

THE COMMUNITY OF INTIMACY: THE SPIRITUAL BELIEFS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES OF ADOLESCENT QUAKERS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a sociological study of the current generation of adolescent Quakers. It examines and analyses their beliefs and values; individual and group practice and how the group functions.

The research demonstrates that for the adolescent Quaker group belief is unimportant and non-definitional; values are broad and open to individual interpretation, although key shared values have an optional influence on behaviour. Involvement in Quaker activity is extensive, corporate worship is central and internal discipline is strong.

I argue that the adolescent Quaker group represents a 'Community of Intimacy', a collective grouping which places emphasis on belonging, inter-personal networks secured by friendships, shared values, expression through individual and corporate behaviour, and the separateness of the group from other Quakers and other adolescents. This concept can be related to other groups and represents an original contribution to existing scholarship, providing a new way of describing groups and explaining how they function.

The research illustrates that while both the adult and adolescent Quaker groups have sect-like characteristics the sectarian nature of the groups is differently configured. I argue that the failure of the adult group to acknowledge the adolescent group as separate and different results in its cultural, institutional and theological marginalisation.

NOTE ON TERMS

The terms 'Friend(s)' and 'Quaker(s)' are used interchangeably throughout this study to refer to those associated with the Religious Society of Friends. When distinguishing between those formally in membership and those not in membership the term 'member' (see below) or 'attender' (see below) will be used.

NOTE ON TEXT

All quotations from primary research data including questionnaires, interviews and participant observation field notes are shown by indented italics; where it is known the age and gender of the respondent is given (although not names in order to preserve anonymity) together with the source and the date where appropriate.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide background and context for this thesis. I place this research in its academic context and describe the place of the adolescent Quaker group within the context of the Quaker [G]¹ movement in Britain. I provide an outline of the analysis which will be covered in each of the following chapters.

1.2 Background

This study is an investigation of the spiritual beliefs and religious practices of adolescent Quakers in Britain today. It is the first large-scale academic research into adolescent Quaker beliefs and practices; the study focuses on adolescent Quakers in Britain between the ages of 11 and 18.

Adolescents comprise 6.6% of members [G] or attenders [G] of the Religious Society of Friends [G] in Britain (see 2.2 for further discussion of this). Adolescents are involved in Quaker meetings, with 37% of local meetings [G] making regular provision for activities for adolescents (Chadkirk and Dandelion 2010). Adolescents are also involved on an area meeting [G] basis through link groups [G], on a regional basis through residential summer events [G], and national events organised throughout Britain Yearly Meeting [G]. At the time of this research there were approximately nine active link groups and five regional summer events. National events for adolescents varied between two and three a year.

¹ Quakerism and the field of Quaker Studies has its own particular terminology. Terms which are part of the distinctive Quaker vocabulary are followed at their first use in the text with [G], denoting that this term is defined in the Glossary.

This research concentrates on describing and analysing what adolescent Quakers believe; their 'religious' or 'spiritual' experiences; individual and group practices; adolescents' involvement in, and attitude towards, the Religious Society of Friends; how the adolescent Quaker group functions; and the relationship between the adolescent Quaker group and adult Quakers. It does not represent the totality of adolescent Quaker belief, nor is it concerned with adolescent Quakers' spiritual or faith development. It is a 'snapshot' of the current generation of adolescent Quakers.

1.3 Research Context

There is a growing body of research into youth and religion and adolescent spirituality. Although early research focused mainly on the cognitive understanding of religious concepts (Goldman 1968, Long *et al* 1967), recent research has included the study of both religiously affiliated young people (Fulton 2000, Engebretson 2002, Collins 1999) and young people without formal links to religion (Savage et al 2006, Rankin 2005). Research has also investigated the spiritual practices of young people (Collins-Mayo 2008) and the spirituality of children within schools (Best 1996). There are examples of large-scale studies of adolescents' beliefs, values and religious involvement both in Britain (Francis 1984, 2001; Francis and Kay 1995; Curran and Francis 1996; Francis and Robbins 2004) and other countries (Smith 2005). This research also sits within the context of research into the religious involvement and spirituality of post-boomer generations (Flory and Miller 2007, Savage et al 2006, Lynch 2002, Flory and Miller 2000, Flory 2004). Davie et al. argue that while religion may be in decline, there has been a rise of 'new, more amorphous forms of spirituality' which are 'less, dogmatic, more tolerant and flexible' (2003:2). The research examines the extent to which adolescent Quaker spirituality reflects this shift.

The current research also sits within the field of Quaker studies [G], particularly those with a sociological focus (Dandelion 1996, 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Pilgrim 2003, 2004, 2008) and other scholarship (Collins 2002a, 2002b, 2004, 2005, 2008). Within the field of Quaker studies there has been research into the beliefs and practices of Quakers (Dandelion 1996; Davie 1997; Plüss 1995). Rees (1967) and Nesbitt (2001) included a small number of Quakers in a comparative study of adolescent religion. Several other scholars have undertaken research focused on adolescent Quakers; however these have been smaller scale and with a focus on theology (Perry 2001), or limited to a case study of one local area (Jeorrett 2006) or a single event (Pearmain 2005). There is no previous detailed in-depth sociological research relating specifically to the practices and beliefs of adolescent Quakers, or to the practices, structure and operation of the group as a whole. This research challenges, builds on and develops some of the major theoretical perspectives of the sociological school of Quaker studies. The findings of earlier research are introduced where they relate to this study.

This thesis is a study of a largely unresearched group within Quakerism.² The findings provide insights into the beliefs and practices of adolescent Quakers and contribute to the scholarship both in Quaker studies and in youth and religion as well as to the broader field of research in the sociology of religion.

1.4 Research Outline

This study focuses on four main areas in relation to adolescent Quakers' belief and practice:

- Beliefs and Values: I examine the nature, content and status of religious and spiritual beliefs of adolescent Quakers (4.2 - 4.7). I explore adolescents'

² Dandelion (1996) included Friends attending Young Friends Central Committee [G],² all of which were aged under 18, although all were aged over 16.

understanding of the Quaker testimonies [G] and the impact of these values on adolescents lives (4.8. 6.3). I consider the extent to which adolescent Quakers conform, or otherwise, to the social norms of their peers and whether this is a result of their Quaker beliefs and values (7.6.2).

- Practice: I investigate the involvement of adolescent Quakers in Quaker events for young people at a local, regional and national level and their frequency of attendance at Meeting for Worship [G] (3.2). I describe and analyse the form and nature of adolescent Quaker practices including the use of experimental forms of worship (3.3).
- Identity: I examine the basis of individual (5.2) and group identity (Chapter 6, Chapter 7) for adolescent Quakers and explore the relationship between self-identification, involvement and attitudes towards formal membership (5.3).
- Separateness: I identify and analyse the differences between adolescent Quakers and other Quakers and between adolescent Quakers and other adolescents, both religiously involved and not (5.4). I explore the relationship between the adolescent and adult Quaker groups (8.5). I assess whether adolescent Quakers represent a distinctive subculture in terms of belief, values, behaviour and practice. Dandelion highlights this as an area for future research (1996:325).

1.5 Theoretical perspectives and interpretations

This research both builds on and challenges several key theoretical perspectives of recent scholarship in Quaker studies and in the sociology of religion:

- The Behavioural Creed [G]: Dandelion argues that current unity in Quakerism is maintained through a 'behavioural creed' (1996:315) and that the balance between collectivity and individualism would be unbalanced by a liberalisation of this behavioural creed (1996:317). I demonstrate that although belief for adolescent Quakers is individual and non-definitional (4.7) and the group practices alternative forms of worship (3.3), there is a greater level of conformity in relation to behaviour outside of worship (6.2). Contrary to Dandelion's claims, in relation to adult Quakers (1996:317), I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group liberalisation of elements of the behavioural creed does not necessarily upset the balance between collectivity and individualism. Despite the plurality of belief, the behaviour of adolescent Quakers shows a high level of collectivity and unity is maintained through an alternative behavioural creed.
- The Culture of Silence [G]: Dandelion (1996:238ff) argues that liberal-Liberal [G] Quakerism, typified by a liberal attitude to liberal theology, has seen a move from language to silence and that 'beneath the higher value given to silence over words lies a wariness about words, a consequent mistrust of theology' (2004b:222). This is in part a result of Friends 'learning their Quakerism through watching and listening in the silence' (Dandelion 2004b:225). However, adolescent Quakers learn their Quakerism in an atmosphere of sharing of individual belief stories and of programmed or semi-programmed speaking, music, and activities in worship. I contend that with the adolescent Quaker group there is both more speaking in 'Quaker-time' [G] and also far less emphasis placed on silence than amongst adult Quakers. Experimental forms of worship are used amongst adolescent Quakers to a greater extent than within the Religious Society of Friends as a whole (3.3.1). This

research evaluates Dandelion's assertion that 'experimental Meetings for Worship ... indicate the potential for fundamental changes in the nature of Quaker worship' (Dandelion 1996:318).). I contend that the use of these forms of worship acts against the 'culture of silence'. I suggest that the rules of silence and speech as outlined by Dandelion (1996: 243-250) do not apply to the adolescent Quaker group. However different rules govern the breaking of the silence and there is a level of self-censorship amongst adolescent Quakers (6.3.1).

- The 'absolute-perhaps': Dandelion argues that 'Friends are intolerant of certainty other than the certainty that religious truth claims cannot be held with any honest intellectual certainty' (2004b:225) and that within liberal-Liberal Quakerism there is 'a constant reinforcement of uncertainty' (2004b:225). Quakers, according to Dandelion, describe themselves as 'seekers' and claim that 'arrival is impossible' (2004b:225). I suggest that for adolescent Quakers it is also the case that 'truth claims can only be partial, provisional or personal' (Dandelion 2004a:231), and that this is a consequence of plurality of belief and the elevation of individuality of belief (4.7, 4.8). However I suggest that adolescent Quakers may differ in their approach to 'seeking' in that the emphasis is placed on belief statements as being personal rather than provisional. At Quaker events for young people such exploration is often presented in terms of 'spiritual journeys' which are not linear but rather a constant searching where discoveries are made and new insights are gained by the seeker (Field Notes 13/4/2003, 30/7/2005, 17/11/2005). The emphasis is on questions rather than any possibility of answers. I suggest that while the adolescent Quaker group also displays a 'perhapsness' about belief, uncertainty is not reinforced to the same extent as in the adult Quaker group. I argue (4.7) that in the adolescent group belief claims are assessed in a different way and belief stories are

not marginalised but accepted as valid for that individual and the vocalisation of belief stories is not treated as an attempt to express a truth beyond a personal perspective (5.2.4).

- **Post-Christian Quakerism:** In this thesis I argue that the adolescent Quaker group has shifted from a 'post-Christian' neo-orthodoxy with an emphasis on form rather than belief (Dandelion 1996:319)³ to a neo-orthodoxy which can be described as 'non-Christian' in its basis and where spirituality can be characterised as being broadly non-religious (4.7, 4.9). Dandelion argues that the Quaker neo-orthodoxy is post-Christian, that is that the group's popular theology is marked not by Christian belief but by a pluralistic model that is not present within other Christian groups (1996:166). Christian belief and self-identity are low within the Quaker group (Dandelion 1996:176-177) and liberal Quakerism accommodates a diversity based on a culture of pluralism rather than Christian universalism (Dandelion 1996:176). I suggest that the current adolescent Quaker group has been influenced by Christianity to a far lesser extent than previous generations, because of their socialisation within the post-Christian neo-orthodoxy of the adult Quaker group and because they have not been exposed to a Quaker context where Christianity is regularly vocalised as a fundamental aspect of Quaker belief. This is a consequence of the renaming of the book of discipline [G] (4.7), the fact that many adolescent Quakers are the children of adult converts to Quakerism (3.2.2) who have left other Christian denominations or come from no previous faith background together with a decrease in the number of explicit mentions of Christianity in 'Quaker-time' as a consequence of the post-Christian neo-orthodoxy of the adult Quaker group (9.3.3).

³ This orthodoxy is the corporate position of Quakers as expressed in minutes, statements and publications of Britain Yearly Meeting which is the organisation of Quakers in Britain and to the annual business meeting of Friends in Britain (Dandelion 1996:136).

- A seventh theological age of Quakerism: I argue (9.3.1 b) that the beliefs of adolescent Quakers reflect the progression towards a seventh theological age of Quakerism, marked by a greater plurality (Dandelion 1996:315) and that this has occurred sooner than anticipated by Dandelion (1996:317). I consider (9.3.1 c) whether this progression towards a seventh theological age of Quakerism and the liberalisation of the behavioural creed has upset the balance between collectivity and individualism (Dandelion 1996:317).
- 'Quaker time': I explore Dandelion's concept of 'Quaker time' (1996:164, 238), in relation to the adolescent Quaker group and Quaker events for young people (5.2.7). I describe how adolescent Quakers spend longer in 'Quaker time' than most adults because of their involvement in Quaker events for young people (6.2.3). I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group there is also 'quasi-Quaker time', which is the time individuals spend outside of the Quaker group but in contact with other Quakers in a networked community (7.3).
- Heterotopia: Pilgrim (2003, 2004, 2008) has applied the concept of heterotopia to present-day Quakerism and argues that 'Quakers' sense of themselves as being other offers them both a sense of identity and a sense of unity' (2003:151). Pilgrim suggests that 'Friends' sense of unity no longer rests on a commonly shared religious belief' but rather on their sense of difference or otherness and alternate ordering (2008:53). I build on Pilgrim's work by examining the extent to which the 'external otherness' of Quakerism remains apparent to adolescent Quakers and argue that, for adolescent Quakers, individual and group identity rests on difference and 'alternate ordering' (7.6, 8.4).

- **Relational Spirituality & Collective Effervescence:** Harris and Moran state that ‘a vital element in spirituality of young people is its connectedness, its relational and communal character, which is in contrast to a privatised and individualistic spirituality’ (1998:109). In addition Crompton argues that ‘sharing worship with co-religionists can offer a sense of identity and cohesion as traditions are observed and beliefs reinforced and explored’ (1998:119). I explore this in relation to the adolescent Quaker group (Chapter 6, Chapter 7) and argue that there is a heightened sense of collective identity (7.5.3) and spiritual awareness (9.3.2 c) amongst adolescent Quakers at gatherings. I argue that this bears out Durkheim’s ‘social effervescence’ hypothesis, which suggests that religious experience ‘is’ the excitement experienced by people involved in large and excited religious gatherings (Hay and Nye 1996:9).
- **Adolescent Quakers and Generation X and Y:** Following recent scholarship, particularly by Flory and Miller (2000) and Lynch (2002), I give consideration to whether adolescent Quaker spirituality relates in any way to theories of ‘Generation X’ and ‘Generation Y’ religion and spirituality⁴. This includes consideration of whether adolescent Quaker spirituality fits a single typology similar to those of ‘Cultural Reappropriators’ and ‘Cultural Innovators’ outlined by Flory (2004).
- **Believing and Belonging:** Grace Davie (1994) identifies the concept of ‘believing without belonging’ and argues that the institutional decline in churches in Britain is not necessarily accompanied by a decline in belief but is rather linked to a decline

⁴ Generation X is defined as ‘the 80 million Americans who were born between 1961 and 1981’ (Flory and Miller, 2000:3). Generation Y refers to those born after 1982 (Savage et al 2006:7). Theories of Generation X religion may have applications outside of these individuals and in Britain as well as the United States of America.

in other voluntary membership organisations. Voas and Crockett argue that 'belief and belonging are essentially connected, so that deterioration in one is associated in decline in the other' (2005:20) and that 'older generations are markedly more religious than younger ones' (2005:13); this is reflected in the comparison between adult and adolescent Quaker belief (4.6.2). In this research I identify (4.7) that despite the diversity of adolescent Quaker belief which ranges

from strong Christian to agnostic (Male 16; Interview 6/12/2003)

there is a strong sense of shared identity amongst adolescent Quakers (Chapter 7). I argue that adolescent Quakers can be described as 'belonging without believing' (9.3.3).

1.6 An outline of the analysis covered in each chapter

In Chapter 2 I detail the constituency and sample for this research and outline and evaluate the research methods used. I engage in critical reflection on the method focusing particularly on issues of insider research and ethical issues concerning research with young people.

In Chapter 3 I examine the religious practices of adolescent Quakers, including specifically the form, content and nature of adolescent Quaker worship. This includes adolescent Quakers' participation both in local meetings for worship and in worship amongst adolescents at Quaker events for young people.

Chapter 4 focuses on the content of adolescent Quaker belief. I argue that for adolescent Quakers, belief content is marginal and non-definitional. I consider the beliefs of adolescent Quakers in relation to the beliefs of adolescent Christians and contrast the popular religion of adolescent Quaker with both the Quaker orthodoxy and the popular religion of the adult Quaker group. Popular religion is, according to Dandelion, the interpretation of orthodoxy by individuals and the collective reinterpretation or

construction of the neo-orthodoxy by the Quaker group (1996:24). I argue that in terms of belief the adolescent Quaker group is 'non-Christian'.

Chapter 5 gives an analysis of the ways in which adolescent Quaker identity is constructed, including self-ascribed labels of identity. I argue that belonging to the adolescent group is not predicated on formal membership. I consider how adolescent Quakers' identity and involvement create feelings of difference and separateness from other groups and individuals and argue that many adolescents keep their Quaker involvement either wholly or partially hidden from the world. In Chapter 6 there is an exploration of the ways in which the adolescent Quaker group functions, including identification and explanation of formal and informal rules. I argue that the Quaker group has a low level of authority but a high level of influence over the private lives of individuals and that the behavioural norms that operate within the group influence individual's behaviour in their private lives. I contend that these rules and norms are justified and maintained with reference to the community. Chapter 6 also includes consideration of the place of corporate worship within the adolescent Quaker group. I examine adolescent Quaker ritual using a multi-perspectival approach and I argue that adolescent Quaker worship represents a ritual of transformation and the creation of a separate physical and psychological space. In Chapter 7 I argue that the adolescent Quaker group represents what I term a 'Community of Intimacy'. This is a collective grouping which places emphasis on belonging to the group, inter-personal networks secured by friendships, shared values, the expression of group identity in some form, and the separateness of the group (in this case, both from adult Quakers and from other young people). I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is both the visible community, as expressed in the separate space occupied by adolescent Quakers during Quaker-time (for example at Quaker events) and also the variable, networked community of friendships between adolescents that exists beyond and between Quaker-time gatherings. I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group the Community of Intimacy

is central in terms of forming both group and individual Quaker identity and provides the group with unity. I contend that the Community of Intimacy is a model for what the adolescent Quaker group looks like and that a triple culture of ritual, networked community, and narrative and behaviour represents the way in which the Community of Intimacy is formed and functions. Chapter 8 includes an examination of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in relation to Bryan Wilson's sect/denomination typology (1967) and Dandelion's description of the adult Quaker group as an 'uncertain sect' (2004b). In this chapter I argue that the adolescent Quaker group is sectarian in nature but is differently configured from the adult Quaker group. I consider the position of the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the adult Quaker group and describe the structural links and cultural disconnections between the two groups. I describe three different perspectives of the relationship between the two groups and argue that the adolescent Quaker group is a sect that is hidden from adult Quakers at both institutional and popular levels. In the final chapter I detail the key findings of this research and outline the original points I have made. I highlight the implications and consequences of this research for existing scholarship in a variety of fields: that of Quaker studies, where it challenges a number of existing theories, the study of youth and religion, and also the sociology of religion and the wider sociology of groups and sub-cultures.

1.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have provided an outline of this thesis including the key theoretical perspectives that it explores. I have set the research within its context, both academic and Quaker and I have given an outline of the analysis covered in each chapter.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I detail the constituency and sample for this research and outline and evaluate the research methods used. I engage in critical reflection on the methods used focusing particularly on issues of insider research and ethical issues concerning research with adolescents.

2.2 Constituency and Sample

This study focuses on adolescent Quakers in Britain between the ages of 11 and 18. Although Keats defines adolescents as young people roughly between the ages of 12 and 18, she emphasises that 'adolescence is a stage of development rather than a specific age range' (2000:101). Although there is a degree of arbitrariness in this age division it was chosen for two reasons. Firstly it is used at Quaker events, and in Local Meetings, for dividing adolescents into different groupings.⁵ Secondly 11 is the age at which young people go to secondary school and all those participating in the research were at secondary school. Keats states that 'the shift from the atmosphere of the primary school to that of the ... secondary school at the age of around 12 is a change of great significance' (2000:101). I contend that in addition to this a similar significance exists at the age of 11 in organised Quakerism because a number of residential events for young Quakers operate with 11 as a lower age limit.

⁵ Typically at Quaker gatherings event there may be one group covering the ages of 11 to 13, another group for those aged 13 to 15 and a final group for those aged 15 to 18. In addition to this there are a number of age specific events for 11 to 14 year olds and 15 to 18 year olds.

At the start of the fieldwork there was a major difficulty in that the precise size of the constituency for this research was unknown, largely due to the fact that records of membership do not include individuals' ages. There were several different potential sources of data for assessing this figure. In 2002 the official published figure of those aged under 16 either in membership or associated with a particular meeting in Britain Yearly Meeting was 3804 (Britain Yearly Meeting 2002)⁶. In 2001 Britain Yearly Meeting Children and Young People's Committee [G] reported that the total of those aged nought to 18 involved in Quaker meetings and other activities was 5000 (CYPC 2001). Taken together this would suggest that those aged 16-18 represented almost a quarter of all children and young people. I contend that this is unlikely and I suggest that both these figures, in particular the latter, are inaccurate. These figures do not give a breakdown by age and therefore it is impossible to discover the number of adolescents (that is those aged 11 to 18) that are either members or attenders.

In order to address this issue, the study included preparatory research into the numbers and ages of children and adolescents associated with the Religious Society of Friends in Britain (see Table 2.1). I wrote to area meeting [G] clerks and asked them to provide numbers and ages of young people aged between 11 and 18 who were involved in or associated with local Quaker meetings. Approximately 60% of area meetings responded. For those area meetings that did not respond I wrote to local meeting [G] clerks asking them to provide the same information. Taken together figures were collected for 476 Preparative Meetings (representing 97.7% of the total for Britain Yearly Meeting). While this appears to be gathering the same data as the tabular statement [G] I argue that it was

⁶ This figure comes from the annual Tabular Statement[G] an official document that was nonetheless described to me by a former Area Meeting Clerk[G] as "that great fairytale" (Field Notes December 2002). These figures are collected from Area Meeting Clerks, often on the basis of lists of members and from data provided to the Area Meeting by local meetings. The number of adult members in 2002 was 16074, with 8719 recognised attenders.

more rigorous given that in their responses many area meetings excluded those young people who did not attend meeting despite appearing on lists of members and attenders. Some area meetings responded by providing numbers of those listed which gave no reflection of the individuals' relationship with the meeting, level of involvement or frequency of attendance, and included some who never came. Despite these inconsistencies and potential flaws, I suggest that these figures are the most accurate it is possible to obtain. They provide details of ages of those involved as well as gender and membership status and they also attempt to discount those individuals who appear on official lists but have no real connection with the Religious Society of Friends. However these figures still represent an over-estimate of the number of adolescents involved in Quakerism in Britain because they may still include individuals who appear on lists of members and attenders but have no active connection and might omit others who are actively involved in adolescent Quaker activities on a regional and national basis but have little or no connection with a local meeting.

Category	Number
Male Members	43
Female Members	51
Total Members	94
Male Attenders	810
Female Attenders	947
Total Attenders	1757
Total (97.7% of meetings)	1851
Estimated total	1898

Table 2.1: 11 to 18 year olds in the Religious Society of Friends in Britain showing details of gender and membership status.

A total of 418 individuals took part in the fieldwork for this research. This represents 22% of the constituency. 307 individuals completed the questionnaire and 124 participated in

group interviews; some adolescents who completed questionnaires also participated in group interviews.

2.3 Choice of methods

Erricker and Erricker argue that because of the emphasis of quantitative research methods on testing a hypothesis and aiming for a definite proof (1996:186) such methods may not be appropriate for researching adolescent spirituality. Qualitative research is, by its nature, exploratory and is not intended to prove a particular hypothesis, but to provide descriptive data about a local situation and seek to uncover possible propositions, links and conclusions (Erricker and Erricker 1996:186).

Qualitative research methods seek to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people give them (Denzin and Lincoln 1998:2). These methods emphasise how social experience is created and given meaning and more closely represent the situation as experienced by the participants or, 'actors' involved in the situation (Denzin and Lincoln 1998:8). Qualitative data is rich in description of people, places and conversations and is not easily handled by statistical procedures (Erricker and Erricker 1996:186). However a potential problem with qualitative research, that of the academic being unable to view the situation from the participants' perspective, may be exacerbated by the age gap between myself as the researcher and the participants in this study. This issue will be examined in greater depth below (2.5).

The 'description of the perspectives of a particular category or group of people, or of patterns of interaction' can be valuable 'because it may open up to challenge the preconceptions that social scientists bring to research' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:22). Hammersley and Atkinson argue that this is particularly true of subcultures

where 'describing such 'worlds' tests assumptions and creates theory' (1983:23). I suggest that this approach is particularly valuable when undertaking research with previously unresearched groups such as adolescent Quakers. The goal of the current research is to do this. Rather than proving a particular hypothesis, the goal of this research is to investigate and illustrate adolescent Quaker beliefs and practices. As a result I used largely qualitative research methods; including open-ended questionnaires, group interviews, conversations with individual adolescents and participant observation. Some quantitative data gathered from questionnaires is included.

Empirical data was gathered through a questionnaire combining a mixture of closed questions and open-ended questions, through group interview sessions and through participant observation. I also contacted individuals to follow up responses and ask additional questions for clarification and expansion.

A case study of adolescents in one area meeting was considered but ruled out because case studies are, by their nature, not representative. Given the diversity both of area meetings and, more importantly, the variety of involvement of adolescents within different area meetings it would be difficult, and unhelpful to make generalisations from a small case study. Given the exploratory nature of this research and the fact that there is no prior research of this group I suggest that a case study would have been unproductive in comparison to a larger, more widespread, sample.

Bosacki and Ota note that few researchers have actually interviewed adolescents on their perceptions of religion and spirituality (2000:207). Given this I contend that it is significant that primary research with adolescents is central to the fieldwork for this study, and

suggest that this aspect of the research has implications for other studies of youth and religion (Best 2008a:111).

2.4 Data Gathering and Analysis

In this section I outline the different methods used for collecting data and the reasons for using these methods. I argue that the use of mixed methods and the size of the sample overcomes the danger of data collection by a single method. Data gathered from questionnaires, group interviews and individual conversations is, wherever possible, presented with the age and gender of the individual concerned and the date of the fieldwork. This gives important background information to the evidence whilst retaining the confidentiality of the individual adolescents concerned.

2.4.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was chosen because of the ease of distribution to a large number of potential respondents and the large amount of data that can be obtained with relative ease. A combination of open-ended and closed questions was used in order to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data from the Young Quaker Questionnaire (YQQ). This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 1.

The Young Quaker Questionnaire was piloted in March 2003 amongst a sample group of nine adolescent Quakers aged between 12 and 17. I was present whilst the pilot group completed the questionnaires, in order to answer questions for clarification and monitor the length of time taken. Each member of the pilot group was given a feedback sheet for comments and I also conducted a short discussion to obtain comments on the questionnaire. Following the pilot a number of changes were made to the questionnaire. This included adding the number scale to questions 17 (Do you believe in God?) and 23 (Is

Jesus an important figure in your spiritual life?), at the suggestion of those who participated in the pilot, in order to allow people to give a wider range of responses to these two questions rather than just provide a 'yes' or 'no'. Questions 7 and 8 appeared in the pilot as a combined question with two parts, but were separated in the final questionnaire in order to give greater clarity.

