly shapes the emotional management practices in ways that the previous chapter has discussed, and prescribes the private/public or work/home split in a more practical sense too. This particular way youth workers use the idea of 'balance' invokes a move towards health or wellbeing in relation to practices that are identified as not necessarily as inherently bad (and in fact sometimes all 'good' in their own way), but as potentially dangerous in excess, for example Jay identified that:

> The problem is when people have a calling; they are so PASSIONATE
> about it, that the calling can be harmful. [...] If they don't get a good balance.
> So I feel called to 24/7, and I could work 70, 80 hour weeks. 90 hour weeks!
> Because I'm so passionate about it. I have to restrain that calling, and that
> excitement and that ENTHUSIASM for the job, and I need to have the good
> people around me to keep me balanced. Jesus was, he had a calling…
> [laughs] a BIG calling. But he always had time to go away and replenish.
> He went away with the disciples, to sleep, even on the boat. He was in
> ministry, and he's always able to escape. Now, some people just go hard,
> and burn out.

This also echoes some of the logic of *Te Whare Tapa Whā*, in which all four walls are of equal significance and value to the strength and symmetry of the building, and in holding up the 'roof' of health (Durie 1998). This indigenous model is taught commonly as part of school health programmes, public health activities and professional development courses, as well as numerous academic disciplines; it is thus cognisant for the youth work community, as evidenced by the fact that it was referenced to me several times in the course of my discussions on this topic.

When observed in a disarticulated tripartite vessel model, as multi-sited processes, it is this balancing that Jay called 'tiring'. It is not just about moderation, or maintaining

the correct outwards/inwards flow to keep substances at safe levels, but a form of homeostatic balance that emphasised making sure each vessel receives attention and all are equally (or at least sufficiently) 'filled' with energy, emotion, the Holy Spirit, spiritual power, and love. It begets a mode of split-attention between multiple areas of importance, all of which must be maintained to maximum levels and in relation to one another, and at times a sense of anxiety and fragility around the complexity of maintaining and 'doctoring' one's complex, multifaceted self. It is part of the lived, felt, walked tension which youth workers live within which I am closely attending to throughout this thesis.

"The ways in which people make sense of the body, spirit, and other social forms are rooted in enduring political concerns" (Desjarlais 1992b, p1107). The community of Christian youth workers in Canterbury sits tenuously, working within and seeking to reach out to the secular, non-Christian world around them. As a secular society, the rubric that governs much social etiquette around religion and religious conversation in New Zealand is a postmodern, nonconfrontational, relativist ethic which accepts the individual's right to their own beliefs, so long as they do not interfere with others (Davidson 2000). These are all reasons for 'balance' in the form of moderation to be emphasised. Additionally as an interdenominational community, CYS contains a spectrum of beliefs and faith practices. There is suspicion of those who are 'super-spiritual' or 'over-spiritualise' even while the Holy Spirit is seen as the essential element of salvation and life with Christ. Moderation is prescribed even in regard to focusing on the spiritual realm over the mental or physical, to avoid a potentially dangerous imbalance: thus *this* form of balance becomes an important mechanism to ensure the stability of the diverse community.

As to my second argument regarding 'balance' as a meaningful concept in this field, Mageo, writing about cross-cultural variations in the self, notes that several scholars (Jameson 1991, and Deleuze & Guattari 1983, cited in Mageo 2002, p343) have indicated that late capitalism (for which neoliberalism is the preferred term in more recent scholarship) has created an increasing "schizo-fragmentation" of self in the Western world. Mageo's model terms this as a move from an integrative to an aggregative view of self, which unlike the implication of disorder that the term 'fragmentation' implies, functions on its own ideal aesthetic; that of balance between

two sides. Mageo writes that "Balance is a hypothetical ideal because aggregative configurations contain many parts, not just two, yet balance can be an ordering principle" (2002, p343). Balance therefore applies not only to the multiple spheres of self in the tripartite vessel, but also to the multiple discourses and subjectivities I have identified combining, conflicting, and creating tensions in conceptualisation of the 'good' Christian youth leader in each of my sites. Thus the important assertion I want to make is that the concept of balance arises in response to the experience of the existential tension between the theologies of selfless love and care for others, and the necessary practices of self-management, boundary-setting and self-care.

## The body dominant

> I think that you have the four walls; it's mental, social, physical and spiritual. I think you have to get quite a good balance around, so often I'd asked youth workers: "Which one's your weakness?" And often they'd say "physical." Physical is often the first thing they give away. […] What I mean by physical is looking after themselves, taking time out to go to the gym. Whew! We all know that with mental health if you're exercising, and those endorphins are going, then you're way less likely to have, a breakdown.
>
> - Jay

Although the importance of maintaining (or 'balancing') *all* areas of the self is emphasised in the CYS community, I would not say that all are equally important. Rather I posit that there is one particular part that is seen as the dominant or 'driving' sphere for the overall health and wellbeing of the person: the 'gatekeeper' to wellbeing. This has been determined by the socio-cultural, historical and political context, and thus is different between the CYS community (where its power over the whole self is additionally mediated by the fragmentation of the parts), and the Kampala community (where it is of even more significance in the unified self). It is evident in the language and plot of stories of sickness or physical disrepair.

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Steve** | "I guess that I'm still trying to work out and learn in myself… is times that not being aware of where my **physical** state is, and wondering why my emotional side and my spiritual side seem to be lacking, and then to be able to realise, ACTUALLY just need SLEEP… you know?! There's that sort of side of things, and how that sort of counteracts and keeps everything sort of balanced." |
| **Steve** | "The **physical** stuff, once I was able to get into a better sleeping pattern, and get into better sleeping sort of, um, routines… [deep breath] then I was able to um actually work with the emotional side of things. But until I had the **physical** side of things, and it took a good couple of weeks of actually getting that sort of set." |
| **Darren** | "I'll go for a run, I've started running regularly in the last month, that's really good. That's a good stress release." |
| **Verity** | "[On advice for other leaders] I guess just self-care. Different things work for different people. I'm quite big on getting enough sleep, eating really well. I find if one of those slip then I definitely can feel it a bit more. So I guess doing all that stuff. and I love netball. Netball's a huge outlet for me. And also it's **physical**, so that's good for the exercise and what not." |
| **Mike** | "My personal journey has been struggling with depression most of my life. I've got on top of it, but for different reasons that I expected. so my biggest thing has been around sleeping, because I've never slept well. If anyone ever goes 'Oh I sleep 3 hours a night', I go 'You struggle with depression.' They go 'How do you know that?!" Well, your **body** needs more than that!" |
| **Mike** | "I am stunned at the number of people I get to exercise when they are feeling down, and exercise is as good as medication, for mild stuff. All the research is proving it. But, I just encourage people. I do a lot of walking meetings on a regular basis. The second part is what we put into our **bodies.** Junk food. They fill their **bodies** with fat and sugar. And drink coffee. A lot of that causes people to get down, in their moods. I think doing youth work we have to look after our bodies, we have to look after our spirit." |

"I'm aware that if my physical body is drained, and I let it to continue to be drained, then the rest of my emotional and spiritual also [may] become drained" said Steve. The story of his breakdown strongly expresses his understanding of the physical as the driver of the other two. Working an average of 65 to 70 hours a week, he explains that "therefore because my physical body actually didn't have the chemicals in it to keep me in a positive state, actually my emotional, and my mental side was just so lacking […] Because of that I was just struggling with LIFE." He describes the decrease of his spiritual life, as he began to blame God. Like many of the other stories, he attributes the anxiety he was diagnosed with after this as stemming from poor sleep patterns and the

aforementioned chemical imbalance. Even when he eventually mused that perhaps the physical (lack of sleep) itself could itself be interpreted as a side effect of the emotional baggage and "worry that was going on inside my head." He still "HAD to get the physical sorted so I could actually get the sleep to be able to work with the mental, the emotional side of it, so my counsellor and me worked through it, and he was very much worried about me getting physical exercise and sleep, so then we can deal with the rest." Elijah's story (1 King 19:11-18), is often cited as an acceptable example of (temporary) work related mental illness, and used as a scriptural touch point for attending to physical needs first, since it was sleep and food that God provided.



Figure 51. An image posted on Facebook just prior to an Easter camp. Credit: Laura, used with permission.

Immediately after an intermediate (age 10-13) kids camp called 'Amped', CYS staff member Laura posted on Facebook to say "Amped was amping! My body however is no longer amping. #shattered." Her CYS colleague Sam also posted to say he was "slowly recovering from a fun and full on weekend." Earlier in the year as the much larger main event of Easter Camp neared, these two had posted a picture of themselves (Figure 51) with items identified as their "pre-EC survival kit". Their comment proclaimed light-heartedly: "Nurofen, chocolate and Vitamin C + Echinacea. Sickness, you won't defeat us any longer!" This shows the ways the focus of much of the self-awareness and self-care is around the physical self.

Most of the narratives told by CYS leaders about their own, or others', experiences of mental illness followed a similar pattern to Steve's: emphasising physical issues (e.g. lack of sleep, poor diet, brain chemistry) that lead to spiritual, mental and emotional problems (see Table 6). This contrasted strongly with MOTEM, where the reverse attribution was common. As would be expected alongside this, in CYS physical solutions such as correcting sleep patterns and getting healthy amounts of exercise were mostly likely to be mentioned as primary OR additional suggestions in relation to a variety of problems and as part of generic self-care advice. From this I determined that in CYS, largely based on the dominance of the biomedical model in wider New Zealand society, the physical self was perceived as the dominant driver of wellbeing. CYS Director Mike Dodge broadly sums this up saying: "I think the mind is the battleground where most of that depression stuff happens. But then the mind is actually part of your body, so you've got to feed it well." When psychological suffering is biomedicalised, this often involves a materialist reification of emotions as discrete chemical states, independent of causes (Lutz & White 1986). It frames them as part of the morally neutral 'flesh': the brain, rather than the mind, the body, rather than the soul. Mike himself is very open about having "tried everything" in terms of medication, for his own depression. However while he has been sharing this for a long time, and many people in the CYS community cite his openness about it over the years as being influential in their own mental health 'journey', his recent tales include a new facet. Mike was diagnosed with sleep apnea. "I was waking up with this BURST of adrenaline, that had me awake, thinking I'm stressed… but I was only stressed because I hadn't breathed for two minutes!" he laughs. He then restoried his mental illness with a focus on the physical sphere of self as the driver behind his struggles. There are several reasons why the biological/biomedical is a culturally advantageous way to frame experiences of (and solutions to) all sorts of suffering and distress, and the next chapter will discuss explore this further in relation to local meanings around mental distress.

Mental illness/distress as 'depletion' indicates a lack of many of the substances (love, care, power) that are essential to the 'good' youth worker. A physical causal attribution for this depletion (i.e. a drain or mismanagement originating in the physical sphere) is preferable, considering the strong aesthetics of emotional management, spiritual discernment, and self-awareness, to a causal attribution centred on the spiritual, or mental. While it still implies a lack of (physical) discipline or awareness, it protects

even more important aspects of identity – the 'good' leader as passionate, caring, and spiritually connected. An emphasis on the physical sphere as dominant enables just such a positioning of an experience of poor wellbeing. It strategically positions the leaders to receive support and care without losing their role identity and legitimacy. With a similar tripartite and vessel-based self, but a difference sense of the dominance of the spiritual MOTEM leaders find different ways to negotiate threats to cherished identities as spiritual leaders and carers. I shall now turn to exploring the local understandings of the self and the nature of spiritual care work, through which this emerges.

## MOTEM and the Self-as-Vessel

*Papa Timothy perches on the edge of his chair, bristling with energy: a small and wiry 21 year old, with a large gap-toothed smile. I pass him the info sheet for my research, but he barely glances at it, eager to launch straight into telling me all about the ministry trip has just returned from - under the bracket of his own 'Great Commission' ministry - to the Busia district. "We have in the Eastern Provinces, around 13 districts, but I have at least covered Bujere, Busia, Namayingo, Namutumba…" he boasts.*

*"Wow" I say, trying to sound suitably impressed.*

*"Our goal is to impact the youth" Timothy tells me. This year they honed in on the eastern regions. "Oh God, poverty has eaten all that side!" he laments. "You get to know the challenges of the youth…" and he launches into explanation of the roots of region's AIDS problem, in the transient fishing populations that border the lake there... then the challenges of holding Christian meetings in his Muslim University... the prostitution district nearby... the prison ministry he ran on his birthday... the gifts of soap he organised... I glance down to see that my dictaphone screen indicates we are 22 minutes into our interview without me formulating a single question. I listen and nod and jot things down for a while longer, before I sense a gap.*

*"Wow" I interject again. "That sounds like amazing work. But I'd like to know, what are some of the* personal *challenges that all this ministry work creates for you?" I check my notepad "You said your spirit felt really oppressed sometimes?"*

*"Eh!" he says in acknowledgement, shoulders drooping forward a little. "Even yesterday, I was seriously looking for a job" and in that moment I see that the tiredness emerge from his earlier enthusiasm. He returned to Kampala having spent all his money on the mission. He explains he had plans for another mission to the other (Western) side of the country in a month's time, and a crusade in Masaje (Central Uganda) directly after, but with his landlord banging on his door, he contemplated putting aside ministry to find work to support himself. "What really challenges me is after ministry, after that OUTFLOW of the anointing, you have spoken, you have done everything, you come back, no treatment for the voice. You are broken, you've spent all you had for the kingdom."*

- ***Excerpt from field notes, Wednesday 23rd January 2013***

Moses said "you can't keep giving, giving, giving. Eventually you dry out." He continues "When you give something, it means you reduce on what you have. So you [then] have to top up on what you have." In Kampala the youth workers use much of the same language as the Canterbury leaders around wellbeing: replenishing or refreshing, being drained, empty or dry. In the same way, they see the giving or caring actions of youth leadership as draining. Similarly Papa Solomon compared many of the small self-care activities (similar to those referenced in Christchurch, including listening to music, reading scripture, and spending time with friends) to refilling yourself like a petrol tank each time you 'release', like a car consuming fuel as it drives around. This is salient in a non-profit community, it is too hot and too great a distance to walk to most places, but hand-to-mouth ministry budgeting often means straining to pay out of your own pocket for the transport costs of the many day to day ministry engagements. An accurate emotional parallel to this sense of pressure and scarcity is this sense of scrabbling for scraps of time here and there to 'refill' on personal wellbeing. Overall these are all evidence of depletion model of affliction around care labour and wellbeing, just as in Canterbury, which draws on the notion of care as a finite resource and again implicates the vessel metaphor in the idioms of distress and poignantly summarising the sense of threat or risk associated with selfless giving.

### The economic self and the cost of care

As in Canterbury, among the MOTEM Christian leaders my research indicated the tripartite view of a self-comprised of physical, spiritual, and mental spheres of self. However in the dramatically different socio-economic context of urban Kampala, and the much smaller, less established (and less well funded) organisation of MOTEM context, much of the cost of care labour is experienced in terms of financial strain and lack. The context of personal economic hardship within which many of the MOTEM leaders worked meant that not only did they often tell stories of the financial cost of care, related to giving financially to other needy youth, but these stories became representations of the broader (social/emotional) cost of care. The deep-seated awareness of economic and resource scarcity is cited by Haram & Yamba as part of the uncertainty which forms a regular underlying aspect of life worlds in this region (2009). For the faith-based youth workers I spoke to specifically, this included a burning awareness of the pressing financial needs in the lives they ministered to as well, a

burden I discussed in the previous chapter as being theorised recently in literature through the concept of moral distress, as previously discussed. My findings suggest that in Kampala the economic self became a site of considerable pain and suffering within the landscape of self. Thus I argue that the 'economic' represents a fourth sphere that is sometimes included explicitly in the list of 'parts', and other times implicitly constructed as a part of the self in the way it is spoken about.

The language of "spending", such as Timothy used, showed again the locally-specific iteration of the vessel metaphor, which refers not only to the emotional self as a vessel/container for love, or the spiritual self as a vessel for power, but the economic self as a container for money or financial resources. It was common for the Moment of Truth leaders to use not only money but also food or other basic resources as performative examples of their caring practices. Timothy, when I asked him about his beginnings in youth ministry, narrated an earlier life experience of a boy in his primary school class who was so poor he "didn't know anything about sugar[54]." When he observed the boy going without at school he said "I was like 'oh God', I got my sugar pot and I say [to] him 'bring me your *covera*[55] and let's share."

The body, as vessel for food and (relatedly) for 'strength', was spoken about using the same 'vessel' logic in which giving led to depletion that created a personal risk that had to be managed.

> The scripture says if someone asks you for something, you give it to him.
> But sometimes you even, you give what is YOURS. You need wisdom in
> giving. Because in that time of compassion, [youth leaders] still have
> challenges too.

This sense of a care versus self-care as a zero-sum equation was also illustrated in a story Stephen told me, in which eating was both a literal example and a metaphor for the cost of care. Stephen explained how he often had young people coming to the office, telling him they were hungry, to which he would give them whatever he had in his (nearby) house. "Sometimes you want to please these people, [so] you end up not eating" he said. He gave the example of the day before when he had gone out to lunch

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[54] Raw sugar, not a treat here but a basic household staple used for cooking and tea-drinking, and often the only source of sweet flavour in most of their diet.
[55] Refers to a container or bag of any sort, e.g. a covered bowl or a plastic bag.

with Andrew, my husband, without "enough" money. He had bought food for himself, and then another young person he knew had come in and requested food, so he had given his food to this person, while Andrew paid for another plate for him. Then another friend had bumped into them in the restaurant, and expressed that he was also hungry, asking to share the meal that was before them. Stephen acquiesced, but "instead of sharing, he ate most of the food, and I spent the whole day not having any food!" he said. "Sometimes you attend to many people's problems and FORGET that you also [still] have problems, at the end of the day" he concluded.

This story is one of many examples of the way the MOTEM youth leaders frequently make their needs secondary to the needs of others. It is also an example of the way the stomach is commonly used to embody idealised subjectivities, as in the practice of fasting, but also beyond it. Stephen's empty stomach, his hunger, is an embodiment of his values of service to others, of self-sacrifice. In other words, and in line with my earlier theorisation, while Stephen may have given away one type of resource (food), he received back another type of resource, in the form of identity-affirmation. His choice, though costing him in one way, was worthwhile in order to avoid the sense of internal conflict that would have arisen had he chosen to keep the food, and threaten his cherished image of himself as a selfless carer. Interestingly 'eating' is a common idiom for political power here (Ward 2004), and thus the many stories of 'not eating' because of shared or given food takes on yet another layer of significance as an identity marker against what is perceived to be a political landscape of greed and corruption, and self-seeking.

My exploration of the vocational identity of the youth workers as carer was greatly enriched when I came to understand how hunger - both in the practice and the storying – could become a holy state, a part of both performing and constituting the identity of the 'good' Christian leader. I have already looked at this in the more routinised discipline of fasting. Yet I must also be clear that often the hunger of a youth worker is also directly related to real economic limitation and structural inequality. Scheper-Hughes seminal work on hunger (1988) reveals the way that the biomedical system can normalise social inequality, and I would not be complicit in romanticising or entirely abstracting an often dangerous and painful bodily state. To reduce suffering to metaphor is a kind of social violence in itself, so I keep a careful eye on the material circumstances of cultural practice, even as I acknowledge these as a context for complex embodied social meanings.

## The unified vessel, the spirit dominant

When the MOTEM leaders spoke of being 'drained' – broken, hungry, tired, empty, or weak – in any one of the various emotional, spiritual, physical or economic parts of the self, I routinely asked them about its effect on their overall wellbeing. "Can you be feeling spiritually strong but emotionally low?" I queried. "Can you feel physically down and emotionally up?" Their response tended to be something along the lines of abject disbelief, confusion and emphatic denial. To these leaders, the self is a unified gestalt of "one person" that all "works in unison" and "can't be separated" (see also Table 11) so that feeling up/filled/strong in one area and low/drained/weak in another area would be quite impossible for them to experience.

**Table 11: Selected quotes from MOTEM leaders, referring to the parts of the unified self (bold added)**

| Illustrating | Participant | Quote |
|---|---|---|
| **PARTS** | **Solomon** | "At that point every part of you is praying: Your **mind** is praying. Your *emotion is* praying. Your **body** is praying. Your **spirit** is praying. EVERYTHING around you is praying so at that point you are strengthened." |
| | **Participant 12, M1** | "It's part and parcel of the leadership package, that as you help them **spiritually** and **mentally,** even **physically**, like all of them here." |
| | **Stephen** | "The person is made of THREE to me. My understanding [is] the person is made of **soul, mind** and **body."** |
| **RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTS** | **Raymond** | "If you are **emotionally** downcast, your **spirit** will be downcast, your **body** will be... it just moves, it just works.... yes we are three, but theses there work in unison, they work in one accord." |
| | **Evans** | "This is a system. Ok? The **spirit,** the **mind** and the **body**. If the mind is doing well, if the spirit is doing well, it can improve on the performance of the body and the mind. And it's doing bad, and even the body, at times slowly by slowly it will affect your spiritual life." |
| | **Seith** | "There are other parts, **physical, spiritual, emotional**... but emotional is very close to spiritual. Then the physical, the physical, the physical is... they are interrelated, they affect each other." |

The exception of the flesh/spirit see-saw expressed in fasting, where the spirit was in fact strengthened through pushing down the flesh… yet even here the parts oscillate dependently though oppositionally, which still differs from their relative disarticulation

in Canterbury. It is another example of the way in which multiple and competing schemas of the self (Kirmayer 2004) and or the body (Synnott 1992) can coexist in the life worlds of these youth workers – drawn on variously depending on the specific social and discursive context. The dichotomous model of self came into play mostly around fasting and daily, personal spiritual disciplines. When discussing the wider experience of wellbeing in relation to health problems or illnesses, spiritual ministry activities or care practices involving others, and the effects of these on the self, the "oneness" of the person as a whole was more often emphasised.

The spiritual, mental and physical are seen as each influencing the other areas closely, and each immediately effecting overall wellbeing. As experienced Nazarene Youth Pastor Seith explains:

> This is a system, okay? The spirit, the mind, and the body. If the mind is doing well, if the spirit is doing well, it can improve on the performance of the body and the mind. And if it's doing bad, and even the body, at times slowly by slowly it will affect your spiritual life.

This quite obviously contrasted the felt qualities of experience for the Canterbury leaders, where despite similar tripartite attributions and a shared root vessel metaphor, different qualities were ascribed to the relationship *between* the parts which fundamentally altered how self-care care attended to as well as how wellbeing was experienced.

While generally the self is treated as one singular vessel, to be filled or drained by actions implicating any sphere of self, with equal effect, as with the physical in Canterbury, I identified the spiritual in Kampala as the 'dominant' sphere, as Table 12 indicates. Pastor Seith continued his observations above by telling me that:

> What do we see physically, comes from things which are not seen. So the spiritual part, ok, that will affect the physical part. If you polish the spiritual part, the Christians though they have got problems, but because their spirit is improving every morning they have hope, and eventually they overcome.

It is evident that rather than a contradictory or alternative model the dichotomous body/spirit model in fact interfaces with both the tripartite schematic and the self-as-vessel metaphor. Stories about mental health problems, and other ailments, were very telling. In the MOTEM community the underlying structure of these tales is: "If your

soul is sick, your body will be sick." The reverse logic also often applies, so that if your body is sick, no matter the original cause, spiritual practices such as prayer will be the most effective ways of improving wellbeing: "In Africa," as Pastor Carol told me plainly "it is very common for a sick person to be prayed for and they get well."

**Table 12: Selected quotes from MOTEM leaders referring to the spiritual as a catalyst for wellbeing (bold added)**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Evans** | "What do we see physically, came from things which are not seen. So the **spiritual** part, ok? That will affect the physical part. If you polish the **spiritual** part, that's what I told you before, if people, the Christians though they have got problems but because their spirit is improving every morning they have hope, and eventually they overcome it." |
| **Edson** | "Evil spirits are well known to cause mental illness. There is a way the **spiritual** powers, cause confusion in someone's life. Actually those who become, you have heard of schizophrenia? Yeah? When it is even beyond management at hospital setting, but we cannot give any drugs and they cause any impact in your body. And what do we do at the end of it all? They usually let them out of the hospital after very many years down the road, and then they come to town, yeah and you find them on streets. So they are schizophrenic. And you find one of the causes could be **spiritual** powers." |
| **Moses** | "We as Christians believe... I brought some of those things [we just discussed] in a medial way, medical terms. But in the **spiritual** side, it is somehow understood in a different way. Now, with the s**piritual** part of it, when someone is mentally disturbed, or course most of those cases we associate with the devil. And the first thing to do is to pray for those people." |
| **Prima** | "The **spiritual** part of it I mean, because this student, she seems fine, she seems fine but is always getting sick, and sick and sick. And then in the middle of during class a girl collapses. And maybe it's, yeah, it's physical something. But then you DON'T KNOW whether it's physical. You go to a doctor and find NOTHING, there's nothing wrong with the body, with her. But then the next day the same thing happens. For me ... me myself, I believe so much in prayer. If there is ANYTHING happening, yes, I will fall sick, I will pray, I will go to a doctor." |
| **M2, Participant 3** | "[When I pray] I feel renewed. I feel like solution has come. I feel like new hope has been INFUSED in my **spirit.** There is a new fresh energy has come. Even physically, I feel a stronger person." |

The way I outlined the vessel metaphor in the beginning of this chapter showed the way it links different substances such as the Holy Spirit, spiritual power, and physical/emotional energy. The term 'energy' is rarely used here, whereas the term 'strength' is very common vernacular, conceptualised not as a quality but as a capacity,

akin to (and often paralleling) power. It has particular situated significance in the lives of the MOTEM leaders, which place high demands on their energy/strength. There is a physical intensity of day to day life in Uganda that minimal access to western time and energy saving appliances (for young, financially limited students at least) further intensifies. Christian youth leaders in particular not only juggled family, study, and ministry and sometimes paid work (many working days and studying in evening classes), but often had to travel across town to do so. Furthermore the aesthetics of 'energy' and 'movement' were strongly present in this community. Ugandan church services or meeting involve energetic clapping and dancing, and the 'good' youth worker is expected to physically embody their empowerment and zeal through giving high-energy performances such as Stephen did, with stomping, clapping, gesturing, jumping, rocking and pacing. In light of all this the care and management of physical 'strength' was a topic of great interest and concern to the MOTEM community.



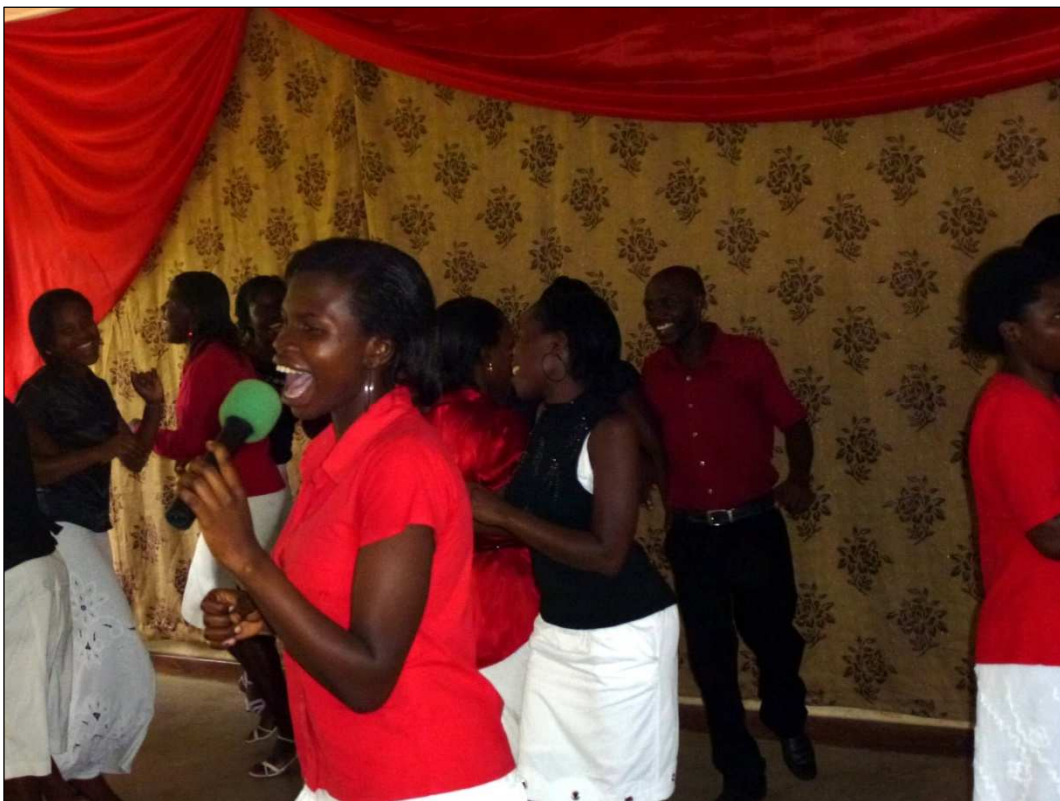**Figure 52. Kampalan Fellowship leaders dancing at the front, during worship. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Successful fasting hinged on the management of strength: in my focus groups leaders' eagerly swapped advice about carefully cultivated techniques for managing the physiological impacts of hunger while fasting, for example staying home, keeping out of the sun, when and how much water to drink, what and how much to eat directly

before starting, and so on. Again the role of material circumstance must also be recognised in the management of 'weakness' (a symptom of hunger but also of illness), and the use of 'strength' as a resource. As one questionnaire respondent succinctly explained: "Poverty brings about physical exhaustion". I have already established the poverty which these leaders often are subjected to, and subject themselves to, in pursuit of education and ministry aspirations.

It was described by one leader (in line with very common idioms) that when fasting "another kind of power joins you, you feel a spirit is within you. You feel like you are increasing." In this way the effects of fasting were often expressed in the language of the self-as-vessel as well. Solomon described that:

> When I'm praying and fasting, it's like I'm filled up. When I say I'm filled up, it's like when I'm hungry; I eat, and get more energy. So this means that as I pray and fast, I am soaking myself in GOD, so I can do exceedingly above my knowledge.

In the way the dichotomous model of self casts fasting in Kampala, it is not a physical but an "inner" strength that is needed. Solomon also illustrates this strength with the practice of speaking tongues, where "the spirit prays in us"

> So there's a point you reach whereby WORDS cannot be expressed, you are just groaning in the spirit. Tears are coming. Because at that point every part of you is praying. Your mind is praying. Your emotions is praying. Your body is praying. Your spirit is praying. EVERYTHING around you is praying so at that point you are strengthened.

Solomon's quote illustrates the oneness of the self, and the way the spiritual discipline of glossolalia is experienced as an intensive and holistic experience implicating all elements of the tripartite self. It also shows again the association between the common emic term 'strength' and the spiritual practices built around the self-as-vessel metaphor and the idea of spiritual 'flows'. It also illustrates the oneness of the self, and the way the spiritual discipline of glossolalia is experienced as an intensive and holistic experience implicating all elements of the tripartite self.

While the term 'drained' or empty did not apply to the Holy Spirit, negative spiritual states could, more abstractly, be expressed as 'dry' times, drawing from a long

biblical tradition of the dessert as a metaphor for this and 'living water' as a metaphor for God word. On one occasion I heard a fellowship speaker use a cellphone[56] as a metaphor for the believer's relationship to God. They elaborated extensively on the various allegorical connections, including Jesus as the SIM card, and (importantly) the Holy Spirit as the charging cable. While this is a specific, contemporary metaphor mediated by the proliferation of digital technologies among young Ugandans, it shows the same root metaphor of the self-as-vessel -whether that vessel could just as easily be a cellphone as a clay pot – and of spiritual power as contained within, and able to flow in and out of, the self. It also set up the Holy Spirit as the primary means for 'filling' the self.

The MOTEM leaders frequently describe feeling energised, refreshed and "fed" through spiritual disciplines such as fasting, praying in tongues, worship and reading the bible. The metaphor of eating/drinking is a very common articulation of the broader self-as-vessel metaphor in the Kampalan Christian youth community, as part of the broader set of idioms for spiritual experience around liquid, flows, filling, draining, and the vessel. Specifically it links physical eating/drinking, in a reverse manner, to a number of biblical metaphors for spiritual 'nourishment', which include the 'water of life[57]' and the 'bread of heaven[58]' (both terms for Jesus, and his life-giving salvation). These metaphors are also frequently used to describe scripture as spiritual food, though it prescribes this to scripture in a more dynamic 'living' sense of the word, beyond simply denoting printed text, that is perhaps more similar to 'truth' and the idea of 'the Word' which refers both to biblical scripture and to Jesus himself as 'the Word' (*Logos* in Greek, from John 1:1). The Greek word 'Rhema' (meaning 'utterance'), which also refers specifically to Christ's teachings, in many Christian communities, might be another appropriately encompassing term for this.