Particular care and attention was paid to the wording of the questionnaire to ensure that adolescents from across the age range were able to understand the questions. The questionnaire was limited to 26 questions which were presented over four sides of A4 paper presented as a folded booklet. Questionnaires were reproduced on yellow paper. This was chosen both to maximise the ease of reading text on a yellow background for adolescents with dyslexia (<http://www.bdadyslexia.org.uk/extra360.html>) and also to make the questionnaires attractive. Small Quaker cartoons (Wilkinson and Friends General Conference Religious Education Committee 1998) were included in the questionnaire to break up the flow of text, possibly provide amusement and make the questionnaires interesting and appealing. The questionnaires were distributed at the following events for young Friends between April and August 2003: Junior Yearly Meeting (April) [G], Britain Yearly Meeting Summer Gathering [G] (July), Southern Summer School [G] (August) and Southern Senior Conference [G] (August). I was present during the distribution of the majority of the questionnaires. This ensured a greater response rate and enabled me to explain the nature of the research and to make it clear that I was not testing them but rather that I was interested in their personal responses.

Junior Yearly Meeting (JYM) was selected because it is the only national event specifically for 16-18 year olds⁷. Participants are nominated as representatives by area meetings and Quaker schools. In 2003 124 participants attended representing 55 Monthly Meetings (out of a total of 72). There were also representatives from five Quaker schools and three overseas Yearly Meetings. Junior Yearly Meeting was also chosen because of its significance within Britain Yearly Meeting (*Quaker faith and practice* 4.18, 8.05) and for adolescent Quakers:

JYM is an important point in many young people's spiritual journeys, providing signposts for directions in which they might like to travel ... it is about offering a place where they feel at home to explore their beliefs motivations and direction (Penny 2003).

The selection of the other events was opportunistic sampling and the events were chosen largely because I was given the opportunity to distribute questionnaires at them. However events were also selected to ensure that the results collected were representative of the age range of the constituency. Questionnaires were distributed and collected from participants at these events. The response rate for the questionnaires was 100%. Participation was voluntary and individuals could choose not to complete a questionnaire. However at these events the questionnaires were distributed during scheduled programme time which may have reduced the extent to which participants felt they could opt-out. The possibility of writing to area meeting clerks with a request to forward questionnaires to all those aged between 11 and 18 on their lists of members and attenders was rejected. While this method would have had the advantage of covering adolescents who hadn't attended national or regional events and had a different sphere of involvement it would have depended on area meeting clerks determining which adolescents could be classed as 'involved' and distributing the questionnaires. I suggest

⁷ This was correct at the time of research; the age grouping was subsequently changed to include 15 year olds.

that their willingness to do so would have been influenced by their personal opinion of the research. As this research project was not officially sanctioned it may have been viewed negatively by area meeting clerks or even rejected on the basis of their opinion or whether they had personal knowledge of me as a researcher and as a Quaker. A postal questionnaire would also have had a lower response rate.

A second questionnaire, the Quaker Events Questionnaire (QEQ), was used to obtain data specifically in relation to Quaker events for young people (Best 2007). The adolescents contacted had previously completed the Young Quaker Questionnaire and indicated a willingness to be contacted to participate in further research. Those contacted were selected at random from this group; sixteen questionnaires were sent to ten females and six males aged between 14 and 19. Thirteen questionnaires were returned (four from males and nine from females) giving a response rate of 81%. The Quaker Events Questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix 2.

2.4.2 Interviews

I chose group interviews because they are often used to obtain adolescent's views (Keats 2000:102). It is a way of 'capturing people's opinions, feelings and practice, their experience and the kind of atmosphere in which they act and respond' (Wisker 2001:164). It is common practice at Quaker events for young people to use small groups to encourage discussion and sharing and so this approach was a familiar and less intimidating environment for those participating in the research. Group interview sessions were used to obtain data relating to issues of importance to adolescent Quakers, their attitudes towards Quaker belief and practice; ways in which their beliefs find practical expression; and personal religious and spiritual experience. The group interviews took the form of participatory workshops which included a number of exercises designed to enable

participants to explore issues being researched and give personal reflections (See Appendix 3 for an interview schedule). The sessions were semi-structured and included both group and individual activities. As Wisker states, 'the use of some structured and clear questions in a schedule does help the group to stay on the point and to focus clearly and specifically' (Wisker 2001:176). The activities and format used in the group interviews were not formally piloted with an initial group because I had personal experience of undertaking similar exercises in previous workshops with adolescent Quakers. My experience of running similar sessions at Quaker events for young people enabled me to make them less like interviews. A mixture of styles and methods were used including activities which did not, in themselves reveal any data but were part of the process of putting the group at ease.

These sessions were recorded using a minidisc⁸ and then transcribed ensuring that there was no need for me to take notes which would have hampered my facilitation of the sessions. Interview participants were informed prior to the start of the session that the interview would be recorded. Data gathered from the group interviews was in the form of individual comments and reflections on topics addressed or questions asked; in the form of group 'quick thinks' on certain questions and key words or in the form of drawings and written material from both individuals and groups.⁹

⁸ A minidisc recorder was chosen for a number of reasons. The size of the recorder and microphone meant that the recording was unobtrusive. The recording quality was good, which was necessary because the sessions were often conducted in large rooms with groups in circles rather than seated around a microphone. I did not need to change tapes or turn over at any point because of continuous recording time of up to four hours.

⁹ For example, in the focus-group interviews, participants were asked to work in small groups to illustrate and describe the characteristic of a 'stereotypical young Quaker' and, in a separate exercise to identify and write down their 'Quaker priorities': those elements of Quakerism which they identify as being the most important for them.

Focus group interviews were carried out at residential Quaker events for young people. A total of six group interview sessions were undertaken of these two separate groups were interviewed at Britain Yearly Meeting's Summer Gathering (July 2003) and one at each of Yorkshire Link Group (September 2003), Warwickshire Junior Young Friends and Lancashire and Cheshire Teenage General Meeting (both December 2003). Two separate interview sessions took place with the same group at Lancashire and Cheshire Teenage General Meeting. The interview schedule for the sessions is reproduced in Appendix 3. Summer Gathering was chosen because the more family orientated nature of the event, and its focus on personal religious exploration rather than formal business (Dandelion 1996:314; *Loughborough Summer Gathering 2003 Booking Leaflet*). I approached nine local link groups to conduct group interview sessions. Those link groups selected for group interviews were the groups that responded to my approach. One factor, limiting the number of groups I was able to conduct interviews with was that many of these groups were unable to include my sessions in programme arranged in advance of the six months notice I gave. All the group interviews with link groups took place as part of weekends the group had already arranged. The groups that participated in the sessions were pre-existing groups where there was some degree of familiarity between members, although the amounts of time that they had been a group varied. One difficulty arising from this was that the individuals had no explicit choice whether or not they could participate in the group interviews as they were part of the group and may not have been aware in advance of the event that the interview session would be taking place. A further potential difficulty is that of peer pressure which may result in adolescents not wanting to vocalise thoughts or beliefs that would set them apart from the group. In order to minimise this I gave repeated 'opt-outs' giving participants the choice over whether or not to participate in activities or to share their thoughts and responses. I also suggest that the fact that the participants were used to sharing with each other reduced their reticence. There is a

difficulty that conversation or contributions may have been dominated by particular individuals. In order to minimise this difficulty in addition to allowing anyone to respond to the questions and stimuli I directed particular questions at particular individuals in order to ensure that there was a range of responses to individual questions in the interview as a whole. All participants were allowed to opt-out of any part of the group interview or to 'pass' on answering any questions. Although some interview participants chose not to answer questions, in the majority of instances they only opted out of one question each during the interview and all joined in with the majority of the interview session.

I considered using semi-structured, open-ended interviews with individual adolescents. However the logistical difficulties in arranging, planning and conducting individual interviews and obtaining consent from parents and the need to address the complex ethical issues around conducting individual interviews with adolescents, would have proved prohibitive. Although I remained open to the possibility of using a limited number of individual interviews to supplement the group interviews I decided that the data I had obtained from the questionnaires and the group interviews was of sufficient quality and quantity that individual interviews were unnecessary. I did however undertake two informal interviews with two adolescents specifically focused on the issue of membership (5.3). Both of these adolescents were 18 at the time of the interview, which negated the need for parental consent.

2.4.3 Participant Observation

I undertook participant observation of Quaker events for young people including worship, discussion groups, other activities and informal conversations, for example at mealtimes and during free time. I also undertook participant observation of adolescent Quakers during Meetings for Worship with adult Quakers. The primary aim of this was to identify the corporate spiritual practices of adolescent Quakers. I have also included evidence

gathered from informal and unstructured conversations with individual young Friends and adult Quakers.

I also gathered data from two internet discussion forums for adolescent Quakers. One was an open forum connected to the central Quaker website (<http://u19s.quaker.org.uk>) this was closed down in 2006. The second was a members only forum where, in order to become a member, one had to be 'vouched for' by an existing member. I knew the moderators of this board and sent a message explaining my research and requesting to join. Once I was approved I posted a message that was visible to all members explaining my research and asking anyone who was not happy with me using their anonymised comments to contact me, no one took this option. Data gathered from these sites is used to supplement interview data and no questions or topics were raised not covered by the questionnaire or group interviews.

Participant observation 'involves the researcher becoming part of the group they observe and the transfer of the whole person into an imaginative and emotional experience in which the fieldworker learns to live in and understand the new world' (Lacey quoted in Wisker 2001:178). Participant observation entails particular difficulties that need to be addressed by the researcher. As Wisker states, 'participant observation depends on not sticking out too differently from the group you are observing. It also requires that you do not become a thorough going member of the group' (2001:183). This issue is of particular relevance to this study given that I undertook participant observation as an 'insider' to the group and the context and I give further consideration to this below (2.5.1).

2.4.4 Analysis and Presentation of data

Both Qualitative and quantitative data was collected through questionnaires. Quantitative data comprised responses to closed questions, multiple choice questions or scale ranking questions. These responses were coded for analysis. Qualitative data included responses to open-ended questions and additional responses given under the category of 'other'.

Responses to these questions were grouped and coded following an initial reading of the questionnaires. Where an 'other' response gained more than 1% of answers it was deemed notable. For example in response to YQQ Question 12, 3% of adolescents identified as agnostic despite this not being amongst the original categories (5.22). Responses were analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). Further qualitative data was gathered from group interviews and participant observation. Interview transcripts and field notes were grouped into several categories depending on their subject. These categories were: belief, practice, involvement, and identity. Notes were kept in paper form and pages headed and cross referenced where comments were relevant to more than one category).

Direct quotes from questionnaires, group interviews, participant observation and other fieldwork are given in italics and indented throughout. Data and quotations from the Young Quaker Questionnaire are indicated by 'YQQ' in the text and from the Quaker Events Questionnaire by 'QEQ' in the text. Data from interviews gives the date of the interview, together with the age and gender of respondents where it is possible to ascertain this. With some responses, such as those written on a flip chart by an interview participant, or responses from a group it was not possible to identify a single respondent and thus only the date is given. Data from participant observation, and other data gathered during the research is cited as 'field notes' throughout. Dates of field notes are given where this is known.

2.5 Ethical Considerations

In this section I consider the ethical issues connected with this research. I consider specific ethical problems relating to insider research and issues relating to undertaking research with Quaker groups as a Quaker researcher. I outline some of the issues faced by insider researchers in relation to the current research project given my closeness to the context, group and subject of the research. I also explore ethical issues relating to undertaking research with adolescents. Given the subject of my research there are substantial ethical considerations that need to be taken into account. I outline the ways in which these issues were addressed in fieldwork and the analysis. I argue that my experience of working with adolescent Quakers in a non-academic context increased my ability to address some of the ethical considerations faced during this research.

2.5.1 Insider Research

At this stage it is appropriate to declare my Quaker background and current involvement. Although these are both a reason for my interest in the topic and part of my credentials for undertaking research with adolescent Quakers, they also create methodological difficulties.

Like Dandelion (1996:37-38) I occupied different roles during the time of this research project which corresponded to different levels of insidership, both in relation to the Quaker group as a whole and in relation to the adolescent Quaker group .

Year	Arenas of primary Quaker involvement	Position in relation to adolescent Quaker group
1	Local and regional	Volunteer facilitator at regional and national events
2	Local and regional	Volunteer facilitator at regional and national events
3	Local and national	Volunteer facilitator at regional and national events, Volunteer in local meeting
4	Local and national	Full-time freelance involvement in local, regional and national events
5	National	Part-time employee national organisation, Paid organiser of national events
6	National	Full-time employee national organisation, Paid organiser of national events

Table 2.2: Stages of insider identity during the research process

My previous participation in the general context both as an adolescent participant myself, having grown up as a Quaker and as an adult facilitator at events, gave me privileged access. I was able to co-opt the commitment of those responsible for these events because I was known to them. In each of the groups that completed the questionnaire and participated in the group interview sessions I had the advantage of knowing the individuals, or committees, that were responsible for organising these events and thus were the 'gate-keepers' to these particular group. Through these personal contacts I was able to negotiate access to the groups of young people who completed the questionnaire and participated in the group interview sessions. Much of this access was achieved through pre-existing personal relationships with adults and young people in these groups. This was crucial in enabling me to use the chosen research methods effectively and increased the participants' willingness to share, thereby increasing my access to information.

As Dandelion states, 'personal involvement and mutual familiarity help build an attitude of trust towards the researcher' (1996:41). I suggest that I was also helped by the fact that some of those I approached had an interest in the subject area of this research. This 'insider' involvement also carries the advantage of my being an insider to the particular context of adolescent Quakerism. As a result both 'technical problems of understanding the context are diminished' (Dandelion 1996:39) and 'insider familiarity helps achieve knowledge of a situation' (Dandelion 1996:40). However this research is not an official investigation and will not result in any policy recommendations but comes instead from an academic standpoint.

Whilst insider observation gives 'privileged insights' (Wisker 2001:165) there are serious implications for the researcher. Given my involvement in Quakerism in general and Quaker events for young people in particular I am an 'insider to the context' (Dandelion 1996:37), both of Quakerism and events and activities for adolescent Quakers. However I am an outsider in that I am not, myself, an adolescent Quaker. I contend that my experience, knowledge and position as an insider to the context placed me in a privileged position in terms of conducting the research, gave me access to individuals, and enabled me to obtain data from adolescents, in the form of personal comments, that another researcher, particularly one from outside the Quaker group, may not have been able to access. My role at each of the events where I undertook fieldwork was slightly different, and therefore the extent to which was an 'insider' to the particular groups varied. At Junior Yearly Meeting and Southern Summer School I was an adult volunteer as part of the team responsible for the gathering during which the questionnaires were completed and observation was conducted. The group interviews were conducted as workshop sessions at Quaker events for young people. At these events, on one level I was outside of the group and could be described as fitting into the role of a visiting speaker (in a way similar to other individuals

invited to speak at these events). However I joined these groups for either a few hours (Summer Gathering and Yorkshire Link Group), an evening (Warwickshire Junior Young Friends) or a whole weekend (Lancashire and Cheshire Teenage General Meeting). I contend that as the amount of time that I was with the group increased so I became more integrated into the group and less of an outsider.

Dandelion states that, in the field of Quaker Studies 'the insider starts from a privileged position of understanding the language and culture of the group she or he is researching. They may be trusted more by their respondents because of this or because of the ability to assimilate into new Quaker settings more easily' (2004a: 234). I suggest that this is particularly the case with adolescent Quakers where the setting may be unfamiliar even to other adult Friends. I suggest that my prior personal involvement in Quaker events for young people enabled me to assimilate quickly into new groups because of familiarity with the structure and nature of such events. Hodkinson highlights the insider's ability to 'participate authentically', leading to a generous flow of informally volunteered information (2005:138). My experience with particular context of the adolescent Quaker group enabled me to create 'a relaxed atmosphere conducive to open conversation and willingness to disclose' (Hodkinson 2005:139). In each of the situations where I undertook focus-group interviews and participant observation I made a conscious effort to participate in other activities, both formal and informal and to speak informally to adolescents on subjects of interest to them, in order to increase the level to which I could be seen as part of the group. While conducting the group interview sessions I was very conscious that I dressed informally and in a style similar to the young people, for example wearing jeans and t-shirts. This was both to appear non-threatening and to increase my assimilation into the group. I would argue that this increased the extent to which I was seen as an insider and thus increased the level of trust of the participants.

There are also particular considerations for Quaker ethnographers studying Quaker groups as is the case with this research. Nesbitt describes Quaker ethnographers studying a Quaker group as fitting into a category of 'uncomfortable insider' (2002:135) and as 'facing conflicting priorities' (2002:143). She states that 'in studying Quakers, balancing the roles of academic and adept was challenging' (Nesbitt 2002:143). This difficulty can arise because 'when researching Quakers the Quaker ethnographer's relationships are affected by the fact that other Quakers perceive him/her as a Quaker, even forgetting that s/he is also conducting research' (Nesbitt 2002:144). This was certainly something that I experienced, particularly as some of the conversations I had with adolescents and the interviews I conducted were similar to those I would have undertaken as an adult facilitator with the group. As Collins states:

One's membership of a group, that is one's status as an insider/outsider is, to a large extent, an intricate process of negotiation... My sense of belonging was determined not only by my own perceptions but also by those of others (Collins 2002b:86).

Hodkinson identifies differing levels of proximity and states that 'one's precise level of proximity is liable to fluctuate somewhat from one respondent to the next' (2005:139). Those participants I knew prior to the research may have regarded me as more of an insider than those I met for the first time when undertaking the research because of increased proximity to them as individuals and to their experience of the adolescent Quaker group. The fact that I was an insider to the group facilitated contacting respondents with follow up questions in order to both clarify responses from particular individuals and to ask further questions which I discovered might not have been covered. I suggest that my continued involvement in the adolescent Quaker group enabled this

contact to take place and that an outside researcher may not have had these opportunities.

My prior involvement and my experience as a facilitator at such events however is not without difficulty. Dandelion states that there is a problem of 'participants seeing the Quaker researcher only as a Quaker and thus, by default, turning the research process into a covert one' (2004a: 235). Although I took care to explain my research to groups involved in the group interviews there is a danger that I was not sufficiently distant from the research process, partly because of the nature of the non-traditional structure of the interviews and partly because of my familiarity with the particular setting of Quaker events for young people.

Because group identity is of major importance to adolescent Quakers (Chapter 7) a researcher who is seen as 'outside' the group although an insider to the general Quaker context may not have access to the same information as a researcher who is able to become an 'insider' to the group. Because of this I would suggest that I was given more access than might have been available even to another Quaker researcher who was not an insider to the particular context of adolescent Quakers. However, Hodkinson argues that there is no monolithic insider view (2005:141). That I am a Quaker and involved in events gives me insider status, the fact that I am an adult¹⁰ creates barriers:

Dichotomised rubrics such as ... insider/outsider are inadequate to capture the complex and multifaceted experiences of some researchers... who find themselves neither total 'insiders' or 'outsiders' in relation to individuals who they interview' (Song and Parker 1995:243).

10 At the time of the fieldwork I was 26 and 27 years old, there was therefore between a 9 and 16 year age gap between myself and the research participants.

I suggest therefore that I was in part an insider and in part an outsider, particularly in relation to being outside adolescent culture and language. I am conscious that when I have been involved in Quaker events for young people as a facilitator rather than a researcher I have still viewed events from a researchers perspective. Pilgrim and Moore address the issue of being both within group activity and on the outside of it observing the group (Moore 2004:59, Pilgrim 2004:223). At some events the research I undertook was unintentionally covert to a certain extent. As with Dandelion (1996:48), some adolescents asked about my research or were aware that I was undertaking research on adolescent Quakers without being aware that research was under way at that very moment. I also undertook participant observation where I was in a dual role of adult volunteer and researcher; this included events where I distributed questionnaires but participants may not have been explicitly aware I was also undertaking research at other times during the event. As a result I found myself constantly and inadvertently collecting data covertly (Pilgrim 2004:223). This required me to make decisions 'about what could acceptably be used as data and what could not' (Pilgrim 2004:223). During the fieldwork I discovered that much of my data was gathered from informal conversations with individuals and small groups. I include data gathering both in formal group sessions and informal conversations, for example, during meals, free-time, etc. My criteria for acceptability was that adolescents understood the purpose of my research and were willing for me to use the data in my research. I found that on a very few occasions these conversations continued over several days during residential events or even over different encounters.

Abell et al describe interviewers' acts of 'doing similarity' through self-disclosure (2006:241) in order to enable adolescents to identify with an interviewer. This is connected with an interviewer's position as either an insider or outsider. I suggest that this is relevant to the current research given my status as an insider researcher.

Abell et al argue that in research with adolescents:

interviewee and interviewer negotiate appropriate identities for themselves within an interview interaction, sharing concerns about how to present one's self, one's knowledge and one's similarity or difference from the other (2006:241).

In undertaking the fieldwork I attempted to negotiate my similarity to, and differences from, interview participants. In the interview introductions I stated that I was a Quaker, (which was also evident from my participation in events), that I understood key Quaker terms and aligned myself with important Quaker values, indicating a level of similarity with interview participants. In this way I aimed to indicate a level of similarity with interview participants.

Reinharz and Chase state that when interviewers share ideas and experiences related to the interview topic it can encourage participants to be more forthcoming (2003:79). In contrast Abell et al suggest self-disclosure can inhibit interview participants 'when it might convey the interviewer's greater category entitlement' i.e. their authority to speak on a particular topic (2006:235). In order to minimise this risk I used the introduction to the interview to state explicitly that I wanted their views and that the research was impossible without their contribution. As a youth work practitioner I have an awareness of differences between myself and adolescents and, as a result, I was able to make it explicit to interview participants that it was their views, experiences, beliefs and reflections I was interested in. I stated, for example, that there were no wrong answers and I wasn't testing them. As part of the interview I asked participants to complete a sheet with their names and ages (this was in order to enable me to identify respondents by age and gender). In doing so I joked that this was so 'I could prove that I had spoken to real live young Quakers' (Field Notes) thus conveying to them that I saw myself as different because I am not an adolescent. I also

asked for clarification and explanation of particular activities that respondents knew in depth, in order to demonstrate my difference and lack of knowledge of their particular situation despite my knowledge of Quakerism in general and the particular context of the adolescent Quaker group. I suggest also that interview participants will have negotiated appropriate identities for themselves within a session. What is crucial is how an interviewer's 'similarity' is received by interview participants (Abell et al 2006:241) I contend that during the fieldwork the extent to which I was part of the group, and my role in relation to the group which, as discussed above, varied between the different groups, influenced participant's reception of my similarity or difference from them.

Dandelion states that 'those Friends who study the current situation face the problem of discovering something highly disruptive to their regular Quaker lives' (2004a:236). Similarly, Pilgrim has reflected that she found her research lead to 'increasingly uncomfortable questions for me *personally* regarding Quakerism and Quakers' (2004:207). Whilst I have not found my own sense of identity as a Quaker being challenged (Pilgrim 2004:223), I have felt discomfort at some of my findings, particularly the marginalisation of adolescents within the Religious Society of Friends (Chapter 8) and have been challenged by the extent to which adolescents accept plurality of belief within Quaker groups. I am aware that when my research is published my own sense of place within British Quakerism will be affected (Dandelion 2004a:227). There is a connected danger that insider researchers take on, or are seen in, the role of 'sub-cultural spokesperson rather than of critical analyst' (Hodkinson 2005:145). I suggest that this may particularly be the case given my non-research involvement with the adolescent Quaker group. I have been asked by adult Quakers whether my findings will be unpopular, that is, corporately uncomfortable to adults within the Religious Society of Friends and particularly if there would be any 'personal consequences' for me as the 'messenger of any bad news' (Field Notes,

December 2004). Any such consequences will become apparent when my study is placed in the public domain.

Dandelion states that Quaker Studies scholars have often 'researched what attracts them' (2004a:227). I acknowledge that this is the case with my research, given my past involvement with the adolescent Quaker group and my interest, outside this research in adolescent Quaker belief, practice and spirituality. Because of this there is a danger that I may feel too passionately about the outcomes of the research (Dandelion 2004a: 235). This may be a result of wanting to do justice to those that have participated in the research and who have shared their deepest thoughts, feelings and beliefs with me. They have told me their stories and it is my responsibility to accurately portray adolescent Quaker beliefs, practices and theology. However data obtained from questionnaire responses is statistically verifiable. The research is conducted within an academic context and is obviously open to re-interpretation and challenge within an academic framework. The research does not set out to prove or disprove any particular hypothesis. Given the comments I have already received about the potentially controversial outcomes of the research I will take extra care to ensure that all analysis is substantiated.

A further difficulty for Quaker researchers of Quakerism relates to their ability to see beyond the Quaker content of the material (Dandelion 2004a:227). I draw comparisons between adolescent Quakerism and research relating to religiously affiliated adolescents (1.3 above) and highlight implications of this research for the study of youth and religion and the sociology of religion more generally (9.3.2 & 9.3.3).

2.5.2 Research with adolescents

In addition to the ethical considerations relating to insider research mentioned above (2.5), there are particular ethical issues relating to undertaking research with adolescents. These include the cognitive and linguistic ability of participants and the particularities of adolescent communication, as well as issues relating to child protection. Amongst adolescents there is a wide range of physical development and 'an equally wide range of cognitive and personality development' (Keats 2000:103) and although 'linguistic ability is well developed amongst adolescents... some are better able to express their ideas than others' (Keats 2000:103). Although the subject is the same for all participants in this study there are 'differences in maturity of conceptualisation, in... language styles and in... concerns and social relations' (Keats 2000:103) which reflect the age of the individual participants and which will be evident in individual responses. Keats draws attention to the problems of teenage language which, she argues, 'is intended to keep adults uninformed as much as to communicate between themselves.' Importantly, this language is highly influenced by advertising and the peer group culture (Keats 2000:104). In addition to considerations about verbal communication, 'teenagers can be very expressive in their body language especially when emotional involvement is high' (Keats 2000:104). I have already identified above (2.5.1) that the area of adolescent language, and in particular slang, was an area in which I was an outside researcher.

Keats mentions the difficulty of establishing rapport if the interviewer has 'had little experience with young people' (Keats 2000:104). My prior involvement with the adolescent Quaker group and experience of working with adolescent Quakers across the age range of the study in settings similar to those used for group interviews minimised difficulties in establishing rapport and enabled me to take account of unpredictability and variability in responses which results from 'the maturity in some aspects of adolescents lives and their

later development in other aspects' (Keats 2000:104). During the fieldwork I sought to ensure that the interview topic was of interest to adolescents and to convey to adolescents that I was seeking their thoughts and beliefs. Because 'if the interview topic is of mutual concern, and the interviewer genuinely wants the opinion of the adolescent respondent the relationship can become very rewarding' (Keats 2000:104). Similarly Dandelion states that 'the research agenda of the insider scholar may more closely match the personal interests of the Quaker subjects' (2004a: 234).

When interviewing adolescents it is important to ensure that appropriate relationships are maintained between adult researchers and adolescent respondents this is particularly the case when a researcher and respondent meet in person (e.g. for an interview). I addressed any potential issues by undertaking group interviews in settings with other adults present in the building. As a youth worker I also had an enhanced Criminal Records Bureau disclosure that is required for employees and volunteers working with children and young people within the Religious Society of Friends (Quaker Life 2008).

2.5.3 The Halo Effect

In all research there is the danger of a 'halo effect' (Becker 1958:655) which may result in participants giving responses that they believe will please the researcher, rather than give accurate and honest responses. This danger can be amplified with adolescent participants wanting to give the 'right answer', and by the adult researcher being in a position of power in relation to adolescent participants. This may have been the case with this research, in particular in the situations where I was in a formal role, either as an adult volunteer or a visitor. However I suggest that the emphasis of these particular events on empowering young people and giving them responsibility for organising and 'up-fronting' activities mitigates this difficulty. In relation to the questionnaire I contend that my presence during

the distribution of questionnaires for the majority of the sample gave me the opportunity to explain the research and the nature of the questionnaire and that I was seeking honest answers may have, in part, negated the 'halo effect'. I further sought to address this difficulty through the use of group interviews and suggest that adolescents may be less reserved in a group. However, as already mentioned, this must be weighed against the disadvantageous likelihood that adolescents may feel pressurized to conform to the common group position reflecting a desire for acceptance by their peer group which might limit the full sharing of their personal thoughts. During group interviews I emphasised that I wanted honest responses and the introduction to the questionnaire included the following statement: 'Please be honest and answer for yourself – there are no right or wrong answers' (see Appendix 1). I suggest that the fact that I knew many of these young people in a context outside of the research may have lessened the extent to which they saw me as a researcher who was seeking particular answers may have also lessened the halo effect.