'Truth' (as a conceptual packaging of these, and the term I will use) is seen to have transformative effects on the human spirit, body, and mind which is "sensitive to

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[56] Ubiquitous in Uganda as both a status symbol related to modernity and prosperity, and as the primary means of daily communication, since few places have landlines installed due to lack of infrastructure.
[57] From the verse John 4:14: "…but whoever drinks the water I give them will never thirst. Indeed, the water I give them will become in them a spring of water welling up to eternal life." (NIV)
[58] From the verse John 6:58: "I am the true bread from heaven. Anyone who eats this bread will live forever and not die as your ancestors did, even though they ate the manna." (NLT)

what you feed it", and thus should *not* be filled with negative 'food' such as pornographic or otherwise explicit images, magazine, or secular music (decried for its

sexual themes, particularly). In MOTEM there is an understanding of Christian truth as something that can be 'within' as person, that can be gained, given, shared, and transferred. "Just share what is within you" Stephen answered me again and again if ever I should query him on his opinion of a sermon topic for one of my speaking engagements. Spiritual power is seen as flowing along with, or as part of the outflow of the truth, through speaking. There are many elements of youth work that involve speaking including prayer, worship leading, testifying, greetings, sermons. Subsequently according to the logic of the vessel schematic there was significant emphasis on scripture-reading and prayer for youth leaders, as personal disciplines, so that they could 'drink in' or 'absorb' the word of God, 'feed on' scripture, and top up' spiritually, in order to be able to give or "share" it out later.

As Stephen's preaching performances showed us, speaking practices can embody many of the local aesthetics of this community, including energy, movement, zeal and empowerment. When he rose to speak, he was buzzing with energy. He rocked, he shook, he waved his hands, he yelled, he jumped into the air. He repeated catchy, emphatic phrases, did spontaneous call-and-responses with the crowd, shared heartfelt stories, went on passionate tangential rants, and spouted scripture after scripture. The unstructured, spontaneous nature of the preaching, always heavily saturated with many word-for-word scripture references (as are most conversations and prayer sessions) are important performances. Youth workers showcase the sheer amount (or Word, and power) they have taken 'within them' which can now be shared, and legitimating them in this way as the 'good' (empowered, exemplary, 'filled') youth workers.

Enactments of other aspects of this metaphor of power-as-flow occur through similar performative repertoires as that which I described for Canterbury, and which many other authors have studied. Posture, gesture and body ritual enact the transfer of spiritual power in cases such as healing prayer, and deliverance. These build on the vessel schematic to embody not the youth worker as a vessel for these substances, but through their intimate connectedness with God in those moments, as a channel for them to flow into others, through them.

## The self-as-channel and the performance of empowerment

> *The colourful crowd, individually and as one, are leaning, yearning, forward. They stretch hands up to heaven and out towards the pastor standing up on the stage, and perhaps towards the 'River of God' that is the namesake of their church. All faces are lifted to heaven, eyes closed, they are singing in melodious, flowing, repeating melodies that circle back on top of themselves again and again in the same refrain: "All that I am, Jesus, All that I am, Jesus…" They are waiting it seems, because when the Pastor finally, at the end of a passionate outpouring of prayer, says the words to invite the Holy seekers up to the front, a number of them break forward out of the rows of plastic chairs before he has even completed his sentence.*
>
> *I find my attention focusing in on one lean young woman in a shabby t-shirt and skirt that contrasts dramatically with the colourful, immaculate* Gomesi *that the older women are wearing. I wonder what they are thinking as they watch her come forward – though clearly her own attention is elsewhere, pressing herself to the stage, hands raised, palms upturned. The tall, serious Pastor Samuel is leaning forward from the stage and I watch him place his long fingers, on her forehead, her face. I see that she has a stream of tears running down her cheeks, although oddly she wears an expression of peaceful intentness. Pastor Sam prays for her, as he does the others that are cueing now to either receive salvation for the first time, recommit themselves, or ask for prayer and healing for particular problems. He touches each one of them in turn, putting the microphone aside quickly so he can reach her other hand skyward, fingers splayed, as he prays. I am close enough to hear him anyway: entreating, claiming, declaring God's grace and his power on each one of those expectant faces.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Saturday 28th December 2013***

Caring for others as a Christian leader, and particularly as a 'good' Christian leader, involves "the Holy Spirit moving in and through you" and "God working through you."  In embodying the channel metaphor people experience power passing *through* them. They are considered 'empowered' in the very root sense of the word in that they now, at least temporarily, have God's power within their selves. While they may exhibit the signs of this, as leaders, the focus is on the flow of the power into the person on the receiving end of this 'care' labour, where it will also have specific physical, spiritual, emotional manifestations such as senses of joy, visions, physical healings and more. This form of 'empowerment' is a temporally-specific, though wholly repeatable experience. The metaphoric instrumentalisation of the self-expressed through

the common cry of 'God, use me!' reflects the self-as-channel metaphor, as expressive of a sensibility quite distinct from the vessel.



**Figure 53. Pastor Moses of Gangu Community Church (Kampala) praying for a young congregation member. Credit: Ssendawula Moses.**



**Figure 54. Fellowship members in a posture of worship at Butabika Psychiatric Nursing School. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

**Figure 55. Fellowship members and worship team in a posture of worship at Butabika Psychiatric Nursing School. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Channel and vessel models are by no means mutually exclusive in their use, and in fact share many of the same features. Yet they do each have some distinct characteristics and some better (or at least more common) applicability to different aspects of youth work practice. For example, energy and emotional resources (expended in and through emotional labour, among other things) are usually articulated in relation to a finite vessel. However, the channel metaphor is more evident in the way spiritual experiences and practices are conceptualised, especially in relation to the care of others. Individual wellbeing can be, and is, interpreted with both metaphors – the implications for which, in shifting meanings around the cost of care and the prescriptive forms of self-care, I shall discuss.

Strathern explains the way ritual action can be used to re-enact the roots of language (1996, p27). Both the vessel and the channel metaphor was enacted in posture, gesture, and proxemics, with immense performative power, among the evangelical Christians I observed in both places. In Kampala, the prominence and frequency of healing, deliverance, and general 'miracle' services reflect the strength of a triumphalist doctrine, which emphasises the victory of Christ over poverty and misfortune as well as over suffering, illness, malaise, and even corporeal death (Haram & Yamba 2009). As

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part of this performance and process, leaders such Pastors Sam in the above story, and Pastor Moses in Figure 53, ritually, performatively, bodily re-enact the self as a vessel and a channel, and through this constitute experiences of spiritual connection, revelation and emotional and physical healing in themselves and their congregations.



**Figure 56. Woman crying during MOTEM ministry: Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**
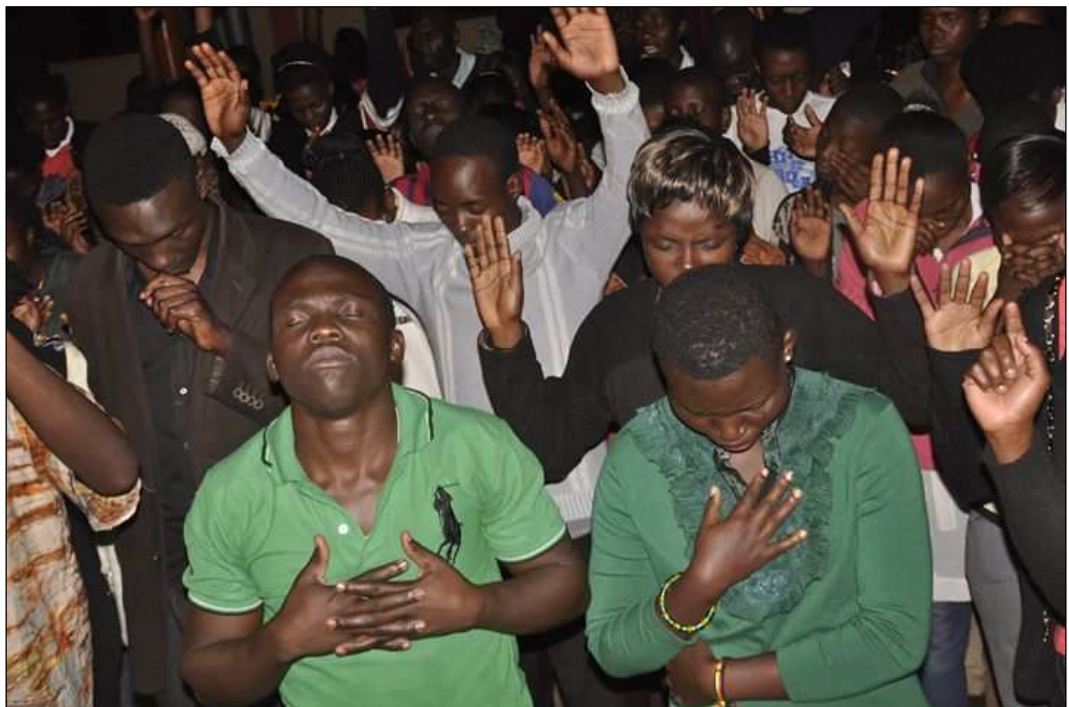


**Figure 57. Throngs of youth at the front for ministry. Credit: MOTEM, used with permission.**

Timothy told me that he had been timid and quiet when he was young, but that when he "received empowerment" he became a bold, fearless speaker. In this story the link he forms is not only between the spoken words (and Jesus, *The* Word) and spiritual power, but also between spiritual empowerment and social transformation. He shares, not long after, of the boy with leprosy he healed on his last mission trip: another expression of his ongoing empowerment. Many of my interviewees and many more of my focus group participants told of miracles they had performed: from casting out a demon (Pastor Baker) to raising a classmate from the dead (Participant 2, M5) to curing infertility (Stephen), among many other examples. Pentecostalism puts a strong emphasis on the individual believer being able to perform works and miracles by 'God's power.'

Given the theological and metaphorical links between the Holy Spirit, and spiritual power, any believer who is 'filled with the spirit' (which is, any truly born-again believer) should also be filled with a measure of God's power. Thus to be shown to be disempowered (spiritually or indeed socially, as I have already discussed) would be a threat to the core identity of these youth leaders, as 'born-agains'. Showing that they "have that empowerment from above" is important, and can be done in a number of ways. The performance of miracles is one of these, as are the narrative 'testimonies' that form a common part of the faith practices of this community. For example in a dramatic narrative performance by one of the members of the focus group I facilitated at Soul Winners 2014, we heard about a male youth leader's experience in raising from the dead a boy who had died in the night, in his secondary school dorm room[59]. "It was my first miracle! My first testimony" he recalled with excitement to a rapt circle of leader, during a Soul Winners focus group. "I witnessed, and even the entire school [saw]" he said, explaining how in the dead of night he had prayed and prayed, and thought the boy had "died completely" he began to breathe again. "That was when I realised the God I was serving, and got strengthened" he said. "That was my first miracle, that strengthened my heart and I said 'I should serve God.'" Here 'strength' is linked with both faith and spiritual power, both portrayed in relation to the self as vessel, and as channel.

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[59] Many secondary schools are "live-in" boarding schools in Uganda, common especially for those who live in rural regions to travel to more populated areas to attend.

In engaging with a performative repertoire which bodily positions the self-as-channel, the MOTEM leaders constitute spiritual experience but also perform an aspect of the 'good' faith-based leader– the exemplary and crucially, *empowered* solution-giver. Csordas noted that 'empowerment' is performed in specific ways within the 'performative repertoire' of the Charismatic Catholic groups in the USA that he studied (1997 p45). He writes that the laying on of hands, the use of holy water, oil or salt, speaking in tongues, resting in the spirit, and prayer are all "acts in which divine power is experienced or brought to bear in a particular environment or on a particular individual." The use of symbolic substances was largely absent in CYS and in MOTEM, but the other aspects of the enactment of this idea were strongly present, and the laying on of hands particularly common, as I have already shown. Csordas interprets this as an act intended to focus prayer and *channel* divine power into the supplicant (emphasis mine). Being 'pipelines' for God's power in this way, the healing that Kampalan Christian leaders and pastors offer is understood to occur via God's power and spirit rather than their own capabilities, talents or resources (Christiansen, cited in Haram & Yamba 2009).

In Uganda, issues of power, and of disempowerment, are significant nationally, and thus unsurprisingly also in the lives of individuals, including youth workers, adding a situated significance to this topic, and creating ambiguities related to empowerment and 'good' leadership. It is not uncommon to hear a particularly successful leader to be referred to as a 'man of power' or a 'woman of power', and many leaders aspire to such a title. Yet to gain this title they would need to be powerful/successful in many areas… not only spiritual power in ministry, but also health, wellbeing, family, relationships, wealth/business and material goods, since as I have already discussed, in Chapter 2, there is an expectation that inner, spiritual empowerment will also create social/financial empowerment. Among famous preachers and leaders of large churches who most typically receive such references, there are also associated accusations of greed and falsity: to be *empowered*, or to be a person *of* power may be desirable, and yet to be *powerful* crosses into dangerous territory, a difficult subjectivity to maintain alongside competing values of servanthood, humility and self-sacrifice. To be *empowered*, or to be a person *of* power may be desirable, and yet to be *powerful* crosses into riskier territory, yet again this is where the channel metaphor, shifting the emphasis away from any

innate qualities of the believer and onto God himself, and their connection with God, mediates a distinct cultural tension.

## The self-as-channel and the management of wellbeing

Since the complex self-as-vessel metaphor links together spirits, spiritual power, energy/strength, 'emotion' (emotional resources) truth, and love in significant ways, the reframing of the self-as channel also impacts the way that the cost of care is experienced. There is a scriptural basis for this understanding of healing as occuring through an outpouring of power that is 'in' a person, and also for the understanding of that outpouring as then correspondingly depleting that stock of power[60]. Yet a channel metaphor contributes to a view of self-care distinct from the quality lent to these practices by the vessel metaphor in CYS, which is retrospective, remedial and individual. Whereas the vessel metaphor tends to frame the filling as a *re*-filling, or *re*plenishing of the vessel that has been drained (as an after fact to the selfless giving of the youth worker), the channel metaphor comparatively foregrounds the filling process. This affects the day-to-day practice of managing emotions and wellbeing in practices of self-care.

A reasonable comparison might be drawn with emotional labour literature around surface acting as response-focussed, and deep acting as antecedent focussed (Brotheridge & Grandey 2002). While many self-care activities involve filling the self-as-vessel in response to the care-labours and other activities that drain the self, reframing the self as channel instead focussed on filling as an antecedent to giving – more akin to the idea of charging a cellphone in order to use it. While it is unnecessary to begin a 'chicken-or-egg' debate around the abstract conceptualisation of which comes first, filling or draining, it is still worth noting that the way this is conceptualised does have the potential to quite significantly alter how wellbeing is monitored and managed. For example many of the MOTEM leaders, constantly attending to the needs (in person and via their cell phones) of the young people they care for throughout the day, often get up very early in the morning. They use this rare alone time to engage in some of these spiritual disciplines such as reading their bibles, and praying. It is significant also because they often expressed that this was in order to prepare for the day's ministry…

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[60] Luke 8:46, see earlier footnote.

not to diminish resources already lost, but to gain the necessary spiritual nourishment to late give out. However no matter what time scheduled events or social occasions might run on to at night, it would be unusual for a leader to extricate themselves early, no matter how much they had done that day or how tired they were, in order simply to rest and replenish. In CYS by comparison, leaders often schedule a week off directly after Easter Camp, to recover.

There are two sides to how this channel metaphor affects expectations and practices around caring. On one hand, because of this foregrounding of giving what you have *first* been given, there is also a greater sense of acceptance, realisticness or self-compassion around situations where you cannot give. As one MOTEM leader said:

> If I was hated maybe I would also hate someone. But because I've been loved, all that I have to share is an extension of the love I have received from other people.

This reflects the direct relevance of such an antecedent-focused notion of care for their narratives of calling to ministry was reflected in their relative emphasis on the way they had been cared for, or encouraged, or helped, or preached to by someone else *first,* they were then able to give that onwards: relating also to their sense of calling. Richbay illustrated this on the day-to-day level of caring also

> You cannot [give spiritually] if you don't feel it yourself. You cannot give wholly if you cannot feel it yourself. And that time you have to be spiritually like filled, to give out also. [...] you need to be spiritually empowered.

Thus she indicates that leaders give not out of their own capacity, but a (viscerally experienced) flow from God.

"You can't give what you don't have" is a common refrain day to day as well, often used in reference to the continual (emotional, spiritual, physical *and* financial) demands of the youth they serve. I observed its use was often in direct response to situations where moral distress might have been occurring. It was a way of recognising and forgiving the limitations of the individual in the face of seemingly unlimited needs; that giving should be a natural outflow of what had earlier been given, and at the moments of moral distress, that is recognition of the inability of the individual to fill needs they wish to fill, it cannot be forced. "In your giving, you must know you are

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giving what you can handle" Papa Hillary cautions. But this is a complex notion, as the channel metaphor in some ways reduces but in other ways *increases* the expectations and demands placed on the 'good' (caring, empowered, connected) youth leader in Kampala.

> When God is not in you, there is no way you can love. But you can't force yourself to love. Love comes from within you, and when God is in you, you are really powerful, and the bible says God is Love, and when you have all, you have love, and then you can extend the love, the compassion to the other people.

Hillary's statement reflects both sides of the giving/caring conundrum of the channel. With God as the source of love, and a youth leader's relationship with God as the centre of their identity and practice, there is in some ways an even greater onus on them, not 'on their own' but with God 'working through them' to give endlessly, tirelessly, selflessly, as God can. It is the need for a close connection with God in order to fulfil the 'good' leader subjectivity as solution-giver which drives these leaders towards very frequent practices of spiritual disciplines. They often attributed emotional lows and poor mental wellbeing to lack of time spent with God, praying, or reading scripture.

Going further in fact than antecedent focussed 'filling', often the channel metaphor does not clearly separate the process of filling from the act of ministering or 'giving' itself. In fact the filling/receiving it is seen as somewhat cyclical, or even simultaneous, a process, as Solomon expresses:

> You have to focus on refilling. So now as I'm speaking to you, I'm RELEASING what is within me. So I have to come back and refill it. So the more I'm speaking about it, the more I'm STRENGTHENING it. As you are speaking, you are strengthening it.

This involves a sensory /imaginative/affective reframing of that flow of spiritual power, energy, and love itself within their self-as-vessel. It overcomes the sense of the finiteness of the emotion/energy/spirit/power/love "as substance" which the vessel metaphor implies, which of course has very distinct consequences for how low wellbeing (or being 'drained') is explained, and how responsibility is attributed in cases where this becomes mental disorder. It also indicates a more intimate connection with the divine; an ongoing flow of the sacred other through the self. Rather than a zero-sum

equation of giving out one's own resources, and having to manage them and replenish accordingly, it refocuses the imagination of youth ministry as an ongoing, dynamic process, whereby "the more you feed the spirit, the more it will give out", and the more loving and giving you do, the greater your capability to love and give becomes.

> Nothing that is given by the spirit is exhausted by the spirit. ANYthing which is received from above. […] what you keep doing, is what you keep growing in. you can't run out.

-   Pastor Raymond

The assertion by many MOTEM leaders that a youth worker "can't run out" is a significant claim in relation to a depletion model of affliction. However it is tempered by the knowledge of being only an imperfect channel for a perfect and infinite love/power – "we cannot give like God. It is only God who gives unconditionally, it is only God who gives without measure" I was cautioned often. In wider (western-based) pastoral literature, the suggestion is that "serving with unconditional love, because we are unconditionally loved ourselves [by God], seldom results in burnout": yet this is a "goal" rather than a reality, because we are "flawed individuals" (Baab 2003, p 113). In MOTEM the depletion model still applies to some extent because of this: the clarification being that when channelling God's resources in order to give, you feel strengthened and refreshed by the flow of his spirit, but in giving from one's own internal, finite resources is seen as leading to being 'drained' and "you will feel pain, you will feel tired, you will feel weak." To become the best, most perfect channel for God's love, the emphasis of teaching shifts somewhat paradoxically, to emptying.

## Kenosis and the perfect(ly empty) vessel

"When it comes to God you just empty yourself and pray 'God use me as your vessel'" Stephen told us. Mama Hope told me that she often questioned herself and her capabilities for leadership. But she says "then most times we find out that it's not us who do it, but it is the God in us, who is the one doing it." In this way the channel metaphor focuses less on internal resources or capacities and more on (seemingly paradoxically) the emptying of the self in order to be a better channel for *God's* resources (power, spirit, love, metaphoricised as substances). Thus it creates alternate, and yet interlocking, use of the metaphor, which I shall call the 'kenosis' version of the

self-as-vessel/channel schematic. I have already noted in earlier chapters that the self is constructed as a container for contagion on a number of levels in various times and places. Interfacing concepts of emotional burdens, sexually-transmitted diseases, demon possession, and (in Canterbury) the hydraulic model of emotion creates a sense of empty as associated with 'pure', and therefore good. This hinges on the theological concept of 'kenosis' - the empting of (sinful, willful) self in order to allow an infilling of God. The exemplar for this is Christ's own life, where "he made himself nothing by taking the very nature of a servant, being made in human likeness" (Philippians 4:7). This embodies some of the central paradoxes of the Christian faith. The paradox of laying down one's life in order to find it again[61], or laying down one's will and submitting to God's will, is an act of relinquishing agency in order to receive power; a different, better, divine kind of power.

This kenosis model contrasts with the depletion model, whereby emptiness is a negative state. However these two versions of the self-as-vessel schematic can articulate together so that a vessel is both (positively) full of *good* substances such as power and love, and (positively) empty of negative ones, such as emotions and 'self.' Recall again Mike's demonstration with the glass of water; although a simultaneous process in his enactment, it involved both a cleaning/emptying (of spit, representing sin/pain) and a filling (of water, representing the Holy Spirit) into the glass that represented the self. Another leader at a different time prayed for God to 'wash' bitterness and unforgiveness from our hearts, so we could be 'filled' with the joy of the Holy Spirit. The kenotic, empty, expectant state which then invokes a filling by *God's* (superior) strength, grace and emotional character, that is able to be completed more fully and effectively in a clean, pure vessel. The properties of a vessel as finite makes a logical connection around needing to make 'room' for God's filling, i.e. the common saying of "more of you [God], less of me", and in reverse, the common notion that if Jesus is in you, there is "no room" for demons to get in, as Mike put it.

Recall also Papa Solomon's command (in Chapter 3) that a leader should put their emotions aside as they stepped onto the pulpit, because God was instead at work "in you". Getting rid of (overcoming, conquering) emotions, as an important form of emotional labour in MOTEM, was not so much a separate act from then generating

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[61] John 10:17 The Father loves me because I give *my life in order* to take it back again. Matthew 16:25 For whoever would save his life will lose it, but *whoever loses his life* for my sake will find it.

positive emotions, but a preparatory or even directly, oppositionally related (through see-saw imagery) act. Furthermore the dichotomous/oppositional schematic of the self that fasting (as well as emotional management) builds on, viewed in relation to the kenosis version of the self-as-vessel schematic, no longer appears as disconnected from this metaphorical ordering of self as it initially appeared. In fasting, the (selfish, sinful, hungry) flesh is fought down in order to strengthen the spirit. Fasting therefore can be seen as a way of representing a kenotic emptying of the self through an embodied emptying of the stomach. It is "making space for God" (Baab 2009, p41). What's more, the symptom of 'weakness' so commonly associated with the hunger fasting creates rings with the meanings of another very commonly cited scripture: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness. That is why, for Christ's sake, I delight in weaknesses, in insults, in hardships, in persecutions, in difficulties. For when I am weak, then I am strong." (2 Corinthians 12:9-10). An empty stomach can be seen then as an embodied representation of the (positively, expectantly) 'empty' self. In many ways empty vessel becomes clearest as a positive image not as a vessel, but as a channel.

Serving and caring for others as part of Christian ministry is considered to be a form of selfless giving which constitutes a 'laying down' of self. Thus we see some of the basis here for the channel metaphor; that in and through the act of emptying oneself of self in caring selflessly for others, the emptied vessel of self can then be filled with God's spirit, power and life instead. Mike Dodge tells the leaders that "sometimes you just need to be God with skin on" – a poignant image of someone so emptied of self, there is only an outer layer of 'skin' left. Combined, however, with an instrumentalisation of the self common to neoliberal ideologies, this can have a negative impact on the individual carer which the following chapter will discuss. Self-care could be explained in a similar way, using the channel metaphor – as a way of maintaining a healthy channel in order to better serve others.  Through this type of understanding of the youth worker's role (as 'channel') they become framed somewhat instrumentally in the care process, as a 'tool' for God's purposes – in fact a common image that Weber attributes Calvin to using, as well (1905/2001, p76). Another example is an illustration drawn from one CYS camp, of the leader's relationship with God being like a call to a 111 (emergency line) operator. They would give you instructions as to what to do, and your best response, the most effective way to be useful to the injured party, was to

simply become the hands, the tool, for the line operator who would "work through you." Having God 'use' you to accomplish His will and purpose is a key understanding of ministry positions; accomplishing a task set by someone else, as per Christopherson's (1994) definition of 'calling' as outlined in Chapter 2.

The MOTEM leaders believe strongly in channel-based concepts of "being filled as you give", or specifically as well as "being strengthened as you speak" These were ways in which the filling/receiving was experienced simultaneously with giving/outpouring. The youth workers experiencing this in literal embodied ways through increased strength, energy and volume, as was very apparent among the MOTEM leaders who tended to increase on all of these fronts the longer they had been preaching/speaking/testifying for. Stephen's 'buzz' after preaching was quite different to what Mike described, whereby for him, even though he enjoyed it, 1 hour on the stage was worth 3 elsewhere, in terms of the physical weariness it caused. While privileging the vessel metaphor more often in Canterbury, among the various 'substances' in the vessel, it was love specifically that was often portrayed more in relation to a channel. Mike strongly emphasised the need to have God's love before a youth worker can love others. Another SYLT speaker phrased it beautifully: "If our hearts don't first encounter the fire of His heart, we will sooner or later burn out in loving others." Kirmayer writes that "Metaphors transform our perceptions and representations by moving them through sensory, affective and abstract conceptual spaces (2004, p37). Indeed compared to the focus on finite individual resources that the vessel metaphor creates, the channel metaphor fosters a sense of intimacy, connectivity, between the self and the sacred other. As a channel, the self has considerably less agency; it can give only what comes down from God. It increases the sense of reliance on God for the task at hand. The sense of God's outpouring is often experienced most strongly in times of ministry and care for others. In other words, an experience of intimacy with God often parallels or arises from the intimate relational work of caring for others. In one of the Xtend camp sharing times, the morning after a lengthy and emotional Holy Spirit ministry time the previous evening, one young girl stood up to share about the way she had "really felt" God's presence while she was ministering to others. Confessionally, she told the room that actually she had never really had a strong feeling of being filled with the Holy Spirit before, and that "it wasn't until I actually started praying for people when I started to feel it."

The MOTEM leaders often talk about wanting to keep themselves pure and make themselves Christ like in order to be "a more perfect vessel for serving God[62]" but in light of the prominence of the channel schematic in their performative practice of spirituality (for healing and so on), it is the kenotic cleansing of one's self in order to be a better *channel* for the spiritual outpourings of God, through them, to the others they seek to serve and empower. In both places notions of kenosis as a self-as-channel are observably shaped by neoliberal ideological influences, too, around the responsibility of the individual to ensure they are as *efficient* as they can be at their work. The 'good' leader must be as efficient a channel as possible, and so they must undergo the intensive self-reflective, moral labour of kenosis, to empty themselves of 'self', and the taxing emotional labour to empty themselves of negative emotion – by 'releasing' in Canterbury, and 'conquering' in Kampala - in order to become the most pure/clean channel they can be, for God's love and care to others.

The channel metaphor is present in both MOTEM and CYS, as part of their shared Christian belief system. However I observed it being utilised more frequently and centrally in MOTEM, where it did indeed reshape care and self-care practices, values and expectations in the ways I have described. In Kampala - with the self as one unified whole, and the spiritual as the driver of overall wellbeing - receiving power/love from God whilst caring for others, will mean receiving energy/strength at the same time. However with the physical/mental/emotional spheres seen as separate to the spiritual in Christchurch, this was not automatically the case.

Overall in the CYS community, people had more tendency to attribute their ability to love, listen, care or be relational to inherent qualities (see Chapter 2) – qualities that in some ways are 'stored' in the self, as with substances in a vessel. They considered that people are innately 'built' by God for the purpose of youth work are then 'called' through various circumstance and means (also see Chapter 2) to youth ministry. However in the MOTEM community, people instead tended to share about their life experiences coming from 'nothing' to positions of responsibility while still young and untrained, emphasising that "God equips the called" with power and skills in those situations where they need it, as they step out and act in faith. By contrast on a day-to-

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[62] Stephen declared on the first day we met him that this was the goal of his life.

day level their preference for channel metaphors around care and spirituality meant less of a sense of the involvement of an individual's own stored qualities or resources. This meant the sense of resources as finite (and the care/self-care dichotomy as two sides of a zero-sum equation) was less prominent than it was in Canterbury, where managing one's levels received so much emphasis. Instead, with God as source, the MOTEM leaders had less explanation (or excuse) for failed care or for time or attention to themselves, creating different if not less forms of anxiety around care and its cost on the self. This was reflected in their patterns of self-care which specifically focussed on spiritual disciplines seen to 'open' them to filling of God's (external) spirit/power/word, and did not include-self-awareness, as Canterbury did, as a necessary prerequisite to the self-management of these (internal) levels. The way that these models of self effect understandings of mental health – its causes and preferred treatments – is particularly significant, and is a topic I will explore more deeply in the following chapter.

Marsella & White highlight the way that depressive disorders can be expressed and communicated in ways which differ primarily around their concept of self. "Self is inextricably linked to the definition, experience, and expression of mental disorders", she writes (1982, p363). This chapter has explored one of the main metaphorical schematics that structure the understanding of the self in each of my field sites, drawing out some of the subtle differences. The following chapter, which deals more directly with the way illness, distress, and mental disorder are expressed, can build on this work. I will draw some links between my comparative findings and Young's categorisation of healing systems as internalising/externalising, examining the socio-cultural specificities which contribute to each particular form of sense-making in these fields.

One criticism of both the vessel and channel metaphors is perhaps a Western centric focus on individuality, which is perhaps a product of 'our' own cultural historical and more recently developed neoliberal worldview that elevates the individual. However, the dominance of neoliberal aspirationalism as a global phenomenon may also be seen in the triumphalism in Kampala. In the following Chapter, further discussions of self-care will further elucidate these patterns, present in both places, of self-care as individual and as a representation of the responsibility of the good neoliberal citizen to 'doctor' themselves.

# CHAPTER 6: The Suffering Soul

*Even as we expect the BEST of ministry, we should also expect the worst of criticism, the worst of depression, because it's ALL part of the cake, it's all part of the game.*

- *Pastor Raymond, MOTEM*

Illness represents a "breakdown in one's lived experience in the world; failure in the terms of which one is situated with others and oneself" (Merleau-Ponty, cited in Pink 2009). Cecil Helman states the primary human questions that arise as part of illness experiences as being 'Why is this happening to me?' and 'Why now?' (1981/2007). In light of this illness can be seen as an interpretive enterprise based on cultural theories (White 1982), meaning that the way youth workers came to answer these questions in my two field sites is fundamentally rooted in their local life worlds (Kleinman 1999). In this chapter I examine some of the lattice-works of situated knowledges and beliefs - the vernacular psychologies and theologies - that contribute to this sense-making procedure. In doing so I am able to speak to my initial area of interest, around burnout, and its meaning in this historical moment. I offer first a brief comparative section, outlining contextual factors relevant to the treatment and perception of mental illness in each place. I then present for Kampala, and then Canterbury, examples from my research which look at the context-specific meanings that emerge in each, to shape the lives of youth workers in some of their most vulnerable moments – and the way they manage these to their benefit.

The term 'vernacular psychologies' reflects the common sense beliefs and practices related to the categorisation, causal attributions, and preventative or curative prescriptions for mental disorder or distress. It explains "how people structure their explanations for the onset and course of sickness episodes, and how these explanations rationalise their therapeutic strategies," as Young (1976) puts it. Part of this includes their engagement (or disengagement) with biomedicine and clinical psychiatry as an element of their sense-making, along with other local (indigenous, professional, lay) knowledge systems. Understanding mental illness and distress against a broader set of meanings around 'suffering' is a way of heeding Kleinman's warning against indiscriminately applying the clinical categorisations based on one cultural group, to

another (1987). It assists in cultivating sensitivity to local idioms of distress. I discuss clinical terms and treatment only in as much as I saw these discussed or utilised by the members of these faith communities – having given context at the beginning to their prevalence among CYS leaders and almost complete absence among MOTEM leaders. There are many different ways of bearing pain, and in fact Desjarlais argues that ways of suffering relate intrinsically to what it means to be a 'good' person (1992b, p1107), something I build on here, from earlier discussion, in relation to the performance of illness as a 'cost' of care.

Although traditionally a distinction has been made between mental illness and the 'dark night of the soul' as a form of suffering specific to the Christian believer (Greene-McCreight 2006, p115), emotional distress within these communities remains intimately intertwined with spiritual belief. The CYS leaders therefore suffer not only as mindful bodies, but as embodied souls. In examining 'suffering' I am also able to explore the historically determined ideological threads shaping Christian attitudes to the 'problem of pain' or 'problem of evil' that implicitly contribute to the moral weighting and management of emotional distress as one sub-category of this. I use the idea of 'vernacular theology' to distinguish from formalised church doctrine, and indicate instead a focus on the 'everyday' theological beliefs of the laity, that are built up through their readings of church doctrine, scripture, pastoral teaching, and their own experience of the practice of the faith (Elisha 2008, p165). I use an ethnographic (rather than theological) focus to identify some of the scriptural and cultural points which shape the expectations and responses of Christian youth leaders in these specific communities, when it is *they* who experience it rather than those they care *for*.

Andrew Solomon observes that even with the promise of "no more tears or sorrows" in the next life, those who have faith, like any other human being, cannot help but experience the anguishes of human experience during this life. "Christ himself was known as the man of sorrows" he notes astutely (Solomon 2001). This, too, is often made sense of as part of the 'cost' of love/care which these leaders feel called to embody, although not unproblematically. The tensions and moral risks inherent in negotiating how to perform suffering links into my broader discussion of the subjectivity of the 'good' youth leader in two distinctive cultural contexts, both stamped heavily by neoliberalism even as they actively foster a distinctive Christian care ethic.

## Background: contexts of mental distress

*We leave home an extra 15 minutes earlier each morning, to navigate the ongoing roadwork. Three years on from the quake, and you can still see rubble-filled sections, some with faded photo memorials bound to the fences. They appear around the corner of ordinary suburban blocks, and startle and sadden anthropologists who are unfamiliar with this particular street, this particular neighbourhood, this particular facet of a lingering tragedy.*

*We wait a long time at traffic lights beside a corner dairy, all boarded up now. The exterior is slathered with posters that declare in reassuring bubble letters and bright colours that "it's all right to feel overwhelmed some days," and "it's all right to feel a little blue now and then" and "it's alright to feel a tad on edge in the mornings." The small print at the bottom directs you to a mental health helpline.*

*The traffic jerks ahead. We continue onwards to a church on the outskirts of Christchurch, where we arrive to see a number of other leaders heading in through the big doors. I don't doubt that at least some are feeling overwhelmed, blue, or on edge, and this morning is ostensibly about them being able to talk about that. As I crunch across the gravel parking lot to the entrance, I am curious to see if they will.*

- ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 3rd August, 2012***



Figure 58. Image of posters on a wall from the 'All Right' Campaign. Credit: Allright.org.nz.

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In Canterbury, most youth leaders I spoke to narrated the time directly after the quake as one of intense community feeling and strength. It was later – one, two, even three years on – that they began to feel the strain and fatigue, as they grappled with the direct effects of the quake on their own lives, as well as the secondary flow-on stresses from those whom they cared for. In response CYS employed an extra staff member, psychologist Karen Hanafin, as "a carer for the carers." Her role involved counselling and mentoring youth pastors and leaders around the region in long-term relationships, and being available for short 'consults' at large events such as Easter Camp. Karen's funded hours diminished each year on from the quake, and although when we spoke at the end of 2012 she had been hopeful to renew her funding in light of the ongoing strain and "definite signs of burnout" in the CYS community, no further funding was found. In the broader Canterbury community, the 'All Right' campaign provided an up-front way to acknowledge the mental stress that the earthquake added to local residents, in the public sphere, through posters and social media (All Right 2014, Healthy Christchurch 2014). They also used surveys to take six-monthly snapshots of wellbeing in the region. Some of their recent figures, as Table 13 shows, indicate an increasing rather than decreasing number of people feeling tired and overwhelmed.

Table 13. Figures from the All Right Campaign regional survey (2014)

| People who are... | 2012 | 2014 |
|---|---|---|
| Tired | 55% | 65% |
| Overwhelmed | 19% | 26% |
| Angry | 17% | 13% |
| Feel life is better than before September 2010 | 26% | 34% |
| Worry about another big earthquake | 54% | 47% |

On top of this regionally-specific initiative, and pre-dating the quake, New Zealand has also had a string of national public mental health awareness-raising campaigns over recent years. The nationwide 'Stay Well' advertising campaign featuring former All Black John Kirwan led to his more recent (launched 2010) online 'Journal' system, which offered a programme of self-management for depression (Wardell 2013). 'The Lowdown' project was another example of the campaigns that have brought attention to attention mood disorders in particular. I have noted in the previous chapter that in Canterbury emotions are usually seen as a subcategory of the mental/psychological

sphere of self. This contributes to the comfortable classification of mood disorders as a mental illness. Many of these campaigns have assisted as well in making mood disorders perhaps now the most common cultural images of mental disorder for New Zealanders. These are also the most commonly diagnosed mental disorders: in the first phase of the 2006-2016 study of New Zealand's recent study on the national burden of disease[63], mental disorders were the third leading cause of health loss at condition level (11% overall, 31% youth, 25% young adults), and anxiety and depressive disorders were the second leading cause of health loss as specific causes (5.3% overall, 13.6% youth, 12.4% young adults) (www.health.govt.nz 2014). The national media tends to highlight the country's high rates of depression and suicide, particularly among young people (e.g. Newton 2011, Wynn 2011, Cowlishore 2012, Mcallen 2014).

Despite the slow-growing, cautious open-ness on the topic of mental health, it remains a stigmatised and sensitive area (www.health.govt.nz). Faith-based communities and organisations are no exception to this, and layer their own vernacular theologies of suffering, illness, and mental disorder over the wider cultural understandings of it. "Christian's don't HAVE mental health," laughs Mike when I ask him about it. "We don't need medication, we don't need to talk about it, and it should just be Jesus and me, riding into the sunset!" He is joking, but his humour is a deliberate mimicry of a common attitude he has identified in the Christian community over his 30+ years in ministry: it is a broadly acknowledged stigma built around a complex web of cultural and moral causal attributions, which I will be unpacking throughout this chapter (Greene-McCreight 2006). Furthermore his words express a link between *beliefs* about mental health among believers, and how it is managed or treated when such experiences do arise. This is important to note where later we explore both curative and preventative prescriptions in each place.

Unlike Mike, the MOTEM leaders were quite serious in their insistence to me that Christian leaders "can't have" mental illness. This relates to the predominant cultural image of mental disorder there, which is that of the madman running naked through the streets. Despite psychiatric care provisions in general regional hospitals, and at the National Mental Referral Hospital, Butabika, seeing mentally ill people begging or walking the streets is not uncommon, again reflected in Table 14. As all the Butabika

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[63] Health loss (or burden of disease) measures how much healthy life is lost due to premature death, illness or impairment, measured in Disability Life Adjusted Years (DALYs).

nurses agreed in our focus group, it was hard to convince community members that anything not resembling this could be a mental health problem. When I asked the MOTEM leaders about the signs or symptoms of mental illness, their responses usually centred on violence and antisocial behaviour. Some examples of mental illness given by those I spoke to, as shown in Table 14, included chopping someone's head off, beating people, setting off explosions (including a reference to terrorist bombings), stabbing someone, armed robbery, mothers burning their children, or hitting someone on the head with a log or stone. The emotional is seen as separate from the 'mental', which focuses around the brain. Subsequently head injuries from accidents, symptoms like a persistent headache, and memory problems, were seen as much more indicative of 'mental' problems than were mood fluctuation.

**Table 14: Selected quotes from MOTEM leaders, describing mental illness**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Participant 3, M7** | "Maybe when you talk about [mental health], when you advise somebody who has a disorder like maybe mania, or maybe somebody is depressed, they think of hospitals, maybe of somebody [who] is mad... they'll tell you: 'But I'm not undressing myself, I'm not saying those weird words...' They don't want to accept and they think there are those people who are worse who are on the street." |
| **Participant 4, M7** | "In Uganda, majorly, what they consider as mental illness, it's when someone is too much crazy, like throwing stones. Like we have psychiatric depression. but for them, most of them do not take that one as a mental illness. So majorly they think someone who is mentally sick must be throwing stones, must be beating people around, must be walking naked. But majorly, definitely they know it could be ah like sorcery, witchcraft. Majorly that's what they think about. Ancestral spirits kind of stuff. That's the perception about mental illness." |
| **Participant 12, M1** | "When I was coming here, I met some sister who was a leader. We had some time, one on one, for over one and a half hour. She told me 'Pastor, I am depressed.' She said 'I have been having severe headache each and every time'. So I said I think it's out of stress, and depressed, and what and what. This very common here in Uganda." |
| **Prima** | "Actually when the problem [of mental illness] is really big, there is even people commit suicide. Someone will do weird things, Maybe chop off someone's head or something. But they've never done that before. For example there's someone, some years ago... like 2010, here in Uganda. There were blasts. They tell you the guy who carried those things had never done such things. They don't have a history of doing such things. And yet someone just carried it, knowing it's a bomb. And knowing it's going to explode and it explodes. So you wonder what |

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| | exactly happened. They must be mentally... or maybe they had like some problem with boyfriend or you know." |
| Seith | "When mental illness comes in, you just become ... crazy." |
| Carol | "Mental illness...they are not in their right brain, or mind. They can't think or put things together.  They have something wrong or need a Psychiatrist. The first thing is the person is crazy. They are mad." |
| Moses | "In Uganda, when you talk about mental health, people will understand there is a problem with the brain. Like someone is becoming insane, or cannot easily remember. Someone has "run mad". There are some other cultural beliefs attached to that, like you run mad because you have been bewitched. But ah, sometimes it is true [...Other causes might be] when there is trauma. even accidents: they could cause fracture, internal bleeding in the head. [Another cause could be] age and forgetting. There are severe ones, mild ones, moderate ones." |
| Richbay | "I wouldn't call [depression] a mental illness. [laughs] I wouldn't! Personally I wouldn't call it a mental illness because you can get out of it... you can easily get out of it, if you do something about it." |
| Raymond | "You find some people that are emotionally downcast, can be mentally ill. They can end up doing things that you never expected. I've seen mothers even burning their kids! And you know this person is not retarded. She is not crazy. But maybe she had a conflict with the husband, and this kid messes up... in Uganda we've had many cases, people do things that, and you go 'are these people really mentally ok?' So sometimes it is emotional distress that can be regarded as mental illness. Like recently I was watching the news and some youth beat up someone to death, because that person was suspected to be an armed robber. To me they may not be retarded, but they are mentally ill!! And their mental ailments is explained by their emotions. You know their emotions have superseded their reasoning, so for me they go into the brackets of mental illness. Because when you get a log, or a stone, AND you hit someone in the head [incredulous]... frankly speaking your mind is not in order! And if your mind is not in order, it's mental illness." |

Literature from the public health sector in Uganda estimates that 35% of Ugandans suffer a mental disorder, and 15% of these require (clinical) treatment (Ssebunya 2011). Studies show AIDS to have a significant contribution to the burden on Uganda psychiatry (Boardman & Ovuga 1997, Allebeck et al 2011, Kizza et al 2012, Okeke & Wagner 2013). The several periods of internal conflict have also created a strong prevalence of post-traumatic-distress disorder and similar, most recently in the youth population of the Northern region, which was labelled as having one of the highest rates of mental illness in the world after two decades of war and a concentrated

period of displacement and atrocious use of child soldiers by the LRA (Bilotta 2011, Businge 2008). Due to these and other systemic problems (which quickly forced me to adjust my own notions of normalcy) there is an additional strong focus in Uganda, particularly in the NGO sector, on dealing with psychological trauma and post-traumatic stress (Boardman & Ovuga 1997).



**Figure 59. The main entrance to Butabika Hospital. Credit: MDAC (http:/mdac.info/en/node)**



**Figure 60. Patients in an outdoor area at Butabika. Credit: MDAC (http:/mdac.info/en/node)**

Figure 61. Stephen, Andrew, Fellowship Mama, & Susan, visiting Butabika fellowship. Credit: Susan Wardell.

Despite this, a qualitative study completed in Uganda by Ssebunya (2011) indicates that mental health professionals there still feel that mental health work is a marginalised and highly stigmatised area. Ministry of Health officials were adamant that is was being prioritised, and yet the nation's Mental Health Policy remains in draft form over 15 years after its conception (Ssebunya 2011 & 2012, Flisher et al 2007, Kigozi et al 2010). Those I spoke to in medical and psychiatric fields (including six Christian psychiatric nursing students, at the Butabika National Mental Hospital[64]) cried out against the ignorance around mental health issues in "the community", and the need for sensitisation. Few public campaigns address the issue, the issues regularly being covered in tabloids such as the 'New Vision' (Businge 2008, Kiwawulo 2010, Kagolo 2012, 2014) tended to either relate statistics without context, or provide sensational stories of 'madmen' which deepen stereotypes.

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[64] A 300acre treatment, training and residential facility on the outskirts of Kampala. Official 500 bed capacity (WHO 2011), or 900+ according to their website. 426 (medical and support) staff (Boardman & Ovuga 1997).

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The stigma I observed around 'mental illness' in MOTEM is embedded in socio-moral experience (Yang et al 2007). However, as members of both a local, and a transnational (Christian) community, the leaders' sense-making around emotional distress in their community must be read not only against local stereotypes, but also from a Christian interpretive schema around mental health and around 'suffering' in general. This was articulated in quite different ways between the two sites, based on different expectations of life in general. A South Island Pastor explained his perception of this. In Old Testament days, he says, the cry of the people was 'Why do the wicked prosper?' The expectation was for life to be hard, and so they queried why some people seemed to have it easy. In the modern western church, he suggested, the more common cry was 'Why do bad things happen to good people?' This indicated an expectation that life would, overall, go well. Other scholars, too, have noted a denial of vulnerability and limitations saturating the US culture (Yang et al 2014) from which many strands of global Christian doctrine emerge today (Maxwell 1998). This significantly changes the process of questioning undertaken when suffering does strike, often in the US putting more emphasis on seeking causes and explanations for 'bad' events, in comparison to elsewhere (Friedenberg 1980).

The attitude towards suffering in CYS seemed indeed to follow this pattern, in turn shaping the approach to mental illness. Mental illness is mostly interpreted as a biomedical issue in line with other western trends increasingly more forms of emotional distress are being labelled as pathological, in line with what Healy (2004) has called 'diagnostic bracket creep. This not only sets baseline expectations of life quite high, but again puts a strong emphasis on finding causes of the 'problems' and fixing them. In contrast there are some striking differences evident in the way suffering is perceived in Moment of Truth. There they show an attitude more akin to what the Pastor called an 'Old Testament' mind set, which accepts of suffering as part of the normal character of life. Emotional struggles are not as readily seen as pathological. They are not 'problems' as much as 'challenges': a normal part of the human experience, and even at times a positive part of the spiritual journey. To summarise, while in Canterbury emotional pain is often read as part of a (chemical) disease, a discrete biological entity or state within the self, something you 'have'; in Kampala it is more something you 'pass through', related to outside forces or circumstances.

## Suffering in Kampala: "weeping is endured"

When we talk about faith and belief and great things in ministry, we should also know that there are days when we won't have money, there are days when we are emotionally downcast, there will be days when the ministry seems not to be moving, there will be days when you are struggling with yourself, and your body, and your emotions as a leader. But we also have to keep in mind that we can overcome those days, and move on and do service for Christ in this generation.

- Raymond

> *Stephen and Pastor Raymond have their heads bent together, voices low in quiet consultation. They are frowning at a spreadsheet full of numbers that don't add up. Stephen periodically darts in and out of the room to make exuberant phone calls, but comes back sighing. The big Soul Winners youth meeting is only three days away and as it stands, we can't afford to pay for the catering. They put aside the paperwork eventually and everyone bundles into the rented car – our own rendered unusable in a costly accident with a bodaboda driver several days before, who subsequently bribed the police to 'lose' the paperwork, to avoid paying damages.*
>
> *When we pull up to the barn-like corrugated iron structure of a church in the suburban slums that Sunday afternoon, we pause a minute in the car before we even go in; everyone seems weary already, gathering their energy. Eventually we emerge to take our seats up the front beside smiling hosts, and a crowd of 150 or more, in their colourful Sunday best. We sing, loudly. Somehow by the time it is Stephen's turn to stand, he is crackling with energy. One handed the mic, he is all fire, launching into his signature theme: the "year of open doors." His body moves, rocks, shakes, he gestures wildly, passionately. And at the end, yet again, he invites, implores the entire crowd to join us for a "heavy breakfast" at Soul Winners on Wednesday – promises he will fight to make possible later. Promises he will fulfil.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Sunday 12th January 2014***

When I began attending youth meetings in Uganda I was both amused and confused to note the frequency with which leaders in the MOTEM community gave

prayers or testimonies thanking God that they had not been hit by a *matatu*[65] or *bodaboda*[66], even just on the daily commute to campus. This functioned both to highlight the grace of God, and to highlight the importance of salvation, since someone might have to face death (and thus judgement) by traffic at any moment. In these prayers, the chaotic Kampalan streets are perhaps a microcosm for the broader chaos of life, the sense of uncertainty, risk, and danger with which Haram & Yamba (2009) seek to broadly characterise African life. This awareness of the imminence of death and tragedy on both a small everyday level and a broader historical level undoubtedly contributes to the lived beliefs and expectations about life for the MOTEM leaders. "When we start in this world, we are crying. We also leave crying" Stephen told me matter-of-factly. "You go through something good today, and the next day you go through something bad" Christian social worker Richbay told me matter-of-factly. "Day and night will come!" said Pastor Raymond. He gave me the example of cooking a cake with the local recipe, you use curry powder and raw egg in the mix, which would (respectively) taste bitter and make you throw up alone. "But put them together and you have a sweet cake."

At times the emotional rollercoaster of youth work, was attributed to the character of young people themselves, drawing the negative local ideologies of youth (Christiansen 2011) that I have discussed already. At other times it focussed more broadly on interpersonal relations for a site of suffering, i.e. the general likelihood of being hurt, frustrated, misunderstood and disappointed by other people, including other leaders. A lack of financial support for ministry was an ongoing cause of significant suffering, also discussed in Chapter 3, which of course must be viewed in the context of the increasing pressure on NGO's, FBO's, and charitably minded individuals to provide the social services[67] that Structural Adjustment Policies have seen the government cease to support. More broadly, and as a significant part of the underlying vernacular theology of suffering, rather than seeking particular causes it was simply acknowledged as a part of the general character of life, expressing a benign but limited view of human agency in which "when people get sick or troubled it is not always because they have done

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[65] Public taxi van

[66] Motorcycle taxi for hire

[67] For example providing food to hospital patients, fees to school students, or healthcare to slum dwellers, all activities MOTEM members spoke of engaging in, among many more, which required an investment of time and money from them as individual and/or through their various fellowships and ministries, including the umbrella organisation of MOTEM itself.

something wrong, nor need it mean that anyone else has wronged them", which a study by Friedenberg associated with Canadians, contrasting this directly with the US, control-focused, answer-seeking attitude (Friedenberg 1980, cited in Kirmayer 2007).

Among ministry leaders, as those who also bear the burdens of being 'problem solvers' and 'solution givers' to others, there is perhaps even greater expectation that their live worlds will be punctuated by challenges as part of its normal course, expressed in fact through many of the metaphors I have already discussed, such as the burden. Pastor Raymond said that:

> Youth leaders suffer more because almost everything comes back to them. They are just like, the dustbin. The dustbin by the mere fact that it's a dustbin, whether it is a leftover pizza, whether it is old shoes, everything goes in there […] Almost everyone is casting their burdens on us! We are the fulfilment of the scripture, of cast your burdens on us! Carry one another's burden. I think we are the, we are the carriers of the burdens of people.

While such a thing was uncomfortable, even painful, it was normal for a Christian, a leader, and anyone who was "born the way Jesus was born, as a human being", as Pastor Baker put it. Ecclesiastes 3 tells of a time for weeping, and a time for laughing. Raymond called this verse the "biggest encouragement" for a youth worker, reminding them: "the glory days will come, the bitter days will come, and the success days will come." This reflects older populist Pentecostal views identifying suffering as a normal and necessary part of the life of the Christian believer (Maxwell 1998, p367).

Despite his own grounding in this belief, Raymond does worry, based on his mentorship of many other young Christians, that often "none of the leaders wants to hear about the bad days" seeming instead to want to blindly assume that like the popular gospel song they will be "riding the glory train all the time." In this he identifies some of the newer threads in Pentecostalism, impacting Africa through the prosperity theologies I have earlier described (Maxwell 1998), which are grounded in an American culture that Kleinman describes as having "an assiduous denial of existential vulnerability and limits" (2006, p7). He argues that this is founded on a myth of self-control, mastery over the environment, the beneficence of the social order, and a denial of human limits, even death itself (2006). Such views are clearly evident in American

theologies too. Yet though they are strongly present in Kampalan churches, these triumphalist teachings seem to conflict with the impossibility of ignoring tragedy, brutality and pain in Uganda's recent history. Thus in daily life it has necessitated the use of sophisticated discursive strategies (in formal and informal, spoken and written dialogue) among the MOTEM leaders that creatively managed the tension between these two aspects of their life worlds.

## "Things we are passing through": burdens and externalising systems

When I queried the leaders about the challenges of youth work in Kampala, the inevitable response was a long list of social problems (AIDs, poverty, drinking culture, sexual immorality), interpersonal issues (youth were wilful, did not listen and were hard to lead, they were not responsible and did not follow through), and material struggles (lack of resources, lack of money). "These are all things we are passing through" I was told often, in the common vernacular of the community. Their struggles - exhaustion, frustration, poverty, moral-distress or compassion fatigue –were seen as temporary places in the external landscape of a journey the self moved through, or malevolent forces (often 'burdens' or 'weights') acting upon, but from outside, the self. Burden metaphors, the preferential emphasis on the channel version of the vessel metaphor, and the dominance of the spiritual sphere in wellbeing (as I have described in previous chapters) all contributed to the externalising medical systems evident there. Externalising systems "locate the origin and resolution of affliction in processes outside the individual, and these are often interpersonal, social or spiritual" (Kirmayer 2004, p35). It is a sometimes pejoratively employed stereotype that Africans tend to attribute all misfortune to external agents and causes (Herbst & Britz 1986, cited in Yen & Wilbraham 2003, p564). While it may be a generalisation, an externalising model of affliction did broadly emerge from my observations of the way MOTEM leaders spoke about and managed distress.

Even the term 'stress' was used in a way that grammatically inferred its reference to circumstances rather than in reference to a state of being; one *had* stress, rather than *was* stressed. The focus was strongly on the external stressors rather than the emotional response to these as a state of 'stress' (Hobfoll 1989). This reflects an earlier trend in physiological formulations of the topic, emphasising external stressors and stimulus: as part of beliefs in MOTEM that externalise the causes of anxiety, despair,

and depression as a response to the complexity of human relations and, often, to socioeconomic pressures. A later psychological focus of 'stress' as a personal emotional response, related to "deep-seated personological disturbance" (Hobfoll 1989, p514), has a stronger resonance with the CYS perspective, contrastingly evidencing an internalising focus that draws attention away from any social problems, situational struggles or material inequalities (Kirmayer & Young 1998). Both have implications for the understanding and treatment of mental illness. Specifically they lend themselves towards a view that most emotional suffering is not a disease, or a discrete entity or altered state within the self at all; it is a circumstance or experience or 'pass through' rather than internal pathology you 'have'. This is distinct from the Canterbury view. It is way to sanitise, de-stigmatise and normalise suffering, as something outside of the self and thus non-threatening to one's identity… at least if managed correctly.

## Living suffering, performing victory

In Kampala, the youth workers preach victory. They teach empowerment. They promise glory. The triumphalist theology insists that amidst the struggle of day-to-day life that God means to bestow every blessing - spiritual and material - on those who follow him. Yet although their stories on the pulpit and during our interviews ended in spectacular healing and restoration, they also referenced times of great pain and despair. Timothy, for example, was open about his struggles and questioning after his mission:

> With all this stress you come back and you sit at home and say "where am I heading?" As a human being., never mind [that on] the other side you have been in the spirit fighting, and the thing is complete, you have successfully finished the mission… but when you come back, look at your small room, look at other people you have preached to, people who are very well off, you stand with them, God does miracles, performs many things, but when you come back to yourself you feel like God is not doing anything for you. Absolutely nothing.

Clearly their verbosity and zeal did not peter out when it came to talking about the lows of their ministry life, but rather they performed the narrative of "crying alone in their house" and "travailing before God" with a poignant openness.

In Kampala suffering *can* be problematic because it is linked to disempowerment and social vulnerability. However sharing stories of suffering through testifying, preaching and sharing constitute forms of ritual that assist in emotional catharsis, through providing not an exact repetition, but a properly distanced re-experience of the trauma (Scheff et al 1977). Even more deeply, it can also assist in an actualising process that moves the leader away from that place of vulnerability by placing the experience in the past tense, and as part of a wider story in which it may actually contribute to a positive identity. However one thing I noted about the narrative response of the MOTEM leaders to my questions about whether they experienced mental or emotional distress, depression and suffering, was that it almost always took the form of "yes, but." While suffering and struggle were loudly present in their stories of life and ministry, no story could be left in a place of despair. Stories of brokenness centred on, and finished with, the performance of healing and restoration, victory and joy. Timothy's story, above, finished with an explanation of how, in this place of despair, he had reminded himself of "the God who called him" and so he "keeps on overcoming." This form of narrative storying of emotional/psychological pain strongly recalled to me the 'restitution narrative' formulated by Frank (1995), who also provides an important context for this by theorising narratives as a site of both self-actualisation and self-care in the face of illness (1998, p330)

Frank observed one story format common in western narratives of illness, which emphasises the return to a previous state of full wellbeing, and which he argues is the preferred biomedical narrative (1995). It follows the pattern of 'Yesterday I was healthy, today I am sick but tomorrow I will be healthy again' (Frank 1995, p6). It draws on Parsons' seminal (1951) work on the "sick role" which socially sanctions the patient adopting a sick role (allowing them to be temporarily relieve of normal social obligations) so long as they put all their effort into getting well, and comply with prescribed health regimens. Parsons called the sick role a "sanctioned deviance": a subjectivity which structured expectations and behaviours to the encounters between the sufferer, their carer, and wider society. While resisting a biomedical framework for their experiences, the MOTEM leaders' stories of suffering reflect a similar structure, emphasising pain and suffering as acceptable, for a time, as long as the emphasis is on the progress towards a state of healing and joy, and providing an acceptable subjectivity in a morally risky situation. It sanctions suffering and 'brokenness', temporarily, even

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though these are quite dramatically deviant from their core organisational identities (i.e. as 'exemplary' and 'empowered'). It exempts them temporarily from normal social responsibilities (i.e. they are able to 'retreat', and to 'cry'). Yet added on them is a moral responsibility to recover as quickly and as fully as possible from that state (i.e. to 'conquer' or 'overcome' it). All these were evident in the narrative forms they offered to me, and which I have been presenting throughout this thesis. Through this – which is better perhaps termed a 'suffering role' here, than a 'sick role' - whether their struggle is economic or interpersonal[68], the good Christian leader is able to suffer nobly if they devote themselves to empowerment, excellence and victory.

Raymond admits that weeping may "take some time." However he follows this by asserting that "Then joy will COME in the morning. Weeping is endured on this side, but joy is on its way." Papa Solomon similarly advised that "Whoever is born of God, OVERCOMES the world […] So whoever has been suffering for long, HOLD ON to the word of God. It's the only hope you need." Without suffering there can be no glory, and their struggles, real though they undoubtedly are, provide a narrative juxtaposition for the faith they then present. As Stephen declared to 1,899 followers on his Facebook page, in early 2014:

> If you are still running away from the challenges, the pain and the chaos, you are not ready for promotion in every arena of your life yet!! It's the things you overcome that determine your rewards in life. It's time to embrace your whole life and WIN!!

As these examples show, suffering can be performed as evidence not of disempowerment and vulnerability, but of the aesthetics of self-control and empowerment. They are examples of a narrative performance of identity, which does not so much 'work around,' as they do strategically utilise emotional pain (Berlant 2000) to align the speaker with key discourses of the 'good' leader. In his focus on the history of the human body in Christian thought, Synnott notes that when 'the word was made flesh', not only was divinity humanised, but "humanity, in all its fleshiness, was divinized" (1992, p84). Thus suffering became sanctioned as part of the believer's repertoire of being. In some ascetic traditions it even become reified, as a way for individuals to model Christ's life more closely and thus as part of the performance of a

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[68] Bearing in mind that here 'pure' emotional suffering is not seen, but rather angst and dysphoria are externalized as responses to such pressures rather than discrete internal states.

particular subjectivity.  Berlant, writing on the use of pain in feminist and subaltern politics, notes the way people can define themselves by the wounds they bear (2000). In this case it is the wounds that the young leaders bear on behalf of others that are particularly significant. The cost of care forms part of the identity of the self-sacrificing carer. The experience of struggle and the *overcoming* of struggle allows them to perform both the human and the divine aspects of their being. This sanctifies the 'suffering leader' as an acceptable - even desirable – subjectivity.

## No pain, no gain: "many are the affliction of the righteous"

Pastor Baker said: "Though you go down - a righteous man falls seven times - though you will rise again. The bible says rise and shine!"  My MOTEM participants often references the innocence and righteousness of Job, whom God allowed to be tested by the evil with many afflictions, but who remained faithful to God and received even greater blessings (both in terms of material prosperity, so important in the Ugandan context, and character/faith) because of it. "Even in his innocence, he is suffering" they insisted. "[Charles] Spurgeon[69] was depressed" the widely read Papa Hillary informed me, as another example. "Many are the afflictions of the righteous" he intoned. We must assume here he uses depression as a state of suffering rather than a clinical disorder, as is per the trend of dissociating emotional problems from 'mental disorder' that I have outlined.

Lock says that individual distress can be transformed into sets of amoral, decontextualised signs and symptoms, as institutions often do, or it can be psychologised and moralised, both with implications for the allocation of responsibility (1993, p141). The 'test' frame I have described assists in both externalising and de-stigmatising mental and emotional suffering, outside clinical frameworks, as spiritual experiences which are evidence of God's attention and favour, and of a correct subjectivity. If handled well, through this framework the leaders are able to view their psychological and emotional struggles as normal rather than pathological, and/or as a specific and positive part of the spiritual journey (as a test, trial, or spiritual training).

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[69] One of the most famous 19th century English preachers, whose sermons and teachings are widely published and read still today.

The thought that "God let's things happen in our lives for a reason" is a meaning-making venture common to this community. "No matter what, then God has let me pass through this not because he has left me, but because he is preparing me for a better tomorrow" explained Edson. While the early Christian era held ideas of suffering as valuable, in the current age "the salvific potential of suffering is at an all-time low" (Kleinman 1999, p383). However among the MOTEM leaders, I identified an active remnant of this idea in their meaning-making processes around emotional distress. As one of the (UK-based) preachers – a favourite of Stephen's - intoned in a sermon that looped maddeningly on the fuzzy speakers of the ministry car: *"No pain, no power… No pain, no joy!...no pain, no anointing! … no pain, no strength!... The pain is leading to a new you, a powerful you."*

The Christian focus on 'suffering' or 'pain' as an ambiguous category that can be variously framed as normal, situational, external, a spiritual test, trial or training, has distinct benefits over a discrete categorisation of 'illness', in terms of the self-actualisation (or more accurately, self-betterment) narratives of MOTEM leaders that have been described in Chapter 2. Greene-McCreight writes that "when depression passes, all is restored, but when the dark night passes, all is transformed" (2006, p115). This expresses the way that broader, deeper, spiritual suffering is seen as transformational, while healing from mere 'brain disorder'/mental illness is more often, as Frank's restitution narrative suggests, focussing only on restoring a previous state of health. Thus again, a biomedical frame here has much less benefit for the MOTEM leaders, who are so focussed on an aspirational upwards (social *and* spiritual) trajectory.