A further issue, similar to the halo effect and particularly relating to insider research by Quakers is the issue of the ascription of weight as outlined by Dandelion (1996:212ff). 'Weight' is conferred on particular individuals on the basis of: 'ministry in Meeting for Worship; business meeting contributions; ... responsibility and visibility; personal qualities; reputation' (Dandelion 1996:213). Given my role as an involved adult, weight may have been conferred by interview participants and this may have influence their responses. This influence may be different from that experienced by other researchers. The fact of my personal relationship with these young people, and the associated respect, equality and mutual trust that is characteristic of the youth worker/adolescent relationship within Quaker events, may actually have acted against the ascription of weight and have meant that they were more inclined to give truthful answers.

2.6 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have given an account of how a count of the constituency was obtained, and defined the sample. I have described and explained the choice of both qualitative and quantitative methods. This research has used a variety of methods in order to obtain both general statistical data and more focused personal insights into the research questions. Consideration has been given to my place as an insider, both to the group and to the particular context of adolescent Quakerism. I have examined the particular difficulties faced by Quaker researchers of Quaker studies and ethical considerations relating to insider research. I argued that my position as a Quaker with particular experience of work with adolescents and the resulting skills, knowledge and contacts has given me privileged access that may not have been afforded to a researcher unfamiliar to the particular context. I have reflected on my personal interest in the research topic and addressed the issue of possible bias. I outlined the measures taken in attempting to minimise the negative effects of insider status and maximise the positive effects. I also addressed and reflected on the ethical considerations of research with adolescents.

CHAPTER 3

PRACTICE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the religious practices of adolescent Quakers. I identify levels of involvement of adolescents in the activities of the Religious Society of Friends (3.2), including both local Meetings for Worship (3.2.2) and Quaker events for young people (3.2.1). I consider individuals' reasons for their involvement (3.2.4) the importance individuals place on their Quaker involvement and the impact of involvement on individuals' lives (3.2.5). I examine the form, content and nature of adolescent Quaker worship¹¹ (3.3), both in relation to adolescent Quakers' participation in local meetings for worship, and worship at Quaker events for young people. I examine adolescent Quakers' activity during worship and their attitudes to silence (3.3.3 f). I argue that both programmed [G] and unprogrammed [G] worship are normative for adolescents. I argue that adolescent Quaker worship is distinctive and is qualitatively different from adult worship in terms of its form, content and nature (3.5.2) and that worship with other adolescents is significant for adolescents because it conveys a sense of worshipping with their community.

3.2 Involvement

In this section I examine adolescents' involvement in Quaker activities including both attendance at Meeting for Worship and participation in Quaker events for young people. In terms of involvement in Quaker activities the research draws a distinction between

¹¹ Worship refers to both Meeting for Worship which usually occurs at the beginning of the day and can either be semi-programmed or unprogrammed and 'epilogue' a period of worship at the end of the day which more usually includes a programmed element as well as silent worship.

individual adolescents' attendance at Meeting for Worship and attendance at Quaker events for young people. I argue that Meeting for Worship and Quaker events for young people are qualitatively different in terms of adolescents' involvement. I also examine individuals' reasons for their involvement in Quaker activities. I argue (3.2.4) that factors of community and friendship provide the most prominent reasons for initial and continuing involvement in Quaker events for young people.

3.2.1 Attendance at Meeting for Worship

Participants were asked about the frequency of their involvement in Children's Meeting [G] and Meeting for Worship (YQQ Questions 3 & 4). Both questions were asked because of the age range of the sample. While some adolescents go to Meeting for Worship, others participate in Children's Meeting and some attend a combination of both either through personal choice or because some meetings do not provide separate activities for young people every week and adolescents may attend Meeting for Worship when there is no children's meeting. 36.6% of respondents attended Children's Meeting once a month or more frequently, however only 7.3% said they attended every week. 23.7% stated that they attended occasionally. 30% stated that they hardly ever or never attended Children's Meeting. When questioned about their participation in Meeting for Worship, only 13.7% stated that they attended once a month or more frequently, 29.4% attended 'occasionally' and 51.7% 'hardly ever'. 8.3% of respondents stated that they had never been to Meeting for Worship for a whole hour. In addition to this, of those that attended Children's Meeting 'every week' 0.8% also stated that they attended Meeting for Worship more than once a month. Given their stated frequency of attendance I suggest that these individuals may have been confused by the question and do not attend the whole hour of Meeting for Worship. It is possible that they consider themselves to have actively participated in

Meeting for Worship having been present for approximately 15 minutes of worship¹². A fuller picture of adolescent involvement in local meetings is given when figures for attendance at Meeting for Worship and Children's Meeting are analysed alongside each other. Table 3.1 shows responses for these questions when analysed together. The percentages shown are of total respondents whose answers matched the variables shown.

		<i>Frequency of attendance at Meeting for Worship</i>						
		Every Week	Nearly every week	Once a month	Occasionally	Hardly ever	Never been for whole hour	Total
Frequency of attendance at Children's Meeting	Every Week	0.4%	0.8%	0.4	0.8%	3.3%	1.6%	7.3%
	Nearly every week		3.7%	2.0%	7.4%	4.9%	4.1%	22.1%
	Once a month	0.4%	0.8%	2.0%	5.7%	3.7%	2.0%	7.2%
	Occasionally		0.4%		10.2%	7.4%	5.7%	23.7%
	Hardly ever	0.4%		1.2%	5.3%	18.4%	4.5%	29.8%
	Never/Don't go		1.2%			0.4%	0.4%	2%
Total		1.2%	6.9%	5.6%	29.4%	51.7%	8.3%	

Table 3.1 Participation in Local Meeting Worship Activities¹³ n=301

Table 3.1 requires some explanation. For the purposes of analysis responses are grouped according to frequency of attendance. 47.2% of respondents (red figures) are involved in their local meeting, whether this is Children's Meeting or Meeting for Worship or a combination, once a month or more frequently. 28.6% (blue figures) of respondents participate 'occasionally' in their local meeting. Over a quarter, 23.3% (pink figures) 'hardly

¹² Children and young people are normally present in the Meeting for Worship for 10 or 15 minutes either at the beginning or end of the hour long Meeting for Worship before leaving and spending the rest of the time doing separate activities in a separate room. The exact length of time and whether this time spent in Meeting for Worship is at the beginning or end differs between local meetings.

¹³ This term is used to distinguish from purely social activities. Individuals were not asked about their level of attendance and participation in local meeting social activities.

ever' participate in their local meeting. Only 0.4% (green figures) do not participate in their local meeting at all.

3.2.2 Becoming involved in Quakerism

Virtually all respondents (95.4%) attended meeting for the first time with one or both parents. 2.9% had been to meeting for the first time with a Quaker friend and 1.4% with another family member. Only one respondent (0.3%) had attended Meeting for Worship for the first time on their own. 32.2% had been attending Meeting for Worship since they were born and a further 50.1% attended meeting for the first time when they were older than 1 year old but under 10. Only 7.8% attended for the first time aged 11 or older.

The involvement of parents, grandparents and other family members in Quaker activities may increase an individual's level of involvement and secure adolescents' involvement through their own attendance:

The attendance at meeting of children and young people is supported by their parents, more so, if both parents attend since it becomes the family way of life. The parent also influences... whether or not they meet other Quakers. (Jeorrett 2006:35)

Although young British adults are half as religious as their parents (Voas and Crockett 2005:22) children who have one parent who attends church are more likely to attend than those whose parents do not attend and if both attend this likelihood is doubled (Voas and Crockett 2005:21). My findings indicate agreement with Jeorrett, and I suggest that adolescent Quakers whose parents are involved, particularly when both are involved, are more likely to attend mixed-age residential events than those without involved parents. This is because parents may be unable to attend events and leave their children at home and also because adolescents are unable to attend mixed-age residential events such as Summer Gathering and Britain Yearly Meeting unless they are accompanied by a

responsible adult [G]. 14% of adolescents went to events either because their family was going or they were sent by their parents, and a further 14% went because of a recommendation by friends or family (Table 3.3). I suggest also that adolescents with involved families are also more likely to receive information about Quaker events thus increasing their likelihood of participating in these activities.

3.2.3 Participation in Events

All participants in the research were attending a Quaker event (2.4) and therefore had at least some level of Quaker involvement. However the level of prior involvement of respondents varied. As part of the Young Quaker Questionnaire individuals were asked about events that they had attended (YQQ Question 5a). Table 3.2 shows the levels of involvement of respondents.

Events Attended	Percentage
Local and/or regional events only	25%
National events only	2%
Junior Yearly Meeting only	9%
Local or regional events and JYM	23%
Local events and one national event (not JYM)	1%
Local events and two national events	3%
Local events and three or four national events	1%
Regional events and one national event (not JYM)	3%
Regional events and two national events	7%
Regional events and three national events	2%
Local and regional events and one national event (not JYM)	4%
Local and regional events and two national events	10%
Local and regional events and three or four national events	5%

Table 3.2 Events attended (YQQ Question 5a), n = 307

The patterns of attendance show that a quarter of respondents are involved only on a local and regional level. This involvement may be extensive and include regular participation in local link groups (up to three or four times a year) and in summer events organised on a

regional basis. For a further 23% of respondents their only national involvement had been at Junior Yearly Meeting (JYM). These figures have been presented separately because participants at JYM are nominated to attend by their Area Meetings and there isn't open participation¹⁴. Involvement in this event can be highly significant for individuals, illustrated by the fact that 20% of those who had attended JYM identified this as the Quaker group that they felt most part of despite it only lasting for five days with most individuals only attending once rather than being an ongoing group. The figures do not show the number of times an individual had attended a particular event. For example, individuals who had attended an event once would register the same level of involvement as someone had been to the same event three times. This is a flaw in how the question was asked and limits the extent to which the level of involvement can be accurately measured. For those who attended Britain Yearly Meeting and Summer Gathering, space was given on the questionnaire to indicate the number of times respondents had attended these events. 108 individuals (35.3% of the total sample) had attended one or more of these national events, of these 43 indicated the number of times that they had been to an event: 17 had been twice, 13 three times, four had been four times and nine adolescents had been five times or more, with eight being the highest number of events attended in the case of two adolescents.

I describe levels of involvement in adolescent Quakerism as narrow, intermediate, broad or widespread. Those who have been involved in Quaker events for young people at local and/or regional level or have attended one national event I proposed to have a 'narrow' involvement in adolescent Quakerism. Those who have attended local and/or regional events plus one national event or two national events have an 'intermediate' involvement. Those who have attended events at a local or regional level and two national events, or

¹⁴ Since 2007 there have been a limited number of 'open places' available to individuals wanting to attend JYM.

both local and regional events and one national event have a 'broad' involvement. Those adolescents who have been involved in local or regional events and three national events, or events on all levels and two national events have a 'widespread' involvement. I use these terms in order to reflect scope of involvement rather than merely the number of events attended.

3.2.4 Reasons for Involvement

Questionnaire respondents were asked why they had attended Quaker events for young people (YQQ Question 5b). Individuals were not asked why they went to Meeting for Worship. No distinction was made in the question between attending for the first time and going to subsequent events however some respondents noted a difference in their answers. This was an open response question with responses grouped for analysis. The reasons given for attendance are diverse; however three primary reasons for involvement emerge: to meet other adolescent Quakers; to see old friends or make new friends; and to have fun. Table 3.3 shows detailed figures for adolescents' reasons for attending Quaker events for young people.

Reason for attending events	Percentage
To meet other young Quakers	32%
To see old friends/make new friends	28%
For fun	23%
Family were going/Sent by Parents	14%
Recommendation by friends/family	14%
I enjoy the activities	14%
To explore spirituality/Explore my faith	8%
To learn about Quakerism	8%
To be part of a Quaker Community	7%
Sent/Nominated by meeting	6%
To discuss issues/learn	5%
A change from everyday life	3%
Personal Interest	2%

Table 3.3 Reasons for attendance (YQQ Question 5b) n=237

For some participants reasons for initial attendance may differ from reasons for continued Quaker involvement. The following responses reflect this:

[I was] told it was great by friends. My meeting and family encouraged me... after the first time I wanted to go to more things to see old friends. (Female, 16; YQQ)

The family went and I enjoyed it so I went back. (Female, 14; YQQ)

Originally with family then to meet Quakers and gain inspiration. (Female, 18; YQQ)

With parents and to see old friends and escape reality (Female, 18; YQQ).

The majority of respondents (60%) attend events for reasons that can be described as being based on friendship and belonging to the group, both to meet other young Quakers or to see old friends and make new friends. Some adolescents attend for reasons other than what one adolescent described as the events':

particular Quaker purpose (Female, 18; Field Notes, 16/10/2004).

This may include friendships, fun, interest in a non-Quaker specific theme and enjoyment. One questionnaire respondent stated that:

The open approach means some Young Friends simply attend events for a good time rather than a religious experience' (Male, 18; YQQ).

I suggest that the emphasis on community comes as a result of attending events a second time because individuals want to regain or retain the feeling of belonging to the adolescent Quaker group. I argue that Quaker events for young people provide a physical space for the adolescent Quaker group to gather and that this provides an important motivation for individuals' involvement in Quaker events.

3.2.5 Importance of Involvement

When asked 'How important is being involved with Quakers to you?' (YQQ Question 16) 85% of respondents rated the importance to them as an individual as 1, 2 or 3 on a scale of 1 (very important) to 6 (not important at all). Figure 3.1 shows the importance to individuals of their involvement in Quakerism.

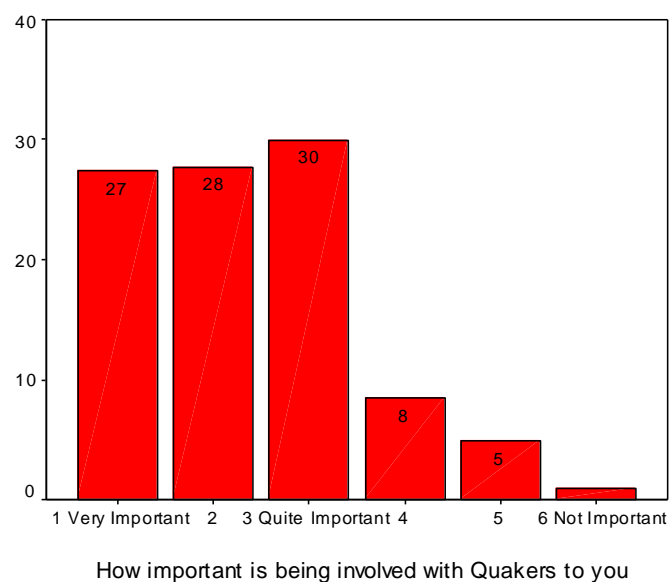


Figure 3.1 Importance to individuals of involvement in Quakerism (YQQ Question 16)
n=305

Clearly adolescents place a high degree of importance on their Quaker involvement.

Responses may have been influenced by the fact that respondents were all attending

events and thus participating in a Quaker group when completing the YQQ, a different response may have been received if the question had been asked outside the context of a group. However 69% of QEQ respondents stated that going to Quaker events was very important and 31% that it was quite important, in their life generally. Although a smaller sample, these questionnaires were completed outside events. This supports the argument that Quaker involvement is important to adolescents.

3.3 Adolescent Quaker Worship

In this section I examine the form, setting and content of adolescent Quaker worship including experimental forms of worship, such as programmed or semi-programmed worship. I describe adolescent Quaker worship including both unprogrammed worship which is typical in liberal-Liberal Quakerism and semi-programmed worship. I explore adolescent Quakers' activity in Meeting for Worship (3.3.2) including their attitudes to silence (3.3.3) I argue below (3.5.2 and 3.5.3) that adolescent Quaker worship is qualitatively different to adult Quaker worship in relation to the following elements: form (much at Quaker events for young people is programmed or semi-programmed), setting (taking place in spaces other than a Meeting House), and content (which may include music, song, readings, reflection and creative activities using a variety of stimuli). I argue that although they are experimental these forms of worship are based on and rooted in silence (3.5.1).

3.3.1 Form & Setting

In this section I describe the form and setting for adolescent Quaker worship, including both unprogrammed and semi-programmed worship and identify worship for adolescent Quakers as taking place in alternative settings.

3.3.1 a) Unprogrammed Worship

Dandelion (1996:15) and Collins (2005:334) describe the setting and form of the ritual of the unprogrammed Quaker Meeting for Worship. This is often referred to as 'silent' worship (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:2.01). There is usually a circle or square of chairs arranged around a table, on which are placed the Bible and *Quaker faith and practice* (Collins 2005:334). Participants worship in silence for an hour, if an individual is moved to contribute, they will stand and speak, contributing 'vocal ministry' to the meeting (Dandelion 1996:15). The meeting is ended by the shaking of hands, initiated by two elders [G] (Collins 2005:334). The extent of adolescent participation in local Meetings for Worship is detailed in Table 3.1. Almost half of the sample participates in their local meeting once a month or more often; however more than half participate at most only occasionally and often even less frequently. As I outline above (3.2.1) many adolescents will only be present for part of the hour of worship. I suggest therefore that not all adolescents are necessarily familiar with the ritual of Meeting for Worship as described by Dandelion and Collins.

The form and setting of some unprogrammed adolescent worship is, at the surface, similar to that of the adult group, with participants sitting in a hollow square or circle around a table. However adolescent Quaker worship can also be radically different and take place in a variety of settings:

We've had Meeting for Worship at summer school just on grass verges (Female 18; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Meetings for Worship were reported as taking place on railway stations and beaches, in woods and public parks (Field Notes). These alternative settings are often popular with adolescents:

I find a field in the sunshine much more conducive of spiritual thought than a cold meeting room. (Female 18; Field Notes, 29/7/2004).

One adolescent justified alternative settings for worship in a way similar to early Quakers objections to outward forms of Christian ritual:

The whole point of Quakerism was that we could worship where we wanted, when we wanted... Meetings do not need to be on a Sunday, and especially they do not need to occur in a meeting house. (Male 17; Field Notes, 29/7/2004).

3.3.1 b) Programmed and Semi-programmed Worship

A more radical contrast in form and setting of adolescent Quaker worship exists between unprogrammed and programmed or semi-programmed worship. I use the example of epilogue [G] to illustrate this contrast in detail below (3.3.1c). Epilogues within the adolescent group are usually softly lit, often with candle or low lighting and participants are usually seated on the floor in one large circle. It is not unusual for epilogue to be held outside in the dark, and often this is expressly requested by participants (Field Notes 25/08/2003). The worship begins with silence before a prepared contribution is shared. These contributions include readings, music or a song, however they are not limited to this and I observed epilogues with circle dances (Field Notes 28/7/2005) walks (Field Notes 13/4/2006) and hugging (Field Notes 16/10/2004). Readings, music or songs are not usually explicitly religious. Often the contribution is provided by a small group and communal singing is common. This is usually followed by a period of silent, unprogrammed worship where anyone can minister. The period of worship is ended by all the participants joining

hands in a circle, initiated either by those with particular responsibility for worship at the event or those who have led the programmed element of worship. This practice of closing worship by holding hands in a circle has extended to some unprogrammed worship in the adolescent group. Dandelion identifies the introduction of all-age semi-programmed worship in addition to, or sometimes instead of, unprogrammed worship as largely occasional experiments rather than alterations to regular practice (1996:318, 2005:119). I argue that for adolescent Quakers programmed or semi-programmed worship is normative rather than experimental so does not represent an alteration to regular practice.

3.3.1 c) Contrasting Epilogue and Meeting for Worship

Residential events for adolescent Quakers typically finish each day with a period of worship called 'epilogue' which I describe above (3.3.1 a). Although epilogue is not an exclusively adolescent practice and in particular occurs at all-age gatherings and events I suggest it is a more common practice amongst the adolescent Quaker group than amongst the adult Quaker group. As described above epilogues are usually programmed or semi-programmed (3.3.1 a). Adolescents identify epilogue as an opportunity for individuals to relax and reflect at the end of the day:

It's like a cool down when you've been running... it's like doing that for your whole body and your mind. (Male, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

Epilogue... gives people a chance to wind down for the evening, and it sort of finishes off the day. (Female, 15; Field Notes).

Many adolescents view epilogue as qualitatively different from unprogrammed Meeting for Worship. The differences highlighted were often in the form or setting, and therefore practical or physical, although these can be seen as influencing the nature of the worship and the spiritual experience:

I always feel like epilogue is like something u (sic) can actually enjoy especially because you're lying down and meeting sometimes, not always but sometimes, feels like a chore. Especially if you are sitting on a hard bench and your bum starts to get sore and you are thinking 'hurry up my arse is sore' instead of thinking about [things]. (Male 16; Interview, 20/9/2003)

The feelings I get are stronger. At Meeting for Worship I'm coming in tired and I might not have had my cup of tea and I might not have had my bowl of corn flakes. But epilogue's right at the end of the day. I can bodily prepare, so that mentally and spiritually, I can then start to explore. (Male, 17; Interview, 20/9/2003)

People are always more relaxed. (Male, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

Epilogues are often held by candlelight and respondents mentioned that

the darkness helps the deepness (Female, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

Adolescents stated that having candlelight as a focus made it easier to centre down (Field Notes, 20/9/2003 and 13/12/2003).

Some respondents indicated a preference for epilogue in contrast to Meeting for Worship:

I find it a lot easier to focus in Epilogue, maybe because sometimes in Meeting for Worship I feel kind of intimidated by everyone. (Female, 18; Field Notes)

I prefer epilogue. I think mainly because it has a more relaxed and friendly atmosphere. I also like it because it's normally in the dark which means I'm less distracted by looking around at the other people. I think that epilogue is especially good when its outside and you can look at the stars and feel peaceful (Female, 17, Interview, 06/08/2003).

Respondents commented on the positive effects of programmed elements of epilogue:

Music and readings and stuff in epilogue help you to focus and give you something to think about in the silence (Male 14; Interview, 06/08/2003).

Others suggested that programmed elements of worship should be limited:

I do like having things read in epilogue, but not too much stuff or it doesn't seem really like worship' (Female, 16; Interview, 06/08/2003)

I always think it's really nice if there's a reading or poem or whatever because it does give you something to think about and focus on, as long as it doesn't go on for too long or just make everyone laugh a lot because I think it's harder to centre down after something really funny, and I value the silence and feeling of closeness you get after spending the day/week/whatever with people and having shared experiences. (Female, 16; Interview, 06/08/2003).

These responses reflect two key features of adolescent worship. Firstly although programmed to some extent, prepared contributions are a valid part of worship and an input to the silence rather than a replacement for it. Silence is therefore still a key element and remains the basis for adolescent Quaker worship, both in programmed and unprogrammed worship. Secondly although many responses suggest that adolescents draw a distinction between programmed and unprogrammed worship, they express a preference for the former. I suggest that the difference may not be solely due to the style or type of worship but also dependent on the setting and that there is a preference for worship in the adolescent Quaker group over worship with adults, particularly in a local meeting (3.3.5).

3.3.2 Content

In this section I examine the content of adolescent Quaker worship, including what adolescents do in Meeting for Worship. Adolescents were asked in the YQQ what they did in Meeting for Worship (YQQ Question 11). Respondents were given possible options to tick and were able to tick more than one box to indicate what they did in Meeting for Worship. For analysis each item therefore became a separate question. Respondents were

also given additional space to write about what they think about in Meeting for Worship and what they do during the silence. These responses are analysed in two ways. Responses to the first part of the question are analysed and presented quantitatively, responses to the second part of the question are grouped for analysis and presented both quantitatively and qualitatively. Table 3.4 shows the activities that respondents identified themselves as doing during Meeting for Worship.

Activity	Percentage
Think	91.8%
Listen	58.7%
Meditate	26.4%
Pray	15.9%
Sleep	11.6%
Worship God	8.2%
Other	12.4%

Table 3.4: Adolescent activity in Meeting for Worship (YQQ Question 11) n=265

68% of respondents ticked more than one box indicating that they did more than just one thing during Meeting for Worship. I argue that this, alongside the list in Table 3.4, shows that there is a variety of adolescent activity in Meeting for Worship. Nine out of ten adolescents think in Meeting for Worship; for a quarter (25.1%) this was their sole activity in Meeting for Worship. Over half stated that they listened in Meeting for Worship and more than a quarter of respondents stated that they meditated in Meeting for Worship.

In the following sections I explore in more detail adolescent Quaker activity in Meeting for Worship.

3.3.2 a) Thinking in Meeting for Worship

91.8% of YQQ respondents stated that they think in Meeting for Worship. For 25.1% this was their only Meeting for Worship activity. Responses from the second, open-ended, part of YQQ Question 11 indicate what adolescents think about in Meeting for Worship. This is shown in Figure 3.2¹⁵.

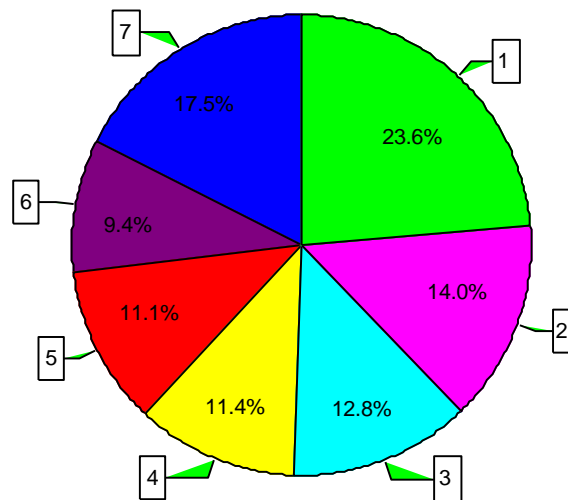


Figure 3.2 What Adolescent Quakers think about in Meeting for Worship n=243

Key: 1: My Life/Choices/Problems; 2: Other people - e.g. family/friends;
3: World issues; 4: Ministry; 5: My beliefs; 6: Spirituality; 7: Reflect

The largest group, 23.6%, stated that they thought about what was happening in their life, decisions they faced and problems they had:

[I] think about what has recently happened in my life and work out its meaning and how I can learn from it (Male, 17; YQQ)

I think my problems over and try to connect with the Spirit (Female, 16; YQQ)

¹⁵ Percentages given are of the number that stated they thought in Meeting for Worship rather than of the whole sample.

I find my mind wanders away from the worship sides of things sometimes but many times I have found myself really thinking about issues and I can make better decisions when given the time in silence (Female, 17; YQQ).

For one respondent this personal decision making had a distinctive Christian emphasis:

I like the silence, it is a chance in a usually busy week to reflect on your life and actions and whether you are making Christian choices (Female, 17; YQQ).

Several respondents stated that they used the time to reflect and think:

It's good to be able to sit and be able to think about life (Male, 14; YQQ).

this idea of contemplating life was shared by others:

I quite often think about recent events in my life how I've handled situations, what I could have done better. I find that it is a time out of a chaotic life to reflect and can help prepare you for future events (mentally) (Female; YQQ).

Adolescents use silence in Meeting for Worship as an opportunity to think:

It's nice in today's society to take some time and just be silent even if it is just to get a little thinking time. I usually reflect on the days happening or think about people (Female 16; YQQ).

14.0 % stated that they thought of family and friends during Meeting for Worship:

I reminisce about good memories; think about friends (Male, 17; YQQ)

In meeting I can think about friends, family and people (Female, 13; YQQ)

I also think of my friends and the people around me (Male, 17; YQQ).

Adolescent Quakers also thought about other people, that they didn't necessarily have a personal connection to:

I think about people all over the world who are less fortunate than me and I thank God for everything he has done for me (Female, 18; YQQ).

In a similar vein 12.8% of respondents thought about world issues during Meeting for Worship:

I think about Quaker people that I know and current world issues (Male, 16; YQQ)

[I] sit still and run through current issues relating to the world, friends, me, etc. hope for goodness, light, etc (Male, 18; YQQ).

Respondents also contemplated moral issues:

I tend to think about things in more depth – either small things or moral issues such as war – especially recently! I use the time to think about others in difficult situations and try to imagine how they feel (Female, 17; YQQ).

11.1% thought about their beliefs and a further 9.4% about their spirituality:

I follow my line of thought and then apply a spiritual point of view to it (Female, 16; YQQ)

Silence is relaxing and calm for me it is a time to forget about all my worries and think about things I wouldn't normally e.g. spirituality (Male, 15; YQQ)

I consider what I believe (Male, 18; YQQ)

I consider spiritual questions, organise my head, feelings, etc (Male, 17; YQQ).

Responses reflect the openness of silence in Meeting for Worship:

Being in meeting gives me a chance to calm down and think about things. I can be free to believe what I like (Female, 18; YQQ).

17.5% stated that they used Meeting for Worship as an opportunity to reflect generally rather than focusing their thoughts on anything in particular:

it's sometimes just a quiet time to reflect on things (Female, 13; YQQ).

11.4% of respondents thought about what others had shared in spoken ministry:

I think about life, drawing on any ministry to aid my thoughts (Male, 16; YQQ)

I enjoy the food for thought given by ministry (Male, 18; YQQ).

I explore Adolescent Quakers' experience of ministry in greater depth below (3.3.3 e).

3.3.2 b) Listening in Meeting for Worship

Over half (58.7%) of YQQ respondents stated that they listened in Meeting for Worship.

Although there was no specific question about what people listened to, some individuals did indicate this in their responses. Several respondents stated that they listened to the silence:

I just listen to the silence and look at people (Female, 18; YQQ)

I use the time to gather my thoughts, to just listen to the silence (Male, 17; YQQ)

I often listen to the silence itself – judge the mood and take my thoughts from that (Female, 18; YQQ).

This can be seen as describing listening in active terms.

Others listened to ministry:

[I] think about stuff and listen to ministry (Male, 18; YQQ).

One respondent stated explicitly that she listened to God in Meeting for Worship:

I release myself from the trivialities of living and listen to God (Female, 14; YQQ).

3.3.2 c) Meditation and Relaxation in Meeting for Worship

More than a quarter of YQQ respondents (26.4%) stated that they meditated in Meeting for Worship:

I think and meditate. I let my mind drift and then thoughts enter and leave my mind. (Female, 17; YQQ)

I block off my thoughts and try to meditate (Male, 16; YQQ)

Meeting for Worship is like an oasis of silence among all of the noise of city life that I hear every day. I use the time to... pray and meditate. (Male, 17; YQQ)

I try to clear my head and do some chakra meditation trying to think about the 'big picture' and beyond my own life. (Female 17; YQQ).

In addition to those that meditated, 12.5% of YQQ respondents stated that they used Meeting for Worship as a chance to relax and calm themselves:

The silence gives me a chance to relax and escape from my everyday stresses by meditating or just letting my thoughts drift. (Female, 17; YQQ)

Finding time to relax yourself and make contact with God. (Male, 16; YQQ).

Some respondents spoke of centring down [G] at the start of worship:

Firstly calm and concentrate on breathing patterns, then listen to the power of silence which can lead me to think either inside or outside. (Male, 18; YQQ).

3.3.2 d) Adolescent Quaker worship and ministry

Although the content of vocal ministry by adolescents was not analysed in depth in this study it generally mirrors the themes that are apparent in ministry in the adult Quaker group as identified by Dandelion (1996:112)¹⁶. Adolescents' experiences of ministering in Meeting for Worship, echo those of adults (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:2.58) including experiencing physical sensations and an overwhelming compulsion to speak:

I got a bit shaky. And for a moment I was thinking "Shall I?" then I knew that asking if I was going to was silly because I realised I couldn't leave the place without doing it. Very weird at the time. (<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1868> accessed on 11/09/2006 21:07)

I was in my meeting and I felt like I couldn't stay sitting down for any longer and I had to say something. It was a very strange feeling. (<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1867> accessed 12/09/2006 21:05)

At BYM last year I felt moved to speak...it was a most bizarre feeling, I was somewhere between being rigid with nerves/fear and a crazy sense of enlightenment. (<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1867> accessed 12/09/2006 21:05).

These responses indicates that adolescents experience a sense of ministry emerging over a period of time, and also of a sense of elation following ministry, similar to that experienced by adults (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:2.56):

It was something I'd been thinking about for a long time, but had only just come together in that morning's Meeting for Worship. ... I got a wonderful response and it... it really boosted my confidence. (<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1868> accessed on 11/09/2006 21:07).

¹⁶ The themes identified by Dandelion (1996:112) that were apparent in ministry in the adolescent group were: i) pastoral; ii) one-liners; iii) sentimental ministry on the beauty of creation; iv) anecdotal; v) political; viii) reactive; ix) personal unburdening xiii) the cry for help; xv) tentative; xvi) speculative; xvii) statements of experience; xiv) music; xxi) reading the later two were only common in semi-programmed worship. Those that were less common were vi) teaching; vii) ministry directed at children; x) earnest; xi) disruptive; xii) tying up loose ends; xiv) directive; xviii) vocal prayer xx) the 'deeply embarrassing'.

Adolescents' experiences of ministry also indicate that they go through a similar process of 'testing' whether ministry is appropriate or not:

It took me about 10 minutes of going "do I? don't I? no it's stupid, not the sort of thing you should say... what'll happen is I'll stand up, and someone else will too, and we'll both look really stupid... or I'll stand up and it'll be when they were planning on stopping meeting...etc...etc.
(<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1868> accessed on 11/09/2006 21:07).

At Quaker events for young people ministry often refers to the theme of the event, a talk or other activity that is part of the event as well as individuals' experiences of the event. As I outline below (6.4.3) ministry also often refers to the community at the event.

As indicated above (3.3.2 a) and 3.3.2 b)) adolescents listen to and also think about and reflect on ministry in Meeting for Worship. Spoken ministry was seen by some respondents as helpful during silent worship:

I think, although the silence is good... I enjoy the occasional ministry to help channel and provoke thoughts (Female, 18; YQQ).

However the attitude toward ministry is not always positive:

Sometimes I find sitting with lots of old people and listening to their ministry is quite off putting (Male, 17; YQQ).

I highlight further contrasts between epilogue and Meeting for Worship below (3.5.1).

3.3.2 e) Meeting for Worship and God

6.4% of YQQ respondents mentioned that they thought about God in Meeting for Worship and in addition to this 2.6% mentioned 'Light':

I think about myself and God, it is easier for me to say a prayer to focus (Female, 15; YQQ)

[I think about] my life, God, the universe, the community (Male, 15; YQQ)

[I think about] life, stars, people, God, personal things (Male, 18; YQQ).

Respondents also mentioned communication with God, when talking about what they did in Meeting for Worship:

[I] talk to myself/God/Inner Light (Male, 16; YQQ)

Give me time to clear my mind of everyday things and see if I have inspiration from God (Male, 18; YQQ)

Finding time to relax yourself and make contact with God (Male, 16; YQQ)

Set up prayers to the God and Goddess (Female, 17; YQQ).

8.2% of YQQ respondents stated that they worshiped God during Meeting for Worship:

Meeting for Worship offers a chance to worship through prayer or simply listening to God. (Male, 18; YQQ).

Another response suggested searching or questioning, rather than worshipping God:

I think about things in the world that prove or disprove the existence of God. (Male 16; YQQ).

3.3.2 f) Adolescent Quakers' attitude to silence

The YQQ was used to assess adolescents' attitudes to silent Quaker worship. Respondents were asked whether they found the silence in Meeting for Worship easy (YQQ Question 9) and also whether they liked the silence in Meeting for Worship (YQQ Question 10). For both questions respondents were asked to answer on a scale from 1 to 6 (where 1 represented finding silence easy and liking silence and 6 represented finding it difficult and disliking silence).

When asked if they found silence easy 23.8% gave it a ranking of 1 and 44.2% ranked it 2, I describe these respondents as finding silence easy. In contrast only 1.3% ranked it 6 and 3.0% answered 5, giving 4.3% who I describe as finding silence difficult. 19.1% gave it a ranking of 3 and 8.6% as 4; I suggest that this middle group neither finds silences particularly easy or especially difficult. When asked whether they liked silence in Meeting for Worship 38.8% ranked it 1 on the scale and 34.2% as 2, giving a total of 73.0% that can be thought of as liking silence. In contrast 5.2% stated that they disliked silence in Meeting for Worship (2.6% answering 5 and 2.6% 'scoring' it 6). 14.1% ranked it as 3 and 7.6% as 4 on the scale. Several respondents mentioned disliking silence and finding it boring:

It is the worst part of Quakerism. Very boring as [there is] nothing to do but be very bored and watch the clock. (Male, 14; YQQ)

I don't like meeting and I don't do anything in the meeting (Male, 13; YQQ)

[I don't like] having to sit in silence for ages [and] be bored (Female, 11; YQQ).

Another respondent stated that she disliked the silence but added that:

I think Meeting for Worship is actually quite relaxing and it does give me the chance to clear my mind (Female, 12; YQQ).

In contrast to this many adolescents mentioned enjoying and valuing Meeting for Worship:

It's a time that I truly value and enjoy (Female, 18; YQQ)

I enjoy meeting a lot and follow my mind where it leads me (Female, 12; YQQ)

It's the most important hour of my week (Female, 14; YQQ)

I enjoy the peace and stillness (Male, 18; YQQ).

Table 3.5 shows the responses to the two questions analysed together. The majority of adolescent Quakers both like the silence in Meeting for Worship and also find it easy. 60.8% of YQQ respondents stated that they both liked silence in Meeting for Worship and found it easy, giving it a ranking of either 1 or 2 for both questions, only 2.0% stated that they disliked silence and found it difficult, giving it a ranking of 5 or 6 for both questions.

		Do you like the silence in Meeting for Worship?						
		Like				Dislike		
			1	2	3	4	5	6
Do you find the silence in Meeting for Worship easy?	Easy	1	19.5%	3.0%	1.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%
		2	14.9%	23.4%	4.3%	1.3%	.0%	.3%
		3	4.0%	6.3%	4.6%	3.3%	.7%	.3%
		4	.3%	1.3%	3.6%	1.3%	1.7%	.3%
	Difficult	5	.3%	.0%	.7%	.7%	.3%	1.0%
		6	.0%	.0%	.0%	.7%	.0%	.7%
Total			38.9%	34.0%	14.2%	7.6%	2.6%	2.6%
		Total						

Table 3.5 Do you find the silence in Meeting for Worship easy? (YQQ Question 9) n= 303 and Do you like the silence in Meeting for Worship? (YQQ Question 10). n=303

Respondents identified differences between different Meetings for worship and the uniqueness of each worship experience:

I find it interesting how each Meeting for Worship has a different silence. I think about the day/week before and the day/week ahead I think about people I know and significant events in my life/the world (Female, 16; YQQ)

I like Meeting for Worship as all of the silences are individual. I feel relaxed and connected to other people and the world. I come out of the meeting feeling at ease and spiritually refreshed. (Male, 17; YQQ).

6.0% of YQQ respondents explicitly mentioned silence when asked what they thought about or did in Meeting for Worship (YQQ Question 11). Responses to this question are considered below (3.3.4).

The nature and significance of corporate worship for adolescents is explored in greater depth below (3.3.5 and 7.5.3).

3.3.3 Comparison with adult activity in Meeting for Worship

In Dandelion's study (1996) 692 adult Quakers were asked 'what kind of activity best describes what you are doing in Meeting for Worship?' (Dandelion 1996:111). Respondents were able to tick more than one box from a list which amounted to 11 items. In order to shorten and maintain the simplicity of the YQQ I chose to exclude several of possible responses used by Dandelion¹⁷. I only compare those options given as potential responses to both Dandelion's question and to YQQ Question 11. It is possible that having a shorter list may have affected results; however the options included were the key ones from Dandelion's survey. Significantly several of the options that were excluded from the list given as options in Dandelion's sample included overtly religious practices, including praising, seeking God's will, seeking union with the divine and opening up to the Spirit. Nothing like this or similar was written in by adolescent respondents and, although adolescents may have identified with them if they had been included, I suggest that this is unlikely.

¹⁷ The categories present in Dandelion's questionnaire which were excluded for the YQQ were: 'Praising'; 'Communing'; 'Seeking God's will'; 'seeking union with the divine'; 'Opening up to the spirit'.

Dandelion's questionnaire was used by Rutherford for a repeat survey in 2003 (Rutherford 2003). Table 3.6 gives a comparison between adolescents' activity in Meeting for Worship and those for the adult group from both Dandelion's and Rutherford's studies.

Activity	Adults (1996)	Adults (2003)	Adolescents
Praying	34.9%	34.0%	15.9%
Meditating	41.7%	46.9%	26.4%
Listening	53.8%	65.9%	58.7%
Sleeping	6.9%	7.3%	11.6%
Worshipping God	17.1%	17.3%	8.2%
Thinking	65.7%	57.2%	91.8%

Table 3.6 Activity in Meeting for Worship – Comparison between adults and adolescents (YQQ Question 11; Dandelion 1996:111; Rutherford 2003)

While roughly the same percentage of adults in 1996 and 2003 pray, mediate, sleep and worship God the figure is much lower for adolescents in all these categories, except sleeping! A higher proportion of adolescents state that what they do in Meeting for Worship is 'think'. I suggest above (3.3.2a and 3.3.2 g) that these adolescents are thinking rather than being engaged in explicitly religious activity such as prayer or worshipping God.

These figures show substantial differences between adult and adolescent activity in worship. Whilst the figures for adults from two surveys almost a decade apart show virtually no change in the number of adult Quakers worshipping God or praying, less than half as many adolescents as adults engage in these activities during worship. I suggest that this indicates that explicitly religious behaviour is uncommon in adolescent Quaker worship. In Dandelion's sample 34.9% stated that they prayed in Meeting for Worship (1996:111), in the 2003 study this figure was 34.0%. However only 19% of the young Friends sub-sample in Dandelion's research said they prayed in Meeting for Worship, this figure is comparable with the figure of 15.9% of the YQQ respondents that said they

prayed in Meeting for Worship. A similar trend can be identified when examining the numbers that worship God in Meeting for Worship. 17.1% of adult Quakers in Dandelion's sample said they worshiped God; this figure was 17.3% for the adult group in Rutherford's research. In the adolescent group 8.2% worshipped God in Meeting for Worship, again this figure is similar to that of the younger of Dandelion's respondents with 9.8% of the under 30 sub-sample stating that they worshipped God in Meeting for Worship.

As with the adolescent group the largest single response from adult Quakers was 'thinking'. Two out of three adults in Dandelion's sample (65.7%) and a slightly smaller number of adults (57.2%) from Rutherford's study state that 'thinking' best describes what they do in Meeting for Worship. In comparison 91.8% of the adolescent group said that 'thinking' was something they did in Meeting for Worship. One in two of the adult group (53.8%) best classify their worship activity as 'listening', a similar percentage to that of the adolescent group. In the adult group only 6.9% stated that they slept in Meeting for Worship.

Given the similarities between the adult groups in 1996 and 2003 which both contrast significantly with the adolescent Quaker group there is clearly a difference between adult and adolescent Quaker activity in worship. This is marked by a decline in those engaged in explicitly religious activity during Meeting for Worship, rather than merely an increasing secularisation of worship within the Quaker group as a whole.

I suggest that this may in part be a result of the lack of transmission of the Quaker-Christian tradition and belief in God, which is a consequence of the Post-Christian orthodoxy of liberal-Liberal Quakerism (Dandelion 1996:178). One adolescent respondent stated that:

I have not been taught how to worship God. I have not been taught to believe in God so I don't really know how to worship him (Male, 14; YQQ).

This resonates with the experience of young adult Quakers:

I wish that meetings would have dialogue about specific Quaker experiences. I could have used conversations about the testimonies and experiencing God within... I got the impression that adults did not bring up questions with each other much (Baltaro 2003: 4).

Thus I argue that the post-Christian liberal-Liberal Quaker orthodoxy and the culture of silence operate together with the consequence that adolescent Quakers have little awareness of belief in, or experience of, God:

I have rarely heard a Quaker articulate her/his experience with the divine or how she/he feels when in direct communion with the divine. I have witnessed this lack of space to communicate about deeper experience... how is a Quaker child supposed to understand a relationship to the divine if nobody attempts to articulate what the experience feels like? (Baltaro 2003:105).

A further distinction emerges with the difference between adults and adolescent meditating in Meeting for Worship. A larger percentage of adults than adolescents say that they meditate during Meeting for Worship, and this figure has increased, albeit only slightly, between 1996 and 2003. At first glance this may be slightly surprising because meditation may be thought of as a more recent innovation in Quaker practice. However it is significant that mediation is a discipline that is individualistic. Dandelion argues the outward silence of Quaker Meeting for Worship can mask diversity of theology of worship (2005:112). I suggest that in unprogrammed worship it is easier for individualised worship activity to be accommodated. I suggest that the focus of adult Quaker worship is individual practice in the silence whereas for adolescents the focus of worship is the group:

Through the silence I just feel that you can almost open up a little bit and give a little bit of something to the group but then at the same time you can take something with you from the group it's like a total in the group feeling bigger than the sum of all the parts... something that you share with the group. (Male, 18; Interview 20/9/2003).

I explore the communal focus of adolescent worship and its importance to the group in greater depth below (6.5 & 7.5.3).

3.3.4 Adolescent Quakers and Prayer

In this section I explore adolescent Quakers' personal practice of prayer, both in Meeting for Worship and at other times, and their interpretation and definition of prayer. I contrast this with the prayer activity of adult Quakers and other adolescents.

Adolescent Quakers were asked how often they prayed (YQQ Question 19). 49% of YQQ respondents stated that they never or hardly ever prayed, a further 16% prayed only in times of difficulty. 22% prayed occasionally, however the frequency of this was not specified. Only 5% of respondents said that they prayed every day with a further 9% stating that they prayed at least once a week. In response to a separate question 15.9% stated that they prayed in Meeting for Worship (YQQ Question 11).

Those who did pray, however infrequently, were asked what best describes prayer for them, prayer was therefore self-defined (YQQ Question 20). Individuals were given a list of response items to choose from and could add their own definition. From 228 responses over 50 different definitions of prayer were given and there was no single definition of prayer reflected across the group, with 11.0% being the single largest group sharing a definition. 57.4% mentioned talking to God or listening to God as part of the description of prayer. These adolescents often spoke in very traditional terms about their communication with God, a tendency reflected in other responses:

When I usually talk to God I don't usually talk to him with answers I talk to him with questions as if he's kind of going to give me an answer. (Male, 18; Interview, 13/12/2003).

However only 11.4% stated that prayer was exclusively 'talking to God' or 'listening to God' with the remaining 46.0% also describing prayer using other meditative or spiritual terms. 42.6%, of those adolescents who prayed did not mention God in their definition of prayer: 19.6% described prayer as meditation, 59.8 % stated that prayer was best described as thinking and 38.9% of respondents described prayer as 'seeking guidance or help':

Thank God/whoever for good things that have occurred. Ask for help with any current problems/issues (Female, 16; YQQ).

However this guidance may not necessarily be sought from God. 35% of those who described prayer as 'seeking guidance/help' made no mention of God in their description.

Mayo and Collins-Mayo suggest that significant numbers of young people were praying at some level (2005:7). Likewise Rankin states that prayer is 'a vital and regular activity' for many young people (2005:68) and Smith (2005:86-87) states that almost a quarter of non-religious adolescents pray 'a few times a week or more often.' In contrast to practice amongst adolescent Quakers prayer is much more frequent amongst Christian adolescents with 60% of young people in contact with Christian youth work and 91% of regular churchgoing adolescents stating that they prayed at least once a month (Collins-Mayo 2008:34), 22% of adolescents pray less than once a month, but occasionally, and only 18% never prayed. In comparison, only 5% of adolescent Quakers pray every day, and almost half (49%) either do not pray at all or hardly ever pray. Francis (1984) identifies a significant minority of adolescent Christians (47%) who 'tend to pray irregularly and infrequently', for

example 'when something is worrying them and they feel in need of God's help' (Francis 1984:66). The number of adolescent Quakers who could be described as falling into this group, is again significantly lower, with 38% of adolescent Quakers praying either occasionally or 'in times of difficulty'.

Mayo and Collins-Mayo state that for adolescents prayer is not dependent on belief in God and rather than representing divine intervention, it is 'a way of working through a situation' and 'made them feel better' (2005:7). Some adolescents use it as a form of seeking guidance (Rankin 2005:73) and adolescents' are generally not 'using prayer in a religious sense or with religion in mind' (Rankin 2005:68).

Although far fewer adolescent Quakers pray than their Christian peers I argue that the description of prayer within the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group reflects these descriptions of prayer. 38.9% of the adolescent group described prayer as 'seeking guidance or help' and a third of these (13.6% of all respondents) made no reference to God in their description. 59.8% stated that prayer was best described as thinking, with almost half of these respondents (29.3% of all respondents) not mentioning God in their description. Prayer amongst adolescent Quakers is not common and when it occurs it is not prayer to God but rather better defined as meditation, thinking or contemplation. While adolescent Quakers may be engaged in similar contemplative activity as that described by Mayo and Collins-Mayo, given the number of adolescent Quakers who do not pray or only pray infrequently, I argue that the practice of the adolescent Quaker group is counter to the culture of prayer identified by Collins-Mayo, Rankin and Smith.

The lower proportion of adolescent Quakers engaging in prayer and higher proportion with a negative attitude towards the Bible places the adolescent Quaker group further

away from mainline Christian denominations and is indicative of a shift from the post-Christian neo-orthodoxy identified by Dandelion (1996:319). Francis states that the frequency of private prayer and bible reading can be taken as indicators of the importance of religion to individuals (Francis 1984:65). I suggest that in relation to the Quaker group they can be used to determine the extent to which the 'the parameters of acceptable theology are no longer Quaker-Christian' (Dandelion 1996:178).

A majority of adolescent Quakers either do not pray or do not see prayer as involving interaction with God. I contend that the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group does not include prayer, especially to God, as being a necessary part of Quaker practice, or of their personal spiritual practice as Quakers. However I suggest that of many those who do pray understand it in spiritual terms and as being helpful to them in living their lives, considering their behaviour and giving thought to their actions.

3.3.5 The Nature of Adolescent Worship

In this section I examine the nature of programmed and unprogrammed adolescent worship and identify qualitative differences between adolescent and adult Quaker worship using the example of epilogue. I suggest that the differences are not limited to the more widespread practice of semi-programmed worship within the adolescent Quaker group and at Quaker events for young people but are also, and more significantly, a consequence of corporate worship amongst the adolescent Quaker group.

Adolescent Quakers highlighted the significance of communal worship and of connections between individuals in the silence:

I enjoy ... the feeling of community in the silence (Female, 14; YQQ)

I feel relaxed and connected to other people and the world. I come out of the meeting feeling at ease and spiritually refreshed (Male, 17; YQQ)

The silence gives an overwhelming feeling of presence of those around. (Male, 17; YQQ)

The unity of the silence is inspiring. It's the most important hour of my week (Female, 14; YQQ)

I find it so useful to have time set aside to just sit and have a chance to think hard about things and at JYM/Senior Conference sit in silence with a group of people and feel connected/in tune with them (Female, 18; YQQ).

Adolescents highlighted positive attitudes towards semi-programmed worship at Quaker events for young people as illustrated above (3.3.1):

For me meeting is something which although you are with people it is a more on your own thing even if people are sharing ministry I always feel it is like with yourself... epilogue is something which you share with people and...you need to be with people I feel like for a really good epilogue you've spent the day with them or something (Male, 16; Field Notes, 20/9/03)

There is more group togetherness in epilogue. In epilogue it's kind of more like a peer group than your own Meeting for Worship and you're like the youngest there and its made a point of that you're the youngest there and in epilogue you're more relaxed (Female, 18; Interview, 13/12/2003).

The importance of communal worship with other adolescents also included, for some, their view of vocal ministry:

I think it [epilogue] is a more relaxed environment, because you generally know everyone there quite well, and it's easier to say something (Female, 18; Field Notes, 6/8/2003)

I have never spoken in meeting, because I do find it intimidating, but I have spoken (and sung!) in Epilogue. (Female, 18; Field Notes, 8/2005)

I think a lot of people my age [13] find it very hard to get up and say something in front of all those people, and Summer School was a good place for it to happen. (<http://www.friendlink.org.uk/boards/viewtopic.php?t=1868> accessed on 11/09/2006 21:07).

Given this I argue that for some adolescents separate worship, within the adolescent Quaker group enables them to overcome doubts and fears and to speak in worship.

Other responses highlight the difference between worshipping with adult Quakers and worshipping with other adolescent Quakers, particularly at Quaker events for young people:

Meeting for Worship at Summer School and things is kind of like a mid-point between your standard epilogue and your standard individual... meeting (Male, 18; Field Notes, 13/12/2003)

I think that at Holiday School and at link group Meeting for Worship is very important to me, while maybe not so important at our local meeting. (Female, 13; YQQ).

Given this, and the fact that adult Quakers also highlight the communal aspect of Quaker worship (Dandelion 2005:89-90), I argue that adolescent Quaker worship is distinctive primarily as a result of the setting and the fact that it is a communal act with other adolescents, although the influence of semi-programmed worship on the form and content also serve to mark it as distinctive from adult Quaker worship

The importance of worshipping with other adolescents is not unique to the adolescent Quaker group but is shared with adolescents from other denominations where 'the presence of peers in worship affirms that they are not abnormal and worship is an acceptable activity for teenagers' (Emery-Wright 2004:48). Hall argues, in reference to adolescent Christians, that 'it was not the content of the worship, so much as the nature of the communities... that were of consequence' (2003:202). Similarly I argue that for adolescent Quakers it is worship with other adolescents, whether programmed or unprogrammed that is of consequence because it conveys a greater sense of worshipping with their community. Ashton and Moon identify youth worship in Churches as being

‘strongly participatory’ and having ‘a strong sense of community’ (1995:28). These congregations represent ‘culture specific congregations’ (Ashton and Moon 1995:101).

Similarly I argue that given the importance adolescent Quakers place on the setting of worship, particularly at Quaker events for young people, these worship occasions represent culture specific congregations for the adolescent Quaker group.

Silent, or silence based, worship is an easily identifiable Quaker distinctive and is regarded by adolescents as an important aspect of adolescent Quaker religious practice, as one respondent stated: Meeting for Worship is:

an essential aspect of Quaker life (Male, 17; YQQ).

Adolescent Quaker worship includes both unprogrammed and semi-programmed worship and, despite the differences highlighted above (3.3.1 c and this section) I argue that both forms of worship are normative for the adolescent Quaker group. I suggest that what can be described as distinctive adolescent Quaker worship is limited to that which takes place amongst groups of adolescent Quakers¹⁸, whether this is unprogrammed or semi-programmed and does not include adolescent participation in local meetings for worship. Only 8.2% of YQQ respondents stated that they worshiped God during Meeting for Worship and 15.9% that they prayed in Meeting for Worship, 5.8% of those that prayed also worshiped God. Silent worship also gives space for religious pluralism:

I love the silence as you think about what you like there's no pressure to pray etc (Male, 17; YQQ).

Thus I argue that the majority of adolescent Quakers are not engaged in explicitly religious activity in Meeting for Worship and such worship activity is not definitional for the

¹⁸ At Quaker events for young people there will usually be a small number of volunteer adult facilitators present. However I suggest that this doesn't significantly alter the form or content of adolescent worship.

adolescent Quaker group. Given the importance placed on communal worship and the differences adolescents highlight between worship in the adult and adolescent Quaker group, I argue that what is significant is the setting of worship within the adolescent Quaker group rather than its form or content; the focus for adolescents is on the community rather than on any particular religious practice.