## Mental illness as "too much" suffering

The vernacular theologies of suffering within MOTEM *can*, if handled correctly, render the individual blameless; a loved child of God to whose character he is attending closely, through a careful, purposeful (if painful) process through which the individual hopes to eventually achieve a better state of life. If handled poorly, under moralising and responsibilising discourses, suffering that is seen as "too much" is attributed to a failure on the youth leader's behalf. Not all forms of suffering are able to be strategically storied and sanctified in the ways I have discussed – some sit too far outside of the acceptable subjectivity of the 'good' MOTEM leader. When it comes to

emotional and psychological forms of suffering, clinical psychiatric interpretations *and* local knowledge systems also play a significant role in shaping the social meanings and practices in Kampala. These systems frame mental illness as a stigmatised form of suffering that is, for one thing, 'chronic' and thus unable to fit into the redemption/victory story I have described. It is seen as a loss of control over one's own mind, and a state of extreme disempowerment, vulnerability and even contamination (from demonic spiritual forces, as I will soon discuss). Since empowerment, self-control and purity are all key aesthetics for Christian youth leaders, it simply becomes irreconcilable with their subjectivity of the 'good' leader – a threat to their cherished identity - making clinical categories of mental illness inaccessible to the MOTEM leaders as a way of making sense of their own experiences of emotional distress.

While similar suffering or circumstance in other people might cause mental disorder, for the Christian leader who could and *should* lift their burdens to God, they believe that in their suffering "as a believer I can't reach that level, I can't develop a mental problem", as Pastor Seith explained to me. Similarly Papa Edson asserted

> God has called me, and you know he has all the reasons to give you all the knowledge, and to get you there. And then you will not break down! You have ruled out mental illnesses at the end of the day. And you do believe our God, is a healing God.

The important distinction the MOTEM leaders make which is that while God may use suffering in his plans, he never allows 'too much' suffering; in a way dissimilar to the careful distinction between pain and 'stupid pain' I will discuss in CYS. For the MOTEM leaders, mental disorder would be 'too much' suffering. It is therefore ruled out, as Edson says, from the realm of possible experience for the faith-based youth worker. This draws on 1 Corinthians 10:13, which emphasis that "God will not let you be tested beyond your strength, but with the testing he will also provide the way out so that you may be able to endure it." In Canterbury it is vernacularised in the common saying than "God doesn't give us more than we can handle." In MOTEM one focus group member phrased it (again using an externalising journey metaphor) as: "God will never take you places he cannot sustain you." God's calling is also understood as something which "will *always* sustain you", according to Timothy.

In the first chapter I discussed various academic approaches to understanding the between spirituality or religious belief and mental health. Theories around the 'buffering' effect of spirituality against mental illness have been explored, and in some cases substantiated, even whilst others have shown Christian ministry as leading to high rates of mental distress, and of burnout. "Stress is not our portion as a Christian" Edson insisted. While it was "the devil's initiative" to put people down, lower their confidence in God, discourage them, and hinder them, "knowing God who called you." When the devil comes to you, he comes just to try, but he cannot succeed" explained Pastor Baker. Job could well have "broken down mentally, become very confused" if he had not clung to God through his suffering, Edson tells me. The mediating factor in 'normal' suffering versus the unacceptable experience of mental illness, as they see it, is therefore not strictly the extremity of the circumstances one must 'pass through', but one's own behaviour, in faithfully and diligently clinging to God.

## Symptoms of sadness, madness and possession

The symptoms, causes and treatments for mental disorder, and more broadly for emotional suffering, had several interpretive systems it could be drawn from in this community, each contributing to its particular meaning. Papa Edson illustrated this:

> You find that some of the causes that cause depression are when some of the spiritual powers come, and if you don't detect them early… well, that is why we are doing with the spiritual battle. Because some people are not born again, they are practicing their witchcraft, and there are those demons. The demons will COME and sleep in you, and hibernate in you, and keep there, and keep you. Some people present with muteness, they can't speak anything because demons are holding their teeth. You have heard of those attacks? We have actually experienced and seen them, where someone cannot chew anything, cannot talk, who was talking and suddenly cannot do that, so basically that is spiritual power in manifestation, you realise 'OHHH this one has now been bewitched!'. It is a battle of demons now. Others manifest with mania, with the psychotic features. They start reacting, hyperactive, because of demons. So demons have the capacity to do both.

In many indigenous African cosmological aetiologies, spirits and the intrusion of spirits into individuals is an established theme (Meyer 2004). This involves an understanding that ancestral spirits, or evil spirits, can move independently and maliciously, or can be summoned or provoked by another human party through the practice of witchcraft. This statement made by Edson (a Papa but also a medical doctor) shows how traditional beliefs and terms interface with Christian demonology, and with psychiatric knowledge systems. Being 'mad', being 'possessed', and being 'bewitched' represent descriptive terminology from the three different, overlapping interpretive systems. I observed these used to describe sufferers somewhat interchangeably, through creative articulation of different meanings of mental illness through various new positionalities around mental illness emerged. In this way mental illness can form part of an spiritual battle against indigenous 'spirits' (see also Chapter 2, and the born-again 'break from the past' and 'tainted' indigenous practices), which is either honourable i.e. a righteous hero who was attacked through witchcraft by malicious neighbours, or shows weak character, if not quite outright sinfulness, as a foolish (unbelieving) hero suffers as a result of meddling with witchcraft. These are some of the most common formats I heard stories of mental illness formulated around.

"Evil spirits are well known to cause mental illness" Edson told me with great surety. They work intimately inside people's mind in order to "lead them to destruction" and "drive them crazy", according to Papa Hillary. Demonic causal attributions are made most commonly for cases of psychosis, mania, or schizophrenia which is seen to be "beyond pathology" (Participant 5, M7) and therefore spiritual, according to the consensus of the Butabika focus group I ran, and many others I spoke to as well. Sense-making around such cases seen to be beyond the limits of science, used symptoms that were touch points between each interpretive system. For example Participant 3 said

> For most of [the patients], what you call hallucinations, are simply visions.
> As a Christian you can see visions […] so as a Christian you don't consider
> it as a minor thing, you consider it as a spiritual thing.

The possibility of a spiritual cause is less emphasised, but still a possible explanation for depression or stress. Demonic possession/attack can form one aspect of an externalising model of affliction, even though possession is intrasomatic (Young 1976). This contributes to a distancing of the self from mental illness, attributed then to an invading 'other' (Desjarlais 1992a). In parallel to this, potentially one of the reasons that the

channel metaphor for wellbeing flourishes in the Ugandan externalising interpretive system (even while the vessel metaphor clearly internalises in Canterbury) is because it emphasises the flow of power, care, and love from God, the sacred other, who is outside oneself. Problems, when they do arise, are therefore more those of connection (with the sacred other) rather than depletion (of internal resources).

Greene-McCreight notes, in the USA, the pain and offense of equating someone's mental illness with demon possession (2006, p100). Indeed in MOTEM, while Christian leaders would be unlikely to interpret their own suffering as demon *possession,* many of their experiences were framed around the idea of spiritual *attack.* Each has different moral implications. Possession relies on a sense of transgression of the boundaries of the self (Johnson 2000, p188), contamination and a lack of spiritual power, and thus being dangerous and discrediting for the pure, self-controlled, empowered, (Holy) spirit filled leader. Conversely spiritual attack could form a positive indicator of their engagement in 'battle' on behalf of God, a morally blameless form of suffering which enabled them to perform key 'victorious' identities as discussed above. At all times the leaders were clear that afflictions were not from God, who is "on my side" and is "the one who heals", but rather were from Satan, who tried to thwart God's plans. However suffering was seen to be *allowed* by God (protecting the image of God as sovereign), as a teaching or training experience from God, through which they were lovingly guided, as part of the refinement of their character. "God wants you to train, he wants you to drink your own cup[70], you know it is your cup to drink, that you will accomplish it" Edson told me. This idea of the 'trial' formed another common narrative trope in Kampala, again often referencing Job. Among the MOTEM leaders the term 'depressed' was frequently and comfortably used as an affective descriptor (i.e. "I was feeling so low, so depressed"). An emotional state could even, at times, be describes as 'depression.' However these emotional forms of suffering were not seen as a mental health problem until they became so severe they began to impact other aspects of life such as concentration, speech, decision-making, or social interaction. Describing his own experiences, Raymond similarly distinguishes between 'feelings associated with

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[70] In reference to the 'cup of suffering' Jesus drank: Luke 22:39 "Father, if you are willing, please take this cup of suffering away from me. Yet I want your will to be done, not mine." 'The cup' is common vernacular.

depression (such as sadness and hopelessness) and the disorder that can result, eventually.

> When it all boils up and comes back to you, it breaks you down. That is when you realise, 'Oh my God I think I'm finished' […] sometimes it's just a feeling. Sometimes that feeling can HATCH a health disorder, a break down.

Solomon (2002) distinguishes between dimensional ideas of depression, and categorical ones. Kampalan conceptualisations of mood disorders and emotional problems clearly tended towards this dimensional view. From this perspective suffering takes on the quality of 'disorder' by merit of its extremity, rather than as a distinct category or pathological entity, as it tends to be framed within the biomedical system despite many DSM diagnostic criteria drawing on dimensional elements of symptoms[71].When I asked about the symptoms of clinical depression, as a mental disorder, these were focussed around withdrawal ('being alone', 'unreactive') physically shut down (being 'dormant', becoming 'unreactive') and an interesting locally-situated emphasis on muteness. Any of these, clearly, would form a threat to the subjectivity of the 'good' leader as relational, energetic, and empowered, even specifically removing their ability to speak, which I have already explained is seen as an enactment of both spiritual and social empowerment in this community (see Chapter 2 and 3).

In Kampala the practice of faith healing, and a triumphalist belief in God's will for a miracle for any struggle, problematizes the use of medication, and particularly of psycho-pharmaceuticals, for several reasons. Many churches openly preach against it, and encourage believers who have been prescribed it to "leave off", since to continue shows a lack of faith in God's healing (which ultimately, in their paradigm, prohibits this healing from occurring). Sitting at an awkward cross-section of Christian belief systems and clinical knowledges, the youth leaders I interviewed from Butabika Psychiatric Nursing School (focus group M7) acknowledged the discomfort this caused them[72]. When faced with the views on medication that "contradicts" (Participant 5, M7), the Butabika nurses opt for a strategy of "taking both sides" (Participant 4, M7): they

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[71] For example, experiencing particular symptoms for a period longer than 2 weeks, or experiencing a certain number of a list of symptoms.

[72] As also discussed in a paper presented at the 2014 AFSAAP Conferences, Otago, entitled *Conversations at Butabika: A snapshot of te tenions between biomedical and local knowledges systems in Ugandan Psychiatric care* (Wardell 2014)

comfortably advocate medication as long as they maintained a belief that neither the disease nor medication needed to be "chronic" (lifelong). They professed faith in miracles for all sorts of illnesses "whatever they originate from, no matter the cause" (Participant 2, M7), but that medication could be used as an early, temporary part of the treatment process, to make people more open to God's healing words. In this way they formed medication as part of the sick role (or 'suffering role') which I will discuss, maintaining their preferred understanding and narrative of suffering. Although they sit in a unique position, their comments here around their own navigation of these conflicting meanings elucidates the situation of the wider Kampalan faith community. In short if would be problematic for a believer, and impossible for a leader, to ongoingly use psychopharmaceuticals medication whilst maintaining a correct subjectivity, because that would mean they were *a)* experiencing an extremity of suffering (such that it had been labelled a 'disorder' in their dimensional view of mental illness) that was unacceptable, since it would indicate a lack of connection to or reliance on God to 'lift' their burdens and *b)* an acceptance of the permanence of their condition, which would put them well outside the acceptable suffering narratives and subjectivity.

## Encouraging and caring for your self

> *Having nowhere to hide, I am standing on the front lawn, trying not to cry. This morning has already brought a string of upsetting news from home; hard to process from 14,000km away. Here at the MOTEM compound the food is late, the tent is late, the sound-system is still in transit (i.e. very late), and so far the guests are few. My infant daughter barely slept last night and although it is only 10am, I am dog tired. The Soul Winners attendees trickling in seem to stare at me and I lower my gaze in shame at my lack of emotional control, already feeling hypocritical in anticipation of the ministry performance extravaganza I am about to commence. Stephen is hovering between attention to greeting our guests, and awkward kindness to me.*
>
> *"Suzie, today you are preaching to multitudes!" he gestures at the motley crowd, "and later too"… he says, reminding me that after surviving this event, I have another event, where I will be preaching on the theme of 'thanksgiving.' Stephen assures me (not at all reassuringly), that Satan is clearly trying to obstruct these purposes because they are so worthwhile. "Encourage yourself in the Lord" he tells me. It is a phrase common in this community, that I suddenly realize I don't fully understanding the meaning of. I am about to ask, but he is flitting off again to speak to someone else. This is when I realize that whatever he is referring to, I have to do it 'myself,' and perhaps that is the point.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 17th January, 2014***

The MOTEM leaders spoke about this 'encouraging yourself' as an essential response to emotional suffering the most common emic form of self-care. "If you are suffering, encourage yourself. [Say to yourself] 'Today I may not eat, but tomorrow I will eat!'" Pastor Baker said. While sharing problems or seeking advice from a friend, parent, or pastor was an option too, the more frequent and initial suggestion was to "first try it yourself." As one focus group member advised, drawing again on the trial/test narrative trope: "It's like a teacher. You revise alone, for the exam the teacher will give you." If God teaches and grows a person through their troubles, then those who seek to lead in his name are encouraged to bear these themselves, to exercise their individual empowerment and self-control, as the first step, and seek help from other people only if they fail at such**.**

**Table 15: Selected quotes from MOTEM leaders referring to encouraging yourself (bold added)**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Prima** | "And then at some point, YOU yourself when you are stressed, maybe like emotionally stressed or what, you can't **encourage yourself** the way you are encouraging others. So it depresses me, I'm like 'how come I can't do what I do for the others, for myself. So sometimes it's tiring [...] I **can't encourage myself.** But sometimes I just get the word of God and it encourages me." |
| **Baker** | "**Encourage yourself.** Because if you don't encourage yourself... well, before I let anyone know, I ought to know [myself] how can I overcome this." |
| **Raymond** | "So what I do to avert or avoid of all that, I just take some time off emotionality, to cool my emotions, to get **encouraged**, to get refreshed in the word of God, so the next time I show up to speak to people, I am all fresh and this thing of mine has gone over me emotionally." |
| **Participant 11, M2** | "God touched somebody that, I don't' know, gave him an assignment to me, to send me text messages on my phone, and whenever I was reading, I was so **encouraged.**" |
| **Stephen** | "So the bible has been an **encouragement** to me, to help me to stand strong, and to have the passion to reach out to the people again" |
| **Edson** | "You loved her, that was the truth... but you are not a failure, and you want to **encourage yourself,** because failure is not failure but an opportunity to success at the end of the day." |
| **Participant 7, M5** | "So when I read the book of Psalms, David **encourages** me" |

Jeffs & Smith (1988) argued that the occupational culture of (western) youth work has long been imbued with the rebellious spirit of what they call the "lone cowboy." Kampalan youth workers do reflect a similar attitude, I suggest drawing from a more salient cultural image: the lone missionary reaching out to the frontier regions. The MOTEM leaders highly valued mobility, and loved to proudly share stories of their missions work in remote parts of Uganda, as markers of their courage and devotion to the gospel. The MOTEM leaders did bring up the importance of teamwork quite often, reflecting the more sociocentric aspect of the youth workers' identity, as Chapter 2 elucidated. Indeed while some of their mission trips were undertaken alone, many more were with 'teams'. However, stories of the disastrous interpersonal conflicts and confusions that arose on these trips abounded. People dropping out, miscommunicating, behaving badly, and numerous other frustrations and "disappointments" (a very common idiom of distress here) showed such situations to be more stressful than supportive. These in fact were some of the most cited responses to my queries about what the challenges of youth work were. Structural factors did not assist in encouraging any long-term networks of care or support either. As previously mentioned MOTEM lacked formal denominational links, and functioned primarily through an informal and fluid network, with leaders who were also often elected only for a year to their fellowship positions, all further reasons why reliance on interpersonal networks was downplayed in favour of self-sufficiency.

The private-public split I discussed regarding emotional labour in Kampala, in Chapter 3, in this way facilitates the individualist mode of dealing with one's own emotional distress. Yet the insufficiencies of *self*-care in a relationally-focussed are network did not go unacknowledged. Hope admitted that

> Sometimes it makes me tired. Because I mean, it's true, one after the other [the youth] keep coming. And then at some point, YOU yourself when you are stressed, maybe like emotionally stressed or what, you can't encourage yourself the way you are encouraging others. So it depresses me, I'm like 'how come I can't do what I do for the others, for myself?' So sometimes it's tiring.

It is important to know that "Encouraging yourself *in the Lord"* is not technically a solo process in their understanding of it, the point being an intimate personal reliance on God, as a friend, champion, listener and encourager. Many of the processes I have

already described – lifting burdens to God, travailing before him, praying, fasting, and other spiritual disciplines – would be bracketed under, or could contribute to, this process.

The idea of 'rest' was another form of self-care proscribed in this community. Sitting in tension at times with values of service and self-sacrifice, the MOTEM leaders were nonetheless firm on the fact that "You have to rest […] if you only work, you become a workaholic and you DIE" as Papa Hillary summarily put it. Overwork was linked to mental breakdowns, and since "the needs of people are *ever* [always] there" it is up to the individual, as a form of exercising their self-control and discipline, to ensure they rest enough to have the necessary strength to continue ministry. Again the base understanding of the self-as-channel – the need to fill one's own spiritual/emotional/physical needs *in order to* give to others – shapes how this is viewed and practiced.

"Even Jesus rested in the boat" they reminded me. The story of Mary and Martha, and God's institution of Sabbath were two other scriptural touch points, infusing the vernacular theology of the community with some forgiving space for attendance to matters outside of ministerial service. However most of this space for 'rest' or self was intended to be designated to spiritual pursuits such as private prayer and worship, however, rather than 'fun' or 'leisure' as it might elsewhere be understood. Pastor Carol was somewhat atypical in her advice that just as leaders are "giving out, serving others, and helping others find happiness" they should also serve themselves and endeavour to be happy. "It is no sin to have fun; it is no sin to eat an ice cream, to go out, to do a nice hairstyle" she said. And yet many of these ideas were contradicted by the lived practice I saw among many of the MOTEM leader, for example Mama Suzan who gave her 'daughters' money to get their hair done, and kept hers in a simpler, low-maintenance style.

Furthermore the channel metaphor means that ministry itself is seen as a form of self-care, in that it forms part of a cyclical relationship of giving and receiving emotional resources. "Give and it shall be given back to you." "When you release to others, God can give more to you yourself" Hillary explained. As such the minimal emphasis on *self*-care and time for oneself does not indicate an absence of needs or desires for one's own health and wellbeing, but rather a belief system that sees service to others as a way to ensure God's sustenance and healing of oneself emotionally,

psychologically, and beyond. It portrays (and embodies) a paradoxical or cyclical relationship between giving and receiving which the next chapter will expound.

### Fixing the 'broken' self

Psychiatric discourse is "riddled with metaphor," with diagnostic concepts "built on metaphors that are now treated as literal facts" which in turn dictate how various conditions are treated and researched (Rosenman 2008). Even outside clinical psychiatry, as a deep and difficult to describe part of human experience, lay knowledges around mental suffering are heavily reliant on metaphors. These metaphors also make significant connections and allusions that elucidate how this type of suffering is made sense of in that particular community.

Mechanistic language is often applied states of suffering in Kampala (although also of Canterbury, as I will discuss), with terms such as 'hurt' or 'depressed' being closely linked to metaphors of being 'broken' and 'broken down' and even 'broken-hearted', as Table 16 shows. There is a long history of this more widely, too, and it is notably associated with the individual as worker. Descartes compared the human organism to the mechanism of clockwork (Pritzker 2003). Karl Marx made many observations of the progressive reduction of the body to animal, and then to machine, in the capitalist system (Synnott 1992, p94). In the time since he wrote, it is arguably not only the body, but also the mind and the emotions which have been reconstrued as part of the productive capacity of the human worker in the capitalist system (Hughes 2010), thus it is unsurprising that they too are metaphorised as having mechanical-like functionality.

Mechanical/functionalising metaphors have historically aligned itself with a responsibilisation of the worker for maintaining themselves as a functioning part of the organisational 'machine'. Using such metaphors to discuss care and self-care, which happens both in MOTEM and in CYS, is therefore another expression of neoliberal ideology, in which the self (both through historical transformations in the system of production and the meaning of work (Weber 1905/2001, p33) has become viewed as a machine, whose productivity must be maintained, and who has in fact been successfully co-opted to undertake this maintenance themselves (Foucault 1988, Rose & Miller 1995). This fits in with the sick role in the restitution narrative, or the 'suffering role' I

have described in the redemption/victory narrative of the MOTEM leaders, in which they become obliged/expected to manage or 'doctor' themselves (Foucault 1988, p31) to maintain their usefulness, and functionality, for the role long term.

**Table 16: A sample of MOTEM leaders' references to feeling 'broken' (bold added).**

| Participant | Quote |
|---|---|
| **Solomon** | "I was so **broken**" |
| **Raymond** | "I have also struggled with emotional distress, I have struggled with anger and hatred, I have been depressed at times, I have been stressed that I even lost my mind and wanted to commit suicide, I've been heart**broken** to a point that I looked at all woman as logs or trees and looked at them as devils, so it's not new to me, I've been through." |
| **Participant 3, M2** | "You are SO much **broken**, that if you don't have anyone to encourage you." |
| **Participant 4, M2** | "Because at times you may not also have the guts to help in the situation, because you are, you are DOWN, you are **heartbroken**! Like your friend, if she has been put in jail. You are **broken**! You feel like you did not do enough, to help them not to get into jail." |
| **Participant 4, M2** | "You feel so **broken** down because you had hopes, your sense of a future was going to be, an instrumental someone, in the team. […] you are broken down, so because maybe in part of your life, you have loved him, and you wanted him to work, so later when you lose him, it disappoints." |
| **Participant 9, M1** | "So when these bad things happened to her, or when I heard her talking about her pain because she also had a father who was abusing her, my heart was **breaking**, and really I couldn't' shake that feeling it was with me for weeks and weeks and weeks, feeling for her, feeling helpless I couldn't stop what she was doing. So that was REALLY painful time for me." |
| **Suzan** | "Sometimes I would go and knock and they would tell me 'she went out for clubbing' and I would come back **broken** [whispers]. She didn't even tell me she was going for clubbing. One time I sit her down. I break before her, I tell her 'you are my friend, what makes you do this? Christ does not want this!" |
| **Edson** | "You know by the time you **break down**, it has become so severe, in that no one has even spoken into your life. Or they have spoken into your life that you cannot even, you are beyond advice, you are beyond counsel, you are beyond even trusting the God" |
| **Stephen** | "You are also a human being there are moments when you **BREAK down.** you've worked with me for a month, and you have seen me, there are moments when you could not see any smile on my face. because I also **BREAK down**." |
| **Richbay** | "I can't say I didn't completely **break down.** Of course when you are seeing so many, you can't stay the same, you know, maintain the same…at times you **break down**, really." |
| **Carol** | "You can't keep giving, giving, giving.  Eventually you dry out. […] you have not rested or relaxed, the body is stressed out, you just **break down**." |

In both places the realm of mental health was particularly tenuous ground to tread. It often involved serious community stigma which threatens identities and authority for leaders. The maintenance of the wellbeing of the self, prior to, during or after illness (through both healing practices and self-care practices) involves complex negotiations of social fields.  In MOTEM biomedicalised mental illness was not an acceptable idiom for the deep distress of the leaders, and yet they nonetheless claimed the pain as part of their performance of empowerment and overcoming. The MOTEM leaders who had an engagement with formal biomedical or psychiatric systems of knowledge and classification were selective and partial, reflecting also broader church suspicions of medicine and it's contradiction with triumphalist 'faith healing' doctrines and practices. In CYS they engaged with the sometimes-beneficial biomedical 'sick role' willingly, preferring the sub-clinical term 'burnout' to frame their experiences as a 'blameless' pathology. This also involved an acceptable causal link to hardworking, self-sacrificial behaviours that affirmed elements of their identity. It must be understood, however, within a much longer history of the instrumentalisation of the worker, and the individualisation of the responsibility for self-care in the capitalist workforce. In the next chapter I make some final discussions around the moral aspects of illness and wellbeing, and the way the faith-based youth workers in my communities constructed and employed knowledges of them. I will focus on the way they creatively and strategically negotiated some of the tensions that have emerged throughout this thesis, as creating ambiguity and conflict in the meanings of the 'good' youth worker in relation to care and wellbeing.

## Suffering in Canterbury: "pain and stupid pain"

"Stick around. It's gonna hurt," Youth Pastor Sam tells me. "Expect there to be pain and suffering. Jesus doesn't call us to a life of prosperity and fun ALL the time." This is the vein of seriousness that underlies the energetic, playful, and indeed 'youthful' day to day practice of youth work in Canterbury; a raw-nerved awareness of the likelihood of those "in the trenches" of youth ministry experiencing emotional and mental distress, and sometimes even disorder. The office I borrowed in the CYS building featured an arty crayon rubbing of Psalm 93:4[73] which declared "God is

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[73] "Mightier than the thunders of many waters., Mightier than the waves of the sea.
The Lord on High is Mighty!" - Psalm 93:4

always greater than our troubles*.* Just down the hall, the humorous sign on the door of Mike's office declared "please come in, I am already disturbed". The CYS community is rife with seemingly contradictory messages about expectations of emotional experience and personal suffering. While the broader Christchurch church's expectations that strong faith and good practice can buffer people from the suffering of life, there is the idea of 'cost' associated with leadership and care labour, which sets expectations of suffering for youth workers as distinct from this.

Mike says he does not think youth workers have *more* mental problems, but it can certainly "speed them up." Youth workers "absorb the stresses in society" he said, aligning my previous discussions of compassion fatigue, moral distress and emotional labour. Bearing the burdens of others is part of their calling. Furthermore there is an emphasis on lifestyle factors related to youth work being a cause for burnout –an easier and more straightforward way to voice distress in the role. Responses given very freely to me around this took a primary focus on 'time' (i.e. the extreme and unusual hours) and secondarily interpersonal demands, including "unrealistic" expectations that come from a number of different directions - pastors, kids, church congregations, parents, trust members – all at once.

> You've actually got a lot more bosses in youth work than a lot of other organisations. If you've got four bosses and three of them aren't happy […] you have this incredible sense of failure, not meeting everyone's expectations, so you RUN around. You find a lot of youth workers end up doing crazy hours, because they're just feeling like they've not done ENOUGH. It has a lot of potential to bite you.

This often causes a mental 'wear' from dealing with many small problems, burdens, and chaffs, from many different parties over time, with nonetheless potentially serious mental health consequences -"being pecked to death by a thousand ducks" as CYS 'legend' Merilyn Withers describes. Mike freshly coins this same process of managing interpersonal demands, expectations and justification as 'conflict fatigue.' He describes the wear of it as being just as significant as the pain of compassion fatigue and trauma. Indeed 'role conflict', which bears a similar description, is identified as a cause for burnout in some US Christian communities (Schaefer & Jacobson 2009, p39).

The theology of service and giving is at the heart of the gospel, and just as in Kampala in the Canterbury community most of the professional development teachings, even where they take an individualistic perspective on identity, emphasise this. In Xtend we are told "Your strengths were made for other people. Your life, identity, is not your own, but is to serve." In countless sermons and teachings in this community the life of Jesus himself is given as the model for this lifestyle of selflessness, even unto death. Sam mused on this: "Yeah, Jesus laid down his LIFE. It shouldn't require me dying, to do this [youth work], but in a way it does. Yeah that, you lose yourself in it. Or you lose yourself FOR it." In this way there was an acceptance of certain levels of pain, suffering or cost - even including depression, anxiety or burnout at times – which could be experienced and performed as a positive affirmation of a cherished identity, the selfless Christian.

However, ambiguity surrounds teaching around Christ's suffering as a model for Christian life. Pastor Di mused similarly to Sam;

> My question is does he call US to suffer like that? I think theologically we are starting to get mixed up. When he says 'deny yourself', when he says there should be less of you and more of Christ, and follow me into suffering. Does that mean to wear ourselves out is a good thing?

She concluded that the Christ gave his life up so we do not have to: that leaders should 'spend themselves' for others selflessly, but not unto death. This shows an important distinction being made, which is similar to the way the MOTEM leaders draw a line between the normal suffering of life, and 'too much' suffering (e.g. mental illness), as indicative of a spiritual problem of failure. Although the lines may fall in different places - more inclusively of *some* clinical categories of mental illness - CYS leaders also distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable levels of suffering. Sam has an interesting working terminology which drawn from another local youth work icon, Duane Major, differentiating 'pain' from 'stupid pain.' This exemplifies the creative way the leaders navigate the complexities in the labelling and performance of distress and disorder here. 'Pain' in this emic categorisation is the expected (but temporary) cost of achieving something worthwhile, such as caring for young people. 'Stupid Pain' is something you cannot heal from, that will affect you for the rest of your life.

Such careful distinctions were typical of the discursive balancing act the CYS leaders often had to walk between embodying this selfless carer (drawing more from Christian volunteerism discourses) and modelling the stable, self-aware 'good' youth leader (drawing more from professional and managerial discourses). It also showed how risky the performance of suffering within the category of mental disorder could be. Sam gave the example of relational problems, divorce, bankruptcy, losing a house as unacceptable levels of 'stupid pain' that should not be expected or accepted as part of the normal 'cost' of youth work. In that discussion, he also cited 'developing a mental disorder' as an example of stupid pain. Yet unlike in Kampala, here (as I would show) certain categories of mental illness could at times actually be an acceptable form of suffering for Christian leaders.

I used the term 'mental' health' when recruiting for this study, and the majority of my participants identified openly as having experienced (past or present) a mental health problem. These included depression, anxiety, and burnout most commonly. Mike Dodge's candidness about his own struggles with depression has contributed to a community that is nominally comfortable with mental illness. CYS youth leaders also often have to deal with mental health issues in the young people they care for – depression and self-harm being particularly common in this demographic - engaging at times with professional psychological and psychiatric services to do so. Yet the different subjectivity they embody as leaders puts them in a different position when it is their own emotional suffering they are trying to make sense of. Stigma around mental health and help-seeking (for treatment *or* preventative care) can at times exist more strongly among care providers than in the public, when it comes to their *own* experiences (Besterman-Dahan et al 2013). Furthermore being spread across many different denominations, churches and communities, the real life responses to the mental health struggles of my participants – by church members, supervisors, fellow leaders, and even their personal responses - was quite varied.

When rural youth worker Jim received a diagnosis of depression a few years earlier, he discovered that the broader church culture could be intolerant, and even judgemental, of people experiencing mental health problems. Many people were uncomfortable "when you had a bad day" he said, and others offered simplistic, tokenistic prayers before just leaving you alone. "I couldn't believe this was the attitude

of some of our church members!" he said sadly. "Especially given that many scriptures like Lamentations are clearly written by guys who are just feeling down." Jim, as I have discussed already, was particularly eager to highlight that the church needed to recognise this as an acceptable subjectivity, since "there ARE bad times" and that "it actually happens to men as well.' Emma, a volunteer youth leader and paid 24/7 youth worker, saw herself as atypical in her comfortableness with talking about her ongoing depression. She spoke of the awkward silences she experienced when she told people at church that she was struggling with her spiritual, emotional or mental health.

> In the communities that I'm in, we don't really talk about [mental health]. There's no, like, really big condemnation about having depression or whatever, it's just … we don't' talk about it. People don't really share weaknesses. […] you still tend to be like 'oh yeah, things are good!' [cheerfully].