3.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter levels of involvement of adolescents in the activities of the Religious Society of Friends, and the reasons for this involvement, have been analyzed and examined. Consideration has been given both to reasons for initial attendance and to reasons for continued participation in Quaker activities. Aspects of community provide the most prominent reasons for individuals' initial and continuing involvement in Quaker events for young people. Adolescent activity in Meeting for Worship has been described and analysed as have attitudes to silence and personal religious practice of prayer. The form, setting, content and nature of adolescent Quaker worship has been outlined. It is concluded that the majority of adolescent Quakers are not engaged in explicitly religious activity in Meeting for Worship. The chapter argued that both programmed and unprogrammed worship is normative for adolescents and that the nature of adolescent Quaker worship is qualitatively different from worship in the adult Quaker group primarily as a result of its separate setting in adolescent Quaker groups.

CHAPTER 4

BELIEFS AND VALUES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the content of adolescent Quaker belief. I consider beliefs held by adolescents in relation to God (4.2 and 4.3) and Jesus (4.4) and examine individuals' views of the Bible and key Quaker texts (4.5). I argue that for adolescent Quakers, belief content is marginal and non-definitional: belief in God is not a defining characteristic of adolescent Quaker identity and in the popular adolescent Quaker orthodoxy Jesus is not an important figure (4.7). I consider the beliefs of adolescent Quakers in relation to the beliefs of adolescent Christians (4.6.1) and contrast the popular religion of adolescent Quakers with both the Quaker orthodoxy and the popular religion of the adult Quaker group (4.6.2). I suggest that in terms of belief the adolescent Quaker group can be described as 'non-Christian' (4.9). I consider adolescent Quakers' values, and outline how Quaker beliefs and values influence individual behaviour.

4.2 Belief in God

Adolescents were asked whether they believed in God (YQQ Question 17). Rather than providing a yes/no answer individuals were asked to rank their belief on a scale from 1 to 6 with 1 indicating the most positive response and 6 the most negative, this gave individuals who are unsure of their belief in God greater opportunity to indicate the level of certainty, or uncertainty, of their belief. For the purposes of analysis I take a response of 1 or 2 to indicate a belief in God, 3 or 4 to show uncertainty of belief in God and 5 or 6 to indicate a lack of belief in God. Table 4.1 shows individual adolescents' level of belief in God

Response		Percentage	Grouping
Yes	1	17.7%	41.3%
	2	23.6%	
Not sure	3	30.5%	40.7%
	4	10.2%	
No	5	8.5%	18.0%
	6	9.5%	

Table 4.1 Do you believe in God? (YQQ Question 17) n=305

17.7% of respondents described their belief in God at the most positive end of the scale, a further 23.6% gave it a ranking of 2, giving a total of 41.3% that I class as believing in God. 9.5% gave it the most negative ranking with a further 8.5% giving it a ranking of 5. I suggest that these 18% can be classed as not believing in God. A further 40.7% were unsure of their belief (30.5% ranked it 3 and 10.2% 4). While the largest group do believe in God almost as many are uncertain of their belief and individual responses reflect an uncertainty of belief:

I don't know what I believe in. I don't know what my relationship [to God] is – I'm still trying to figure things out (Female, 17; Interview, 13/12/2003)

I am not really sure cos I don't think that I like have found God or understand my view towards God (Female, 15; Interview, 20/9/2003)

There is definitely something there but I don't know what it is yet (Female, 13; Interview, 20/9/2003).

For the adolescent Quaker group, the lack of fixed doctrinal statements means that as with adult Quakers doubt concerning belief in God is valid (Dandelion 1996:157). The uncertainty about belief in God is typified by the response that:

I'm not sure about whether God exists and if God doesn't exist I feel kind of empty but if God does exist I feel kind of scared (Male, 14; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Of those who self-identified as Quakers a slightly higher percentage believe in God than the sample as a whole and a lower percentage do not believe in God. However, more state that they are not sure whether or not they believe in God than in the sample as whole. Table 4.2 shows adolescents' belief in God by self-identification. As with Table 4.1 above, results are grouped with a response of 1 or 2 indicating a belief in God, 3 or 4 showing uncertainty of belief in God and 5 or 6 indicating a lack of belief in God. When asked to list the most important aspects of Quakerism for them in group interview, only one group out of six mentioned belief in God as one of the five most important features of Quakerism for them. Given this, I argue that although belief in God is an aspect of adolescent Quaker belief, it is often uncertain and not a defining characteristic.

Self-Identification \ Belief in God	Yes		Not Sure		No	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Quaker¹⁹	43.7%		44.9%		11.3%	
	14.2%	29.5%	34.1%	10.8%	8.5%	2.8%
Christian	87.5%		12.5%		0.0%	
	62.5%	25.0%	12.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Quaker and Christian²⁰	87.1%		12.9%		0%	
	48.4%	38.7%	12.9%	0%	0%	0%
Quaker and Atheist	0%		33.1%		66.7%	
	0%	0%	0%	33.3%	16.7%	50.0%
Quaker and Agnostic	20.0%		80.0		0%	
	0%	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	0%	0%
Atheist²¹	0.0%		25.0%		75.0%	
	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	5.0%	20.0%	55.0%
Agnostic	0.0%		50.0%		50.0%	
	0.0%	0.0%	25.0%	25.0%	50.0%	0.0%
Spiritual Person²²	42.8%		50.0%		7.2%	
	32.1%	10.7%	42.9%	7.1%	3.6%	3.6%
Whole Sample	41.3%		40.7%		18.0%	
	17.7%	23.6%	30.5%	10.2%	8.5%	9.5%

Table 4.2 Belief in God by self-identification n=293

The adolescent Quaker group does not consider belief in God to be a necessary part of being a Quaker. As Table 4.2 illustrates, it is possible to identify oneself as a Quaker without believing in God. This is illustrated well by the following 'mission statement' for Quakerism, devised by a group of adolescents during a group interview:

Listen to a God you don't have to believe in (Interview; 27/7/2003).

4.3 Describing God

¹⁹ Includes 'Quaker and spiritual' 'Quaker and other' and 'Quaker and Spiritual and Other'

²⁰ Includes 'Quaker and Christian and Spiritual' and 'Quaker and Christian and other'

²¹ Includes 'Atheist and Spiritual'

²² Includes 'Spiritual and Other'

The YQQ asked 'If you believe in God which of the following best describes God for you?' (YQQ Question 18) respondents were given a list of eight possible options from which they could pick more than one and space to write in any other descriptions. YQQ respondents gave 27 different descriptions were given for God. The two largest groups, described God as 'The Inward Light' (50.3%) and 'Love' (48.0%). Two other descriptions of God also received a substantial number of responses: 'Spirit' (39.6%) and 'A life force' (36.9%). Table 4.3 shows the descriptions of God given by questionnaire respondents.

Description	Percent
Inward light	50.2%
Love	48.0%.
Spirit	39.6%
A life force	36.9%
A being	13.3%
Father figure	9.3%
Person figure	5.3%
Good in everyone/everything	3.6%
Mother figure	3.1%
Indescribable/Indefinable	2.7%
Friend	1.8%
Universal/Collective Spirit	1.8%
Unsure	1.8%
Guide	1.3%
Protector/Watcher	1.3%

Table 4.3 Descriptions of God n=225

I suggest that these descriptions of God fall into several groups: descriptions of God in traditional, personal terms; descriptions of God in non-personal terms; and responses that indicate God is, in some way, indefinable.

4.3.1 A personal God

The first group of responses describe a personal God in traditional terms. This includes those who describe God as a 'father figure' (9.3%) a 'being' (13.3%) or a 'person figure' (5.3%). This group also includes descriptions of God that indicate a personal relationship between God and the individual: 'Friend' (1.8%); 'Guide' (1.3%) and 'Protector/Watcher' (1.3%). One adolescent stated that God was:

Just someone who is bigger and more important than the earth and someone to watch over everyone (Female, 15; YQQ).

Adolescent Quakers also give non-traditional descriptions for a personal God including describing God in female terms as a 'mother figure' (3.1%) or as

both male and female forces, nature (Female, 17; YQQ).

No respondents described God as 'creator' although one person gave the description:

a creative force (Male, 17; YQQ).

I suggest that this is indicative of a view of God as predominately non-personal, a presence rather than a being. Only a third of adolescent Quakers described God in personal terms.

4.3.2. A non-personal God

A significant number of adolescents described God in abstract, non-personal terms, such as 'life force' (36.9%), or a 'presence' (0.3%):

it's kind of a very fluid feeling but I don't really know what my connection with that is but it just kind of comes and I just sit there and it just happens around me (Male, 18; Interview 13/12/2003)

[It is] more of a feeling than anything... a comfortable feeling (Male, 18; Interview, 20/9/2003).

When asked to describe God one adolescent responded that:

It is kind like of the big whole like... I don't know how to explain it... it's something to do with like the silence and it being inside you and being at peace or something and it's like immense (Female, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

I suggest that both 'the inward light' (50.2%) and 'love' (48.0%) are used by adolescent Quakers to describe God in non-personal terms. One respondent described God as

Bursting with light (Female, 13; Interview, 20/9/2003).

This description is shared by others:

I do believe in God but not in the conventional sense that there's a guy sitting on a cloud who made heaven and earth which is complete bull in my opinion, but I believe there is this spiritual thing. I guess ... I could call it an inner light (http://u19s.quaker.org.uk/qboard/view_thread.pl?id=1781 accessed 11/02.2004).

For some God also reflects a connection with other life:

I often think of what could be classed as God as 'love'... love is quite complex right, and means more than can be explained often... if I believe in God then it is more of a feeling of connectiveness with other life and the landscape a kind of love... but more internal and personal but easily shared ([http:// u19s.quaker.org.uk/qboard/view_thread.pl?id=1781](http://u19s.quaker.org.uk/qboard/view_thread.pl?id=1781))

Sort of like sharing with everyone else something special (Male, 14; Interview, 20/09/2003).

Adolescents use the word 'Light' rather than 'God'. At Junior Yearly Meeting in 2003 an adult volunteer had written part of a song to be sung and added to during the week. This

had included the line 'answering God in us all'; however the adolescent Quakers on the JYM Arrangements Committee insisted that it was changed to

answering Light in us all (Field Notes 14/4/2003).

I suggest that this reflects a use of 'Light' as interchangeable with God and for many adolescent Quakers 'God' is equivalent to 'Light'. For some adolescents this has come to indicate an abstract non-personal, non-Christian concept of God:

You don't have to believe that God is a big angry man in the sky to believe that the Light within is God (Male, 16; Interview, 27/7/2003).

I suggest that this response indicates that the description of God as 'a Spirit' or 'the Inward Light' is closely related to the idea of 'that of God in everyone' as is indicated by use of the phrase 'Light in us all' in the example of the JYM song above. Over 80% of the mentions of God in group interviews focused on the idea of 'that of God in everyone'.

I try and see that of God in everyone. (Female, 13; Field Notes).

However for some adolescent Quakers the focus is not on God but rather on that of 'good' in everyone:

trying to be aware of the good in everyone (Male, 16; Field Notes).

I explore in greater depth below (4.7) the interpretation of this phrase in the adolescent Quaker popular religion.

4.3.3 God as indefinable

2.7% of YQQ respondents stated that God could not be described or defined and a further 1.8% that they were uncertain of the nature of God:

I think of "God" as being indefinable. Simply because as soon as you start to define 'it' you are only looking at part of the picture and you can't expect then to be able to see the whole picture. (http://u19s.quaker.org.uk/qboard/view_thread.pl?id=1781 accessed 11/02.2004).

Again, only small numbers described God as being indefinable; this is perhaps surprising given the number of adolescents who were uncertain of their belief in God. Yet, as indicated above (4.3.2), some adolescents struggled to describe God.

4.3.4 Individuals relationship with God

In terms of their relationship with God, several interview participants indicated that they felt no connection to God:

I don't believe in God, and have no connection [with God] (Male, 18; Interview, 13/12/2003)

I've never strongly believed in God but especially now he's quite faint and far off (Male, 15; Interview, 13/12/2003).

However other respondents reflected a personal connection to God, whether this was described in traditional or abstract terms:

if God was so almighty and normally if you were faced with a king or something ... you'd feel kind of small but you don't with God well I don't anyway... so [I feel] kind of connected (Female, 14; Interview, 20/9/2003)

I feel like I am quite close to God or whatever it is (Female, 16; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Another adolescent described her relationship with God in terms of being:

connected so that the light is running right through me (Female, 16; Interview, 13/12/2003).

4.4 Views of Jesus

The YQQ asked 'Is Jesus an important figure in your spiritual life?' (YQQ Question 23).

Respondents were asked to rate this importance on a scale from 1 to 6 (with 1 representing the highest importance and 6 the lowest). 14.8 % stated that Jesus was important or a very important figure in their spiritual life (1 or 2), 55.1% stated that Jesus was not an important figure in their spiritual life (5 or 6) and 30% that Jesus was a slightly important figure in their spiritual life (3 or 4). Table 4.4 shows the importance of Jesus in the spiritual lives of Adolescent Quakers.

Response		Percentage
Very Important	1	4.1%
	2	10.7%
Some Importance	3	17.2%
	4	12.8%
Not Important	5	20.3%
	6	34.8%

Table 4.4 Importance of Jesus' to Adolescent Quakers' spiritual lives (YQQ Question 23) n=302

Of those who self identified solely as a Quaker 10.3% said that Jesus was an important figure in their spiritual life, compared with 57.1% of those that identified as Quaker and Christian and 62.5% of those that identified solely as Christian. Given this, I argue that the adolescent Quaker group as a whole does not regard Jesus as a significant figure in their spiritual lives.

The YQQ also asked what characteristics best described their view of Jesus (YQQ Question 22). Respondents could select more than one characteristic from a list of five options with additional space for them to write in their own description. Table 4.5 shows adolescent Quakers descriptions of Jesus:

Characteristic	Percentage
Teacher	54.3%
(Non-Divine Teacher	40.1%)
(Teacher & Divine	14.2%)
Just a person/Not Special	21.7%
Son of God	20.9%
Inward Light	10.4%
Saviour	8.5%
A special/good person	5.0%

Table 4.5 Descriptions of Jesus (YQQ Question 22) n=292

The largest group, 54.3%, described Jesus as a teacher. However only 14.2% described him as a teacher and also gave him what I term divine characteristics, that is describing him as a Saviour and/or the Son of God in addition to teacher. 40.1% described him as a teacher without divine characteristics. 29.4% of all respondents included divine characteristics (Son of God, Saviour) in their description of Jesus. 10.4% described Jesus as the inward light and half of these (5.3% of the total sample) included the 'Inward Light' and either Son of God or Saviour in their description. 21.7% of adolescent Quakers said that they thought that Jesus was just a person/not special. 5% described him as 'a special person' or a 'good person' which were not options given on the original list, but did not include divine characteristics in this description.

Jesus was a good person, just like any other (Male, 18; YQQ)

an enlightened, amazing person (Female, 18; YQQ)

a great person but not the Son of God (Female, 16; YQQ).

Similarly some adolescents regarded Jesus' views as significant and important without necessarily being divine:

just an ordinary person, extraordinary ideas (Female, 18; YQQ)

a person with excellent beliefs, supported by excellent communication skills (Male, 17; YQQ).

One stated that the divinity and even the existence of Jesus didn't have an impact on how they viewed his teachings:

in the Bible it says about this bloke Jesus so possibly he existed and if not who cares, he had some good ideas (Male, 18; Field Notes).

Some respondents viewed Jesus in purely historical terms:

a man who is proved to have existed (Female, 17; YQQ)

a biblical figure who I've been taught about at school (Female, 15; YQQ)

a real person who wanted to change the hierarchy of religion in his city (Female, 17; YQQ)

a historical figure who had a huge impact on people's thoughts and spoke lots of wisdom (Female, 16; YQQ).

One individual, who described God as a 'life force' stated that Jesus was:

a fantasy to facilitate the views of generations of people's experiences with the life force (Male, 18; YQQ).

Others viewed Jesus as unreal:

imaginary (Male, 13; YQQ)

an impostor (Male, 17; YQQ)

a madman (Male, 14; YQQ).

Descriptions of Jesus and the ascription of divinity differ in relation to the importance that Jesus has in the spiritual lives of individuals. This is shown in Table 4.6.

	Importance of Jesus in your spiritual life		
	Important (1 or 2)	Some Importance (3 or 4)	Not Important (5 or 6)
Saviour	32.6%	10.0%	1.9%
Son of God	62.8%	27.8%	6.3%
Inward Light	23.3%	16.7%	3.8%
Teacher & Divine	46.5%	21.2%	3.1%
Non- Divine Teacher	20.9%	42.4%	44.0%
Just a person/Not Special	4.7%	7.8%	38.9%
A special person	2.3%	3.9%	4.5%

Table 4.6 Descriptions of Jesus showing the importance of Jesus to individuals spiritual lives n=292

95.4% of those individuals who said that Jesus was an important part of their spiritual life (those who marked his importance to them as 1 or 2 on the scale) included 'Saviour' or 'Son of God' in their description. Only 8.2% of those individuals for whom Jesus was not an important part of their spiritual lives (those who marked his importance to them as 5 or 6) ascribed one of these divine characteristics in their description. 23.3% of those who said Jesus was an important part of their spiritual lives described Jesus as the 'Inward Light' compared with only 3.8% of those who said he was not an important part of their spiritual life. Of those who said Jesus was not an important part of their spiritual life 44.0% described him as a teacher without any divine characteristics and 38.9 % said that he was just a person or not special.

Descriptions of Jesus also differ depending on individuals' self-identification; this is shown in Table 4.7.

	Self-Identification		
	Quaker ²³ n=169	Quaker-Christians ²⁴ n=31	Quaker-Atheist & Quaker-Agnostic ²⁵ n=16
Saviour	4.1%	29.0%	0%
Son of God	17.8%	48.4%	0%
Inward Light	10.1 %	32.3%	0%
Teacher & Divine	8.9%	54.8%	0%
Non– Divine Teacher	46.2%	12.9%	56.3.9%
Just a person/Not special	21.3%	9.7%	43.8%
A special person	4.7%	3.2%	6.3%

Table 4.7 Descriptions of Jesus showing self-identification

Only 4.1% of those adolescents who self-identified as Quaker described Jesus as 'Saviour' and 17.8% described him as 'Son of God' while 29% of Christian-Quakers described him as 'Saviour' and 48.4% as 'the Son of God'. Amongst those self-identifying as Quakers 21.3% said Jesus was 'just a person' and 46.2% described him as a teacher without any divine characteristics. In comparison, 9.7% of the Christians-Quakers said he was 'just a person' and 12.9% a teacher without divine characteristics. Of those who self-identified as Quaker and atheist or agnostic the largest group (46.2%) described Jesus as a teacher without ascribing any divine characteristics.

Despite categorising them as divine characteristics I suggest that both the 'Son of God' and 'the Inward Light' may not be thought of as divine or unique characteristics by all respondents:

²³ This term is used to refer to those that self-identified as Quaker, Quaker and Spiritual, Quaker and other, Quaker and Spiritual and other (see 5.2.2 below).

²⁴ The term is used to refer to those that self-identified as Quaker and Christian or as Quaker and Christian and Spiritual or Quaker and Christian and Other (see 5.2.2 below).

²⁵ This refers to those individuals who self-identified as Quaker and Atheist or Quaker and Agnostic (see 5.2.2 below).

the Inward Light was strong with him [Jesus] (Female 17; YQQ)

Jesus is/was as much the son of God as we all are; maybe his voice was louder than the rest of us (Field Notes)

Jesus was not just a person but not the only Son of God (Female 17; YQQ)

A wise man, kind of 'saviour' but not of the world, a helper to the world (Female 15; YQQ)

The vast majority of the sample regard Jesus as unimportant, with only 14.8% stating that Jesus was important to their spiritual lives. Those adolescents for whom Jesus is an important part of their spiritual life are more likely to describe him using 'divine' characteristics (Saviour, Son of God or Inward Light). However given that Quaker-Christians are in the minority within the adolescent Quaker group I argue that Jesus is irrelevant to the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group overall. However a number of adolescents regard Jesus as a special individual because of his teaching and beliefs without necessarily seeing him as unique or divine. I argue that the popular view of the adolescent Quaker group is of Jesus as a non-divine teacher with important beliefs, the value of which are dependent on individual interpretation rather than having special status by virtue of their being Jesus' teachings. This popular Quaker view of Jesus in historical or non-divine terms 'contradicts Quaker-Christianity' (Dandelion 1996:176).

4.5 Religious Literature

Adolescents were asked about their attitudes to religious literature including the Bible and specifically Quaker literature such as *Quaker faith and practice* and *Advices and Queries* [G] as well as other books. Respondents were asked whether they had found these books 'helpful' or 'unhelpful' on their spiritual journey (YQQ Question 21). Following the survey it became apparent that the phrasing of this question was problematic in a number of ways. No definition of 'spiritual journey' was given, leaving this open to personal interpretation.

Secondly questions can also be raised about individuals' interpretations of 'helpful' and 'unhelpful' given that respondents were not asked in detail about their attitudes towards any of these books. Responses to this question are therefore subjective and to some extent dependent on individual respondents' interpretation of the question. However I suggest that the data from this question is still valuable in that it can be used to ascertain whether individuals had read any of these books and to gain an impression of their attitude towards these books.

4.5.1 The Bible

63.8% of YQQ respondents stated that they had read the Bible, or parts of it. Of these individuals 55.1% found it helpful whilst 44.9% had found it unhelpful. However the fact that individuals had read the Bible and found it helpful does not necessarily mean that it is viewed as having divine authority. One respondent, who stated that he had read the Bible and found it helpful, added

'but I don't agree or believe most of it (Male 17; YQQ).

Another stated that it had been helpful

in relation to understanding other people's beliefs (Female 17; YQQ).

Other responses suggest that some adolescent Quakers have an ambivalent attitude towards the Bible:

some parts are helpful ... the Old Testament [is] depressing and terrible (Female 18; YQQ).

Some adolescents saw it as having value as a book of guidance:

I think that the Bible contains some important messages and stories which we can transcribe and translate into modern life (Male 18; Field Notes).

However others viewed it as irrelevant:

not really either [helpful or unhelpful] it just seems irrelevant (Female 18; YQQ).

or even viewed it with hostility

the Bible is an amazing document of social and historical importance but it is a book about control' (Male 17; YQQ).

one respondent described it as:

the book of lies (Male 18; YQQ).

The majority of the adolescent group view the Bible as either irrelevant or, if it has value, for them it is comparable with other texts and has the function of providing guidance rather than having spiritual authority in their lives. I suggest that this reflects a shift in liberal-Liberal Quaker theology towards a pluralistic group in which personal experience rather than scripture forms the basis of authority (Dandelion 1996:140). Dandelion states that for the Quaker group, 'scriptural teachings have lost a basis of... final authority' (1996:176) and that the Bible is viewed within a historical context (Dandelion 1996:140). Dandelion identifies a varying frequency of Bible-based ministry between Meetings. I suggest that the Bible is used less at Quaker events for young people than amongst the adult Quaker group. One adult volunteer at a Quaker event for young people recalled an occasion where young people had been given a sheet with several quotations and that:

There was a quotation from the Bible but it didn't say where it was from (Field Notes; 1/5/2004).

This adult said that he thought

some people are scared of saying that something is from the Bible (Field Notes; 1/5/2004).

Dandelion suggests that the plurality of belief amongst the adult group and a desire to avoid conflict within the group leads to an increase in the acceptance of the use of non-Christian language (Dandelion 1996:190-191). I argue that this desire to avoid conflict is reflected in the lack of overt use of the Bible at Quaker events for young people and in Children's Meetings. 30% of Dandelion's sample described the Bible as a useful teaching text; this proportion rose with the younger sub-samples, with 38% of the Under 30 year olds and 40% of Young Friends Central Committee (YFCC) [G] describing it in this way. This is reflected by recent promotion of the Bible as a 'resource', rather than an authoritative text for children's meeting by Britain Yearly Meeting's Children and Young People's staff and a course at Woodbrooke [G] (Field Notes 21/10/2004).

4.5.2 Quaker faith and practice and Advices and Queries

52.8% of respondents had read *Quaker faith and practice*. Of these, 90.1% found it helpful and only 8.9% stated that they had not found it helpful. 45.9% had read *Advices and Queries* with 91.5% of these finding it helpful, while only 5% had read *Advices and Queries* and found it unhelpful. 62.5% had read either *Quaker faith and practice* or *Advices and Queries* of these; 93.8% of those that had read either book found one or other of them helpful.

Although more respondents had read the Bible, possibly at school, there is a considerably more positive attitude towards *Quaker faith and practice* and *Advices and Queries* amongst the adolescent Quaker group. Only 55.1% of respondents who had read the Bible said they'd found it helpful; in comparison 90.1% of those who had actually read *Quaker faith and practice* and 91.5% of those who had read *Advices and Queries* stated that they had found them helpful in their spiritual journey. However this didn't preclude negative comments:

The Advices and Queries... reflect a Society of Friends of some years ago, and are very much in need of updating (Female, 18; Field Notes, 7/8/2004).

4.5.3 Other Texts

YQQ respondents were also given the opportunity to mention other books that they had found helpful on their spiritual journey. Dandelion speculates about whether other texts which are non-religious but are spiritual or philosophical 'would receive greater attention than the Bible' (Dandelion 1996:176). The responses which highlight a number of books which have influenced their spiritual journeys suggests that this may be the case. 15.0 % mentioned other books. Many books were only mentioned by one individual. 4.2 % mentioned *Who do we think we are? Young Friends' Commitment and Belonging* (Young Friends General Meeting 1998). This is a collection of personal reflections on a variety of topics related to the themes of commitment and belonging. Although the percentage that stated it had been helpful to them was small, I suggest that this figure may have been higher if this book had been included as one of the options respondents were offered. Although this book was produced by the young adult group rather than the adolescent group I suggest it may have significance for adolescents because the majority of contributors are much closer to them in age than contributors to *Quaker faith and practice*.

The significance of this book for some adolescents is illustrated by the following response which highlights the acceptance of pluralism reflected in the book:

I love it. It makes you think... It teaches you a lot and makes you consider stuff. I like the fact that all of it is interesting. I like it because there are so many different views all in one book and all are accepted. (Female, 13; Field Notes 22/5/2005).

4.6 Adolescent Quaker beliefs in comparison

In this section I compare the beliefs of adolescent Quakers with those of other adolescents and with those of the adult Quaker group. I argue that in belief terms the adolescent Quaker group is significantly different both from other Quakers and from other adolescents, including adolescent Christians.

4.6.1 Comparison with other adolescents

In this section I compare adolescent Quaker beliefs with those of other adolescents, both religiously affiliated and those with no religious affiliation. I compare individuals' belief in God, descriptions of God and views of Jesus.

4.6.1 a) Belief in God

In the 1998 Young People's Social Attitudes Survey, 50% of a sample representative of 12 - 19 year olds in Britain stated that they believed in God. (Salvation Army 2001:63); yet 41.3% of YQQ respondents stated that they believed in God (4.2). I suggest that it is highly significant that a larger percentage of the population as a whole stated that they believed in God than in the adolescent Quaker group. However there were fewer adolescent Quakers who said that they did not believe in God (18.0%) compared with other adolescents (43%). Many more adolescent Quakers were uncertain of their belief. Compared with 40.7% of the adolescent Quaker group, only 5% of the population as a

whole were unsure whether they believed in God or not. The contrast is even greater when adolescent Quakers are compared with other religiously affiliated adolescents. 86% of adolescent Christians are confident about their faith in God, and only 3% of church-going adolescents state that they do not believe in God (Francis 1984:71). Amongst adolescent Quakers only 41.3% can be thought of as being confident in their belief in God; 17.9% do not believe in God, almost six times as many as adolescent Christians.