Similarly Darren, who identified as having anxiety and having "come very near burnout" said

> There's always sort of a trap in Christian youth work with your emotional health. There's a certain expectation that you appear to be doing well, I think, [an idea that] within Christianity you don't need help. We don't deal very well with negative emotions.

Having discussed some of the emotional display rules in this community in Chapter 4, I now contextualise some of these as part of vernacular theologies of suffering in CYS.

## Mediating pain

> *When we reach the 33k youth meeting, there are doughnuts. Everyone is in agreement that this is a good start. There are around 30 people gathered in the large rooms where a motley collection of chairs has been pulled into a circle. They look as sleepy as I feel... till the coffee starts flowing. Most people know each other already, and of course the ineffable Mike Dodge knows everybody, so there is plenty of chatter before the meeting commences with prayer. Then comes a time to share one-by-one, around the circle, as to where we are 'at' with our youth ministry. People share all sorts of stories, some about positive developments, others about challenging situations. I watch one the face of one youth leader, a tall brunette, as she tells a story about some interpersonal conflict that is clearly troubling her. He eyes are dropped, flicking upwards to meet faces around the room only occasionally. She speaks matter-of-factly, but her voice trembles a little as emotion leaks through. It was rough and she was feeling bad about it, she admits... "But I prayed about it this morning, and I feel a bit better" she finishes, with a burst of mustered brightness. Others too finish tales of frustration with a positive, declarative flourish; "I'm sure we'll sort it out soon." "We'll manage". "I'm ok now though." Suffering occurs, most certainly, but apparently only ever in the past tense.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Thursday 12th July, 2013***

Two tendencies were clear in the stories of the youth workers at this 33k meeting, and many others like it. The first is the mediation or 'downplaying' of suffering, and the second is the restorying of experiences with an upwards narrative arc. There are some similarities to MOTEM here. In CYS their 'answers' to queries about suffering also came in the form of 'yes, but', only in a different way. Where the MOTEM leaders emphasised that *yes* they suffered deeply, *but* God pulled them out of it, to glory, the CYS leaders instead downplayed the extremity of the suffering, instead focusing on *yes* they suffered, *but* not so very badly. Unlike the dramatically performative MOTEM leaders, they were notably restrained (or perhaps more accurately in terms of the governmentality of emotions, *constrained)* in their discussion of pain, illness or suffering.

Arguably this reflects a broader regional/national cultural tendency when addressing suffering, since the 'All-Right' mental health campaign posters showed a similar tendency to use language mediators to filter or downplay emotional suffering i.e. it's all right to be 'a tad' on edge, or a 'little' stressed 'now and then'. The framing of suffering in this campaign created accessible identification points around minor

emotional distress in the public sphere but arguably left more severe emotional suffering or illness outside the realm of public acknowledgement. Similarly I was often amazed at the way the Cantabrian faith-based leaders were able to relate serious circumstances (e.g. the suicide of a youth member, abuse witnessed, betrayals of trust) calmly and matter-of-factly, using mediated language such as being 'upset', 'drained' or 'burnt out'. These, compared to 'heart-broken', 'agony' and 'despair' in Kampala, clearly differ not only in metaphorical structuring but in emotional extremity. Only when pressed did an image obliquely form of the seriousness of the emotional and mental consequences the CYS leaders experienced. CYS was deliberate about using the 33k network meetings and other meetings and events, as opportunities for leaders' to speak among themselves about both their joys and challenges. Providing a space where people have permission to attend to their pain can be an important part of the "emotional ecology" of an organisation (Tracy 2000, p36). However even in relaxed, relatively private setting such as these, the leaders' narratives following a repetitive structure set around these deeper, more rigid cultural norms: an upwards arc which was almost never transgressed, even when sharing issues that were clearly ongoing, unresolved, and quite distressing. Words are produced *for* an audience and thus speaking cannot help but be a social act (Keane 2002, p. As a result we see that even the supposedly cathartic and supportive CYS sharing spaces still constitute public or 'front stage' spaces, and in them cultural norms and organisational discourses continue to shape the appropriate idioms through which to communicate suffering and illness.

In such situations the CYS leaders managed to negotiate the moral dilemma of cultural rules both prohibiting and encouraging emotional expression through carefully chosen words and actions, just as the Kampalan leaders had to, although using different narrative forms. By sharing stories which acknowledged suffering and distress, but placing them in the past tense, the leaders maintained their performance of emotional stability (and therefore 'fit-ness' for the role), whilst still upholding important aesthetics of self-awareness, which I have already discussed, and authenticity, which I shall now elaborate upon. Authenticity is an aesthetic which is similar to sincerity and honesty. It dictates that words should express underlying[74] beliefs, intentions, or 'interior'

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[74] Again drawing from Freudian notions of the layered self within which things might be hidden underneath.

(emotional) states (Keane 2002). In contrast to Kampala, having identified this aesthetic in the Canterbury community, it is evident that it would be difficult for youth workers to *not* share/confess distress they were feeling, without sensing a violation of this tacit value. One leader told me about advising a fellow youth leader dealing, who was dealing with a tragic bereavement to suicide, to "just be real with your peers, just say 'I lost my mate this year, and I'm hurting.'" To keep psychological pain hidden, in this community, would be to be either make oneself false or un-self-aware, either of which would threaten key parts of the idealised organisational self, and (considering the close alignment of personal and role identities) likely the cherished self, too. The strategic construction of distress inside or outside of biomedical categories of mental illness, using mediated language and stories in the past tense, is one key part of the way youth workers walk the tightrope of accessing community support whilst maintaining identity and acceptability as 'authentic' within this community.

## Diagnosis, cause and cure

Youth Pastor Steve described being in "a full blown panic attack" for about a week, without being aware of what was "actually going on," before he sought help. He described his surprise when his doctor diagnosed him with anxiety: "My world dropped out from underneath me" he said. He felt as if everything around him had "fallen down, fallen apart."   This catalysed a process of re-evaluating his "life in total", reassessing priorities, and going to counselling, which he believes prevented him from falling into a state of depression which may have otherwise naturally followed. Steve's meaning-making about his experience was not only related to the physiological and psychological experience of anxiety, but to the process of being clinically diagnosed with an anxiety disorder. The role of the professional, and the biomedical system, in shaping many of the experiences of distress and dysphoria into legitimate medical 'disorders' can have a dramatic role in shaping personal experience, as other anthropologists have also observed (Lock 1994).

Jim's story was also revealing around the potential benefit of the biomedical frame for youth workers in this community. He explained how two years after his initial diagnosis of depression, he found out his experience "was depression, but also something else. It wasn't spiritual." As it turned out, the 'something else' he suspected

was ME (myalgic encephalomyelitis)[75]. He described this second diagnosis as "relieving the burden", and said it gave him a better excuse to say no to things, as previously people had responded to him saying no as if querying if he was just being lazy. "Freedom comes in the decision to recognise oneself as a person with disease" Stepnisky (2007) writes. This freedom relates to the social power of biomedical categories. Jim's story is an example of the benefit of being able to take up a socially sanctioned, de-stigmatised biomedical 'sick role' (Parsons 1951). Similarly the focus on physical factors as the cause of emotional distress, as I illustrated for CYS in the previous chapter, also represents a way to destigmatise the experience.

The biomedicalisation of mental illness is also associated with the rise of psychopharmaceuticals that can treat it. Both are much more common and much more accepted in Canterbury than in Kampala. Although it is recognised that the wider church retains some stigma around this (as Mike himself joked about), unlike the MOTEM leaders, most of the youth workers and key CYS figures I spoke to were strong advocates for a biomedical model of mental illness as the predominant paradigm, and the use of medication to treat it accordingly. Many, including Steve and Jim among others, mentioned the importance of Mike's openness about his own depression through the years, as shaping their approach to theirs when it occurred. Mike is open about his medication journey too, saying he has "tried all of them", seeking a good fit. His casual attitude to this in conversation, and sometimes in his sermons, normalises and de-stigmatises medication, offering support in the often difficult process of being diagnosed and finding the right medication for other youth leaders who find themselves in the formal healthcare system.

However these leaders also acknowledge the discomfort among the wider Christian community, towards those experiencing mental illness, which they said was likely fuelled by vernacular theologies that related suffering to "a sin you've done, or maybe the lifestyle you are living". Kirmayer (2004) defines the theories of affliction in the (North American) Christian healing system as being centred on concepts of demon possession, sin, and moral transgression. Greene-McCreight also identified it as common for churches in the US to attribute mental illness to sin, and some sort of judgement by God (2006, p114). The more prominent iteration of this I encountered in

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[75] Also known as CFS, or Chronic Fatigue Syndrome, a contested biomedical category in itself.

this site, was a link between mental illness and moral failure that specifically centred on self-care. It interfaced with the increasingly biologising/biomedicalising of wellbeing, by focussing in on the 'moral failure' represented by a lack of self-discipline in practicing self-care, or a lack of self-awareness to *effectively* practice self-care.

While Kampala exemplifies an externalising interpretive system, in Canterbury the combination of biomedicalisation, the primacy of the physical as a driver for wellbeing, and the vessel metaphor, create a strongly internalising framework around emotion distress. Internalising systems locate the causes, mechanism and solutions of affliction alike, inside the person (Kirmayer 2006). These are not always purely biological, but may also be psychological or metaphysical, including germs, traumatic memories, or bad spirits (*ibid* p35). However while demon possession is acknowledged as being a possible contributor to mental illness by the CYS leaders, it has nowhere near the same explanatory incidence as in MOTEM. In the previous chapter I identified the multiplicity of attributions that leaders can make for situations of poor wellbeing (related to the tripartite self), and the skills of discernment they need to understand and manage these in others, and in themselves. This also leads to a fluency in equating different knowledge systems which also assists in the relatively unproblematic adoption of biomedical language and categories within this faith community. A statement from Jay showcases this clearly

> I think that definitely you'll be doing stuff which is totally caused by your own doing. You know where, you allow things, you know. You've done things that are inappropriate, or you haven't had a good balance of life. You've decided 'Hey I can do a 40 hour week in three days' […]. So I think you've got to be able to DISCERN, and figure out 'ok, actually, this is just bad practice'. You've allowed, you've allowed this to coming into this place. Like burnout often is bad practice. There could be elements where the enemy has gone 'ok, we'll get this guy busy, and if we keep him busy, he'll burn out'.

Here Jay articulates multiple systems of meaning, just as Papa Edson did in MOTEM: the sub-clinical category of 'burnout' is seamlessly linked to the work of the 'enemy' (Satan), and the day to day habits of the youth worker (around hours and sleep). This later, significantly, bring the moral weight of illness squarely back upon the individual youth worker – they must maintain balance, engage in good practice, discern (be aware

of) their own state of being. They must not "allow" illness. Not only does this reflect the popular western (North American) myth of control, but a neoliberal responsibilisation of the individual worker.


## Creating Burnout

> *We have filled a large whiteboard with scrawling writing in six different colours of marker; a brainstorm of mental health issues that a youth worker might experience. There are a lot, but now I want to narrow it down. I am perched on a stool up the front of several rows and padded seats, and I ask the group of youth workers to now think about if they were experiencing these things. Over the following 10 minutes we separate our list into three categories: Those they would be completely comfortable telling anyone about, those they would tell people selectively about, and those they would feel nervous to share with anyone. I notice the members of this small group subtly stealing glances at one another as they answer, cautiously. Burnout, however, falls into the first category, along with stress and anxiety, with a relaxed and easy consensus. As the workshop progresses I open the floor for stories of mental health issues that those present have personally experienced. Three share. All tell stories of burnout.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Sunday 8th June 2014***

Burnout is not only an experience, but a diagnosis. CYS youth leader Steph talked about a time of overworking on her 'day job' on a farm, as well as in her capacity as a committed volunteer youth leader. When circumstance took her overseas she found herself suddenly exhausted and "needing sleep ALL the time." She describes talking to a friend who was with her during this time about it, sometime later:

> Then she was like 'Oh last time I saw you Steph, you were really burnt out!' and I thought 'What? Oh! Yeah I guess I was.' I didn't really pinpoint it till it was pointed out to me. It was quite obvious to other people what was going on, but I just missed it.'

The revelation of her 'diagnosis,' over a year after the fact, allowed Steph to re-story her experience within the acceptable rubric of burnout. The power of naming something, particularly in relation to vulnerable experiences of mental and emotional suffering, is a performative and constitutive act.

In Christchurch burnout was used to describe a wide range of (and scale of) dysphoric emotions and experiences, generally focussing on those that were seen to be work-related in cause. There are numerous reasons why burnout is a popular, performative term in this community. The vagueness of the category can be one benefit, allowing for the 'down-playing' of distress in line with cultural tendencies I have already outlined. "Burnout is actually depression" Mike told me "or at least there is more depression in burnout than we realise." Di Sargeant, also believed that burnout in Canterbury is the layman's ways of saying clinical depression. But in both cases this was a private, behind-the-scenes observation, as Di explained:

> When I was working in mental health and I started saying that, people didn't like it […] I believe that's *true,* but that's an internal construct for me in my head. When someone is talking to me about burnout, in terms of symptomatology it, you tick all the boxes [for depression]. You know, lack of joy, lack of motivation, changes in sleep. But it does, it feels it was a LOT more acceptable, to talk about burnout.

The use of the term burnout varies different places (Friberg 2009). In the Netherlands, where it is a formal medical diagnosis, and in Sweden where it is now one of the top five diagnoses from general practitioners, it is one step higher than a 'nervous breakdown' on the scale of psychiatric extremity, and is seen as a chronic, debilitating, long-term diagnosis (*ibid*). In other places it remains subclinical, and maintains minimal social stigma (Schaufeli & Leiter 2009), as is the case for New Zealand.

Diagnoses emerge from complex sociohistorical networks of science and policy (Friberg 2009, p538). Schaufeli & Leiter argue that burnout emerged in its very specific historical moment as a way of giving "voice" to issues of emotions, values, and relationships for human service workers, who themselves are the icons of the new service era in the contemporary industrialised western world[76] (2009, p206). The process of forming burnout as a "psychiatric object of thought" started with Freudenberg's personal observations in 1974, but hinged on Maslach's (1982) development of assessment criteria, which established and legitimised it as a discrete

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[76] He draws striking parallels between this and another era of change, the industrial revolution, where changing technological relations rather than social relations nonetheless made industrialists the icons of a new era, while this group simultaneously experienced common suffering under the new diagnosis of neurasthenia.

diagnosis (Schaufeli & Leiter 2009). "From burned-out persons they created the legitimate burnout disease" writes Friberg (2009, p544). Yet the opposite is also true, in that the disease category has now created a particular subjectivity, through what Hacking describes as a 'looping effect' – part of his theory of dynamic nominalism (2004). Forty years ago it was impossible to be 'burned out', because that didn't exist as a category of experience. However by 2009 Schaufeli & Leiter estimated that over 6,000 books, chapters, dissertations and journal articles had already been published on the topic. Now it has become an acceptable catchall idiom, capturing the idea of 'cost' associated with care and service work in a similar way as emotional labour theory has in the more academic sphere, more practically solving problems of stigma but still allowing some access to a social sick role and clinical support services.

## Productivity and the Protestant work ethic

"Depression is perceived as for WEAK people" Mike tells me. In contrast "Burnout is acceptable because [he puts on a self-pitying voice] 'Oh, I work really hard, and I gave it all, and nothing's left.'" Mike's statement succinctly captures the role of burnout as an idiom of distress that allows youth workers to engage in some level of help-seeking and self-care, not only with reduced stigma but in fact affirming many key facets of their identity. Because of this, burnout was often spoken about not only more freely than depression or other mental illness, but with something akin to pride. Steph, for example, casually narrates of her experience of burnout that

> Physically I was exhausted. Emotionally drained. I couldn't have done it for much longer, that's for sure. There were a few people who said 'man, you must be exhausted.' And I was like "yeah I am [nonchalantly]" and then just carried on. I just kind of went with it.

I found that discussions of mental health and self-care in CYS quite inevitably and repeatedly circled around the dramatic recounting of long lists of responsibilities, events, appointments and long work hours. Simon and Annette's exchange included some of these features.

> **Simon:** [Casually] yeah we've had burnout a couple of times actually.
> Because we didn't have any boundaries

**Annette:** We were workaholics. I was studying full time. We had two pre-schoolers…

**Simon:** You were teaching fulltime, studying part time, youth leading, and two pre-schoolers as well. It was stupid, that's what it was.

**Annette:** Oh, I don't know! [laughingly]

**Simon:** Yeah it was. You look back and go 'Why did I do that?' A couple years later we were pretty near burnout […] after that we realised, yeah, you can't just keep running at a million miles an hour all the time." […]

**Annette:** Actually I would still be in denial [laughs]. I was just like 'I don't have time to burnout.' [laughs]

**Simon:** That would be an actual phrase that came up, like 'we don't have time to be burnt out. Just can't be!'

These stories and discussions double as a cautionary tales, and a mark of pride and legitimacy in a discursive field saturated with a neoliberal valuation of the individual as productive worker. Rather than challenging or resisting the structures, policies, expectations or discourses which overdetermined the leaders' 'unhealthy' (potentially damaging to wellbeing) patterns and forms of work, they represented a convincing performance of a discursively shaped and yet also cherished identity: the devoted and selfless carer, willingly bearing the cost of their care labour on their body and mind. In a similar way to what I have discussed for MOTEM, this is a way of using pain as a tool to affirm authority and identity (Berlant 2000) as a 'good' youth worker, good volunteer, good church/organisation employee, and good Christian.

Burnout finds many cultural anchor points in the CYS community, in the particular models and metaphors of the self that are significant there. Baab, having studied burnout specifically in Christian congregations in New Zealand and America, cites one of her definitions as being that "Burnout is a progressive depletion caused by a chronic lack of balance" (2003, p28). Clearly she has identified similar sense-making, around depletion and balance, as my study has done. The vessel model of the self, and the focus on finite resources and a draining model of affliction, for examples, fits with burnout which in itself metaphorically alludes to a fire which has run out of fuel. The important local aesthetic of 'balance' also links closely with Freudenberger's initial description of the illness, which drew on humoral theory and suggested 'equilibrium'

between the giving and receiving as the solution (Friberg 2009). Similarly burnout is often related, in organisational literature, to conflicting values, for example between personal and organisational values, which gives is strong parallels to emotional labour theory and the idea of 'dissonance.' The previous exploration of these helps us understand why even burnout must be carefully performed, since it walks such a fine line between embodying the cost of care as a noble self-sacrifice, and threatening the legitimacy of the leader as something with an ability to care, through the idea of depleted 'resources' of love, emotional energy, or (in Kampala) power.

Burnout itself can refer to a building gutted by fire, a breakdown in electrical circuitry caused by high temperatures, or the deep ecological devastation following a forest fire (Sanford 1982). Specific psychological/psychoanalytic/psychiatric metaphors often parallel the history of technological development (Johnson, Vroon & Draaisma in Pritzker 2003), and notably many of the explanations of burnout in this community rely heavily on mechanical and electrical metaphors, similarly to the language I identified in Kampala. Hybel's discussion of 'gauges' (which paralleled the CYS references to 'levels' of wellbeing, in the tripartite self) recommends spiritual exercises helpful because they "pump a high-octane fuel, providing intensity and strength for ministry" (1991, np). He refers to his own emotional breakdown as an "engine misfiring", and other times of distress as being "out of gas" having "overloaded the circuitry' or needing to "recharge my emotional batteries." Another metaphor expressive of poor wellbeing in this community is "brown out' which Mike explains is "a nice green paddock, that's had lots of sun on it, and it's just gone brown: it's still there, but it's not PRODUCING anything." It is also a term used in regards to electricity supply, to indicate a service failure or productivity interruption, as a precursor to blackout, just as in emotional terms it is seen as the precursor to burnout.

'Hitting the wall' is another popular term, which indicates the really abrupt, unexpected experience of an emotional or mental problem. It alludes to the marathon running, where at a certain mark the body's depletion of glycogen presents as quite sudden fatigue and energy loss (Peterson 1997). Although this etymology is perhaps not well known, it forms a link with the scriptural admonition of Paul to "run the race with endurance" (in Hebrews 12:1), also therefore reinforcing to idea of *sustainable* work (but again, for continued productivity rather than individual wellbeing). Mike refers to 'hitting the wall' more often in relation to a car crash. He references the story of a

friend, who drew on his experience as a racing car driver when he had a breakdown, describing it as having been "going 100 miles an hour, and didn't even take my foot off the pedal." This negatively invokes a lack of self-awareness as both a cause and an amplifier of fallout. "I think lots of people who have done some youth ministry for a while knows that that feels like" Mike mused on this story, "Probably all of them."

Mike also added another car-related metaphor which, unlike the above, hints slightly more at the role of structural factors.

> We all drive around in vans as youth workers, and if you imagine, you hit a judder bar in a van and you've got everything on the dashboard, and in the back, and everything gets rearranged around you. Your whole life gets rearranged, on the floor normally, and you have to learn to pick it up.

This analogy emphasises the speed of the vehicle (the metaphor for the busyness, and "crazy, long hours" of the youth worker) as being directly correlated with the 'mess' of the crash. Mike's passion for (good!) coffee, and the extremely high rates of use of caffeine among youth leaders, also obliquely points to this as part of the "cultural trend" of busyness in western developed nations (Schaefer & Jacobsen, 2009), which Baab also refers to as "hurry sickness", identifying it as the backdrop in against which burnout plays out (2003, pxxi). Many points of humour through youth events come up around the need for coffee. It plays off and into the energetic identity of the 'good' youth workers in this community, and the frequent exhaustion they experience from long 'crazy' hours. This of course has a longer, deeper historical grounding as well, in the Protestant work ethic. Weber identifies Franklin's preaching around the virtues of business, and "time is money" as expressive of the same principle (1905/2001, p15). This late capitalist attitude is now saturating our ethos not only in the business sphere, but all aspects of work, including the non-profit sector. In Christian youth work in Canterbury, coffee use is a telling signpost for what could be seen as part of self-management, if not self-medication, for the physical as well as emotional exhaustion of the job, as a part of the 'machine' of capital, and as an expression of the virtuous commitment to this extreme work ethic.

Again Mike's own life journey has formed an important touchstone in the community, around this topic, as part of a tension he also wrestles with. He gave me an

example of a pastoral meeting he attended, where they were going around the circle talking about addictions. He says:

> It got to me and I said 'I'm a workaholic'. And they're going 'oh that's alright, that's not an addiction.' But you've got to understand, the same shame he's got about his [porn] addiction, is the shame I have around my workaholic tendencies. But bosses like workaholics; you'd like to employ me because I'm value for money! But for me, I neglect my family to do it, I neglect my health, I neglect my mental wellbeing. So my addiction is work.

While in Kampala they warn that 'if you rush you crash', as a justification for resting sometimes as well, they also conversely say that 'if you rest you rust.' This is similar to an American saying identified in Baab's book, that it is better to burn out than rust out" (2003, p6). Schaefer & Jacobson, reflecting an awareness in the North American church of the tensions between productivity obsessed society, interfacing with vernacular theologies of "giving your entire life" to ministry, provide a similar response as I have identified in CYS, emphasising a 'balance' between selflessness, self-awareness, and self-care as the needed response to this (2009, p65). However in framing it as an 'addiction' Mike brings it back to being an individual problem once more, part of his own internal qualities and tendencies, and his own responsibility to identify and manage.

"The Protestant work ethic is a bad time!" Darren tells me[77]. "Psychologically it runs deep, doesn't it? Those feelings around guilt, which is a really strong feeling." Freudenberger suggested that it was the combination of an internal pressure (a feeling of guilt inherent in Christianity, and a desire to give) that coupled with external pressures to give, which could cumulatively lead to an unhealthy amount of giving that led to the "ultimate exhaustion" of burnout (1974, p161). Hochschild wrote about guilt as something that upholds feeling rules (1983/2003, p82). This is important since it is not just general 'work' but care work, which is so morally weighted in the Christian paradigm: the guilt relates to an (actual or perceived) transgression of social rules around giving care to others, which functions not only as retrospective self-disciplining, but constitutive self-governing as well.

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[77] Although he was the only one to overtly reference the Protestant work ethic, I have shown and argued for its more subtle legacy throughout this chapter.

Darren has a wife and infant daughter, and admits that youth work often has serious consequences for many leaders especially in the sphere of family; he saw his own Youth Pastor's family break up many years prior. When first conceptualising burnout, Freudenberger argued for balance as a mediator (cited in Friberg 2009). But when I identified Darren's use of the term 'balance' to refer to keeping the split of work/home hours in his life, he backtracked "I shouldn't use that word, because I don't much like it myself" he said, going on to astutely identifying the problem with the aesthetic of balance in this community. Beyond the basic idea of "keeping health, exercising and stuff", he believed that "in some ways Christians should be UN-balanced, towards following Jesus." He gave examples of the unbalanced 'wackiness' of working a heap of unpaid hours for the church, or giving away your money; clearly seeing discourses of volunteerism and selflessness as contrasting those around self-care. Darren says he has had to manage deep feelings of guilt during times he was "giving less" because of his burnout and depression. He overtly identifies his tendency as to "give everything I have got" and "POUR everything into it": another clear example of the dual tensions he is managing. This is, in fact, the fundamental conflict between the needs of the other and the needs of the self that Freudenberger summarised as the "tension of giving" (cited in Friberg 2009, p543).

## Self-care: individualising suffering, responsibilising sufferers

When Darren was experiencing burnout, he went to his work, to two of his bosses, and told them how he was feeling.

> One of them said 'Yep, let's fix this.' The other one, arghh [frustrated/angry sigh]… without saying it [aloud], they basically said there's no option to change anything, so what I felt like they said was 'your emotions are INVALID'.

After this "just so bad" response, Darren had thought seriously about quitting after that. However eventually he realised; "I really wanted to work it out so that I could be healthy and keep doing it." He says he initially wanted to reduce his overall work hours, which he realised were easily 50 or 60 hours per week once his supervisor suggested he keep a diary of it. In the end instead he took one week off, and initiated some more strategic and "healthy" habits in his personal life. These included exercising

more, and getting up early to go into his office and get all his office hours done before 1pm, in order to have a gap in the afternoon with his family before he began the youth work activities and events that were on most nights. Zoller's work on occupational health and safety in an automobile manufacturing plant gave a useful ethnographic examination of the way that employees self-regulate and individualise responsibility for work-related health and injury as part of the corporate discourse (2003). She noted specifically that employees showed an expectation of pain and cost as part of their job, something I have already discussed as similar among the CYS leaders. Additionally she observed the way workers sought to actively improve their own bodies in order to meet job demands, and subsequently rested the blame on co-workers who were injured, for *not* maintaining a working body.

CYS leaders employ the idea of self-care in a strikingly similar way. Christian managerialist literature frequently focusses on identifying the particular qualities and traits of Jesus himself as a model for Christian clergy. Baab writes that "to embrace a balance of sacrifice and self-care, Christian congregations can draw on the model of Jesus" (2003, p112). She calls on his example of drawing away to pray, as well, for leaders to emulate. Pector (2005) identified Jesus as being "balanced physically, emotionally, mentally, socially, vocationally and spiritually", and argued that "full" service as a Christian minister relies on the individual self-caring to maintain "perfect health". So while the CYS leaders acknowledge emotional distress as a taken-for-granted occupational hazard, they also take individual responsibility for maintaining their (emotional, psychological, and physical) health against this. There are both discursive and regulatory elements involved in the way institutions shape these behaviours (Zoller 2003). Employees participate in constructing shared identity norms (and emotional norms, as Chapter 3 & 4 discussed) which shift responsibility from management to individual workers (Zoller 2003).

"It's kind of trendy to list off all of the things you do to self-care," says Di. The term 'self-care' is indeed common in CYS, notably emphasising 'self', just as MOTEM did in their reliance on 'encouraging your*self.*' My questions round the topic elicited a surprisingly limited range of responses: a repetitive tick list of 'healthy' activities, focussed heavily around the physical as the previous chapter explained: going for walks, sleeping properly, eating well, and spending time with friends. Jay gave a detailed analogy around the rhythms of this:

I sort of see it like a grandfather clock where you go, every night you always have to line the clock up again for the next day. And I think we all need to have that moment where we stop and go 'today this happened' and then you and wind it up again. But then once in six months what they do is they actually get in and hammer to kink out the parts! And then put it back. And sometimes there are parts of us that God, or people need to deal with, that are bent or that are misshaped or are not in the place to function as they should do. And I think you might need a day out, or you might need two days out.

Whilst recognising different levels of 'need', Jay slots self-care into an industrialised time schedule here, as part of a mechanistic analogy for wellbeing. This is largely the basis for Di's worries about the superficial, mechanistic 'box-ticking' view many leaders hold about self-care. This is much narrower than some other perspectives scripture usefully offers in relation to wellbeing, including rest, renewal, re-creation, delighting in God and in creation, and 'rest' – a concept as ambiguous and problematic here as it was in MOTEM.

Many of the CYS leaders spoke about a self-talk, justification process, of giving themselves "permission" to take time off or to rest, as Verity's example in the previous chapter showed. The regulatory emotions they experienced such as guilt, which indicated norm transgression, can be viewed as part of a dissonance between their cherished 'selfless' self and the self who recognises its own limitations and needs. *How* to rest is also a hot topic (Baab 2007): whether sporadically, or building in some sort of Sabbath (in the sense of a structured, regular rest period) to their lives. Many have ideals around rest, self-care and mental health which they strain towards and do not often achieve. They often referenced 'rest' is if it were another task on their check list that they feel responsible to undertake. They speak of 'not being good' at rest. Rest was associated with 'topping up' depletions or resources, either after the fact or antecedently, in order to "work out of rest". These in some ways paralleled the two distinct aspects of self-care that I identified: self-cure (or self-healing), as a direct response to illness, and self-maintenance, as a regular, cultivated practice.

When I asked the SYLT 'emotion' focus group, at the end of our second brainstorming session, around methods of self-care, whether someone doing all these things could therefore avoid the mental issues we had initially brainstormed, they

answered 'no' with an amused smile. I was pleased to hear this, since I had observed that unlike in Kampala, in Canterbury diligence in self-care was often seen as a virtue that could prevent suffering altogether. Steve's illness story emphasised his poor sleeping patterns as a key causal factor to his anxiety, and more 'healthy' patterns as key factor in recovery. In reality conflicting ideas seem to exist in Christian communities around mental health, and burnout particularly, as to whether burnout in church leadership is inevitable (Baab 2003, p102) or avoidable/preventable. Baab's 2003 book was in fact entitled '*Beating* Burnout' (emphasis mine), and similarly Tessa makes the big claim, as I quoted above, that working within your strengths (i.e. managing yourself well within an organisation) you could 'never burn out'. Each view draws on a particular theological interpretation of the problem of pain, and its role in the believer's life, some condoning it as 'normal' and promoting acceptance, others as abnormal and unacceptable, and seeking explanations and solutions. This creates multiple strands of meaning available and competing for attention from those who seek to make sense (and sometimes, apply blame) for their own or others moments of vulnerability and illness. For example while Jim advocated a greater acceptance by the church of times of emotional lowness as something everybody goes through, even he noted (as all the CYS leaders I spoke to readily did) that there are aspects of lifestyle which contribute to depression and burnout, such as working 12 hour days. Either way, the focus on *self*-care, notably focuses attention away from any aspect of the work environment/expectations which are emotionally 'hazardous', and back onto individual behaviour, again often focussed around many of the embodied virtues or 'aesthetics' I have discussed.

The strong cultural values in this community around balance, emotional stability, and self-awareness are aspects of this which I have already discussed. In our interview Emma who is an 'expert' in her own depression focused a lot on knowing her trigger areas, and monitoring her own behaviour to see when she has reached "certain thresholds." She says if she was not self-aware like this, she would burn out and many youth workers burn out because they "don't pay close enough attention to themselves." "Learning to be aware of what's going on in your own mind, as CYS counsellor Karen puts it, is crucial. For example, I was told an anecdote where a young man, a youth leader who "was one of the most dynamic up-front youth communicators" quit very suddenly to become a truck driver. The narrator of this story explained that he had burnt

out after "working stupid hours without any boundaries", but also attributed the extremity and unexpectedness of his change to being "just totally un-self-aware." I argue that being 'un-self-aware' is the emotional equivalent of being 'out of shape' for the factory workers Zoller studies; it enables the same kind of highly individualised, victim-blaming discourse (Crawford 1977). In a process indicative of a particular political economy, emotional suffering is internalised, through a process of self-subordination, as a private, individual problem (Tracy 2000)

In a neoliberal system, the good citizen is the one who takes on the responsibility for doctoring themselves (Foucault 1988, p31), thus taking the burden off the public health care system, and indeed, the organisation or church, to do so. In CYS the youth workers seem to have strongly internalised this – moralised as part of what the 'good' youth worker does - eager to list the self-care they undertake to prevent ill health, to take the burden off others in their team and the (already over-stretched, non-profit) organisation. Importantly for this discussion, as they take on the responsibility for their own wellbeing, they also take on much of the blame for their own illness or suffering, when it does occur. Having not completed the necessary 'upkeep' of themselves, as cogs in an important productive machine, they are now responsible for a threat to a care system they are obviously closely invested in. The lower expectations around suffering are reflected in this, too: there is a general expectation that with the right combination of self-care, in the right 'role' (that fits with one's strengths) in the right organisation, a leader *can* largely avoid the cost of care, maintaining good wellbeing even in the face of the regular demands of youth work. Thus again, if poor wellbeing *is* experienced, it must be attributed to a failure to manage the self – through moral labour, emotional labour, balance, boundaries, self-awareness and self-care - by the individual youth leader.

Just as organisational discourses I have discussed in Chapter 2 meant that one's calling, and effective care and emotional labour as a youth worker, was attributed to individual and fixed traits, so too were periods of frustration, suffering, depleted or 'failed' caring attributed to personal qualities. They frequently evoked the managerialist concept of individual 'fit' with a particular organisation and a particular role. Jay said that activities which are not within their 'natural' individual strengths can have negative mental health consequences for leaders. "Admin kills people!" he laughs. It is a running joke in the community, how poor youth leaders are at paperwork, since they are

stereotyped as relational, spontaneous, 'doing' type people[78]. Youth work literature from the US also laments that to be "freed" from paperwork seems increasingly unattainable in a highly bureaucratised, managed church environment (Davies 2012). "Serving outside your gift area tends to drain you" is, as Tessa Dodge (CYS's *StrengthsFinder* coordinator) said. But "If you are always working in your strength, you will never burn out, because it will only give you energy." Mike Dodge similarly referred to a way of working the way that God wired you, which "still cost you a little bit, but is not as draining, not depleting you of everything." He says "When you are working within your gifting, in your sweet spot, you are doing what energises you." Through the same idea of filling, draining, and energy, the link is made with individual qualities, and individual self-management, and wellbeing.

However since mental illness or 'burnout' is likely to be read as evidence of an 'ill-fit', in such a culture, to do so represents a risk to individual's position, perceived efficacy, authority and legitimacy, (in paid positions) their income, and their personal and professional identity. Therefore the framing of individual traits and mental disorder again becomes one for which individuals must take responsibility in 'managing' themselves, their levels of wellbeing, by being aware of the areas that drain or burden them, rather than simply avoiding these roles or tasks. This is especially true since the ideal managerialist scenario of teamwork in a well-tuned (machine-like) organisation, allowing everyone to specialise, is however difficult to achieve in sometimes underfunded and complex, fluidly structured, church or community organisations.

Miller & Rose's summary of the progress of the industrial economy, alongside notions of human beings as a productive force, sheds a valuable historical lens on this (1995). They showed the roots of these ideas, from the early 1900's, where the "selection and allocation of workers to different tasks in terms of a matching of their capacities to the demands of the activity" rings of an early managerialism. This interfaces with Rose's other work, noting the use of Psy knowledges and techniques in the western workforce (as observed in CYS) both then and now, as a managerialist tool. They describe how the mental hygiene movement also connected industrial problems with worker identity through the notion of 'maladjustment' (1995, p433) and thus again

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[78] A stereotype that goes back in fact to early British youth work days, where they where characterised as 'doers' rather than 'pontificators' (Bradford 2007).

represented a step towards the individualisation of responsibility of workers for their mental health.


## The leader as instrument

The trajectory of western, neo-liberal service based economies has placed a high emphasis on individual value is that of a productive worker. "The church does often use people" Darren said. Furthermore when illness occurs "You often get written off so quickly, because if you're not USEFUL… because you're in a space where you are not functioning." The history of the western world is tied with the history of the church, and the 'Protestant work ethic' which Weber identifies. These indicate work not a *means* to salvation, but rather, also importantly, as evidence of one's salvation; working hard in pursuit of one's calling being the only way to be 'certain' of one's position among the predestined elect (1905 p121). Arguably in the CYS community, a similar work ethic of busyness remaining an important way of evidencing or performing one's good Christian character, important therefore for the 'good' CYS youth leader. I argue that burnout is an idiom of distress that is emerging in this particular historical moment around a particular type of (human service) work, in response to and shaped by this (neoliberal) ideology. Weber's work specifically provides a basis for understanding how the faith-based sector in particular responds to this. It introduces and historically contextualises 'calling' as part of the way that work has become spiritually meaningful (and thus morally weighted), and part of one's identity - a tool for self-actualisation (see also Miller & Rose 1995). In this way burnout, though caused by work, is also a disruption of one's ability to 'function' instrumentally in the work machine.

The CYS leaders are not unaware of the 'risks' of busyness. When you are exhausted, it does not serve God, Steph told me emphatically. However she observed (and lamented) that it was common for people to run around trying to be busy "for God". In a community that so highly values the productivity of its members, arguably it is really the community's (approval, legitimacy, connection) for which they are running around. Youth workers in Canterbury received a confusing, sometimes contradictory milieu of messages about where to place their own mental, emotional and spiritual needs in relation to the seemingly constant needs of the youth they cared for, which they then fought to reconcile in both belief and practice. You "give yourself up for others", they were continually told, yet they are also supposed to "do the journey" themselves,

as well. One recurring analogy given is that of the oxygen mask in airline safety demonstrations, where you "fit your own mask before assisting others". This subtly expresses one of the most common and accepted ways these confusing messages were reconciled, through a neoliberal discourse which instrumentalised the self, justifying self-care entirely around more effective service to others.

"You can't look after other people if you don't look after yourself." For many CYS leaders I spoke to, this formed the strong (sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit) basis of their self-care activities. Laura also explained that she instituted boundaries and self-care practices because "I want to run this race, I want to run it well, but I want to run it long distance." Stephen reasoned that "I've got to make time for me, to be actually WORTH spending time with. If I want to help people well, then I have to be mentally sound for me to do that." What was absent here was acknowledgment of any inherent value of the youth leader as a person, and a loved child of God, which might be an alternative way to explain or justify self-care, even in light of the constant care needs of others. Instead what emerged from this was a process of instrumentalisation whereby the youth leader themselves – their health and wellbeing – existed and was maintained only to be of use and benefit to others.

There is a long history of the association of burnout with such a perspective of "one cannot help the rest of the world without taking care of oneself first", as Friberg (2009) phrased it: as old as the association of burnout with care work itself. It interfaces powerfully with managerialist discourses. As Whitehead's book *Managing Yourself* declares: "adopting healthy approaches to caring for ourselves is vitally important if we are to sustain ourselves in work and ministry for the long term" (2010, p6). She discusses physical self-care, spiritual self-care, and emotional self-care as all forming part of this. Yet all of this has a specific flow-on effect on the way youth workers view themselves, that hinges on the motivation or *reason* for pursuing wellbeing, which underlies so many such statements as these and those of the CYS leaders. All contributes the idea that they must pursue, and constantly manage, their own wellbeing only in order to be useful, productive parts of the ministry, of the workforce, of the task of youth work Steve expressed the same concept in his own vessel idiom:

> I also see it that if I'm giving and giving, from my well, then my well's
> going to be empty. But if I don't give back into that well and take back from
> parts to be able to fill that well, keep that well at a positive point, then I'm

going to end up giving them muddy water. And so for them to be able to have the positive side of me, and to be able to give the positive, to be able to continue to change and grow, then I need to be able to have that time where I can actually, um, put into myself.

In many ways, the 'instrument' youth workers are being turned into here, is best imagined as a channel. In a channel metaphor, putting time resources into 'myself' is just another way of giving to others (just as in Kampala, conversely, giving to others as a channel is just another way to gain resources for yourself). Di Sargeant brought up a common local worship song with striking similarities, that says 'Fill us up and send us out.' Di said "I hate that song […] I don't like it because I think it creates easy answers. The idea that the Holy Spirit is just going to come and renew us, and that's it. And that it's for the purpose of SENDING us out, and the focus is on the OUT bit." Here we see the gradually layered over-determination of these attitudes towards the mental health of CYS leaders; the channel metaphor, the focus on productivity, the instrumentalisation of the self, the individualisation of pain and the foregrounding of *self*-care.

## Chains of care and competing care objects

> *The stage lights are bright and the seating full in the huge auditorium, but Mike jokes and chats away to the crowd as if we are guests in his own living room. "For this next bit, I'll need a few people to help me out" he says. "Can some of you jump on up here, and we're just gonna do a little demonstration." When they reach the stage, he forms six of his volunteers into a circle, holding hands and facing inwards. He places a 7th in the centre of the circle, to play the role of the youth leader. He himself acts as the 'outsider', bobbing around the edge of the circle, behind their backs. He is looking for a way into the youth community, he explains, but the leader at the centre of the circle has all the attention and focus of the circle members instead.*
>
> *"Most youth leaders burn themselves out trying to entertain young people, to keep them around, and meet all their needs" he tells us. This is not healthy, or sustainable. He rearranges the group to face outwards, still holding hands. He encourages the teenage boy playing the leader to continue to 'support' everyone by patting them encouragingly on the back. Mike explains that rather than exhausting himself 'feeding' everyone's expectations, the leader can now let the circle itself do the work of stretching out towards include new people: he has the circle open to let him in.*
>
> *"The youth leader's purpose is not to babysit young people, but to make them missional. To be an equipper for the saints." He thanks his volunteers and sends them back to their seats.*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 3rd August, 2012***

The circle model is one of Mike's favourite presentations at youth training events. As an umbrella organisation, CYS itself focuses closely on managing and maintaining the ministries and organisations that youth leaders work from and in. Mike has this particular presentation down to a fine art, as a way of communicating a group structure that is both effective (achieving its purpose of youth care and outreach) and 'healthy' (maintaining its personnel for the longevity of service for which the organisation is now known for).

CYS teaching often encourages youth leaders to think about the fact "you love everyone, who loves you back?" Yet this is perhaps a statement intended as correctional, responding to a tendency for people to just go into a 'silo' and deal with their own issues that Jay, among others, identified in the Canterbury youth work community. Like a number of my interviewees, he wanted to emphasise that *self*-care, despite its importance, was not enough, but that "it's got to be people around you". Sam's personal story presented this same message, when he told me about how after his first two years of rural youth work, he felt that he could not go on:

> The best thing that kept me going was the CYS 33k gatherings. Once a month being able to come together with other youth pastors who I didn't really know at all to begin with, but who were on a similar journey to me. And had the same HEART for doing what I was doing. Just that reminder once a month, that was really big. […] And it's been, nine years now.

Sam identified the 'loneliness' that often comes to youth workers as stemming from the asymmetrical open-ness of most of the youth workers relationships: "being secret-keepers for so many people's stories", as he put it. Subsequently one of the things he valued most about 33k meetings was the ability to ethically 'pass it up' what he called a 'care-chain'. Many people in fact spoke of the value of this cathartic process of 'offloading' there, in line with the important burden metaphor that was also so prominent among MOTEM leaders. Tessa Dodge also attributes the longevity and mental stability of youth workers in the Canterbury region to the 33k network, highlighting practical facets; for example if they are sick for a week, someone covers for them. She gave the real life recent example of when someone's wife had a miscarriage and was "quite sick" afterwards, and "everyone brought food, and covered all their ministry work." Indeed much of the research into emotional labour and mental wellbeing emphasises that one important means of replenishing socioemotional

resources, is through building meaningful relationships and accessing social support (Brotheridge & Lee 2002, Byrne et al 2011). These factors are negatively associated with burnout and emotional exhaustion.

A wide range of models were available for understanding caring relationships within the complex, semi-formal care structures of the wider church. Some emphasised the difference between formal (supervisory) support, and informal (relational, community) support. Another had a biblically-based model in which every person should have an intergenerational network which is equivalent to New Testament figures Paul, Barnabus, and Timothy, who each expressed different types of relationships e.g. an older mentor you are accountable to, who can "call a spade a spade" and "ask the hard questions"; a peer who is "on the journey with you"; a younger leader you are "training up." Supervisory structures in faith-based youth work are particularly characterised by complexity (Whitehead 2010). They may include managerial supervision, non-managerial supervision, pastoral support, peer support, mentoring and coaching, spiritual direction, and counselling or therapy (*ibid).*

While CYS encourages an ideal that youth leaders will have a mentor who is from their faith community but outside their direct leadership team, the reality is not often so straightforward. Similarly many youth pastors or team managers have multiple objects of care to attend to: they are responsible for not only junior leaders, but the youth group itself, of course, and also the 'church body' as a whole, and sometimes also the parents or families of members in the community. The emotional struggles of a junior leader can create conflicting and competing demands in this multiplex web of care, where they cannot allow/advise time off for the other leader without compromising the quality of care the youth group itself receives. Supervisors and senior leaders/pastors alike may have to weigh up the needs of many in the community, with the needs of other personal (Davies 2012), which can easily create situations such that which Darren experienced, when his emotional needs were overlooked.

This is not to overgeneralise of course, as in many individual cases senior leaders and mentors as individuals do have very caring individual relationships with junior leaders, which focusses beyond their role potential. For example Sam's philosophy towards his junior leaders was: "I want them to be great people, regardless of what they are doing… I don't particularly spend a lot of time talking about how to manage yourself when you're caring for others, although that's a part of what they do

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with their lives now. I want to actually go 'how do you make John into John and Alice into Alice'." However even when instrumentalising discourses are subverted, as Sam is doing here, the structural constraints still exist that make it difficult for the needs and struggles of leaders themselves to be voiced or attended to without sense of it compromising the overall missions of the organisation and identity of the youth workers themselves as carer. As Tracy & Trewerthy explains (2005, p175) in organisational contexts, the subjectivity that individuals are called to take up will inevitably reflect more the interests of the organisation than of the individual.

Ideally, organisations are flexible, and the burden of care can be shifted off those who are experiencing mental health issues in order for them to heal. Yet the reality of such informal and volunteer-reliant organisations is not always so, especially against the permeating sense of the pressing need of the youth themselves in cases where "the harvest is plentiful but the workers are few[79]." The CYS leaders grappled with this sense of urgency and responsibility to "save everyone": a tendency to want to be the 'hero', hence the need for the previously discussed SYLT presentation entirely around correcting this to a view that "God is always the hero." Other studies have shown this tendency in other types of Christian care workers. For example Besterman-Dahan et al's (2013) study of mental health among military chaplains in the US, showed a 'lone ranger' or 'superhero' mentality which underscored their tendency to taking care of everyone except themselves (2013). She looked, too, at the by structures, policies, and role expectations that solidified this, as I have. It is noteworthy, also, that some iterations of the 'network' or 'chain' of care model that presents strongly in CYS, there can be a consequential *de*-emphasis on individual self-care. "Take maybe 5 minutes to see where you are at, and then 50 minutes to see where everyone else is at. Because they in turn look after you, and check on you" Jim said. This is an example of the way an emphasis on reciprocal caring enabled among the leaders a continually outward, giving-focused practice, taking on faith that others would then care for them in return. This mediated the care/self-care tension in a different way, but with the similar result of protecting the cherished identity of the leader as selfless carer.

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[79] Matthew 9:7, Luke 10:2.

## Back to burnout

> *The focus groups having concluded, we gathered the Soul Winners attendees back together. Now it's over to me. I stand before them half-blinded by the bright mid-morning sun, staring at the faces under the dusty white awning.*
>
> *"Could I have some of you volunteer to come up here to help me with a demonstration?" I ask nervously. To my relief, a few hands lift. Trying to recall exactly how Mike does this, I form them into a circle and get them to hold hands. "This circle represents a church community, or maybe a fellowship" I tell them, wishing I'd thought this through better earlier, wondering now whether the demonstration will really translate to this place, this organisation, this culture. I grab Stephen, unwitting to my plans, and place him in the middle of the circle. "Stephen is the youth leader: the Pastor or Papa." I explain, "See how everyone is always looking at the leader?" A few people nod, including Stephen himself. I think of every late night phone call we have seen him take, every early morning knock on his rusted metal door, every whispered request for food or transport money.*
>
> *"People focus on the leader with every question, with every problem, with every need." I continue. "But a leader is a human, and we can't as leaders give everyone everything they need, or we will just burn out...." I pause to try and gauge urgently from their expectant faces, if they know what I mean. Do they know the feeling? Do they know the word?*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 17th January, 2014***

I received a mixed response to my introduction of the term 'burnout' in Kampala. In my early conversations I brought up the term repeatedly, to the confusion and sometimes annoyance of my interviewees. Some people had never heard of it, others were already using it in conversation, although with considerable ambiguity. Burnout was associated with stress, or breaking down, its causes variously determined as being the work environment, social factors, spiritual factors, economic factors and political factors. Edson said people could get burnout because of losing their loved ones to AIDS, or because of psychological trauma from having sexual intercourse at a young age, or because they have graduated but have no employment or income. The psychiatric nursing students I spoke with at the Butabika Christian fellowship were slightly more familiar with the term. However one said he had only come across the term in a Psycho-trauma conference the previous year. He explained gently to me, in my dogged pursuit of the topic, that "Burnout, in Uganda, actually had not been identified

as a big [i.e. common] case. Burnout is really looked at as some farfetched idea from Europe or abroad." This was why there was no strong uniform sense of what the idiom of burnout might 'look' like' there.

Although in Kampala the question of whether a Christian could get a mental illness was usually a resounding 'no', the answer to whether a Christian could experience burnout was usually a 'yes': although you would never find them "admitted" for it, the Butabika focus group with their reservoir of biomedical training told me. This indicated that, at least that by those who did use this term, it was seen as a non-pathological, non-biomedical form of distress in this context. The Butabika group described burnout as occurring because of too many responsibilities, because of unrealistic expectations, because of lack of finances, because of working too hard without taking a break – similar conceptualisations to its formulation as work-related suffering, in the New Zealand.  Descriptions of it drew on vessel and channel metaphors, as a participant from a different focus group explained:

> **P1:** Burning out [is when] you reach a point when you cannot give anything out. You will have run out.
>
> **Susan:** What causes that? Giving too much out?
>
> **P1:** Mmm yes... giving too much. Or for instance like, we are Christians... if you don't pray, [if you] don't study the word of God, you will burn out. If you don't read it and attend sessions where you can feed also… because as you feed [others] you also need to feed.  You can't feed others what you don't have.

In this and many other comments burnout was very similar to compassion fatigue, since as Seith told me, carrying other people's burdens causes stress, and if not released, this stress will cause burnout. The continuum view of mental disorder allows these MOTEM community members to frame burnout not as a mental disorder in itself, but as a potential precursor in a causal chain that ultimately relate to external pressures.

> *I have given up my act of enthusiasm and extroversion, and flopped into a seat in the shade of the porch. I am pleased by the day's events, but even more pleased it is now over. I feel completely drained of energy, and am still wondering how badly the event has decimated my (and the organisations, and Stephen's) finances. Most attendees have left already, and the few remaining are scattered around in relaxed poses, chatting with friends. Eventually Stephen strides up, obviously still buzzing from energy from the event, to ask me how I am doing.*
>
> *"I'm ok" I say (lying only a little, as I know he has with the same response to me, many a time). He becomes thoughtful for a moment.*
>
> *"I liked your demonstration of leadership, Doctor Susan, in the circle" he says quietening uncharacteristically now. "You really can see leaders, just like that, burning out."*
>
> *"What is it you think it is then?" I am suddenly attentive. "Burnout?"*
>
> *"It's when you're worn down, you feel like you are out of answers, ok? You feel you have run short on solutions" he described. "Since everybody looks to you…" I nod eagerly at him to continue, but we are interrupted as an awkward, smiling teenager sidles up trying to get Stephen's attention. He needs some money for the bus*
>
> - ***Excerpt from field notes, Friday 17th January, 2014***

While burnout is a more acceptable category and idiom of distress (for those who are familiar with it) than any 'mental illness', it is not an entirely unproblematic one. For one, it threatens their key identities (shared between sites) as selfless carers, solution-givers, and burden bearers, since it represents a depletion of emotional resources or 'solutions', and sometimes a lack of ability to care. Secondly, it is still attributed to there being something 'wrong' or that needs improvement in the individuals approach to the work, and/or their management of themselves in response to the effects of the work. Just as Emma blamed the individual's lack of self-awareness for their experience of burnout, many MOTEM leaders blamed the individual's reliance on themselves instead of God for their negative experiences (being 'overwhelmed' or 'broken') As Evans said:

> MANY people, ah, those who get burnout and stress, basically for the youth
> leaders or the counsellors they forget one thing... ok? They LOVE the

people, more than they love Jesus. They want to show them a greater love to people, instead of leaving it to Jesus. And because [of that] at the end of the day, they get burnout.

MOTEM and CYS leaders showed the same tendency to employ neoliberal logic to responsibilise individual workers for their own mental health problems: implicating their individual practices as directly linked to this. In MOTEM there is a locally-specific emphasis on the primacy of the spiritual which clearly draws on the community aesthetic of spiritual disciplines and 'empowerment' in constructing discourses around managing (or avoiding) mental distress. This is shown in the way the above examples evoke the 'channel' metaphor – specifically as the connection between the self and the sacred other - as the source of care. In Canterbury it is disciplined self-care around the physical body that is emphasised (and individualised further, according to personal qualities, strengths and 'fit') along with a heightened self-awareness of all parts of the tripartite self. Yet the more fundamental shared meanings are striking.

In both places the individualisation of responsibility for self-care for the 'good' Christian youth worker was present, both stamped upon their distinctive local histories by powerful and increasingly global neoliberal discourse. An alternative Christian biblical metaphor is that of God as the vine, and Christian believers as the branches drawn from John 15:5[80]. This incorporates many aspects of the channel metaphor, with life/water/sustenance flowing from God, into his followers, so long as they stay connected to him. It surpasses some of the limitations of more mechanical metaphors for the self, as well as having some links to the idea of the 'organic' structure of church organisations and faith communities, more often taught within this community as parts of a 'body' (the body of Christ[81]). The vine-and-branches represent a counterpoint to the individualistic framing of spirituality, wellbeing, and self-care which they showed in their particular use of the vessel and channel metaphors around the individual's relationship with God. As a popular Christian teaching not taken up particularly strongly by either organisation, its absence also speaks. Another rarely evident Christian discourse was that of 'stewardship', would could also be a culturally accessible way to direct attention from the maintenance of the self purely for its functionality within the

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[80] "I am the vine; you are the branches. If you remain in me and I in you, you will bear much fruit; apart from me you can do nothing. (NIV)

[81] 1 Corinthians 12:27 "Now you are the *body of Christ*, and each one of you is a part of it", and onwards where the various 'parts' and their (interdependent) relationship to one another are detailed.

work 'machine', and rather invoke the virtues of protecting and fostering what has been gifted by God, as having inherent rather than purely utilitarian value. To be "loved apart from what I do" (Baab 2007, p33), and cared for even when one is not 'functional', by one's community, one's God, and one's self, could be powerfully transformative, however it runs against a long history of the increasing moral weighting of vocational life (Weber 1905), particularly in the non-profit sector where 'work' (organisational) and 'personal' (cherished) identities tend to so closely align.

Illnesses are experienced as lived engagements in local worlds, and thus they involve practice, negotiations, and contestations (Kleinman 1999, p358). Though drawing on their distinctive cultural aesthetics and psychologies for content, I have shown that the youth workers in both sites utilise narrative as a way of strategically navigating the complex and "fraught" moral terrain of the illness experience in social world. Drawing on, yet again, a multiplicity of discourses (some shared and rooted in global Christian ideology, and some locally specific) around the meaning, categorisation, prevention and treatment of illness and distress, they formulate in each place specific and situated responses to Helman's (1981/2007) 'why' questions. In the final chapter I will be 'zooming out' to take a macro view of what I have observed about the management of discursive tension, overall, in these two communities.

# CHAPTER 7: The Lived Tension

*Intimacy is not a happy medium. It is a way of being in which the tension between distance and closeness is dissolved and a new horizon appears. Intimacy is beyond fear.*

- *Henri Nouwen (1989, p24)*

To refer to 'living in the tension' is common among the faith-based youth workers of Canterbury, and it is from this expression that title of this thesis was taken. It is a phrase that can be used in multiple different contexts, each in reference to different tensions. Although the phrase is not present in the Kampala youth work community to my knowledge, in both places the sense of risk, struggle, and resilience which it conveys was strongly present. In this chapter I will be discussing some of the themes that emerged after reflection on my data, in conversation with literature from a wide range of fields, each contributing to an understanding of the way in which social meanings around care and wellbeing are constructed in the two communities of faith-based youth workers I studied. Tension is one of these themes.

The leaders I spoke with often expressed a deeply embodied sense of being caught amidst tensions external to themselves - a multi-directional pull that pertains to pressures, policies, practice and expectations from their various organisations and towards their various objects of care. They also communicated internal tensions and conflicts between different aspects of their own identity, or different values. There were also, as I shall argue, two moral worlds (the transcendent Christian and the local situated) from which they drew values and meanings, which was a major contributing factor to these tensions within each site, although the understanding of this contributed to analysing the points of similarity and difference *between* the two sites as well. All of these tensions emerged in very specific local iterations in each field site. Furthermore they were negotiated and managed in locally situated ways as well, and the previous chapters have explained and illustrated this.

It has strengthened my analysis to identify some basic tensions which underlie many of the others at play in these social fields. The self/other divide is at the core of care practices, shaping understandings of empathy as well as emotional management.

This also iterates as a tension between giving/receiving, or in this context, caring for others versus caring for the self. Freudenberger, conceptualising burnout in 1974, based his ideas around the "tension of giving" (in Friberg 2009, p543). While burnout emerged as just one of many, historically specific interpretive frameworks for emotional distress in the life-worlds of these particular communities of faith-based youth workers, Freudenberg's words still resonate with significance for how the 'cost of care' might be conceptualised more broadly by the non-profit worker. Beliefs about the nature of human experience, often arrange themselves (particularly in the Christian faith) around joy and sorrow, forming vernacular theologies that must explain both suffering and healing. Davies also communicates another aspect of tension inherent in youth work, which is related to the complex and sometimes convoluted organisational structures it functions within. He describes youth workers as often finding themselves "standing in the gap" between different educational paradigms, generations, and cultures (2012, p148). He describes the care labour of youth workers as mediating between "the hopes of adults and the aspirations of the young", observing that this can cause anxiety, tension, and moral panic (p 148).

From an academic perspective also there are tensions inherent in almost every aspect of the social world and social processes. Much of the literature I have engaged with broadly supports this. It suggests the self is polysemous (Lawler 2008), complex and multifaceted rather than monadic (Mishler 2004). The moral self is unstable (Allahyari 2000). Identity is unstable (Hammack 2008), and overdetermined (Tracy 2000). The processes of performativity through which identity is constituted also involve danger and risk. Wellbeing is understood using several parallel layers of meaning at once, which can create irony, ambivalence or ambiguity (Kirmayer 2004), and the body is made sense of using multiple interpretive paradigms (Synnott 1992). Furthermore, evangelical Christianity is built around layers of coexisting conflicting meaning and paradox (Elisha 2008).

The relationship between the particular and the universal is one of the most persistent questions in human life (Jackson 1998). In the field of anthropology it distils itself into a "cluster" of questions: "how do local and global worlds intersect, how can ethnographic studies of single societies enable us to say something about the *human* condition, and how is the *lived* experience of individuals connected to the *virtual* realities of tradition, history, culture, and the biology of the species that outrun the life

of any one person" (Jackson 1998, p2-3). My study speaks to some of these questions. I begin with reference to Arthur Kleinman's work on the moral (1999, 2006, 2012), which intersects both with his work on care and on illness. This sets the scene, by outlining what is at stake, for the Christian leaders who are navigating these difficult topics and tensions as part of the 'moral project' of youth work. Identity, and the ethical work of subject formation, is discussed around this, and the concept of the 'good' opens out around the moral, to provide a strong theoretical framework through which to examine the dually local/global, and transcendent/embedded nature of morality and meaning in these two communities. Since wellbeing and care are at the heart of human experience, this chapter and this thesis speaks to it without needing to generalise or universalise the experiences of the youth workers in the communities I have studied, which I present as two locally-embedded ways of understanding and managing wellbeing as a (caring, moral) human being in the world. This is in line with Howell's argument that the Christian positionality, whilst "rooted in these shared historical, locational and theological commitments" should not be reducible to "worldview", or a singular discourse or even a singular practice, but that it importantly has the quality of 'dynamic relation' within communities (2007, p383). Part of the fluidity he intends to convey is specifically around the dynamic relationship between the local and global, the transcendent and mundane, in the life worlds of faith-based youth workers. The biblical edict of being 'in Christ' is always set against the rootedness of identities and practices as being 'in Kampala' or 'in Canterbury.' Margaret Mead said that "it is as social beings that we are moral beings" (1934/1962, p385, cited in Allahyari 2000).

What emerges from my research as I have engaged with these and various other social theorists throughout this thesis is a comprehension of the social world as immensely complex. The meanings I observed in each community around care, self-care, and wellbeing are at once overdetermined and fluid. There were many discourses competing to construct the self according to particular subjectivities, and this creates tension and ambiguity, as well as creating space for agency to be exercised and new meanings and identities to be created, which I will now discuss. The process that youth workers undertake to manage discursive tension in this way is active, it is creative, it is strategic, and it is sophisticated. It is storied and it is embodied. It is both individual, and an expression of community resilience. The relationship between structure and agency also undergirds many of the most significant debates within the social science. It

is to this I shall turn towards the ends of the chapter, presenting an original analogy which considers the relationship between these in the lived worlds of the faith-based youth worker.


## Moral Worlds

Throughout this thesis I have argued that the faith-based youth workers in MOTEM and CYS do not simply do a job, rather they take on a subjectivity. The moral aspect of this is the way they go to great lengths not only to be (perform, enact, embody) a Christian, but a 'good' Christian; not only a leader, but a 'good' leader. The 'good' person has emerged as an important framework against which the everyday practices and meanings of youth work can be understood. The tacit sensibilities around the definition of 'good' for each are very locally specific. Foucault acknowledges that it is community membership which shapes the aspirations to become a good person (1986). As Bradford explains (and as I cited earlier) while the 'good' is embodied in the character and identity of the youth leader, it is "defined socially and according to specific interests and perspectives" (2007, p306). It is 'moral' in the sense that Arthur Kleinman's recent work has drawn out, of relating to "what matters most" or "what is at stake" (2006). This could be status, jobs, money, family ties, sexual intimacy, sense of order and self-control, health, life itself, religious commitments, political arrangements and "all sorts of culturally and personally specific agendas" (2006, p5-6). Kleinman evokes a sense of risk and danger, a "powerful, enervating anxiety" which emerged from the limit of our control over ourselves and our "small worlds", in which these things can easily be lost (2012, p6). Allahyari (2000), who also deals with the topic of 'moral selving' (the creation of the moral self) as I have, under the idea of moral labour and around the topics of emotional management, spiritual disciplines, and self-care, among others, argues that the moral self is inherently unstable. Many of the vignettes and interview excepts I have given as examples throughout this thesis show the youth workers expressing to various extents their anxiety around perceived losses and failures around the things that matter most, and their constant efforts to reinforce and reconstruct this unstable moral self.

In Darren's story in Chapter 4, for example, he spent considerable time speaking about, reflecting on, and justifying a situation that had concerned him, where he felt

'depressed' and 'pointless' after meeting with a young person. How was this related to the moral? Darren felt some of his deeply held values and emotions were being threatened, or risked being lost (Kleinman 2006, p18). His deep values of selflessness were under threat… as well as his cherished identity as being as caring (care-giving, care-feeling) person. The absent (or 'lost') emotion of caring had been prescribed as essential for the 'good' leader through these and other organisational discourses. His pain and uncertainty around his own actions and emotions in that situation were therefore understandable in context of the wider socially-prescribed meanings of those emotions. A comparable example from MOTEM was when Mama Suzan's expressed her frustration over a time when she was unable to provide the money for all of her youth members (or 'daughters') to have uniforms and transport to attend the church's youth band performances. Her distress in relating the tale was not an echo of her distress as that situation unfolded at the time, but reflected the moral nature of the social field, and the way it implicated things that matter most to the youth workers, such as their self- and relational-identity. In this case her identity as 'empowered' born-again, and as a caring 'parent' was threatened by her inability to provide for her members, and her distress was both a reaction to this threat and a mediating response to it, which showed her conformity to the ideal, and in emotion if not action, her 'care'. "The practice of morality through feelings and actions lodges experience in institutional contexts" (Allahyari 2000, p208). In both these examples the emotions and actions of these youth leaders reflected their embeddedness in organisational discourses about emotion, care, and the cost of care, but also in locally-specific modes of caring.