4.6.1 b) *Descriptions of God*

Day and May state that 'many young people had traditional images of God as 'an old man with a white beard' but argue that these descriptions were no more than picture language and should not be taken literally (1991:29). They also identify less conventional descriptions of God as 'a mist', 'a cloud', 'a force' or 'a light' and state that 16% of teenage Christians preferred to think of God as a sense or 'presence' (Day and May 1991:30). 18 % of adolescent Christians focused on Trinitarian models of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and many describe God as 'uncle' or 'big brother' and 'a kindly old man with love for his children' (Day and May 1991:30-31). In spatial terms adolescent Christians described God as being 'above us' (Day and May 1991:29). In contrast, a much larger percentage of the adolescent Quaker group (76.5%) described God as a 'life force' or 'Spirit', only 9.3% described God as a father figure, and adolescent Quakers tend to describe God as a spirit or life force that is all around (4.3.2).

4.6.1 c) *Views of Jesus*

The overwhelming majority of adolescent church-goers (87%) are orthodox in their Christological language and believe that Jesus is the Son of God, only 11% were unsure of their belief and just 2% reject the idea outright (Francis 1984:72). In Day and May's research a third of adolescent respondents mentioned Jesus' divinity and 45% described Jesus as a

real human being but described him as 'strong and heroic' (1991:43). 51% stated that the death of Christ has made a relationship with God possible and 40% stressed the reality of the sense of being forgiven through the death of Christ (Day and May 1991:47-48). Day and May argue that for adolescent Christians 'Christian faith was about a Christ who saves and gives assurances of forgiveness' and state that young Christians are 'orthodox in their acceptance of the great affirmations of the creed' (Day and May 1991:49-50). Adolescent Quakers display a significant difference, with only 20.9% describing Jesus as the Son of God and a further 8.5% as 'Saviour'. I argue above (4.4.2) that the popular view of Jesus within the adolescent Quaker group is of a non-divine teacher with significant and important beliefs.

4.6.2 Comparison with adult Quaker beliefs

In this section I compare three aspects of adolescent Quaker beliefs with those of adult Quakers: belief in God, descriptions of God, and views of Jesus.

4.6.2 a) *Belief in God*

In Dandelion's study 74.0% of adult Quakers stated a positive belief in God. This figure is similar to levels of belief in God in a sample representative of the general population (76%) (Dandelion 1996:159). In Dandelion's study the percentage that believed in God was lower for the sub-sample of those aged under 30 (62.7%) and the YFCC sub-sample (55.7%). However a considerably smaller percentage of respondents to the current study, 41.3 %, stated a positive belief in God. Only 3.1% of adult Quakers stated that they didn't believe in God compared with 18.0% of adolescent Quakers; this is more than double the number in youngest sub-sample of Dandelion's survey (Dandelion 1996:159). The number of adolescent Quakers who were unsure of their belief is closer to that of the youngest of Dandelion's sample. 22.9% of all adult Quakers and 36.1%, of Dandelion's YFCC sub-sample

stated that they were unsure of their belief in God, compared with 40.7 % of the adolescent Quaker group.

4.6.2 b) Descriptions of God

The largest group in Dandelion's sample described God as 'Inward Light' (58.6%), 51.5% described God as 'a Spirit' and 51.1% as 'love'. 14.9% of the adult Quaker group described God as a 'being' and a further 14.0% as a mother/father/person figure whilst 12.7% stated that God was 'a principle' (Dandelion 1996:160). These figures are comparable to those for descriptions given by the adolescent Quakers given in Section 4.3 above. Although the percentages of adolescents using each description is lower these are similar to the descriptions of God given by adolescents. Given this, I suggest that the view of God does not differ vastly between the two groups although adolescent Quakers used more descriptions indicating a greater diversity of belief.

4.6.2 c) Views of Jesus

39.7% of the adult Quaker group state that Jesus is an important part of their spiritual lives (Dandelion 1996:146). For those aged under 30 in Dandelion's sample this falls to 17.9%. For the adolescent Quaker group this is lower still, with only 14.8% stating that Jesus is an important part of their spiritual life. A much larger proportion of the adolescent group state that Jesus is definitely not an important part of their spiritual life with over half (55.1%) giving this response compared with 20.5% of the adult group (40.2% of those under 30).

68.2% of the adult group describe Jesus as a 'spiritual teacher' and 47.4% as an 'ethical teacher' (Dandelion 1996: 145). In comparison 54.3% of the adolescent group describe him as a 'teacher'; however only 14.2% of these ascribed him divinity, whilst 40.1% stating that

he was a non-divine teacher. The YQQ question made no distinction between ethical and spiritual teacher. In Dandelion's study 6% of those aged under 30 described Jesus as 'specially loving and wise' (compared with 3% for the whole of Dandelion's sample); amongst the adolescent Quaker group 5.0% described Jesus as 'a special person'. This description was not included as a standard survey response but was written in by a number of respondents and the percentage might have been higher if it had been included in the list of descriptions to choose from.

One noticeable and interesting contrast is that a larger percentage of the adolescent group describes Jesus as 'Saviour' or 'Son of God'. Only 5.4% of the adult group used this as a description of Jesus (Dandelion 1996:145) compared with 8.5% of the adolescent group. 20.9% of the adolescent group described Jesus as the 'Son of God', while only 13.6% of the adult group used this description. I suggest that this may be for a number of reasons that do not indicate a Christian basis to the popular view of the group. Firstly, it is significant that in Dandelion's question the description of Saviour includes the words 'sent by God to deliver us from sin' (Dandelion 1996:145), it is possible that fewer adolescents would have used the description of 'saviour' if the same wording had been used. Furthermore, Table 4.6 above indicates that individuals who do not regard Jesus as an important figure in their spiritual life still ascribe him divinity in their descriptions and I suggest that individuals may be giving a description of Jesus based on religious education rather than personal belief.

4.7 Adolescent Quaker orthodoxy

In this section I examine whether there are any beliefs which are distinctive to the adolescent Quaker group, and whether there is a popular adolescent Quaker orthodoxy.

I argue that adolescent Quakers' view of Jesus outlined above (4.4) is part of a developing trend within British liberal-Liberal Quakerism towards a view of Jesus as having significance in terms of his example and teaching but not as a divine figure. The post-Christian popular religion of the adult Quaker group does not require a belief in the uniqueness or divinity of Jesus (Dandelion 1996:178) and fails to attribute Jesus with divine power (Dandelion 1996:145). However they describe him, it is clear that the majority of the adolescent Quaker group regard Jesus as unimportant to their spiritual lives; of those who do see him as relevant or important, most see him as providing an ethical example. I argue that the declining importance of Jesus in the spiritual lives of adolescent Quakers indicates a shift beyond the post-Christian position of the adult Quaker group to one that can most accurately described as 'non-Christian'.

Dandelion argues that the descriptions of God given by the adult Quaker group demonstrate that 'Quakers in Britain have replaced traditional Quaker-Christian parameters with a pluralistic model' (1996:165). I argue that there is no unified theology within the adolescent Quaker group, reflected by the fact that questionnaire respondents gave 27 different descriptions for God. God is usually described in non-personal or abstract terms rather than conventional Christian terms, often as a 'life force', a 'presence' or a 'feeling'. The popular view of the adolescent Quaker group portrays God as an abstract non-personal 'spiritual' presence. Further to this, belief in God amongst adolescent Quakers has declined. A decade after Dandelion's study the percentage of adolescents with a positive belief in God is over 14% lower than the youngest sub-sample and 21% lower than the whole sample. Less than half the group now state a positive belief in God compared to almost three-quarters of Dandelion's sample. The percentage who state that they do not believe in God is almost 9% higher than the youngest sub-sample and almost 15% higher than the whole of Dandelion's sample (1996:159).

I suggest that the adolescent Quaker group has shifted further from these Quaker-Christian parameters, and that the significant factor is declining belief in God rather than a pluralistic view of God. This represents a significant shift in the popular view of belief in God and has implications for the position of the group in terms of Quaker theology. While it may be an exaggeration to state that the popular religion of the group no longer includes belief in a traditionally described personal God, those who hold this belief are in the minority and belief in God of any description is no longer a defining or necessary characteristic of the adolescent Quaker group. The adolescent Quaker group does not identify belief in God as something that is a necessary part of being a Quaker (4.2). Although more respondents do believe in God than do not, it is clearly possible for adolescent Quakers to identify themselves as Quaker and to be within the popular view of the group without believing in God (see 4.2 above). I argue that the popular orthodoxy of the adolescent Quaker group is one where belief in God is non-definitional and not necessary; God is described in unconventional abstract terms. Jesus is not regarded divine or unique and while his teaching and example may be significant for some, the majority of the adolescent Quaker group do not regard Jesus as an important figure in their spiritual lives (4.4).

Dandelion identifies 'that of God in everyone' as the single belief item identified by all interview respondents and, on this basis, argues that this is 'the parameter of acceptability of popular Quaker theology' (1996:300). Only 6% of YQQ respondents mentioned 'that of God in everyone' as an aspect of their Quaker belief and few interview participants identified a belief in 'that of God in everyone' as a 'Quaker priority'. This percentage might have been higher if respondents had been presented with this belief and asked if they subscribed to it. Despite this, given that 100% of Dandelion's interviewees indicated a belief in 'that of God in everyone' (1996:300), I argue that it is significant that the

percentage that did mention this belief is so low. The majority of mentions of God in group interviews focused on the idea of that of God in everyone. Dandelion does not explain what this phrase means for different adult Quakers. For some adolescent Quakers the focus is not on God but rather on that of 'good' in everyone:

I put much less [importance] on God and more on good in everyone (Female, 18; Interview 20/9/2003).

[it's] as though it's the inside of you it's not as though its God but just goodness sometimes it just makes you want to be good and try and be a better person so it's just inside you. (Female, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

He like does good in everything but that's just human nature and nothing greater than that. (Male, 16; Interview, 20/9/2003).

Thus I argue that adolescent Quakers have less connection with this key Quaker phrase than adult Quakers and have reinterpreted and redefined it.

Within the adolescent group only 12.6% said that they thought of themselves as Christian. 28.7% of respondents included divine characteristics (Son of God, Saviour) in their description of Jesus. 42.5% stated that they had read the Bible, or parts of it, and found it helpful; however they do not necessarily view it as having divine authority. If the uniqueness and importance of Jesus is definitional of Christianity (Hampson 1993:25) then the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group is distinctively not Christian and not Quaker-Christian (Dandelion 1996:176). Mellor (2008:78-79) argues that a broader definition of Christianity should be used for Quakers, using self-definition, attitudes towards Jesus and use of the Bible as measures. I argue that given the low percentage of adolescent Quakers self-identifying as Christian, where the term was self-definitional, even if a broader definition of Christianity is used the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group has moved beyond that of the post-Christian or even post-Quaker-Christian neo-

orthodoxy of the adult Quaker group (Dandelion 1996:178, 319) and that the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group is non-Christian.

Given that YQQ respondents gave 27 different descriptions of God and over 50 different definitions of prayer I argue that the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group represents a pluralistic model. 26% of YQQ respondents stated that what they liked about Quakerism was the freedom to believe what you want (YQQ Question 7) and pluralism is accepted and even celebrated as a part of adolescent Quaker orthodoxy:

Quakerism is unique, it doesn't have a creed, a set of rules, one Quaker may believe one thing and another may not (Field Notes, 25/8/2004)

your faith is your own interpretation of a few simple guidelines (Female, 16; YQQ).

The pluralism within the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group can be illustrated with reference to the influence on the adolescent Quaker group of the contemporary expression of the Quaker orthodoxy contained in *Quaker faith and practice*. The current revision of the book of discipline was approved by Britain (then London) Yearly Meeting in 1994 and published in 1995. The oldest of the adolescent group would have been 9 years old in 1994 thus the current revision is likely to be the only version that the adolescent group would have been aware of and made use of. I suggest that the expression of Quaker orthodoxy in the current edition of *Quaker faith and practice* has influenced the adolescent popular religion in two ways. Firstly, it 'contains more accounts of personal experience... and covers topics as 'private' as abortion, sexual relationships and divorce' (Dandelion 1996:xxix). Dandelion argues that this 'expansion of the book of discipline' by including personal experience 'denotes the domination of the private life over the religious even within the religious framework' provided by the book of discipline. The religious framework is considered 'to be in place to aid the individual journey' (Dandelion

1996:xxix). I argue that as a consequence of this shift, which represents a privatisation and a secularisation of religion, adolescent Quakers view the Quaker religious framework as including their private lives (6.2.4 and 7.6.5) and see the content of Quaker belief as being personal rather than corporate.

Secondly, when the current revision was approved the title was changed from *Christian Faith and Practice* to *Quaker faith and practice*. Dandelion states that when the revised book of discipline was approved Christian-Quakers claimed that 'the dropping of the word 'Christian' from the title suggested... a greater surety of its unspoken assumption' (1996:xvi). However I suggest instead that changing the title from *Christian Faith and Practice* to *Quaker faith and practice* has reduced the visibility of the Christian basis of the Religious Society of Friends amongst the adolescent Quaker group, and thus represents the loss of a significant indicator of the Christian heritage of the Religious Society of Friends. Rather than being assumed the Christian basis of Quaker belief and practice has become unspoken and virtually invisible. The use of the word 'Quaker' in the title of the book of discipline presents the orthodoxy as being distinctively Quaker rather than being Christian or even Quaker-Christian, and disconnects Quaker popular theology from Christianity. I argue that this signals a shift to a post-Christian orthodoxy and that the Christian basis of Quaker theology, which was apparent to previous generations of Friends, has been lost to the current adolescent group.

4.8 Adolescent Quaker values

In this section I consider adolescent Quaker values and examine the influence of Quaker beliefs and values on adolescent Quakers.

The Young Quaker Questionnaire asked 'Can you think of three ways in which your Quaker beliefs make a difference to how you live your life?' (YQQ Question 26). Asking the

question in this way was somewhat flawed because no comparison was specified and the majority of respondents had been introduced to Quakerism at birth or a young age and therefore would have little to compare it with. One respondent highlighted this flaw by stating that they couldn't think of ways in which their Quaker beliefs made a difference to the way they lived their life because there was 'nothing to contrast' (Male, 17; YQQ). However responses to this question do give some indication of ways in which adolescents identify Quaker beliefs as making a difference to how they live their lives. Some individuals contrasted the Quaker influence on their lives with their view of the behaviour of their non-Quaker peers. This question was open ended to allow respondents to describe the difference as they experienced it, and answers were grouped for analysis (2.4.1). Table 4.8 shows ways in which adolescent Quakers identify their Quaker beliefs and values as making a difference to their lives.

Way in which Quaker beliefs make a difference to your life	Percentage
Pacifist/Non-violence	26.1%
Equality/Non prejudiced	11.7%
Consider others more	10.4%
More Open Minded/Accepting	10.1%
Appreciate silence	9.8%
General Ethics/Living by beliefs	9.4%
Helps me make decisions/deal with problems	7.8%
More aware of world issues	7.2%
Made friends	7.2%
Boycott products/Buy Fair Trade	6.5%
Seek that of God/Good/Light in others	6.2%
Increased Self-awareness/Awareness of actions	3.9%
Live simply	3.3%
Increased confidence	2.9%
Participated in protests/marches	2.6%
More spiritual	2.3%
More environmentally aware	1.6%
Living by the Quaker testimonies	1.6%
More socially aware	1.6%
Happier	1.3%
Vegetarian	0.7%
More Religious	0.3%

Table 4.8 Ways in which Quaker beliefs make a difference to how adolescents live their lives (YQQ Question 26)

Distinctive Quaker values (including the testimonies) and actions that are linked implicitly to these values

Attitudes and actions linked to Quaker beliefs.

Influence of Quaker practices

General influence on individuals' attitudes

I suggest that the influence of Quaker beliefs on individuals' lives, attitudes and personal behaviour can be categorised in four ways, as indicated above. The first (and largest) is in terms of distinctive Quaker values identifiable through the Quaker testimonies to peace, equality, simplicity and truth. This includes actions that are linked implicitly to these, such as buying fair trade products and participating in peace protests. The second category covers attitudes and actions linked to Quaker beliefs, whether phrased in explicit Quaker terms or not. A third group relates to Quaker practices such as an appreciation of silence through participation in Meeting for Worship. The fourth category denotes an influence on

individuals' attitudes, rather than ethical behaviour, including being more open-minded and accepting and having greater consideration for others.

Although only 1.6% of respondents stated that living by the Quaker testimonies made a difference to their lives other responses given show the influence of Quaker testimonies in external behaviour. The largest single response was 26.1% who stated that the Quaker peace testimony and pacifism made a difference to the way they lived their lives:

My belief in non-violence makes me confident to search [for] non-violent solutions to problems. (Female, 18; YQQ).

11.7% stated that the Quaker testimony to equality influences their lives. Only 3.3% stated that being a Quaker made them live more simply although this ranged from:

organic and fair-trade food, no TV..., no dishwasher (Female, 15; YQQ)

to:

a conscious choice to live a bit simply (Female, 18; YQQ).

1.6% stated that they were more environmentally aware, highlighting the emerging Quaker testimony to the earth [G]. The Quaker testimony to times and seasons [G] was reflected in the response of one adolescent:

I don't much celebrate Christmas... we haven't ever gone in for Christmas that much. (Female, 13; YQQ).

Other respondents identified behaviour that can be seen as being linked to these testimonies: 6.5% said they bought Fair Trade products which I suggest is behaviour

influenced by the Quaker testimony to equality, and 2.6% that they had participated in anti-war demonstrations, possibly linked to the Quaker peace testimony:

9.4% of respondents stated that living by their Quaker beliefs had made a difference to their general ethical approach to life and 6.2% highlighted the explicit Quaker belief in seeking that of God in others; however this was phrased in a variety of ways which reflects the plurality of belief within adolescent Quakerism highlighted above (4.7). 2.3% said that being a Quaker made them more spiritual or more spiritually aware and one respondent wrote that being a Quaker had:

put me in touch with God (Male 15; YQQ).

Some respondents highlighted differences that result from their participation in particular Quaker activities. 9.8% said that they appreciate silence. Other responses highlighted the influence of Quaker activities on the way individuals live their lives:

I spare at least 10 minutes a day to centre down, I go to meeting (Female, 12; YQQ).

In group interviews participants were asked to select their three 'Quaker priorities', those aspects of Quakerism that were most important for them as individuals (See Appendix 3 for interview schedule). Participants were asked to describe and illustrate the stereotypical adolescent Quaker. Three quarters of interview participants identified peace or pacifism as an individual Quaker priority and about one third of groups identified pacifism as a characteristic of a stereotypical adolescent Quaker, making this the third most often mentioned characteristic. Just over half the interview participants identified equality, acceptance and respect as features of individual Quaker identity, one in five identified truth or honesty as a key feature of their personal understanding of Quakerism and a

similar number mentioned simplicity. Almost a quarter of interview participants stated that a distinctive characteristic of the stereotypical young Quaker was opposition to, and boycotting of, global corporations such as Nestlé and McDonald's. This is indicative of Quaker 'plain style' described by Collins as representing 'a significant alternative' and an opportunity to be free from 'the current hegemony of consumer culture' (2001:132). Other values that had significant mentions included vegetarianism, which was identified as a characteristic of stereotypical adolescent Quakers environmentalism. I argue that through identifying with these values adolescent Quakers make a statement about what it means to them to be a Quaker.

Given this, I agree with Coleman and Collins that although the religious basis of social witness is not always explicitly stated amongst adolescent Quakers they do still see their lives as influenced by Quaker values and Quaker testimonies which provide 'a template for action' (2000:322):

The Quaker testimonies are important to me, living by them (Female, 17; YQQ)

For most young Quakers it's not a religious thing but more just something that helps define their beliefs about life (Male, 17; Field Notes, 16/8/2004).

One adolescent referred to the Quaker testimonies as being:

not rules but guidelines, can't be broken (Male, 16; Field Notes, 16/8/2004).

another said they were

not set in stone ... people take notice of them because they're considerate human beings (Male, 16; Field Notes, 16/8/2004).

One adolescent stated that the testimonies were

general and not time-specific (Male, 16; Field Notes, 16/8/2004).

Collins states that in Quaker ethics the testimonies are most obviously constitutive of a moral code undergirded by scriptural, and therefore moral, authority which is expressed by example (2001:136).

I contend that although the testimonies do influence adolescents' behaviour, they are not necessarily seen as having scriptural or moral authority. I argue below that the ideal of the community has a stronger influence over adolescents' behaviour (6.3). The Quaker testimonies can be seen as motivating behaviour that would not previously have been associated with these expressions of Quaker values. Given the range of ways in which individuals enact these values in their lives, I suggest that similar to the pluralisation of belief there is a pluralisation of values, and that the behaviour which is an expression of these values is individualised within the adolescent Quaker group.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter examined the content of the religious beliefs of the adolescent Quaker group. It analysed adolescent Quakers' attitudes to God and illustrated how God is described in unconventional abstract terms that reflect an identification of God as a spirit, light, presence or feeling. I argued that for the adolescent Quaker group belief in God is non-definitional and not required. This chapter also examined adolescent Quakers' attitudes to Jesus and demonstrated that Jesus is not regarded as divine or unique and, while his teaching and example may be significant for some, the majority of the adolescent Quaker group do not regard Jesus as an important figure in their spiritual lives. Adolescent Quaker

beliefs are contrasted with those of adult Quakers and with non-Quaker adolescents and significant differences are highlighted. I argue that the popular religion of this group has moved beyond that of the post-Christian or post-Quaker-Christian popular religion of the adult group (Dandelion 1996:178) and that the adolescent Quaker group is correctly described as non-Christian. This chapter examined the values of adolescent Quakers and considered the influence of Quaker beliefs and values on the behaviour of adolescent Quakers. Four ways of categorising the influence on individuals' personal behaviour were identified: through distinctive Quaker values identifiable through the Quaker testimonies; through attitudes and actions linked to Quaker beliefs, whether phrased in explicit Quaker terms or not; through influence that arises from Quaker practices; and through an influence on individuals' attitudes, rather than ethical behaviour. In this chapter I identified the Quaker testimonies as motivating behaviour that would not previously have been associated with these expressions of Quaker values and argued that there is a pluralisation of values and of interpretation of the way values are enacted in individuals' lives.

CHAPTER 5

CONSTRUCTING QUAKERISM I: INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I analyse the ways in which adolescents' Quaker identity is constructed. I examine self-ascribed labels of identity and consider the impact of levels of involvement and patterns of participation in Quaker activities on individuals' self-identification and group affiliation. I consider the issue of formal membership of the Religious Society of Friends as it relates to adolescent Quaker identity and involvement, and examine and analyse adolescent Quaker attitudes to membership. I argue that formal membership has less importance for adolescents than for adults, that belonging to the adolescent group is not predicated on formal membership, and that within the adolescent Quaker group there is no distinction between members and attenders. I consider how adolescent Quakers' identity and involvement create feelings of difference and separateness from others.

5.2 Identity

In this section I consider adolescent Quaker identity. I examine the meaning and basis of religious identity, adolescent identity and Quaker identity. I examine potential indicators of Quaker identity, including self-identification, involvement, practice, beliefs and values. I argue that on their own none of these is a sufficient indicators of adolescent Quaker identity.

5.2.1 The basis of identity

DeLavita defines identity as being 'a statement of what a person or group is essentially' (1967:173). In terms of religious identity, an individual's acceptance of religious beliefs and values and their participation in ritual and worship helps to develop their 'self-understanding and self-definition' (O'Dea 1966:15). The focus on adolescents in this study adds further dimensions to the issue of self-identification. Adolescence is described as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood and a time when significant identity crises may occur (Erikson 1968). Erikson argues that 'the central task of adolescence is identity acquisition' (quoted in Day and May 1991:138). This process entails for individuals 'the formation of a consistent character through attitudes and relationships, the groups they belong to and the way they behave' (Day and May 1991:138). The past gives adolescents strong identifications which are made during childhood. However individuals are also simultaneously searching the present for new models on which to base their adulthood (Erikson 1975). Parker argues that religious identity is often expressed through the development of religious values and, that stages of identity formation in adolescents parallel stages of religious development (1985:47). The current research is not a comparative study of different age groups and therefore concentrates on how and why individuals identify as Quakers and what this means for them and their lives, rather than on faith development. In this research I use identity to represent an individual's self-understanding and self-definition as this is expressed through self-identification, in terms of being part of the group. This entails an individual's acceptance of particular, distinctive values, their participation in Quaker activities, and the relationships they form and maintain both with the group as a whole and with other individuals in the group.

5.2.2 Quaker identity

Dandelion identifies six mechanisms for forming and securing Quaker identity:

i) emphasis on behavioural creed ii) the de-emphasis of belief iii) the invisibility of belief iv) the boundary function of the idea of 'that of God in everyone' v) the singularity of God's will and the relativism of revelation, and vi) mutual deference (1996:306). I explore below each of Dandelion's six mechanisms in relation to adolescent Quaker identity.

i) Emphasis on behavioural creed: Dandelion argues that rules of Quaker practice are definitional for Quaker identity (Dandelion 1996:100-101). However, as described above (3.3.4, 3.3.5) rules governing adolescent Quaker practice differ from those that operate within adult Quakerism and there is less conformity to the form of practice.

ii) De-emphasis of belief: The adult Quaker group marginalises belief (Dandelion 1996:303) and vocal expression of belief is devalued (Dandelion 1996:243) however this serves as a unifying factor (Dandelion 1996:303). As I illustrate above, amongst adolescent Quakers belief is further marginalised (4.7). I argue that this marginalisation is to the extent that belief is non-definitional and that therefore the de-emphasis of belief is not as important in forming adolescent Quaker identity as it is for the adult group.

iii) Invisibility of belief: In the adult Quaker group belief is masked by the culture of silence (Dandelion 1996:266). I argue below (6.3.3) that although belief is de-emphasised amongst adolescent Quakers they are more likely to talk explicitly in Quaker-time about their beliefs and values and these are therefore more visible within the adolescent Quaker group than amongst adult Quakers.

iv) Belief in 'that of God in everyone': Dandelion argues that within the adult group the belief in that of God in everyone is the parameter of acceptable theology and operates as a boundary function for the group's unity (1996:289). Only 6.2% of YQQ respondents mentioned 'that of God in everyone' as a belief item in response to an open ended question, and some adolescents have re-interpreted this term to reflect their understanding of God, and re-defined this as 'that of good in everyone' (4.7). Given this, I argue that belief in 'that of God in everyone' does not operate as a boundary function within the adolescent Quaker group

v) The singularity of God's will and the relativism of revelation : Dandelion argues that the idea that the will of God and the experience of discerning it remain singular despite the perceptions of God being personal, is critical to understanding Quaker relativism (1996:307). I argue below (6.3.3) that rather than the adult Quaker view that nobody can be right (Dandelion 1996:308) the adolescent Quaker group takes a more standard relativistic view that everybody is right, and that while belief stories are not treated as attempts to express anything more than personal, provisional views, they are accepted as true for that individual at that point in time. Dandelion argues further that in the adult group only a gathered corporate group can discern God's will (1996:308). I suggest that this has little relevance to adolescent Quaker identity because of the limited number of Meetings for Worship for Business that they experience in Quaker-time. I argue below (8.5.2 b) that when these do occur, decision making is understood as a collective group decision or the 'feeling of the meeting' rather than the will of God.

vi) Mutual deference: Dandelion argues that within the adult Quaker group generalised language functions as a source of deference towards individual belief stories, with deferential use of terms in 'contradistinction to their own personal beliefs' (1996:309) with

the definition of Quaker terminology being left to individuals (1996: 310). Within the adolescent Quaker group I suggest that a principle of absolute tolerance of other individuals' views also operates as a function of individual identity and group unity:

I don't think I believe in God but I respect people that do (Male, 15; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Given this, I argue that of Dandelion's mechanisms of identity only the de-emphasis of belief and the concept of mutual deference can be applied to adolescent Quaker identity and that in terms of the adolescent Quaker identity, belief is further de-emphasised and mutual deference becomes more totalising.