### A duality of worlds

The moral defines what it means to be human and yet the moral is always local (Kleinman 2006, p1-2). Despite shared human conditions, that which is at stake is also always "elaborated by the particularities of local life worlds and individuals" (Kleinman 1995, p273). When I sat at the big desk in the MOTEM office, a Ugandan flag sat to my right, under the smiling photo of President Museveni in the gilt-edged frame. To my left sat a large leather-bound bible, next to a little bookshelf filled with Christian teaching books written mostly by well-known Western preachers and theologians. As a world religion, there is a well-established tension in Christianity between the mundane and the transcendental (Robbins 2003). Furthermore Howell's work with Filipino Baptists

identifies that they often "negotiate the tension between the mundane and the transcendental as also a struggle to find a productive relationship between the local and the global" (cited in Robbins 2003, p196). Indeed in my field sites, although perhaps most identifiably in Kampala, youth workers negotiated their relationship with the globalising forces of western modernity in and through their relationship with global forms of Christian belief and practice, including new 'western' theological teachings, such as the prosperity gospel.



**Figure 62. Items sitting atop the MOTEM office desk: Bible, books, Ugandan flag. Credit: Susan Wardell.**

Both of my sites were 'peripheral'[82] (geographically, and arguably also culturally) to the 'global' homeland of modern Christianity, in Europe. So whilst the CYS and MOTEM communities shared a considerable amount of symbolic terrain – language, narrative, value and identities – because of their shared participation in this global moral community, this was always held alongside, and articulated through the local. The field of theology has argued around both cultural foundationalism, and the fundamentalism of culture to theology, and in a chapter called 'Christ and Context Down Under' Pearson argued there has been a tendency to search for a 'pure', stripped down version

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[82] Although Darragh (cited in Pearson 2000) argues that *Pākehā* theology is based around an idea of continuity with the past, through historical Christianity carried in "flesh and bones, in our DNA" (p308).

of Christianity (2000). However in both CYS and MOTEM I observed a pragmatic rather than purist approach to this debate; while scripture itself was seen as transcendent and universal, its interpretation and presentation (e.g. in books or sermons) was acknowledged to reflect the surrounding culture. For example in CYS, while many guest speakers at events and three out of four of the main recommended books[83] for CYS leaders come from overseas (the USA and the UK and Australia particularly), Mike nevertheless spoke about having to search out and screen which international speakers were the best "fit" for "the CYS crowd." In MOTEM I myself blundered through a number of failed sermons and presentations while participating in youth work there, with Stephen having to guide me as to what would be appropriate and effective locally. Singed painfully into my memory is the moment he interrupted me midway through a sermon on the Armour of God to a large church in a slum area, to remind me that my assertion that the "shoes of peace" were essential to any "journey" of faith might not make sense to a congregation who did not all own shoes.

As intimate and relational work done in community settings, faith-based youth work crucially relies upon fostering a thick network of connections of trust and care. It requires not only an understanding of local concerns, but a sharing or participating in the intimacies – the pains and the joys, the earthquakes and the poverty and the politics and the parties – of local life worlds. In Kampala, leaders "share in" their communities, even as they aim to act distinctively to show that they "belong to Jesus". In Chapter 2, I also discussed the way the born again identity (in the Kampala site) focuses on the introduction of the individual into a new moral community, in which rituals and language are used to build a collective moral imagination distinct from 'tainted' local ones. This builds on the scriptural command to "be in the world, but not of it" (John 17, 14-15). Yet clearly the MOTEM leaders still engage with local worlds as patriotic Ugandan nationalists (as the office décor shows), and often also in the traditional ceremonies of their particular ethnic groups, such as the elaborate marriage introduction ceremony we accompanied Stephen to at his bride-to-be's home in Mbarara[84]. Similarly in the Canterbury community, youth leaders form connections with "my people, my place" which have strengthened even further by the framing of the earthquake response

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[83] Purpose Driven Youth Ministry: Doug Fields (1998) USA, Your first two years in youth ministry: Doug Fields (2002) USA, Disciples who will last: Tim Hawkins (2007) Australia, Life : The Missing Dimension in Discipleship: Murray Brown (2008), New Zealand.
[84] A town and region in the far west of Uganda

around 'community spirit' and a strengthened, resilient regional identity. They perform care labours as 'Cantabrians' that are nonetheless shaped by the notion that they are also "an ambassador of heaven." Jay Gerald spoke of living the day to day in "the tension of heaven and earth, sort of mingling." Roxborogh writes, "Evangelicals in New Zealand, as elsewhere, experience a tension between being loyal citizens and being at odds with contemporary culture" (Roxborogh 2000, p323). The idea of these "two kingdoms" – the earthy kingdom and the kingdom of heaven - is at the centre of Christian theology (Gusman 2013, p279). In both cases the youth leaders remain members of two moral communities; the local world of community, ethnic and nationalistic allegiances and concerns and care needs, and the transcendental moral community of the Christian faith[85]. While they may aim to personally diverge from living out all (directly conflicting) aspects of the local 'culture' (e.g. heavy drinking, casual sex, swearing), it is not possible for them to not be, in some ways 'in' the places, the cultures, the moral communities in which they work. This speaks to why even though both communities are rooted in the transcendental, globally shared 'ethics' of the Christian faith, they have quite different understandings of what it means to be a 'good' youth worker, and quite different ways of embodying it too.

## Moments of distress as moral opportunities

Their dual moral citizenship is part of what makes the moral terrain of the faith-based youth worker so fraught. They have to creatively negotiate - and in many cases interweave – meanings, values, narratives, symbolic resources and moral prescriptions around the work they do from global shared Christian beliefs, and also from local systems of meaning and value. Where do illness, suffering, and the cost of care fit into this image of the fraught moral world? Frank (1998) calls illness, suffering or crisis a "moral occasion". They represent specific problems –and opportunities – in the management of what is at stake in moral worlds. 'What is at stake' for Christian youth leaders encompasses many of the things which Kleinman mentioned. There is their identity, both personal and professional. There is their legitimacy and authority in roles with certain amounts of respect, prestige, and some amount of power (even though they

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[85] As also discussed in a paper presented at the 2014 AAS/ASAANZ Conference, Queenstown, entitled *Comparing global consciousness in Christianity across two communities - Kampala and Christchurch: a study in vernacular cosmopolitanism* (Wardell 2014)

often function as 'servant' leaders). There are their relationships within the community, working as they do closely embedded into that particular community, focussing on forming and maintaining thick webs of relational networks. In these vocational communities work necessarily and intentionally overspills boundaries so that they "do life together" with those they work with and often all of their key relational ties are interwoven within the youth work community.  There is also their health and well-being, placed on the line as they engage in work acknowledged to be demanding and costly to psychological, emotional, and even physical wellbeing. As much as anything, their access to care and support for themselves in moments of illness hinges on their successful 'use' of it as a moral occasion, to construct a culturally 'correct' sense of self and meaning from the idiosyncratic circumstances.

In the previous chapter I have given some examples of the way that illness can be turned into a narrative asset. Yet most often they are first experienced as part of the outer edges, the dark corners, of the social world: as chaos (Frank 1995, p98). They come as schisms in the path, around which new paths must then be forged. When both their health and identity is at stake, youth workers are simultaneously quite vulnerable and intensely motivated to draw on every personal and cultural resource to navigate this rocky terrain. Mental distress and disorder, whether clinically defined or experienced as existential or emotional suffering, interrupts, challenges, and clears space where individuals must encounter new discourses and can creatively use these to redefine themselves as well. They form significant nodes in the constant, ongoing constructive/productive process of subject-formation.

Arthur Frank provides a useful way of understanding this, describing the way illness becomes a further moment in the dialogue of care given and received, through which the self is actively negotiated (1998, p342). He writes that one of the ways in which the moral occasion of illness can be realised, is through storytelling. If illness represents a tear in the social fabric – highlighting tensions, contradictions and ambiguities in meanings around care, self-care, selfhood and wellbeing - then narrative can be part of the sewing together of any emergent risks, sometimes into an entirely new garment altogether. Narratives can ease the pain of internal cognitive dissonance, which emotional labour can often cause (Hochschild 1983), they can assuage guilt (Burke 1945, and as we have seen in Darren's story) and they can reconcile what may first appear to be incommensurable systems of meanings into a single cohesive,

biographically articulated, lived and embodied story. In making sense of their experience they also make sense of themselves, and in doing so, in implicating their bodies, souls, thoughts, conducts and ways of being in this (Foucault 1997, p225), they "fabricate" themselves as a particular kind of ethical subject (Frank 1998). Given the number of sometimes conflicting subjectivities (neoliberal, Christian, professional, volunteer) they are trying to perform at once, faith-based youth workers make some magnificently clever and effective ideological manoeuvres in order to protect and preserve what is at stake.

## Tension: Theorised, lived, contextualised

As a controlled, concomitant comparative study (Rohner 1977) it was expected that there would be some similarities in social meanings around care and wellbeing, between my two field sites, since they shared a faith and a vocation. This proved to be true. Canterbury Youth Services and Moment of Truth share, for example a familial construction of care relations. They shared a strong investment of youth workers into their ministerial/professional identities; that is, a tendency to form vocational identities into part of the 'cherished' self. Both communities shared an underlying tripartite model of self, and each variously utilised the vessel and channel metaphor of the self, around care and wellbeing as well as to explain the movement of spiritual forces. The ideas of depletion and refreshment, burdens and lifting, are common to both, drawn from a shared Christian symbolic field, although receiving different weight and emphasis in each. With this strong shared basis, the many differences in the social meaning of care and wellbeing between these two places have also come through clearly: again, as is to be expected since each community is set in a very different context, with its own unique political and economic situation, its own distinct historical trajectory. What is most significant to note now is that while both sites were criss-crossed with ambiguity and tension, in each place this tension took different shapes and forms and had different sources, leading to different subjectivities. In Chapter 2, I presented, contrasted, and contextualised the different ideas of the 'good' youth worker in each of the two communities I worked with. I will now revisit those in order to highlight the situated nature of the tensions that emerge from creative engagement with multiple locally-specific discourses in each site. I outline them, of course, not as actual characteristics but as Weberian ideal types of care (Fitzgerald 2004).

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## *Tensions in MOTEM*

In Kampala, the good Christian youth leader is morally upright, chaste, in-control, clean-living, and an example to all. They are going places in the world; socially empowered as well as spiritually empowered. They have big dreams, big plans, and big prayers, and are bold in speaking them. They are a leader people want to follow, they inspire and motivate. They are also scrupulously honest, upright, of strong character; their zeal and vision is for God's kingdom, not for their own advancement, having overcome their selfish desires to pursue God instead. They remain humble. They are great speakers and communicators, drenched in scripture and liberal with its dispensation in conversation and sermon. They give all of themselves to fill the (physical *and* spiritual) needs of the young people in their care, keeping nothing back.

Ascetic Christian traditions fostered simplicity and self-denial, which also answered local concerns of corruption and greed among leadership. Thus they embodied selflessness and a 'kenotic' self-emptying, through both hunger on behalf of others (whom they had shared/given to, even when resources were scarce) and in the use of fasting as a spiritual discipline. However this contrasted with triumphalist and prosperity teaching, which fitted more with the aspirations of modernity, forms another point of tension and stress around the having-and-not-having, the attitudes towards and the distribution of, economic resources. The born-again identity hinges around a break with the past; around purity and morality, set against the backdrop of several decades of AIDS initiatives (Christiansen 2011, Gusman 2013) and several more as an 'object' of development (and prior to that, colonial domination) for the western world and its ideologies of modernity and progress. This idealised subjectivity drew from a local aesthetic of empowerment, linking the idea of spiritual empowerment with that of social success. Furthermore the exemplary leader on a pedestal as 'solution-giver' was governed by strict rules about not allowing their personal emotions and struggles to be visible to those they led. However although the moral stakes were high, suffering could be presented as part of God's 'testing' and refinement, which further affirmed them as righteous servants of God, if handled correctly. Dysphoric experiences were therefore performed emphatically, but never presented under the frame of 'mental illness' since that was linked to disempowerment and contamination and would thus contradict many of the core features of their subjectivity.

*Tensions in CYS*

In Canterbury the good Christian youth leader is casual and approachable; warm, friendly, funny, not too serious… except when they need to be. They are committed for the long haul; they have found the deeper value in this relational work and put aside other opportunities for it. They are a leader people *want* to spend time with, and cannot help but open up to. They are energetic, fun and relatable, but also great at discerning what's going on at deeper levels in people's hearts. They are balanced, stable and self-aware about their own heart, knowing how to use their own God-given skills for the tasks He calls them to, taking great pains to understand and maximise their particular strengths and weaknesses in order to better do so.  They are radically committed to being there for the young people in their charge, never failing to connect and to care.

Professionalism shapes the 'good' leader as self-aware, and emotionally stable. In their practice they maintain clear boundaries between their private and work lives, and safe emotional distance between themselves and those they lead. Volunteerism and a Christian care ethic is about selflessness and self-sacrifice, which hold back no part of one's own life that could benefit the other, and may utilise personal emotional sharing to forge intimate relational connections of care. Clearly there are points of tension and contradiction in ideas that shape the methods of emotional management and emotional labour that youth workers undertake, creating quite conflicting sets of expectations about 'good' practice. This tension occurs particularly around the self/other divide that is constantly contentious in people work. The tensions between intimate and open relationships, and boundaries and distance in their care work, reflects a broader tension in the field of youth work in western societies including across Australasia, where professional values conflict with volunteerism ideals (Bradford 2007, Barwick 2006, Bessant 2004, Goodwin 1991, Sercombe 2004). Davies in particular sees incompatible value systems between the managerialist tendencies of contemporary, secular youth work and the less formally structured, community-based Christian youth work (2012).

## The effect of tension

My thesis has shown that the cost of taking up these caring roles is not always found directly in the interpersonal caring encounters, as some clinical psychological literature on compassion fatigue suggests, or as a gap between needs and abilities, as the

framework of moral distress suggests, although these aspects were present. It also occurs because of the complexly socially prescribed nature of these caring identities and practices that youth workers must try to navigate. The competing, conflicting or ambiguous discourses around what care is, what wellbeing is, and how to manage both well, can become an internalised tension as youth workers strive to embody and perform different subjectivities. In positing this I drew from but reframed emotional labour theory (in Chapters 3 and 4), since this also suggests that psychological distress emerges from an internalised dissonance. However I have contested the idea that this dissonance is between 'real' and 'fake' emotions, suggesting instead it must be viewed as a disjunct between two different conflicting emotions (and selves) each constituted by a different, conflicting discourse. I had to note, of course, that psychological conflict is part of a psychodynamic theory of affliction which belongs to its own particular set of sociohistorical circumstances that can be examined through a Foucauldian genealogy of the concept of a stratified self, and of emotions in a hydraulic model. I chose, however, to formulate a theory that described what I observed in my field sites around not emotional conflict, but discursive conflict. In this I aimed to capture the distress I observed in the faith-based youth workers of MOTEM and CYS when they were unable to fulfil both of two competing or conflicting discourses that were both at play in the social field, which as I have already discussed, is multiple and complex. As a moral project, there are high stakes to this process, and hence the sense of stress and emotional 'wear' that often appears even in the normal course of this process, and hence also the gravity with which genuine threats or failures to the project (including, at times, mental illness or distress) were viewed.

### Weaving together discursive threads

Ultimately there many layers of tension which read over and into one another, creating complex webs within which both power and agency are expressed. The word 'context' originates from the Latin term *contexere,* which means to "braid" or "weave" or "connect" (Pearson 2000, p299). Accordingly, I wish to emphasise how youth workers actively, creatively, strategically 'weave' different discourses, to manage tensions, and even create new discursive spaces in which to live… and the way this occurs, always, in specific, embedded social contexts. The job of understanding the Christian youth workers' identity "in context" is not around peeling apart which

elements of identity or practice stem from which 'world' (the transcendent Christian, or the embedded local), but rather recognising that these two aspects are inextricably interwoven. In this thesis I have offered a brief genealogy of some discourses (such as professionalism, or self-sacrifice) that identify them specifically as part of either national/local *or* global Christian ideological roots. The task is not to separate out discourses as abstract ideological threads, but to read them in, amongst, and through the social fabric of everyday life worlds, where they inevitably interact with other discourses as well. Furthermore in actuality these 'separate' discourses do not exist as awkward pluralities but rather as part of one interwoven (though not perfectly cohesive) whole life world. This is the 'mingling', as Jay put it, of heaven and earth, but also of professionalism and volunteerism, of neoliberalism and Christian care ethic, of modernity and tradition, of empowerment and servant leadership, of prosperity teachings and ascetic self-sacrifice, of biomedicine, faith healing and indigenous healing beliefs, and so on and so forth, within each community.

Individuals are actively involved in inter-mingling (weaving, braiding, connecting) different threads of ideas, values, and discourses in order to navigate competing aspects of the various subjectivities they are hailed towards. What I initially often perceived as contradictions and inconsistencies in the words of my participants in fact often turned out to be examples of these practices. Recall from Canterbury, Verity's story about the case of child abuse she witnessed (Chapter 4). Through her performance of this story she juggled competing ideas of empathetic engagement, emotional boundaries, and the emotional performance/experience of care, self disclosure, and professional distance. Darren also was careful in his story to relate all his measures of self-care, and illustrate his own self-awareness, even whilst proclaiming an ethos of "giving everything" that he believed should govern Christian ministry. Annette and Simon described poignantly the strain of the work on their lives, but also used their descriptions of burnout to present a good subjectivity as busy, hard-working, committed youth leaders. Similarly in Kampala, Stephen secretly slept on the floor of the MOTEM offices, went hungry as he gave away food, and planned large events without the budgetary backup, whilst expectantly praying for and preaching both spiritual and financial blessings. When Mama Suzan spoke about her lack of finances, she emphasised her pain at the seeming impossibility of having to pick and choose to deny some of her 'daughters' the opportunity, and her attempts to prayerfully, faithfully trust

in God's provision. In doing so she enacted the Kampala specific discourse of the 'good' youth leader as a loving parent who assumed her own responsibility to provide when they couldn't manage it themselves, and also the biblical image of the impoverished apostle of God humbly awaiting his provision, which countered her admitted failure to embody the socially (and thus financially) 'empowered' aspects of the good 'born-again' Christian in Uganda. Also evident is her embodiment of the egalitarian leader, countering Ugandan concerns about power and corruption.

These examples showcase the careful, creative process the youth workers engage in, in trying to uphold all those variant aspects of the 'good' leader  at once; creating a cohesive identity that served to protect their sense of self, their authority and legitimacy, their relationships, the tenets of their faith, and so on. Studying Christian youth work comparatively, in  two specific 'contexts' is most certainly, therefore, about understanding the ways narrative, language, and embodied ritual are used to weave these together to create the syncretic and fluid social spaces in which they then live. I have shown some of the specifics as to how this occurs in each community I have studied, by highlighting (and tracing back to sociohistorical 'sources') some of the threads of meaning in each place. My final emphasis now is on how these are interwoven.


## The Negotiation of Tension: Active, Storied, Embodied

How then do people embody or shape themselves around multiple competing or conflicting notions of the 'good' youth leader? It is not a mere matter of ideological conflict 'out there', but of lived, embodied tension between different idealised identities, different ways of thinking, feeling, and caring, different ways of suffering, of communicating distress, of being ill and of being well. In this following section I want to explore some of the particular creative ways the Christian youth workers in my two field sites negotiated discursive complexities. Some of these were identified (and even taught) emically, others are my etic reading of what was going on in their narrative acts and embodied practice. They included; balance, pluralism and performance, embracing paradox, seeking touch-points and similarity, and redefining categories and relationships.  Many of these have already been evident in the data expounded over the previous chapters, but I will pull them out one by one. Some are more applicable to one

community versus the other, in which case I will discuss and specify some of the reasons for this also.

### *Balance and beyond*

Balance is a notion which shapes much of the visceral sense of care and self-care for youth workers in Canterbury. It is both built around and responds to an enervating sensation of performing a 'delicate balancing act', drawing to mind imagery of tight-rope walkers. It illustrates just the sense of risk, danger, and anxiety that Kleinman has formulated around the 'moral.' References to 'balance' in relation to the wellbeing of Christian ministers and carers are pervasive and yet not universal (Schaefer & Jacobson 2009, Christopherson 1994). Indeed they represent a (culturally) specific response to competing demands for personal resources and attention, and while they were mentioned sometimes by MOTEM members, they were much more common among the CYS leaders where the term saturates discussion of health, wellbeing, and 'good' professional practice. 'Healthy' and 'balanced' were near enough to interchangeable concepts within this community, indicating the essential place of 'balance' in the theories of affliction that underscores their healing system. The concept is explicitly used (as per Jay's quote, p224) to talk about a mediated middle ground between "going hard" because of one's passion and calling, and being mentally and emotionally healthy, which are often painted as competing demands. Balance is lived out in the way resources are managed, including time, energy and emotional resources. This closely ties to the idea of boundaries as that which can help enforce balance, figuratively stemming the inappropriate flow of resources in one direction or another. In narrative the deliberate emphasis of (self-care, family and leisure) activities outside of youth work can be read as a performance of this too.

In Chapter 4 I discussed the way the idea of 'balance' articulates with the models of the self as vessel and as tripartite, to create an embodied sense of homeostatic form of balance between spheres of self that each need constant attention and maintenance to maintain 'levels'. This is only one of the many types of balance, as I have already mentioned in Chapter 5. In situations where it is not only two dyadic meanings to be considered, but multiple discourses criss-crossing without rest, it is indeed active work that individuals in such fields must engage in, to stay afloat. Struggle, rather than compromise, is required. In such situations, adopting an aesthetic

of balance as equilibrium or 'middle ground' is often an insufficient or even problematic response. Darren's explanation of his discomfort with the term did a good job of expressing this.

> My cynicism around balance, the notion of balance, is that when you can't really have everything, be everything… I'm not talking about keeping healthy, exercising: [then] you want to maintain balance, with work and life and everything. But I think in some ways Christians should be UN-balanced towards, towards following, you know, Jesus. […] I like some of the notions of the radical mission of discipleship. I'm like 'give everything you've got'. But you see that work out badly for lots of people.

Balance emerges as an effective strategic response to some tensions, but not others, since in some cases (when you cannot "have everything, be everything") adopting a middle ground between two subjectivities or value systems enables a complete fulfilment of neither. This is because for many of what are constructed as oppositional dyads, each side reflects a crucial aspect of the multifaceted, locally-articulated identity of the 'good' leader, and thus cannot be easily metered, diluted, or adopted in partiality, without risking the entirety of that identity. In MOTEM, for example, you cannot be a little bit humble, and nor is it acceptable to only be a little bold and empowered. In Canterbury being a little bit self-aware and a little bit discerning about others would not suffice, either. Furthermore in the ultimate tension between caring for others and caring for the self, it is not acceptable to just be 'a bit' caring, and do 'a bit' of self-care. Rather than performing and embodying each in a balanced half/half manner, youth workers must instead find creative alternatives to somehow being both/and; to have their cake and eat it too. While balance may be an acceptable way to discuss the division of time between ministry and home, the actual relationship between the underlying subjectivities or values is often more complex than a zero sum equation. The two youth work communities I studied resolved the tension between caring for others and caring for self in different ways, both including some methods that are akin to the revelatory strategy of much scriptural paradox.

### *Paradox, and a different kind of truth*

In many ways paradox sits at the centre of Christian theology. As I have noted, Elisha (2008) emphasised (and problematized) the existence of paradox and conflict in evangelical beliefs. I shall conversely show the utility of the unique logic of paradox in redefining the relationship of one thing to another, as a sophisticated discursive tragedy for *resolving* rather than creating tensions. Paradox is generally approached by theologians and Christian apologists as something to be debated and unravelled lest it prove "epistemologically fatal" for the faith (Baugus 2013, p239). Secondarily, paradox is understood as a "particular kind of revealed mystery" that plays a significant, constructive role in human experience, and particularly in the relationship of faith between the human mind and divine truth (*ibid,* p249). In this line of thought, paradox, rather than being a troubling fissure in the faith landscape, is a vein in the rock of mundane reality from which a different, higher kind of spiritual truth can be mined.

Within the gospel, Jesus' teachings are often quite obviously paradoxical. In the sermon on the mount Jesus gives a set of declarations through which the faithful must understand that they will find happiness through weeping and mourning, and become rich through poverty (Matthew 5:3-7). Christians learn here and elsewhere that Christian leadership is 'servant' leadership, characterised by 'following' and humility (Matthew 4:19), and that the least will ultimately be the greatest (Matthew 20:25-28). New Testament author Paul also unfolds many of his teachings on the Christian life by way of the paradoxical nature of spiritual truths; victory comes through surrender (Matthew 19:16-22, Romans 12:1-2), and believers must lose their soul in order to gain it, and die in order to live (Matthew 16:24-26; Romans 6:3-4; Galatians 2:20). Such lessons are taught as having been embodied in the life and person of Christ (whom Christians are called to emulate), His ministry, death and resurrection for the salvation of the world. In fact the "ultimate paradox" of Christianity (according to Kierkegaard) is the embodied nature of Christ himself. Christology suggests that in the person of Jesus the omniscience, power and divinity of God himself suddenly coexisted (fully divine, fully human) within human flesh and human nature. This connects intimately with the some of the tensions and paradoxes the youth workers engage with as part of their daily practice of care labour too, including self/other, death/life, and giving/receiving, suffering/joy. John R.W. Stott (1959, p117) writes:

The astonishing paradox of Christ's teaching and of Christian experience is this: if we lose ourselves in following Christ, we actually find ourselves. True self-denial is self-discovery. To live for ourselves is insanity and suicide; to live for God and for man is wisdom and life indeed. We do not begin to find ourselves until we have become willing to lose ourselves in the service of Christ and of our fellows.

As this example shows of the relationship between such apparently oppositional ideas, through paradox it is as if what was once drawn as a line from one side of a page to another, but then was turned into a circle by picking up the paper and rolling it, creating a cyclical rather than linear relationship between the two 'opposite' ends of the line. This is perhaps equivalent too, to the Möbius strip – a closed curve, with only one side. There are specific examples of this kind of altered paradoxical relationship in the way apparently contradictory values or identities are negotiated in both of my field sites. For instance in Canterbury, the instrumentalisation of the self has reformulated the oppositional (often understood as 'zero sum') relationship between the needs of others and the needs of self, as it enables self-care to be seen as being done *for the purpose of* caring for others more effectively. This it is reframed from being oppositional to complementary, enabling the selfless caring identity to be protected in fullness, even while self-care is enacted (thus fulfilling other professional discourses as well). Christiansen observes a similar pattern in her analysis of the theological underpining of Christianity in Uganda. She writes (2011, p51) that:

Ugandan Charismatic Christians seek a reciprocal relationship with God, a relationship in which the individual through thoughts and actions can invoke God's grace, and through the Almighty's power feel assured about his or her own wellbeing.

Accordingly in MOTEM, the channel metaphor provides an alternative creative way of reframing this problematic relationship, by representing it as more cyclical than oppositional, as Chapter 5 has discussed extensively. Thereby giving is not opposite to receiving, but is the process through which one does receive (from God), thereby enabling them to both 'feed the self' and become individually spiritually empowered (an important discourse) whilst simultaneously giving and serving others selflessly (another important discourse).

Catholic Christians feature the corporeal horror of Christ's suffering on the cross, present on their crucifixes and artistic depictions of Calvary. Protestant images tend to show a cross standing empty, often touted in sermon as emphasising that he is gone, conquered the shame and pain of the cross and risen into glory. Baab (2012) phrased it, Christians must live "both sides of the cross"; brokenness (of the yet unredeemed world, of our physical bodies, of our sinful selves) and victory (over decay, death, and sin). Joy and sorrow. Death and Life. It is such an idea of the dialectic truth *between* death and life, between suffering and joy, which I observed in the MOTEM community. In Canterbury, emotional consistency and mediating the extremity of suffering was emphasised more, while in Kampala the duality of Christian theology around suffering and wellbeing was more evident as an internal quality of narratives, acknowledged to coexist in its extremity as part of the daily practice of youth work. Strength, joy, and eudemonia along with frustration or despair were expressed with sometimes paradoxical links or causal links (e.g. suffering can lead to greater character and therefore more strength and joy in the lord) and sometimes simply teleological links between these two different states of being. This reflects an internal tension of Christian theology, handled in different ways in each community. In Kampala it was particularly notable as being strategically reconciled within individual experience by selective performance, through which the emotion or experience was also made sense of as part of a number of performatively constituted, acceptable subjectivities (e.g. the suffering 'martyr' who has selflessly given all to God and others, or the joyous 'conqueror') in the telling. This is a process through which meaning is co-produced with the audience and meaning determined intersubjectively, which further assists in the variety of different subjectivities available, and is context dependent. Fasting was also a representation of a paradoxical form of sense-making around what is perceived (in MOTEM, not in CYS) as a 'tension' or even 'battle' between body and spirit. It can be seen as a see-saw, but I argue a sense of paradox also applies here; physical emptying leads to spiritual filling, greater spiritual strength is gained through an experience of physical weakness, and so on as I have discussed in Chapter 3. Paradox reframes an 'either/or' relationship to one of 'in/through', drawing on a different kind of almost poetical truth. For example, it is not receiving or giving, but receiving *through* giving, and someone is not either selfish or selfish, but selfish (receiving strength, power, comfort for themselves) *in* their selflessness (preaching and ministering strength, power,

comfort to others). It thus forms an effective response to a number of the tensions I have outlined.

## *Re-categorising and language*

Strongly evident in the text of our interviews, the care with which CYS leaders tried out, revoked, and redefined the terms with which they described their own experiences of either high or low wellbeing pointed to the importance of language in defining the moral character of the illness experience. This is indicative of another key strategy for managing discursive tension, which might perhaps be formally summarised as 'taxonomical redefinition' or 're-categorising.' An example is the differentiation of 'pain' and 'stupid pain' in the CYS community (see previous chapter). Faced with having to negotiate the importance of pain as a performance of the cost of selfless care (very useful for the 'good' CYS leader), and the problem of pain as evidence for lack of professional self-care, self-awareness or self-stability (problematic for the 'good' CYS leader), this emerged as a way to redefine the boundaries, creating new and different moral boundaries within older categories. This reframed the problem of suffering versus self-care, sanctioned some types of pain and simultaneously protected both sets of values and their associated subjectivities.

The converse process however is also apparent; one of equating or linking what may initially appear as two incommensurable systems of meaning, through seeking out touch points between them. It is a process of cultural translation, and thus these links or touch points are often forged through the repurposed use of shared or similar terminology. This was of particular prominence in the way youth workers dealt with different systems of knowledge around illness and healing. Both field sites were within complex and pluralistic systems, as most religious modernities are. In Kampala, the Christian identity emphasised a break with the past and with traditions (Christiansen 2011) which made it important for the believers there to openly shun traditional cosmological belief systems involving ancestor veneration, spirit possession, and 'witchcraft'. These beliefs and practices are represented as both sinful and dangerous, yet the remnants of these interpretive schemas echo throughout their language and causal attributions quite clearly, particularly in relation to mental illness. On top of this Uganda has a national biomedical healthcare system, and although in most cases this is highly valued as a key marker of modernity, some aspects (such as medication taking)

run against practices of faith healing and threaten these as important performances of spiritual empowerment for healer and healed alike.

In many of the complex religious modernities of the African region, a diversity of both indigenous and expropriated spiritual practices and beliefs systems form an important aspect of the cultural landscape. This pluralism, Kirmayer writes, can form a "nested series of cognitive schemas involving knowledge about symptoms, illnesses or other models of affliction and broader socio-moral notions of self and personhood" (2004, p192). This might be fruitfully compared to recent literature reframing the medical systems in Africa (Parkin 1995, Hampshire & Owusu 2013, p248), and more broadly, as "latticed" knowledges or practices. Individuals have many competing schemas at their disposal, and the weight given to each model at any particular time is shaped by the social context (Kirmayer 2004), and (I would argue), the particular moral dimensions (i.e. what is at stake, such as professional identities, roles and authority) of the fields they are in. In areas involving an apparent epistemological chasm, participants dealing with multiple systems of meaning not only utilise these pluralistically, but through a creative process of discursive interweaving that provides both strength and flexibility. Papa Edson's statement from the previous chapter is an excellent example of this. Evident in his words was the process I have described whereby three entire healing systems, with points of contradiction and contention between them in causal attribution, categories of distress, and prescriptive packages, are somehow equated through linguistic touch points whereby witchcraft, demon possession, and mental illness are packaged as being different interpretations of the same phenomena.

In New Zealand the biomedical framework is dominant and pervasive. *Māori* health frameworks are also increasingly interwoven into school and professional education, and into public health service policy and provision, but made to fit into or around biomedical perspectives. As the previous chapter has discussed, Christian vernacular theologies of health and illness can differ considerably in their approach to some aspects of health care however, in some ways being closer to *Māori* holistic perspectives on wellbeing, including spiritual, psychological, physical, and relational elements. Youth workers regularly have to engage with and mediate between different organisational bodies with different expectations (Davies 2012) – liaising regularly with secular educational institutions, and both governmental and non-governmental social work and mental health services. What's more some of the young people they work

with are 'church kids' (from families within the faith community), and others are 'community kids' (from outside of it). Because of this, their care labour straddles spiritual and secular spheres, in a situation where spiritual knowledge systems and professional, secular, often-biomedicalised knowledge systems can be at tension. Jay's discussion of mental illness among Christian youth-workers is another example of the process equating and enmeshing meaning systems, which was not only evident in Uganda but also in Christchurch. He linked burnout with bad practice, (by the irresponsible, foolish or 'imbalanced' individual) but also noted that "the enemy" could have been intimately involved in fuelling that process. This is one example of the way causal attributions can be not only plural in this way, but linked, equated, and given new relationships in a creative process by youth leaders navigating these multiple worlds, and multiple systems of healing.

## An (Aerial) Dance of Meaning

Identity work – by which I mean, the management of threats to identity, and the protection of a cherished identity, which I have shown can be done through both moral and emotional labour – has been shown all throughout this thesis to be a crucial part of the way youth workers in both locations protect themselves against some of the costs of caring in their complex and dualistic moral worlds. It is implicated at all levels of the practice, performance, and sense-making around care and self-care. From a post-modern point of view identity is overdetermined: it is a dance of resistance and domination", as Tracy also discusses (2000, p98, 99). The multiple, competing, conflicting discourses around faith-based youth work, rather than locking the leaders into rigid and uniform subjectivities, means there are many different ways they can arrange, rearrange, negotiate and resist organisationally-driven identities. In other words "identity is constantly open and available to be negotiated and renegotiated, defined and redefined (Collinson 1992, p31). Similarly Elliot Mishler (drawing on Bakhtin 1981) suggests that identity is "always dialogic and relational, a complex of partial sub-identities rather than a unitary monad" (1999, p191). He writes that "More a verb than a noun, [identity] reflects an individual's modes of adaptation, appropriation, and resistance to sociocultural plots and roles" (1999, p188). An analogy comes to mind that helps express this interesting relationship between the power inherent in the many discourses over-determining identity for these leaders, and the agency with which they negotiate

these forces. The analogy is one of aerial dancing (or 'aerial silks'); a form of performance utilising hanging banners/ribbons of fabric attached to the ceiling or another high up object. In appearance, these dancers are 'constrained' by the fabric which is tightly wrapped around their bodies or one or more of their limbs. Yet, they are able to move – even dance! – through three dimensions of space with strength and grace. Suspended in the air they are able to dance not only despite their constraints, but by using them to resist gravity and create movement.

Discourse transmits and produces power, which in turn continuously produces and constitutes the self (Foucault, 1978, 1982). Weber illustrated the workings of power on the individual as an iron cage. His views of many of the institutional forces I have described effecting youth workers, are like manacles binding them into a certain way of being, thinking, and feeling. I use my analogy to transform this image using a more Foucauldian understanding of discursive power as not only constraining, but also productive. In this way, we can reimagine the manacles as the silk ties of the aerial dancer. We can re-picture the individual from being a prisoner, or a helpless marionette at the mercy of institutional power, to being an aerial dancer, who is both bound by and liberated by their intimate bodily entanglement with the silks. The properties of the silks thus illustrate the way that "organisational discursivities both provide possibilities for and determine the limits of self-understanding" (Tracy 2000, p98). Throughout this thesis I have referred to subject formation occurring through interpellation in a number of different ways in my field sites. While interpellation appears a straightforward and unidirectional process compared to the 'struggle' and 'dance' of identity which I am describing, in fact in can be contextualised as one moment in this process. There undoubtedly are institutional discursive forces which hail youth workers towards a particular subjectivity, like the tug of a silk thread inviting, insisting, on a particular bodily form. Yet the response of the youth worker, as a dancer, while it often answers this call on body and self, does so as part of a more complex repertoire of movement which at one moment acquiesces to, and at the next pushes against: allowing also for them to respond to multiple pulls in multiple directions through a series of strategic (ideological) manoeuvres.

The expressive act, Langellier says, is a struggle for agency rather than an expression of a "pre-existing, autonomous, fixed, unified or stable self" (Langellier 1999, p129). The aerial dancer has a technically infinite variety of moves available to

them, even within the real constraints constituted by the properties of their silks and the laws of physics. Balance (as compromise or middle-ground), paradox, and re-categorisation can be considered as 'moves' in the repertoire of the moral 'dancers' of the youth work communities in CYS and MOTEM; some preferred in one site to the other, some more suitable to the terrain and audience of one site than another. This is not to claim this as a conclusive list, but merely as those I have identified as most significant to my topics. Furthermore while having some identifiable moves, the repertoire the youth worker performs is responsive and unrehearsed, embedded in the real flow of social life. What is perhaps even more important than the individual moves, are the basic aesthetic principles which govern the dance as a whole. I have drawn regularly on Desjarlais' (1992a, 1992b) concept of 'aesthetics' as tacit sensibilities, or cultural values, throughout this thesis. In overviewing my findings now I assert that it is the aesthetic values I have identified – balance (as equilibrium), self-awareness, energy, movement, empowerment, and so on – which function as the tacit moral codes for many of the (linguistic and bodily) 'actions' of the faith-based youth workers in MOTEM and CYS. They are the guiding principles that pattern the dance of social life, giving them a "specific style, configuration, and felt quality" (Desjarlais 1992a, p65), and they are of course distinctive in each locality.

The subjectivities of the youth leaders in MOTEM and in CYS are also dialogically constructed and relational (Mishler 1999) which is to say they are formed in conversation with these numerous different and sometimes competing discourses coming from different people and institutions in locally specific ways. In this we can draw another point from the analogy of aerial dance. The two or more silks that a single performer might sometime use is akin to the multiplicity of different (discursive, ideological) forces against which they work. I have shown how there are a great deal more than two different discourses shaping the identities, actions, and life worlds of the faith-based youth worker. But like aerial dancers, youth workers in their movement through life worlds, through the very daily actions of their selves– their bodies in care, love and service, their bodies in prayer and worship, their bodies in self-care and healing - they both move through and interweave these multiple forces in creative, resilient, agentive ways (Frank 1998). In doing so they create new spaces, new shapes of the body and self, which respond to and in return shape these in relation to one

another and in relation to the particular audience of the moment. It is from the "spaces between" that identity emerges (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p171).

## Performance and performativity, up in the air

We know that multiple, sometimes competing discourses are at play in the youth work communities, inscribing a variety of different subjectivities, including the professional, volunteer, leader, servant, Christian, modern, as well of course specific gendered identities, and many more. We also know that these are formed and performed dialogically, in conversation with other people. Often in the examples I have presented, different aspects of identity were 'toggled' (toggling perhaps being a 'move' in its own right): they were performed and embodied selectively in a context dependent, audience dependent manner. This thesis has engaged extensively with the idea of 'performativity' which the aerial dance analogy easily lends itself towards again. The analogy falls down, perhaps however, in depicting these as individual activities. Many of the discourses that faith-based youth workers encounter are embodied in other people and in moments of social encounter. Additionally we know that the modalities of embodied social interaction are also fluid and ever-altering, intersubjectivity being "steeped in paradox and ambiguity" (Jackson 1998, p6, 8). 'Performance' is a concept that contains an inherent awareness of context and audience. It acknowledged that much of social action (narrative, speech, ritual) is shaped around the awareness of the presence of other social actors. As leaders, an awareness of audience, a sense of performance, can be overt for the youth workers I studied. This is more explicitly acknowledged in Kampala, where the formalised and bureaucratised structures of leadership, and the awareness of being "seen by" neighbours, significantly shapes their 'exemplary' social lives. However in Canterbury, too, leaders are taught to be 'culture-setters', and furthermore often have multiple points of supervision within their organisations. In both places, the lack of split between public and private time means an amplification of the amount of social action performed, front-stage, for others. Furthermore there is always the ultimate audience of God.

Performativity notes that these actions not only convey, but also create, social meanings and identities. Thus although moments of suffering represent a rupture in social identities, it is often in these embodied experiences, that the dance of identity is most clearly observed. Furthermore suffering as 'illness' is clearly not an individual but

an intersubjective process, through which individuals try to renegotiate identities and through this gain/regain some aspect of control over what is at stake. Opawa Baptist's Youth Pastor Steve, for example, was clear about how dramatically his anxiety disorder changed his sense of self and of his work. In this process of narrating it to me (notably with one of his junior leaders and mentees, Andrew, also in attendance during the interview), he reduced its stigma by linking it both to too many work hours (selfless Christian service), and poor sleep patterns (biomedical) then narrated how it made him think about his motivations and attitudes (self-knowledge/self-awareness) and led to him changing his daily exercise, sleep and rest patterns (self-care). Ricoeur (1984, p.48) also emphasised that narrative identities are not static structures, but the product of an ongoing integrative process (cited in Ezzy 1998, p 247). This is certainly evident in Steve's account, where these different and sometimes conflicting discourses of the 'good' youth worker are carefully drawn on all within the same narrative.

Ricoeur argues that a self-narrative takes on meaning, and an evaluation as "good" or otherwise, through its relationship to the "other who summons the self to responsibility" (in Ezzy 1998, p 247). This brings us back to performance, of a deeper sort. Steve has a variety of 'others' to shape himself for in those moments, both present physically and in his mind, both personal and abstract. There is myself as researcher and fellow youth worker, and his fellow junior leader, also sitting in on the interview, but there are also the other senior church leaders in offices just down the hall. Furthermore, he also had to 'answer' to the ever present hegemonic powers of the neoliberal economy or the biomedical health system in also holding him accountable for managing his own time, body, and energy in illness or wellness, in work or leisure, as a subject of the state. Stories are one way we "devise ways of living in the world" through developing certain ways of knowing ourselves (Frank 1998, p. 117). Thus they can work both as a technology of the self, which individuals may use to 'govern' themselves, but also as a way that individuals 'care' for themselves (*ibid).* Thus in Steve's story and many of the others I have related, there is a creative aspect of narrative, so that it can equally be part of resistance and domination, and identities from the spaces between through reconciling competing or conflicting aspects from a terrain that is 'over-storied', just as it is over-determined.

In day-to-day life worlds of Christian youth leaders, these tensions are not abstract paradigmatic ones, but become deeply embodied as part of their belief, practice,

and identity. The body is involved in this just as much as words are. Synnott wrote that at any given time many paradigms of the body exist, layered over top another, competing (1992). I have argued for a visceral, embodied sense of the tensions being present among the youth leaders in both communities I studied. Yet it is not just the case that the tensions of these competing discourses are taken into the body; it is also in the body that they are negotiated, contested, and sometimes even resolved. Overviewing Foucault's contribution to bodily paradigms within academia, Lock identifies dual modes of bodily expression in relation to power - that of belonging, and that of dissent (1993, p140). An example is the way that even in the context of economic situations that represent real social disempowerment and vulnerability, fasting and hunger is performed by Christian leaders in Kampala as an expression of both self-control and empowerment, and humble selfless servanthood. It dissents from self-privileging, individualistic, hedonistic aspects of the capitalism that characterises many visions of modernity now, and expresses being 'part of' Christ in sharing his 'burdens' of love and self-sacrifice for his people in the denials of the flesh.

It is possible to apply this understanding of the bodily negotiation of discursive tension to illness and idioms of distress in these communities as well. The physical dimensions of burnout are an example of this. Steph's extreme fatigue and months of increased sleep are, at very least in the retelling of them, making use of a bodily paradigm to express belonging (through the exhausting of one's own body, as a volunteer, on behalf of the youth) to the subjectivity of the good Christian youth worker as selfless volunteer. However since burnout also represents an interruption of normal functioning, it can also be seen as the body dissenting from the boundary-less aspects of the commodification, transmutation and instrumentalisation of the self. Similarly Jay, in our conversations, defended his practice of taking naps during the daytime occasionally, given his long and late-night hours on most days.  Here he too is embodying, in a small way, the professional boundaries and self-care practices that are intended to keep youth workers functioning effectively. However in another way he is resisting in other ways his instrumentalisation as a productive machine, by 'breaking' his working day routine with a nap.

Since the self is unstable, Langellier highlights that the narrative act always involves danger and risk (1999). Arguably in bodily performance and ritual, too, and in every other form of social act amidst a web of uncertain and conflicting discursive

forces, involves risk: The aerial dancer, pressing against the very forces that hold them, can easily fall. The many ways in which the moral terrain of the youth worker is 'fraught' have already been discussed at the beginning of this chapter. The sense of anxiety inherent in the moral (Kleinman 2006, p6) was present in many of my interviews around intimate and sensitive topics. The stakes are high for these leaders, but rather than a single role of the dice, they are involved in an ongoing and effortful process of managing risks and threats to their sense of self and their social relationships. Each 'peck' of criticism, disagreement, disappointment or disapproval from the 'thousand ducks' of the complex social field that is youth work, represents a possible threat to the identity and authority of the youth leader, to 'what is at stake' for them (Kleinman 1997, p230). I have given examples of the way their attempts at self-actualisation and self-transformation are a balance between opportunity and risk (Bunton, paraphrased in Frank 1998, p336). Narrative had the creative potential to ease the discomfort of internalised tension, as a form of self-care, and yet it was never certain or sure, as an intersubjective act whose meaning could only be negotiated between teller and audience.

An accomplished aerial dancer appears effortless in their grace and fluidity, and yet this belies the practices and preparation, muscular strength and aerobic effort that go into such a performance. Such is the performativity I have highlighted in the youth work community, too. The work of subject formation, particularly in the presence of contradictions, tensions, constraints and ambiguities, is perfected over time through a great deal of effort both towards, against, and creatively with, the discursive powers enmeshing them in the 'dance' of identity formation. Furthermore, the formation, re-formation and trans-formation of the self are always moral and political endeavours (Tracy & Trethewey 2005, p188). Throughout the thesis I have shown the way the logic of neoliberalism lends a particular weight to the 'performance'. In responsibilising the youth workers, it puts extra onus on them to complete - out of their own energy and

volition, and in their own time - the training, the core-strengthening, needed to give the perfect performance that faith-based youth leadership demands. This is what the self-care, the self-work, the moral labour, the spiritual disciplines in my field sites represent when they are undertaken as a part of role expectations in these organisations, under

neoliberal logic. They are a way for the youth worker to rigorously employ techniques of the self, upon their bodies, minds, and emotions, in order to take up the ethical subjectivity they have been convinced to want to strive for. They prepare themselves, purify themselves, encourage themselves, care for themselves, and doctor themselves, under an ideology that says that it is indeed only they who are responsible for the performance they give. Translated to the dancer analogy, it is a logic that makes invisible the roof, the silks, the coaches and the lights that an aerial show also involves, fostering a supreme pressure on the individual dancer. This is to say, that neoliberalism typically focuses away from structural, organisation, interpersonal and situational factors in youth work and encourages the youth workers to see failure, distress, illness, and suffering as an individual problem: only they are accountable for this loss of wellbeing. The individualising, efficiency-focused, instrumentalising neoliberal logic might at first glance appear as a contrasting, and incommensurable ideology to community-based, spiritual, 'selfless' systems of faith-based care. However, I have shown it as deeply (and increasing) structuring knowledge and experience around both care and wellbeing, in two distinctive faith communities, in two different nations that are nonetheless both strong adopters of neoliberalism on a political level. This has served to illustrate just how pervasive an ideological system it is, such that ongoing work must go further still to seek an 'edge' or 'limit' to its reach. Despite this, it is not homogeneity or helplessness we observe as it reaches, touches, combines and reforms with other systems of meaning.

## Concluding the intimate performance (of youth work, of ethnography)

The theme of tension is relevant to the idea of the moral, to illness experiences and storying, to identity formation, and to broader debates around agency and resistance. The complexities and heterogeneities within the social fields of youth work in Canterbury and Kampala reflect the different ideological threads present, each with their own social history. But they also represent the way individuals in conversation with other individuals (myself included) made strategic efforts every day, as part of their narrative, embodiment and lived practice, to reconcile these tensions. These of course take specific shapes and forms in Kampala and in Canterbury. The difference in organisational culture, practice, and values between each of the two communities illustrates the way that even with similar things at stake, they use their various ideological resources each in different and creative ways to strategically protect and preserve core aspects of their identity and relational security from threats like the schism of self that suffering and illness can cause.

Like Michael Jackson in his existential-phenomenological approach, I give preference to "life world[86]" over "worldview"[87] (1998, p5). I have been interested in the everyday social contexts of my participants. Discourse is indeed at risk of reification as impersonal and "imperious[88]" outside of its embeddedness within actual human encounters in real life worlds. I do not present the discourses I have identified as abstract forces developed historically, conveyed institutionally, and merely enacted upon individuals in youth work communities. Rather they are part of intersubjective encounters, both shaping and shaped by daily social interaction. In this way I have identified their force in shaping subjectivities through narrative, but also the way narrative can experiment with and reshape subjectivities by calling on and interweaving multiple discourses. Foucault's attention to 'techniques of the self' (over techniques of domination) later in his career testifies to a similar shift in attention towards the out-workings of systems of knowledge and meaning in everyday life. Likewise while unfolding some of the ways of constituting knowledge that form particular subjectivities and social meanings in my field sites, it is their enactment in and between individuals and as part of everyday human life which I have attended to more closely. Reality is

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[86] Lebenswelt (Jackson 1998, p5).
[87] Weltanschauung (Jackson 1998, p5).
[88] Jackson's term (1998, p7).

both individual and relational, shared in communities and shaped by socio-historically specific systems of knowledge and power.

In examining experiences of suffering or distress in particular, I have given some attention to biomedical frameworks, particularly around mental health, but have tried to avoid adopting these as a privileged voice to 'translate' the lived, embodied experiences of my participants. Rather I have sought to understand and explain how the youth workers themselves engage critically and strategically with some (but not all) of the language, categories, services and meanings provided by contemporary biomedicine as one part of their cultural landscape. I have also preferred to explore in depth some of the models and schematics around selfhood and wellbeing that shape lay knowledges and practices around self-care. I have noted how different aspects of these articulate (and reflect their sociohistorical settings) to produce unique local knowledge systems. In a similar way I have also looked into Christian scripture and Christian theological and pastoral literature, seeking to understand these in context of their significance in the life worlds of my participants. I have acknowledged (in Chapter 1) my own 'standpoint' as an insider to this faith, but have written with a descriptive ethnographic voice in which to describe the Christian beliefs of the faith-based youth workers as a part of their cultural (and vocational) field. I have also noted a particular relationship of Christian ideas, beliefs and practices to global systems of power and knowledge with a particular historical association to the western world, but unique articulations nonetheless in local worlds.

Though both time for research and space to present findings have been constrained within the parameters of the PhD thesis, I have aimed to present a nuanced and "intimate" ethnography of faith-based youth workers in each of the communities I studied. This has involved probing, with care, into some intimate places: the painful spaces where tensions remain unresolved and identities still in-process, the risky spaces where emotion struggles against language and suffering betrays neat social categories. I have tried to trace the edges of neoliberal logic, the paradoxes of applied faith, and the limitations of care. I have been grateful to have participants who were willing to be intimate with me as we spoke of, and navigated such things together. In a way too, this thesis is as much an 'intimate' ethnography because the process of ethnography, in itself, cannot help but be somewhat intimate, as it is because the subject of inquiry falls within the realm of the personal, bodily, emotional. My participation as an insider to the

Christian faith is not something I see as a hurdle I had to overcome, so much as it was a strategically (and indeed 'intimate') positionality for approaching this topic. Thorough multi-methodological research techniques and a rigorous use of literature, I was able to use this proximity and empathy to make a strong contribution to the field.

Nevertheless there are many pockets of unexplored meaning throughout this thesis, which could be interestingly expanded upon. The spiritual discipline of fasting, as significant in Uganda as a social context which constructs the body as a moral vessel amid a 'contaminated' and resource scarce society, would benefit from a more phenomenologically focussed analysis. The overlapping interpretive schemas around mental illness in Uganda would also be an interesting area for further research, perhaps focussed on the meaning-making of clinical personnel in this Christian but pluralistic society. In Canterbury there is room for further work around the meaning of 'burnout' in wider secular society as well, particularly in regard to the trauma of the quake. Explorations of other emic categories of distress that emerged around this, and a content analysis of locally specific media and social media campaigns which emerged in response, such as the 'All Right' campaign, would also be both interesting and timely. In both places the role of gender in the construction of religious subjectivities could be much more deeply explored in these communities than my thesis was able to do within time constraints.

Throughout this thesis I have introduced and 'tried on' various academic (humanities) frameworks through which the experiences of my participants can be viewed in order to elucidate important connections and context around cross-cultural aspects of wellbeing and mental distress, the workings of neoliberalism in the faith-based sector, a poststructuralist perspective on emotional labour, the relationship of the 'moral' to subject formation in a comparative study, and the interplay of structure and agency amidst this. The 'basket' of theories I have selected has drawn strategically from a social constructionist approach. As I explained in Chapter 1, the significance of language (spoken, written, formal and informal) in shaping social realities and mediating between norms, values, and emotions (Kleinman 1999) has been a central tenet in my work. Although I took a narrative discourse analysis approach, in recognising this as a social and intersubjective process of sense-making, I have viewed narrative not only as text, but through a lens of performativity.

In living out the tension between care and self-care, the moral terrain that youth workers walk on is paved with stories, scriptures, metaphors, whose meanings are not fixed, but are part of specific socio-historical moments. This can be seen as unstable, but also as fluid and flexible: being moment-to-moment articulated through a process of discursive interweaving which in its own way represents strength and creativity as much as risk and vulnerability. In giving examples of these processes in two ethnographic contexts, I have illustrated agency and resilience in the meaning-making practices of faith-based youth workers. With all that is at stake, the youth leaders engage in an active reaching, managing, seeking, and negotiating spaces in which work, in which to care and be cared for, in which to be well and to live well, in an intimate dance of meaning that is performed in and through the tension of giving, being and becoming.

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# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Kampala Interviewee List

| Name | Role(s) | Organisation/Group | Ethnicity |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Stephen** (*x2)* | Director | MOTEM | (Jinja Region) |
| **Raymond** | Youth Pastor Staff | MOTEM | NS |
| **Solomon** | Fellowship Papa Staff | YMCA MOTEM | NS |
| **Richbay** | Fellowship Mama Social Worker | World Vision | Amiyankole (Western Uganda, Mbara) |
| **Collins** | Fellowship Deacon | YMCA | NS |
| **Hope** | Guild Admin | NS | Batooro (Western Uganda) |
| **Seith** | Youth Pastor | Nazarene Church, Jinja | (Jinja Region) |
| **Edson** | Fellowship Papa Doctor | NS | NS |
| **Francis** | Staff | MOTEM | NS |
| **Suzan** | Guild President Youth Leader Fellowship Mama | UCU | NS |
| **Evans** | Youth worker | Paradise Ministries | |
| **Timothy** | Fellowship Papa Youth Leader | KIA Great Commission Ministries | Eastern Uganda |
| **Hillary** | Fellowship Papa | NS | NS |
| **Baker** | Pastor | Grace Tabernacle Church | (Jinja Region) |
| **Deo** | Youth Pastor | Hope Restoration Church | NS |
| **V** | Youth Leader | Hope Restoration Church | NS |
| **Moses** | Fellowship Papa | IHK | NS |
| **Carol** | Pastor | Women's Life Network | Busoge |
| **Brian** | Fellowship Papa | NS | NS |
| **Richard** | Fellowship Papa | Medical School | NS |
| **Innocent** | Fellowship Papa | NS | NS |

*NS: Not supplied

# Appendix 2: Canterbury Interviewee List

| Name | Role(s) | Organisation/Group/Church | Ethnicity |
|------|---------|---------------------------|-----------|
| **Mike** *(x2)* | Director | CYS | Pakeha |
| **Karen** | Counsellor | CYS | Australian-European |
| **Laura** | Office Manager<br>Youth Leader | CYS<br>Large Suburban Pentecostal Church | English |
| **Jay** | National Coordinator | 24/7 Youth Work | NS |
| **Darren** | Youth Pastor | Suburban Anglican Chuch | Pakeha |
| **Hannah** | Youth Pastor<br>Youth Worker | Suburban Baptist Church<br>24/7 Youth Work | Pakeha |
| **Emma** | Youth Leader (volunteer)<br>Youth Worker | Rural Baptist Church<br>24/7 Youth Work | Pakeha |
| **Sam** | Youth Pastor | Rural Baptist Church<br>24/7 Youth Work | Pakeha |
| **Steve** | Youth Pastor<br>Youth worker | Suburban Baptist Church<br>Community Trust | NS |
| **Andrew** | Youth Leader (volunteer) | Suburban Baptist Church | Pakeha |
| **Jim** | Youth Leader | Suburban Baptist Church<br>24/7 Youth Work<br>Community Trust | Pakeha |
| **Simon** | Youth Pastor | Large Suburban Church | Pakeha |
| **Annette** | Youth Pastor | Large Suburban Church | Pakeha |
| **Verity** | Youth Pastor<br>Community Youth Worker<br>24/7 Youth Worker | Small suburban Baptist Church<br>24/7 Youth Work<br>Community Trust | Pakeha |
| **Natalie** | Youth Leader (volunteer) | Suburban church | Pakeha |
| **Steph** | Youth Leader (volunteer) | Suburban Baptist Church | Pakeha |
| **Di** | Pastor | Large Suburban Pentecostal Church | Pakeha |
| **Sam** | Event Manager | CYS | Pakeha |

*NS: Not supplied

## Appendix 3: Focus Group List (both sites)

| Code/No. | Location | Facilitator | Date | Participants |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **CYS** | | | | |
| C1. | Darfield Baptist | Susan | July 2013 | 20 (aprox. even gender) |
| C2 | SYLT, Living Springs | Susan | June 2014 | 18 (17 females, 1 male) |
| **MOTEM** | | | | |
| M1 | Palissa Youth Camp | Susan | January 2013 | 15 (aprox. even gender) |
| M2 | Palissa Youth Camp | Andrew | January 2013 | 12 (aprox. even gender) |
| M3 | Soul Winners, MOTEM | Susan | January 2013 | 25 (aprox. even gender) |
| M4 | Soul Winners, MOTEM | Andrew | January 2013 | 19 (aprox. even gender) |
| M5 | Soul Winners, MOTEM | Susan | January 2014 | 22 (aprox. even gender) |
| M6 | Soul Winners, MOTEM | Andrew | January 2014 | 14 (aprox. even gender) |
| M7 | Butabika Psychiatric Nursing School Fellowship | Susan | January 2014 | 6 (aprox. even gender) |

## Appendix 4: MOTEM Certificates



*Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries*

# Certificate of Appreciation

Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries
acknowledges the industrious work,support,services, of

Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ministry..Dr. SUSAN NABWEL.............
on our 5th Anniversary held on the 1st February 2014.

May the lord richly bless you.

.................................
Director
Maraim Nyabasha

.................................
President
Stephen Adundo Egesa

.................................
Manager
Solomon Kiyaya

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MOMENT OF TRUTH
EVANGELISTIC MINISTRIES
3 0 JAN 2014
P.O.Box 27921 K'la Tel. +256-772047708
Web : www.momentoftruths.org

# Moment Of Truth Evangelistic Ministries

*Award Of Appreciation*

This is awarded to

*Andrew & Susan Wardell*

For supporting & partnering with Moment Of Truth Evangelistic Ministries, your efforts has been of great blessing and paramount towards the accomplishing of our ministry vision.

Dates: 18th

Stephen Adundo Egesa
**Founder & President**

Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries

**Certificate of Completion**

This is to certify that

Dr. SUSAN WARDELL

Has satisfactorily completed the internship training at Moment of Truth Evangelistic Ministries and is therefore entitled to the rights and pevillages appertaining thereto this 2nd of 30th Jan 2013

Ev. Stephen Adungo Egara
President

MOMENT OF TRUTH EVANGELISTIC MINISTRIES
0 1 FEB 2013
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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**Appendix 5: Training workbook, Xtend 2013 – cover and example page**

# Devotional Pathways

## The RELATIONAL Pathway
- Hard to grow on your *own*
- Solitude is *suffocating*
- Spiritual life is dull without *people/others*
- Thrive in *areas*
- Love working *alongside* other people

## The INTELLECTUAL Pathway
- Mind must be in gear to grow
- Read loads of intellectually *stretching* books
- When the mind is *connected* and...
- The heart will *follow*
- You have rock-solid *connections*

## The SERVING Pathway
- The 'doers'
- Constantly looking for things *to do* to serve God
- Feel closest to God when you know you are doing His *work*
- Easily see what needs to be *done* and do it

## The CONTEMPLATIVE Pathway
- You avoid *busyness*
- Love to spend time *alone* with God
- Love to pray and worship
- *sensitive* and idealistic
- You may feel *out-of-step* with others
- Contemplatives are NOT *wasting* time!
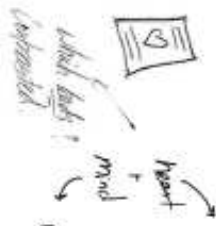
## The ACTIVIST Pathway
- Love the challenge of living on the *edge*
- Extraordinary *energy*
- Wesley, Whitfield, Moody
- Need to avoid *insanity*
- But remember, God makes people like this and *loves* them!

## The CREATION Pathway
- " *true* believers"
- Find spiritual meaning in *nature*
- See what God is like through the *created* world
- Love to be *outdoors*
- The hardest place to worship is in a *building*

## The MUSIC Pathway
- Just love to sing to *worship* God!
- Being in the *presence* of God is deeply moving
- Listen to *worship* CDs
- Like David, Psalm 103
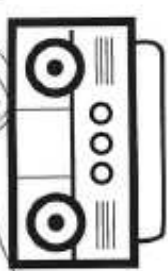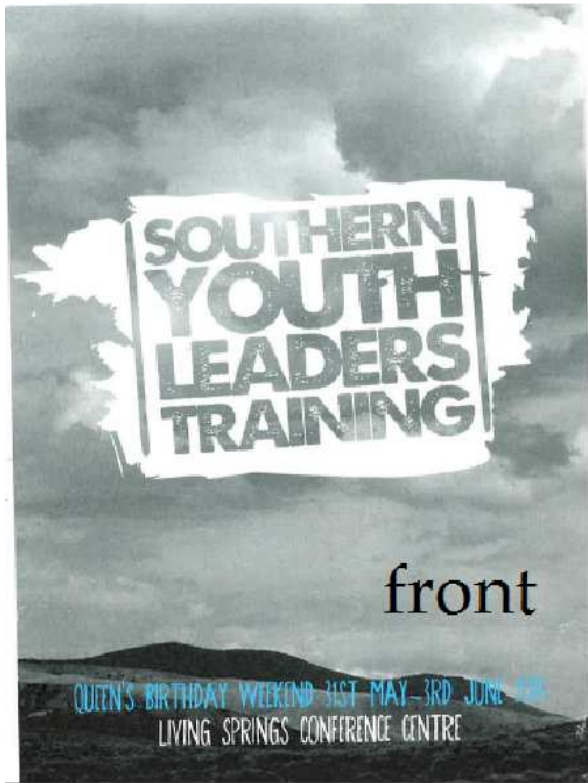
## Appendix 6: Flyers for CYS events, 2013

# Appendix 8: CYS strategic planning diagram, 2012