5.2.3 Self-Identification

Day and May argue that for an individual to state that they are Christian involves an identity statement and 'implies certain truths about oneself and one's place in the world' (1991:138). In a similar way, I argue that an individual stating that they are a Quaker involves an identity statement that reflects both an individual and corporate identity and is highly significant in defining individual Quaker identity. Individuals were asked to state how they identified themselves (YQQ Question 12), with tick boxes allowing respondents to state whether they thought of themselves as a Quaker, a Christian, a spiritual person, an atheist or whether there were other important labels for them²⁶. Individuals were able to choose more than one category. Table 5.1 shows the self-identification of YQQ respondents. Results are grouped according to the labels that people gave themselves. The largest group, 47.5% self-identified solely as Quakers. A further 28.9% also self-

²⁶ These included: Queer (1 person); Geek (1 person); Environmentalist (1 person); person with morals (1 person); alternative (1 person); Zen (1 person); an individual/just a person (3 people); ponderer (1 person); seeker (1 person). Four people stated that they disagreed with labels, were themselves 'unlabelable' or did not want to designate themselves.

identified as Quakers as one of two or more labels they ascribed to themselves. Only 12.9% chose Christian as a label for themselves, with just 2.7% self-identifying as exclusively Christian, 7.1% as Quaker and Christian and a further 3.1% as Quaker, Christian and Spiritual. One respondent (0.3%) described himself as Quaker and Christian and Catholic. In contrast to this 9.9% described themselves as atheist (5.8% exclusively as atheist, 4.1% as Quaker and atheist) and 3.1% as agnostic (1.4 % exclusively as agnostic, 1.7% as Quaker and agnostic).

Category	Frequency	Percent
Quaker	140	47.5
Quaker and spiritual	30	10.2
Spiritual	26	8.8
Quaker and Christian	21	7.1
Atheist	17	5.8
Quaker and atheist	12	4.1
Other	9	3.1
Quaker and Christian and Spiritual	9	3.1
Christian	8	2.7
Quaker and Agnostic	5	1.7
Quaker and other	5	1.7
Agnostic	4	1.4
Spiritual and atheist	3	1.0
Quaker and Spiritual and other	3	1.0
Pacifist	3	1.0
Spiritual and other	2	0.7

Table 5.1 Self Identification by Category (n=295)

On the most basic level an individual's self-identification as a Quaker can be accepted as valid in the same way that an individuals' belief claims are accepted as valid, because there is no publicly testable or debateable evidence that can be used to evaluate such claims (McCutcheon 1999:8). Similarly because there is no creed or statement of faith within Quakerism, and given the diversity of belief within liberal-Liberal Quakerism, I argue that

there is no publicly testable formula that can be used to assess the authenticity of an individual's self-identification as a Quaker.

Self-identification can serve as an indicator of Quaker identity in that it enables individuals to make an identity statement about themselves and to express certain truths about themselves. Webster states that young people apply labels to themselves but 'these practices only provide superficial identification, which may or may not indicate what their personal identities might be' (2005:6). Therefore I argue that using self-identification as an indicator of identity is limited, and in and of itself it does not define what an individual is expressing about their values and their place within the world. I argue, therefore, that it cannot be used as the sole indicator of Quaker identity.

5.2.4 Identity and belief

Dandelion identifies the de-emphasis and marginalisation of belief as one of six mechanisms for forming and securing Quaker group identity amongst the adult Quaker group; belief is marginalised and diversity celebrated (Dandelion 1996: 306). Day and May argue that 'people may belong to the same religion but hold the faith in different ways' (1991:138). I suggest that the lack of a creed or any formal statement of Quaker belief, and the fact of the diversity of belief within Quakerism, means that it is possible for one individual's Quaker faith to differ substantially from that of another. As a consequence I argue that core Quaker belief is so limited that it is impossible for individuals to identify as Quakers solely through belief content. Amongst adolescent Quakers, belief is further marginalised to the extent that it is non-definitional (4.7) in terms of forming adolescent Quaker identity and I argue that belief cannot be used as a basis of Quaker identity. It is necessary therefore to identify other features of adolescent Quaker identity.

5.2.5 Identity and values

In contrast to the marginalisation of belief, adolescent Quakers show a high level of identification with 'core' Quaker values (4.8); although there is individual interpretation of how Quaker values are enacted by adolescent Quakers (7.5). I argue that Quaker values operate in a reverse trend to that of belief in relation to the definition of adolescent Quaker identity. Significantly, Dandelion does not identify shared values as a mechanism for securing adult Quaker identity. The values with which adolescent Quakers identified most often were those relating to the Quaker testimonies of peace and equality and, to a lesser degree, those of truth and simplicity (4.8). The comment that:

Quakerism is more a way of life than a religion to me (Male 17; Field Notes)

is characteristic of responses from group interviews. This reflects a central idea of Quaker faith, that of the exhortation to 'let your life speak' (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:1.02.27). Quakers, 'from the early days... stressed that their faith is something they live rather than put into particular words' (Gillman 1988:7). I suggest that, for adolescents, belief may be associated with traditional religion whereas values are associated with how one lives one's life. Some adolescent Quakers could be thought of as being engaged in a process of value formation and there are adolescents who question pacifism whilst identifying as Quakers (Field Notes 22/08/2005). Adolescent Quakers express their Quaker identity through assimilating a set of distinctive values into their daily lives (6.3.3), and I argue that this is one way in which adolescent Quakers express their Quaker identity.

5.2.6 Identity and Parental Involvement

Adolescents may identify as Quakers because of their parents' involvement while remaining unconvinced of Quaker beliefs and personally uncommitted to Quakerism.

95.4% of YQQ respondents' first involvement with Quakerism was with one or both parents. Of those that attended Quaker meeting for the first time with their parents 48.2% identified solely as Quakers, compared with 30.8% of those that went on their own or with a Quaker friend. In addition to this, of those who attended for the first time with a parent, 29.4% identified as Quaker as one of two or more labels, compared to 23.1% for those that had come to Quakerism other than with their parents. Those who had been involved in Quakerism since birth could come from what may be described as 'established' Quaker families, or they could be the children of adult converts who started their Quaker involvement as adults but before their children were born. It is clear that those whose involvement in Quakerism started between the ages of 1 and 15 and who came for the first time with their parent(s) are the children of adult converts to Quakerism.

Given this, I argue that those adolescents with one or both parents involved in Quakerism were more likely to self-identify as Quaker, and I suggest this may be because these adolescents have a greater exposure to Quakerism and an increased involvement as they are more likely to attend all-age gatherings or be able to attend Quaker events for young people. However, parental involvement does not guarantee adolescent Quaker identity:

Although I have always gone to meeting ... before Summer School didn't really think of myself as a Quaker, I just went coz my mum did. (Female, 14; Field Notes, 26/9/2004).

5.2.7 Identity and Involvement

All participants in the research were attending a Quaker event and, on this basis, could be described as having a Quaker identity through their involvement in Quaker activities. However there are difficulties in using participation in Quaker activities (including Quaker worship) as an indicator of Quaker identity because individuals have a variety of reasons for their involvement. Some participants are present because they are attending an all-age

residential event with other family members; they may have been sent to Summer School by their parents or been nominated by their Area Meeting to attend Junior Yearly Meeting although they are not otherwise involved in Quaker activities and would not self-identify as a Quaker. However, adolescents' level of involvement in Quakerism has a significant impact on their Quaker identity. Table 5.2 below shows that the greater the extent of an individual's involvement the more likely they are to identify as Quakers. This is not measured in terms of the number of events attended but in the scope of their involvement as outlined above (3.2.3). 56.4% of those adolescents with limited involvement self-identified as Quaker either exclusively or as one of two or more labels. 68.3 % of those adolescents with intermediate Quaker involvement, 87.1% with broad Quaker involvement, and 85.2 % of those with widespread involvement described themselves as a Quaker.

Identification	Narrow Involvement	Intermediate Involvement	Broad Involvement	Widespread Involvement	Overall
Quaker	38.8%	45.5%	48.7%	53.2%	45.6%
Christian	8.8%	1.0%	0%	0%	2.6%
Spiritual	12.5%	10.9%	2.6%	6.4%	8.5%
Atheist	7.5%	5.0%	5.1%	4.3%	5.5%
Agnostic	1.3%	1.0%	2.6%	0%	1.3%
Quaker and Christian	7.5%	6.9%	6.4%	4.3%	6.8%
Quaker and Spiritual	3.8%	8.9%	14.1%	14.9%	9.8%
Quaker and Atheist	2.5%	4.0%	5.1%	4.3%	3.9%
Quaker and Agnostic	2.5%	1.0%	1.3%	2.1%	1.6%
Quaker and Christian and Spiritual	1.3%	2.0%	3.8%	6.4%	2.9%

Table 5.2 Identification by involvement²⁷ n=278.

²⁷ Not all identification categories shown.

I suggest that the wider an individual's level of involvement, the greater the extent to which they are exposed to Quakerism and that this enables them to increase their knowledge of Quaker beliefs, values and practice and to identify themselves as Quakers. However others may have an increased level of involvement because they identify as Quakers, either as a result of self-identification or because they align themselves with Quaker beliefs and values. I argue that the greater the number of networks an individual is part of, the greater the level of connection they have with the Quaker community and the greater the likelihood that they will self-identify as Quaker. Through enabling adolescents to gather together in community, Quaker events for young people are a key feature of their Quaker identity: 92.3% of QEQ respondents stated that going to Quaker events for young people made them think or feel that they were 'more Quaker' and 84.6% that this was something they had specifically gained as a result of going to Quaker events for young people. 61.5% of QEQ respondents stated that going to Quaker events for young people was 'Very important' for them as a Quaker and 30.8% said it was quite important for them as a Quaker (QEQ Question 6a). Quaker events for young people enable adolescent Quakers to confirm their Quaker identity: 'I found out who I was [at JYM], I am a Quaker and now I'm sure of that' (Gulliver 2004: 11).

Green emphasises the role of the 'gathering function' in the understanding of adolescent Quaker identity (2005:12-13) and states that 'gathering together supports Quaker children and young people, giving them a chance to explore their identity with other Quakers in light of their likely geographical, religious and philosophical isolation' (2005:12). For some adolescents belonging to the group is definitional of Quaker identity, in that they belong to the group because they self-identify as Quakers and they self-identify as Quakers because they belong to this exclusive, distinctive and different group. Flory and Miller argue that by enabling individuals to express their identity 'not just on Sunday morning'

but throughout the rest of their time and activities, religious groups give these individuals an 'encompassing identity' (2000:157). I argue that it is the adolescent Quaker group, which exists both during and beyond events, that provides an encompassing identity for young Friends.

Although involvement alone is not a sufficient indicator of Quaker identity, those adolescents with a wider scope to their involvement are more likely to have a stronger Quaker identity. Thus I suggest that participation in, and belonging to, the Quaker community is a key feature of adolescent Quaker identity.

5.2.8 Identity and Practice

Adolescents who self-identify as Quaker are more likely to have a positive attitude towards silent Quaker worship than those who do not self-identify as Quaker, both in terms of liking silent worship and finding it easy. Those YQQ respondents who self-identified as Quaker (that is that including Quaker as one of more than one self-ascribed label) were more likely to find silences easy (70.3%) and to like the silence (76.7%) in comparison with those who didn't self-identify as Quaker (63.8% of those adolescents found silence easy and 63.7% liked the silence in Meeting for Worship). Only 3.7% of those who self-identified as Quaker stated that they disliked the silence compared with 11.5% that didn't self-identify as Quaker; only 2.8% of those self-identifying as Quaker said that they found silences difficult compared with 10.1% not self-identifying as Quaker. There was no significant variation between those identifying as Quaker-Christians and Quaker-Atheists.

5.3 Identity and Membership

In this section I consider the identity of adolescent Quakers as it relates to the issue of formal membership of the Religious Society of Friends. I argue that formal membership has little significance for adolescent Quakers. Unlike baptism or confirmation, the acquisition of membership does not represent a rite of passage for adolescent Quakers and it is not necessary for an individual to be in membership for them to belong to the group. From data gathered for this study, I conclude that in contrast to the adult Quaker group, there is no functional differentiation by the group between those in formal membership and those not.

5.3.1 The Basis of Membership

Wattenberg states that in most faiths many adolescents will have been through 'an induction or confirmation ceremony' such as baptism, confirmation or first communion; such ceremonies can be thought of as 'rites of passage' (Wattenberg 1973:315). In the Catholic Church the ritual of first communion should 'serve as a doorway into a new pattern of ecclesial affiliation' (McGrail 2007:103) and be seen as a ritual of life-passage within a broad sequence that leads into a more complete mode of participation in worship

There is no equivalent ritual of initiation into the Religious Society of Friends. A

comparison may be drawn with formal membership of the Religious Society of Friends, and it could be argued that this is the most obvious indicator of Quaker identity.

Individuals who join the Religious Society of Friends are described as being members by 'convincement'. Heron argues that historically Quaker convincingment, and therefore membership, was based on an individual's personal experience of revelation of their sins (Heron 1998:67). Dandelion describes contemporary convincingment as an individual's recognition of the sense of belonging which predicates the desire to recognise this belonging through membership (1996:274). In liberal-Liberal Quakerism membership does

not refer to a spiritual state. This is reflected by the statement that: 'you can be born a Friend [and] you can be a Quaker ... without joining' (Membership Review Committee 1985:29). I argue that this understanding reflects an idea that formal membership is an administrative function that may, but does not necessarily, follow conviction. Equally, some members appear to be 'unconvinced' (Heron 1992:36).

For the Christian Church, baptism 'in water and the Holy Spirit' (World Council of Churches 1982:6) is the 'sign and seal of ...common discipleship' and makes one a member of the universal Church. Christian unity has its expression in 'the union with Christ which we [Christians] share through Baptism' (World Council of Churches 1982:3). In contrast to this, Quaker membership unites the applicant with a particular Area Meeting and, through that, with the Religious Society of Friends in a functional or temporal connection rather than a spiritual one.

5.3.2 Membership and Identity

Although formal membership may appear the most obvious indicator of Quaker identity, given the large number of adolescents who self-identify as Quakers compared with the small number who are formally members of the Religious Society of Friends, I argue that that membership cannot usefully be applied to this group as an indicator of Quaker identity. Of those adolescents who self-identified as Quakers only 25.5% were in formal membership and 74.5% were not. Self-identification did not include any measure of the extent to which they are 'convinced' of Quaker beliefs, or their level of commitment. It is clear from this that formal membership is not required for adolescents to think and say that they are a Quaker and is therefore inadequate as an indicator of adolescent Quaker identity. Despite this, adolescents who are in membership are more likely to self-identify as Quakers as their only label of identification. Of the adolescents who had become members

though personal application²⁸ 81.8% identified solely as Quaker and a further 18.2% identified as Quaker as one of several labels. In contrast 22.3% of YQQ respondents who were members by parental application self-identified as 'Quakers' exclusively and a further 58.8% as one of several labels they chose for themselves. I suggest that the remaining 18.1% who did not self-identify as Quakers may remain 'unconvinced' of Quaker beliefs or their Quaker identity, in contrast to those who applied for membership themselves.

The concept of membership as a functional connection, rather than a spiritual state, is further borne out when patterns of involvement of adolescent members are examined. Of those who had applied for membership themselves, 45.5% had a widespread involvement and a further 27.3% had a broad involvement. Despite involvement on different levels, adolescents in membership were more likely to feel that they belonged to their local meeting (36.4%) or Britain Yearly Meeting (27.3%) than an exclusively adolescent group (18.2%) or the Area Meeting of which they are formally a member (9.1%). Some adolescents who had applied for membership described themselves as feeling that they belonged to several Quaker groups:

I feel part of my Meeting, even though I don't manage to get there very often. I also feel part of BYM and various young people's groups. (Female, 16; Field Notes, 28/3/2005)

I'm a member of them all (PM, MM, BYM) ... and other groups ... I think [if I had to choose one] ... BYM as a whole (Male, 18; Field Notes, 19/2/2005).

Despite being in membership this individual seems unaware, or regards it as unimportant, that membership is formally of an area meeting.

²⁸ Children and young people under the age of sixteen can become members of the Religious Society of Friends either on application by their parents (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:11.22-11.23) or by personal application (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:11.06-11.12). Both constitute full membership.

Dandelion states that 'the origins of the development of what it is to be a Friend' lie with area meetings (1996:275). I suggest that the meaning of membership is influenced by the method of its administration and that because membership is of individual area meetings this necessarily requires an association with a local meeting. However there are obstacles to this type of belonging, as Young Friends General Meeting [G] noted as part of its concern [G] against formal membership:

Many Young Friends are committed to the Society of Friends without wishing to become members ... because in the present system of joining a specific local meeting they feel excluded because many of us are fairly itinerant. (Young Friends Central Committee Minute 90/34 in Young Friends General Meeting 1998:165-167).

Although the adolescent Quaker group are younger than those identified by the statement above, I suggest that they face similar issues. In one group of adolescents over half indicated informally that they would become members if it was possible to join Britain Yearly Meeting centrally without having to join an area meeting (Field Notes, 29/5/2004).

5.3.3 Adolescent Quakers in membership

Just over one-fifth (22.1%) of Young Quaker Questionnaire respondents were formally in membership of the Religious Society of Friends (YQQ Question 13a), however only 3.7% had applied for membership themselves, with the rest (18.4%) becoming members through application by their parents, either at birth or as young children.²⁹ In addition to these only 22.9% of those that were not members replied that they would definitely apply for membership; the majority (59.7%) were unsure. Therefore it appears that adolescent Quakers, as a group, see formal membership as largely irrelevant and symbolic:

²⁹ Prior to 1959 the Religious Society of Friends had a system of 'birthright' membership, whereby children of members automatically became members themselves. Following the abolition of birthright parents 'who intend to bring up a child in accordance with the religious principles of the Society' (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:11.22) can still apply for membership on behalf of their children.

if you're a member the only difference is that you get your name on a pigeon hole [at your Meeting House] (Male 14; Field Notes 26/5/2004).

Further to this the distinction between members and attenders is not relevant to adolescent Quakers:

We as a group do not hold membership so highly as perhaps expressed in other parts of Britain Yearly Meeting (Britain Yearly Meeting 2004 Minute 39 Minute of 16 to 18 year olds group).

5.3.4 Why adolescent Quakers apply for membership

Those adolescents that had applied for membership themselves were asked why they had decided to apply for membership (YQQ Question 13b). When the results were grouped for analysis five categories of responses emerged. Figure 5.1 shows the reasons adolescent Quakers gave for applying for membership.

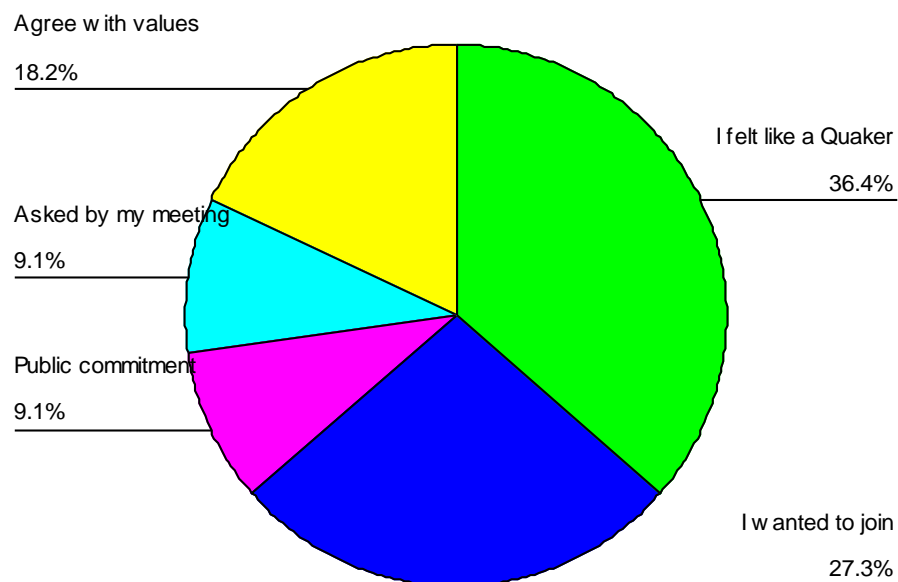


Figure 5.1: Why did you decide to become a member? (YQQ Question 13b)

The largest group (36.4%) stated that they had applied because they felt like a Quaker; 27.3 % stated that they had become members because they wanted to join. Heron identifies five reasons given by adult Quakers for formally becoming members of the Religious Society of Friends: to contribute or pull their weight; to make their position clear through making a public statement; because they felt a sense of readiness to join; because membership was part of a discipline, and they felt a need to commit; or because of a desire to belong or be accepted (Heron 1994:24). The most common reasons for adults applying for membership were to contribute and to make a public statement, 'that is to pull their weight and to make their position clear' (Heron 1994:34). In contrast to this, no adolescents stated that they joined because they wanted to contribute to the group; I suggest that this may be because, whether they are in formal membership or not, adolescents are largely excluded from contributing to the group by taking on roles of responsibility. I explore this question in greater detail below (Chapter 8). Only 9% of adolescents applied for membership to make a public commitment, compared with almost a quarter of adults (Heron 1994:24).

Almost 15% of adults stated that they applied for membership either because of a need to commit or they felt that it was right for them to join. I suggest that the need to commit corresponds to one adolescent's response that:

I wanted to join (Male 18, Field Notes, 29/3/2005)

and the rightness of joining corresponds to the intent of adolescents who became members because:

I felt like a Quaker (Female 16, Field Notes, 3/3/2005).

The percentages of adolescents who gave these as reasons are considerably higher than those for adults. Given this, I argue that for adolescents the principal reason for becoming a member was that they felt like a Quaker.

I conducted two informal interviews with adolescent Quakers who had applied for membership themselves. When asked what the meaning of membership was for them, their responses suggest that they saw it as a sense of belonging. One stated that she felt

part of a much larger community (Female 16, Field Notes, 3/3/2005).

She decided to apply for membership after attending Summer Gathering because

for the first time I felt part of something that was larger than just my meeting. It felt like a real community (Female 16, Field Notes, 3/3/2005).

This individual's intentions also reflected the concept of shared responsibility:

I take more of an interest in what goes on, because it affects me more now (Female 16, Field Notes, 3/3/2005).

Another adolescent's view of membership seems to reflect commitment to the Quaker way:

It's [about] very definitely saying I am a Quaker, I am a part of the Society of Friends in a very definite way... you can attend and still be a Quaker but being a member is more definite. (Male, 18; Field Notes, 29/3/2005).

This adolescent had applied for membership because it was

a commitment it felt right and good to make (Male, 18; Field Notes, 29/3/2005).

I argue that for the minority of adolescents who are members, formal membership signifies explicitly identifying oneself as belonging to and committed to the Religious Society of Friends. However, other individuals also identify themselves as belonging to the adolescent Quaker group and I suggest above (4.6.5) that there are implicit ways in which adolescents express their commitment and belonging to the group.

Significantly, adolescent members' views on the difference that they had felt since becoming members varied significantly. One stated that

there is no difference in how I'm treated. There was a difference [I felt] when I got the letter, but not huge (Male, 18; Field Notes, 29/3/2005).

however for another adolescent there was a major difference:

I feel more able to express my views on things. I also feel much more 'in touch' with the adults... I feel that they don't just think of me as another teenager ... I also feel much more valued (Female, 16; Field Notes, 3/3/2005).

However this respondent admitted that this difference may in part be due to getting older as she had applied for membership at the age of ten and; significantly, the difference she noted was the attitude of adult Quakers towards her, rather than that of adolescent Quakers.

Heron identifies six categories of meaning of membership amongst adult Quakers. These are firstly 'sharing responsibility' including 'the right to speak as a Quaker to non-Quakers' and 'joining in activities on an equal footing'; in the second category membership is conceived of as a means of spiritual development, which enables individuals to 'have [their] religious experience. The third category of the meaning of membership is a 'sense

of belonging' and the fourth of membership as a public commitment that identifies the individual as a Quaker. The fifth category relates to social action, through living out Quaker insights; the sixth category is caring for and commitment to other Quakers (1994:33).

I argue above (5.3.2) that for the adolescent Quaker group there is no distinction between those who are in formal membership and those who are not. Heron argues that attenders can have anything that they may want from the Quaker 'corporate entity' without making the commitment of becoming members (2004:6) and that younger attenders are more likely to state that there is no need to make a formal commitment through membership (1992:83). I suggest that this is also the case within the adolescent group. However Heron's analysis ignores other forms of commitment and adolescents can and do demonstrate commitment to the group in ways other than formal membership. These include the importance they place on their Quaker involvement (3.5.4); their affiliation with exclusively adolescent Quaker groups (7.3.1) and their commitment to Quaker values (4.8).

Adolescent Quakers express their conviction and commitment through their attendance and involvement in Quaker events for young people and through the expression of their beliefs. I describe these mechanisms further below (5.5). I argue therefore that formal membership is neither essential to individual adolescent Quaker identity or to belonging to the adolescent Quaker community, and appears to be an irrelevance to adolescents who mark their unity with the group in different ways. I explore these alternative ways of belonging below (7.7).

5.4 Difference

Adolescent Quakers regard themselves as substantially different both from other Quakers and from other adolescents, although obviously the ways in which they are different from these two groups vary. In this section I outline these perceptions of difference, and explore their impact on individual adolescents' Quaker identity. I examine how individuals' involvement in Quaker activities may result in feelings of difference and argue that many adolescents keep their Quaker involvement either wholly or partially hidden from the world.

5.4.1 Differences from adult Quakers

The perceived differences between themselves and adult Quakers that adolescent Quakers mentioned most frequently were that they:

- are more accepting of diversity and more inclusive
- can be defined as spiritual and not religious
- place less value on going to meeting / worshipping God and more value on holding their own beliefs and living by Quaker values
- are more likely to be involved at several different levels and involved in a variety of Quaker activities and events.

Older Quakers have their defined Quaker values that they believe in ... whereas I think lots of young Quakers are unsure whereabouts they are (Female 17; Field Notes 6/12/2003)

[Young Quakers] put less value on going to meeting and God worshipping but [more on] just holding their own beliefs (Field Notes 13/12/03)

I don't go to meeting every Sunday because I don't like my local meeting. I've kind of given up going to my local meeting because I think the average age is about seventy. (Female, 17; Interview 13/12/2003).

The differences are not just a generational factor but also that adolescent Quakers may have a more diverse theology that varies:

from strong Christian to almost agnostic or atheist (Female, 18; Interview, 6/12/2003).

but it is also a theology that can be defined as:

spiritual rather than religious (Female, 18; Interview, 6/12/2003).

5.4.2 Differences from other adolescents

The perceived differences between themselves and other adolescents that adolescent Quakers mentioned most frequently were that they are:

- more likely to have 'alternative' beliefs
- more likely to have stronger values, to have greater interest in world affairs and to be involved in boycotts, peace marches and other political action
- pacifists and opposed to war
- less judgemental and more accepting of other individuals and their theological beliefs and social attitudes.

In general we [adolescent Quakers] are different from what is the norm (Female 18; Field Notes 13/12/2003).

These differences are both outward and inward:

You've got your alternative clothes and different ways in which you stand out rather than blend in but you've also got different views ... to do with sort of world issues, things like that and your views which aren't sort of thought of as the right view but can often be quite educated views rather than just what was shown to them through newspapers (Male, 17; Interview, 5/12/2003).

In terms of outward differences adolescent Quakers identify wearing 'alternative' or distinctive clothing and not wearing designer labels, as characteristic of adolescent Quakers (Field Notes):

not typically fashionable (not townies) (Interview 13/12/2003).

adolescent Quakers identify themselves as not wearing:

really cliquy clothing like Rockports³⁰ and stuff or clothing that would define [them] as part of a group (Interview 13/12/2003).

Several responses stated that adolescent Quakers

dress how [they] like cause [they] don't care what people think (Interview 13/12/2003).

However when talking about their personal choice of dress one participant stated that:

I do have some stripy trousers, some patchwork trousers, generally weirdo clothes and I think that's more Quaker (Female, 15; Interview 13/12/2003)

One questionnaire respondent specifically mentioned that being a Quaker made a difference to what he wore (Male, 17; YQQ). Although adolescent Quakers do not necessarily identify their dress as defining them as belonging to a particular group I suggest that distinguishing themselves from other groups by their dress marks them as different.

Outward differences, typified by alternative clothes, also include a value judgement given that adolescent Quaker identify themselves as not wearing corporate designer labels (Field Notes 13/12/2003). I suggest that this is indicative of a wider value of opposition to multi-

30 Rockport is a brand name that is often associated with being worn by a particular group of adolescents called, pejoratively, 'townies' or 'chavs', often from working-class backgrounds and identified in the popular press as being responsible for crime and disorder. Hayward and Yar (2006:10, 14), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2007/mar/06/socialexclusion>, [http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Rockport-\(company\)](http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Rockport-(company))

national corporations and globalisation identified above (4.8) and should not be underestimated given the current popularity of designer labels amongst other young people. In the consumer society that the millennial generation inhabit 'appearance becomes an area of competition and a badge of belonging' (Salvation Army 2001:39). Buckeridge argues that 'looking right, acting right, having a nice-looking mobile phone are all important, because they can help to win acceptance from others' (Salvation Army 2001:57). I argue that whilst it is not only adolescent Quakers who wear 'alternative' clothing, and not all adolescent Quakers adopt this dress, it is still used by some adolescent Quakers, and by the group, as 'a badge of belonging' and of distinctiveness.

Adolescent Quakers also described differences between themselves and other adolescents in terms of values:

I try and live with the testimonies. I think I am less violent and more honest than most of my friends because of this. (Male, 15; YQQ)

I notice that I don't lie as much or be as violent as some of my non-Quaker friends. (Male, 16; YQQ)

[Being a Quaker] makes you think twice before you slip into the easy role of prejudging everyone – i.e. automatically being homophobic because society as a whole is. (Male, 17; YQQ).

Fulton identifies a 'growth in... quasi-religious forms of vegetarianism, pro-animal activities, environmental consciousness and anti-nuclear and disarmament politics' (Fulton 2000:168) within society. Fulton argues that the ethical choices made by religiously affiliated young people do not differ drastically from those of non-religiously affiliated young people. Pilgrim suggests that Friends' external otherness is being lost and that 'the utopian quest of Quakerism with regard to peace, justice and social equality has become mainstream within the wider society' (2004:222). 10.4% of respondents identified

themselves as being more socially aware and more aware of world issues than other young people.

I suggest that for many adolescent Quakers the ethical decisions that are the practical outcome of their beliefs may not differ drastically from those of their peers, particularly when it comes to ethical issues such as environmental awareness, anti-discrimination and fair-trade. However the experience of adolescent Quakers suggests that feelings of difference are increased because their personal behaviour has its basis in particular values which are informed and grounded in religious beliefs, even if the behavioural outcome is similar. A recent example of this is the Iraq war (2003 onwards), which resulted in protests from many young people 'taking principled, politically motivated citizenship stances' (Cushion 2007:428). Despite this, one adolescent Quaker said he'd been bullied for arguing against the war, because his opposition arose from a religious basis (Male, 16; Interview 13/12/2003) and another was punched for wearing a white poppy³¹ (Field Notes 11/2003). In a group interview one group stated that whatever your values

it's now looked at as a bad thing if you're religious (Field Notes 13/12/2003).

While these moral or political stances may be accepted in society the difference of this stance is highlighted if it has a religious basis. Adolescent Quakers emphasised that their expression of pacifism was qualitatively different from, and more extensive than, opposition to one particular war (Interview 5/9/2003, 13/12/2003). One group of adolescents summarised it as

Peace – not killing is not enough (Field Notes, 3/4/2003).

³¹ White Poppies are produced by the Peace Pledge Union as a symbol of peace and often worn as an alternative to the red poppy on Remembrance Sunday.

Coleman and Collins argue that outwardly expressed non-conformist behaviour represents 'explicit signalling of religious identity in relation to others' (Coleman and Collins 2000:326)

For adolescent Quakers the fact that their personal behaviour is influenced by

religious beliefs [that] provide guidance on moral practice (Male, 18; YQQ)

represents a significant difference between themselves and adult Quakers.

5.4.3 Difference and Identity

In the Quaker group 'differences themselves contribute to what we mean when we agree to call ourselves Quakers' (Collins 2002a:81). Collins argues that by self-identifying as Quakers, individuals subscribe to 'a partially shared identity, a similarity, but only up to a point' (2002a:81). When asked to identify a stereotypical young Quaker several groups reacted by emphasising individuality (Field Notes 5/12/2003 & 13/12/2003) and stating that

we think all Quakers are different (Interview, 13/12/2003)

there's no such thing as a stereotypical Young Quaker (Interview, 13/12/2003).

However, there were many similarities in the description of the characteristics of 'stereotypical' adolescent Quakers and this is reflected by the observation that

most of the Quakers I know are very similar to each other in a lot of ways (Female, 15; Interview, 13/12/2003).

I argue that adolescent Quakers' sense of themselves as being different is a feature of individual identity. In group interviews over half the adolescents identified 'alternative' or 'different' as a characteristic of the stereotypical young Quaker.

Adolescent Quakers' perceptions of difference are often located in the reaction of others to their attempts to express Quaker values through their behaviour outside Quaker-time, as Stanger, writing about her experience of being an adolescent Quaker, states:

Some people at school may not be violent there but will tell me about incidents when their brother or sister was nasty so they hit/kicked/threw something at them they then always are surprised when they hear I would never do that. (Stanger 2004:14).

Holden states that:

schools are not the most pleasant environments for members of millenarian movements. State schools are, on the whole, secular institutions attended by young children whose behaviour is not governed by world-renouncing tenets (2002:137).

While Quaker beliefs and values may not have the strictures of world-renouncing sects such as the Watch Tower movement, their beliefs may still prevent them from doing things that most other children are able to do (Holden 2002:133). Collins and Coleman mention the case of a child whose Quaker beliefs became apparent when she refused to buy a raffle ticket in front of her class (Collins and Coleman 2000:322). I know of one adolescent Quaker who, having bought a raffle ticket at school was made by his parents to donate his prize to charity (Field Notes).

The popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group also has an impact on feelings of difference experienced by adolescent Quakers as individuals and as a group. The

adolescent Quaker group may be perceived from the outside as religious but it exists in an increasingly secular society. Adolescent Quakers may also associate religion with their experience of religious education at school. Because the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group is substantially different from the Christian orthodoxy and is more accurately described as non-Christian, adolescent Quakers may feel they do not fit into the Christian model taught in religious education. Quakerism may be only infrequently mentioned in religious education classes and adolescents frequently described it as being mentioned in association with seventeenth century Friends:

My RE³² teacher didn't know that there were still Quakers in Britain (Female, 15; Field Notes, 12/12/03).

These experiences result in adolescent Quakers perceiving themselves as different. Many adolescent Quakers have their beliefs derided because they are different from the majority and because ignorance about Quakerism can cause bullying or alienation (Pennock 2001:22):

Because we don't feel we have to justify our beliefs, we become easy bullying targets to people who don't understand us (Male, 14; Interview, 13/12/2003).

In one of the group interviews over half the adolescents (13 out of a group of 25) had been bullied because of their beliefs (Field Notes, 14/12/2003).

Therefore I argue that difference functions as a key feature of Quaker identity and that for adolescents belonging to a group which is both small and distinctive compounds feelings of difference.

5.4.4 Difference and Involvement

Through their involvement in Quaker events for young people, adolescent Quakers mark themselves as different, as is reflected by this adolescent writing about his experience of attending Quaker events.

I found it awkward trying to explain to [my friend] where I was going this weekend because he might think that I was weird or something... It's like if I tell someone I'm going to a Quaker weekend they think it's some kind of religious, freaky activity and that I'm weird. It's as though Quakers are an alien breed that isn't accepted in human society! (Clarke 1995:3).

Several questionnaire respondents indicated that they disliked:

[the] lack of awareness from the world at large (Female, 16; YQQ)

and the fact that

no-one who isn't a Quaker has heard of you (Female, 16; YQQ).

17.8% of questionnaire respondents stated that they disliked the fact that Quakerism was not widely known about, and a further 7.5% percent stated that they disliked the difficulty of explaining Quakerism to non-Quakers:

when I try to explain they end up with the impression that I belong to a strange cult (Female, 14; YQQ).

The peculiarity that is perceived and projected onto the group by non-Quakers compounds the difference felt by adolescent Quakers and such differences are heightened for those adolescents who are heavily involved in Quaker activities: 'I kind of feel that the

more I come... I'm more like a senior conference person all the year around' (Pearmain 2005:285).

5.5 The Formation of Individual Identity

In this section I explore the ways in which adolescent Quaker identity is formed.

I suggest that the different features of adolescent Quaker identity outlined above (5.2.2 to 5.4) function together and I argue that there is no single way in which adolescent Quaker identity is formed.

Figure 5.2 below shows a model for the way in which the features of adolescent Quaker identity function in relation to each other. It depicts a hierarchy of features of Quaker identity indicated by their relative importance in relation to securing adolescent Quaker identity. The features increase in their significance for Quaker identity as they become smaller and closer to the centre. Each feature can be thought of as being 'stacked' inside the previous feature, and as being dependent on the features both in inside and outside it. Core Quaker values are, in some part, resultant from and dependent on Quaker beliefs. These values, which are distinct from those of 'the world', mark Quakers as different. This difference defines the group as one which is 'set apart' from the world, where individual Quaker identity is affirmed and continually reaffirmed. These feelings of difference may be most apparent in involvement in Quaker events for young people; these events emphasise the propinquity of adolescent Quakers, shows the groups as set apart and occupying a separate space, and secures individual identity through affiliation with other adolescents and the group. The close group affiliation both fosters close friendships and is dependent upon them for its continued central place in adolescent Quaker identity.

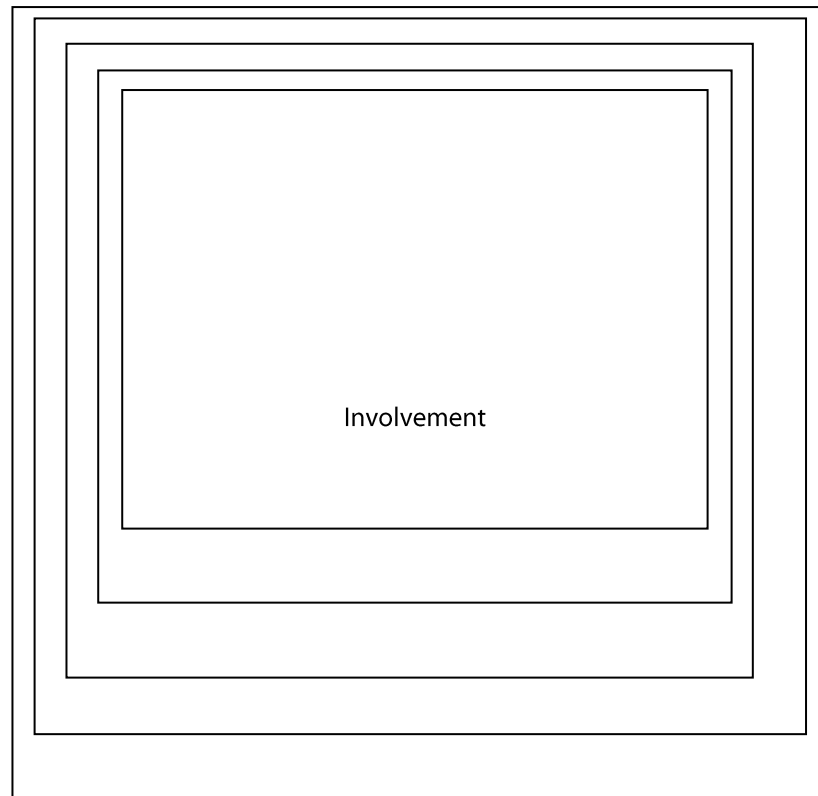


Figure 5.2: The mechanism of adolescent Quaker identity

I argue above that belief is of limited significance as a feature of adolescent Quaker identity and the idea of that of God in everyone no longer operates as a boundary. Thus, rather than strongly identifying with particular belief items as definitional of their Quaker identity, adolescent Quakers identify with particular Quaker values such as pacifism, equality and tolerance. Identification with and assimilation of these values into their daily lives marks individuals out as different or 'alternative' from their non-Quaker peers. Factors of difference, such as behaviour and appearance, are shared by the Quaker group and affirmed by it and are therefore associated with Quaker identity. Involvement in Quaker activities is a significant outward expression of belonging to the adolescent Quaker group, signified by individuals' affiliation to exclusively adolescent Quaker groups which I explore further below (7.3.1) and further secured by close friendships between group members (7.3.3).

5.6 Narrative and Identity

Collins argues that 'Quaker identity is sustained primarily through the generation and regeneration of stories' (2008:52). These 'narratives' are stories presented by individual Quakers and by the group through a variety of different media, not only the spoken and written word but also the body, clothing and other consumables, the built environment of the meeting house and leisure activities (Collins 2008:52). Collins argues that it is the interconnection of these 'narratives' that gives an individual their Quaker identity and is in part constitutive of Quaker meetings.

Collins describes three different types or levels of Quaker discourse: the individual or 'prototypical', the local or 'vernacular' and the national or 'canonic'. Collins prefers to use the terms 'vernacular' and 'canonic' because they 'speak more of 'reach', 'status', 'authority' and 'power'' (2008:41). The prototypical are individuals' own life stories; the vernacular narrative 'refers to stories told of and by the local meeting', for example the meeting's history or particular activities undertaken by the meeting as a group (Collins 2004:105). Canonic narratives coincide with the established Quaker testimonies and authoritative texts such as *Quaker faith and practice* (Collins 2008:42). Collins argues that each narrative spun by an individual Quaker is always and already part of a vernacular and canonic narrative (Collins (2002a, 2003, 2004). Individual narratives are embedded either in the 'vernacular' or 'canonic' (Collins 2008:42). Linde states that 'life stories express our sense of self: who we are and how we got that way' (Linde 1993:3). Narrative, then, is not simply the stories that individuals tell about their lives, but the stories they tell with their lives. Quakers can tell narratives in a variety of ways: through 'witness' or activism, such as participating in a blockade of a nuclear base; through service, whether on their meetings' tea rota or as a BYM trustee; and through attending Meeting for Worship and other Quaker events.

Collins states that, away from the meeting, Quaker narratives in individuals' lives are more implicit than they once were (2008:52). However individuals' narratives within the meeting include 'stories' from their lives outside Quaker-time, stories which may influence individuals' Quaker narratives and in turn be influenced by them. One example of this is the Quakers & Business Group which seeks to 'promote Quaker principles... in the context of business and the workplace' and to 'encourage and support members of the Religious Society of Friends in business' (<http://www.quakersandbusiness.org.uk/purpose.html>). These objectives demonstrate that this group is one which seeks to enable Friends to tell a Quaker narrative outside of Quaker-time. Collins states that narratives are primarily for the group itself and that even canonic narratives are themselves generated from within the group and provide a pattern along which other individuals can weave their own stories (2008:43). I suggest that these stories drawn from the Quaker 'canon' and vernacular narratives can be thought of as being both aspirational and inspirational, providing a model for behaviour within and outside Quaker-time. An example of this is the recording of testimonies to the grace of God in the lives of deceased Friends [G]. These record individuals' life stories and are primarily prototypical narratives; however some testimonies are given authority either by meetings or the Yearly Meeting if they are considered to carry a particularly important message for the group. By this process these prototypical narratives become vernacular and/or canonic. I suggest that the crucial factor determining this is the extent to which an individual's narrative, i.e. the stories that they tell with their lives in the world through their external behaviour, reflects the group's values, rules and norms of behaviour. I argue that in addition to being a combination of individual, vernacular and canonic, Quaker narrative can be located either within the sphere of institutional religion or the sphere of popular religion as defined by Dandelion (1996:21-25). Institutional religion is represented by the Quaker orthodoxy, that is the beliefs and

ideas expressed corporately at Yearly Meeting level (Dandelion 1996:20) and 'minutes, epistles, statements and texts approved by YM and any text published by a Friends House [G] department' (Dandelion 1996:20). Dandelion argues that the book of discipline is the most accurate measure of present-day orthodoxy (1996:20). Popular religion is, according to Dandelion, the interpretation of orthodoxy by individuals and the collective reinterpretation or construction of the neo-orthodoxy by the Quaker group (1996:24). Following this I suggest that popular religion also includes narratives which express Quaker identity outside of Quaker-time, through individuals' behaviour which exhibits an interpretation of the orthodoxy.

I suggest that typically both individual and vernacular discourse can be seen as falling within the sphere of popular religion and canonic discourse falls within the sphere of institutional religion. Just as Collins states that:

each narrative is necessarily prototypical, vernacular and canonic -- and what's more, has in every case the potential to become more or less any of these... it is the work carried out constantly by Quakers that provides for and ensures the vernacular and canonic character of the narratives generated by individuals (2008:42)

I argue that all forms of Quaker discourse include all three elements. The discourse of institutional religion will include elements of vernacular narrative, such as the testimony to the grace of God in the life of a Friend which becomes an expression of institutional religion, when published in *Epistles & Testimonies* [G] which forms part of the *Proceedings of Yearly Meeting* [G]. The division between popular and institutional does not therefore exactly mirror the spheres of canonic, vernacular and narrative, but cuts across them.

However, because adolescent Quakers are largely excluded from the institutional religion of Quakerism (see 8.5.3 below), particularly from decision making structures, I argue that

adolescent narratives are, by and large, excluded from the 'canonic' context of Quaker narratives³³ and the extent to which they are embedded in this context is dependent on their being conferred status by the adult group. The reach and status of adolescent narratives are therefore largely confined to the vernacular which for the adolescent group does not only include their local meeting and may not include it at all. For the adolescent Quaker group, individual narratives are embedded within the context of the adolescent group rather than the local meeting and much of the vernacular narrative of adolescent Quakers relates to participation in events and particular activities at Quaker events for young people. Figure 5.3 below illustrates Collins' description of narrative and the spheres of institutional religion and popular religion; the dividing line between the two is broken to represent the process of interpretation, re-interpretation and re-definition that occurs between the institutional and the popular (Dandelion 1996: 24-25). The oval represents the plotting of adolescent Quaker narrative, as described in the previous paragraph.

33 There are some exceptions in that minutes from the Yearly Meeting Children and Young People's Programme [G] are read in Yearly Meeting session and are minutes of Yearly Meeting. The current edition of *Quaker faith and practice* includes two JYM epistles [G], and the JYM epistle is read at Yearly Meeting each year, but JYM has no formal relationship with other parts of the Yearly Meeting.

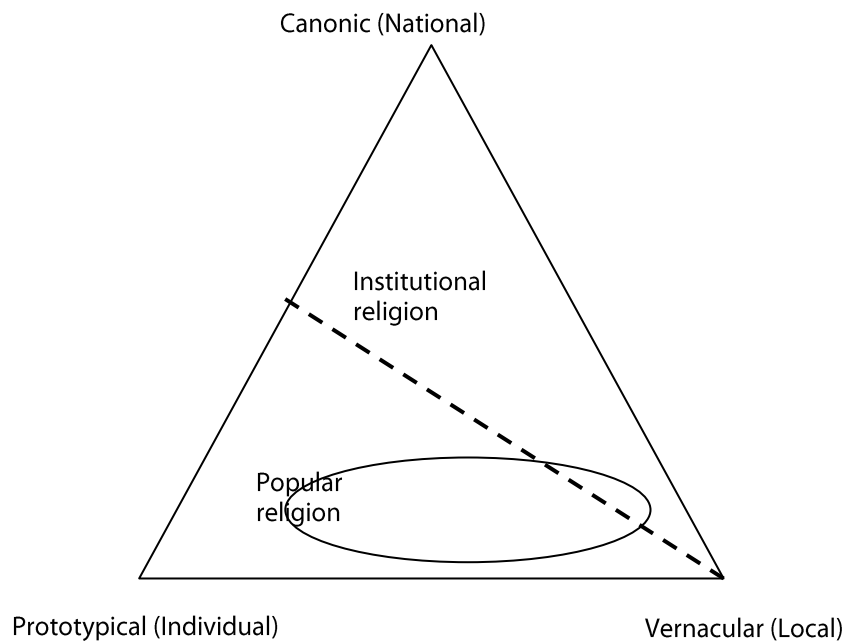


Figure 5.3 Adolescent Quaker Narratives

The analysis that adolescent Quaker discourse seems to be largely within the individual/ vernacular could be challenged by Collins' assertion that although all discourse has elements of the canonic, the vernacular and the prototypical it can be more or less one or the other and the weighting or emphasis will vary dependent on time and/or place (Collins 2008:42). Because adolescents are in a particular time and place individual and vernacular narrative is given greater 'practical authority' within the adolescent group and the canonic narrative of the adult group influences vernacular and individual adolescent Quaker narrative.

Collins states that 'in the 17th century, the first Friends manifested Quakerism very explicitly' and that their behaviour alluded to narratives which were widely recognised, and condemned; 'the response of the non-Quaker, though sometimes violent, was overt and necessarily regenerated those narratives (2008:52). Adolescents' responses indicate that they sometimes experience hostile and difficult reactions when manifesting their Quaker involvement and behaviour (7.6.2):

Peers (at school) don't understand, and make fun of you for your morals, principles and beliefs (Interview 13/12/2003)

Some people at school are disrespectful, intimidating, ignorant (Interview, 13/12/2003)

[at] school people take the mickey and I can't fight back (Interview, 13/12/2003)

I think sometimes in school ... people can take advantage of your tolerance like sometimes people taking the mick out of things and just being total prats (Female, 13; Interview, 6/12/2003).

Collins states that in the present day 'religious faith and practice is primarily private' (2008:52) I suggest that despite attempts to hide their Quaker involvement (7.6.2) this is not necessarily the case for adolescents:

people come up to you and go "so what's Quakerism?" and you have to explain (Female, 14; Interview, 13/12/2003).

As indicated above; for adolescent Quakers practice may be more evident than faith (5.6.3).

Therefore I argue that their involvement in Quaker activities enables, or in some cases compels, adolescents to make Quaker narratives explicit:

often when we are looking at issues, such as abortion or euthanasia I am asked what the Quaker point of view is. Recently when a discussion came up about the war in Iraq I didn't hide my opinion. (Stanger 2004:14)

Adolescent Quakers also present stories giving a narrative that expresses their Quaker identity. These stories can take a variety of forms and can include their involvement in Quaker activities and external behaviour which results from Quaker values. I suggest that as an individual's Quaker identity is strengthened, the consonance between their individual Quaker and non-Quaker narratives becomes closer as it does between their

individual narratives and the vernacular narrative of the adolescent Quaker groups they are part of, and canonic Quaker narratives.

I argue that the culture of contribution (6.3.3) makes it more likely that adolescents will share their narratives, that is, that their stories will be told within the adolescent Quaker group. I suggest that the greater the number of Quaker stories that are part of any one individual's narrative, the greater the extent to which they will feel different from the non-Quaker world. In turn the greater the perception of difference from non-Quaker adolescents and adult Quakers, the more likely it is that the stories an individual tells will be Quaker ones about being a Quaker. I argue that an increased level of involvement (and therefore an increased length of time spent in Quaker-time) is likely to increase the proportion of Quaker-stories which are part of an individual's life narrative.

5.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I outlined adolescents' self-identification as Quakers and examined and analysed ways in which adolescents construct their individual Quaker identity through beliefs, values, practice and involvement in Quaker activities. I argued that none of the features of Quaker identity are, on their own, sufficient indicators of adolescent Quaker identity. I explored the issue of formal membership of the Religious Society of Friends as it relates to the research constituency and examined and analysed adolescent Quaker attitudes to membership. I argued that formal membership has less importance for adolescents than for the adult group and that belonging to the adolescent group is not predicated on formal membership. I considered ways in which the identity of adolescent Quakers reflects, and has its basis in, perceptions of difference in relation to other religious groups, their non-religious peers and adult Quakers. I examined how and why adolescents keep their Quaker involvement either wholly or partially hidden from the world and

concluded that an individual's involvement in Quaker activities together with their Quaker beliefs and Quaker identity can result in feelings of difference from other Quakers and from other adolescents. In this chapter I have considered Collins's theory of narratives as constitutive of Quaker identity and developed it in relation to the adolescent group. I described how adolescent Quakers also present stories giving a narrative that expresses their Quaker identity. These stories can take a variety of forms and can include narratives about involvement in Quaker activities and external behaviour which results from Quaker values. I argued that as an individual's Quaker identity is strengthened the closer the consonance between their individual Quaker and non-Quaker narratives and also between their individual narratives and the vernacular narrative of the adolescent Quaker groups they are part of, and canonic Quaker narratives. I described how, for the adolescent Quaker group, individual narratives are embedded within the context of the adolescent group rather than the local meeting, and how much of the vernacular narrative of adolescent Quakers relates to participation in events and particular activities at Quaker events for young people. I argued that adolescent narratives are, by and large, excluded from the 'canonic' context of Quaker narratives and the extent to which they are embedded in this context is dependent on their being conferred status by the adult group. I argued that adolescent Quakers are more likely than adult Quakers to share their narratives and that the greater the number of Quaker stories that are part of any one individual's narrative, the greater the extent to which they will feel different from the non-Quaker world. In turn, the greater the perception of difference from non-Quaker adolescents and adult Quakers, the more likely the stories an individual tells will be Quaker ones about being a Quaker.

CHAPTER 6

CONSTRUCTING QUAKERISM II: GROUP FUNCTIONS

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the ways in which the adolescent Quaker group functions. I identify and explain the formal rules and informal norms which govern adolescent behaviour within Quaker-time (6.2). I argue that these rules and norms are justified and maintained with reference to the community. I examine patterns of adolescent Quakers' behaviour in their private, non-Quaker, lives and consider the extent to which this is an expression of particular Quaker values and is religiously or morally motivated. I argue that the adolescent Quaker group has a low level of authority over individuals' private lives but that the behavioural norms that operate within the group exert an 'optional influence' over individuals' behaviour in their private lives (6.3). I outline the process of 'modelling' by which this influence is exerted (6.3). I consider the place of corporate worship within the adolescent Quaker group (6.4) and examine adolescent Quaker ritual using a multi-perspectival approach developed by Peter Collins (6.5) and Richard Fenn's typology of ritual (6.6). I argue that adolescent Quaker worship represents a ritual of transformation and the creation of a separate physical and psychological space.

6.2 Group Behaviour

In this section I examine the formal and informal rules that govern behaviour within the adolescent Quaker group during Quaker-time and describe how these rules are maintained and enforced. I argue that loyalty to the community is used as the primary justification for having both formal, stated rules and unspoken norms of group behaviour. I argue that within the adolescent Quaker group there is a high level of internal discipline

which is secured by individuals' loyalty to the group. These rules and behavioural norms are influenced to an extent by Quaker values that adolescents identify with (4.8). I argue above that in contrast to the marginalisation of belief, adolescent Quakers show a high level of identification with Quaker values (4.8, 5.2.5) and that values are more significant than beliefs in forming individual adolescent Quaker identity (5.2.5, 5.5).

6.2.1 Group Rules & Behavioural Norms

At Quaker events for young people the group rules are usually called 'boundaries' (Field Notes). I suggest that use of this terminology distinguishes them from rules that adolescents are subject to in other contexts (e.g. school rules), and presents them as more liberal and less demanding. Official, stated boundaries at Quaker events vary with the age of participants but will generally include the prohibition of drinking alcohol, taking illegal drugs and sexual activity. Adolescents are required to agree to them as a condition of their participation in the event. At one event these were described as 'non-negotiable' boundaries, implying that other rules are negotiable by the group (Field Notes 2/8/2005). Other boundaries vary between events and may cover issues including smoking, switching off mobile phones during sessions and full participation in the programme (Field Notes 23/7/2009). These boundaries do not necessarily correspond to the morality or legality of the act itself. Indeed adolescent Quakers may actually be supported in acts which are of questionable legality, for example participants may be permitted to smoke even if they are under the age of 16³⁴ (Field Notes 31/7/2005). However, regardless of age, if smoking is permitted, it is only allowed at certain times outside of the formal programme for an event; smokers are prohibited from giving cigarettes to others, and areas set aside for smoking are generally unattractive. The boundaries for one event state that:

³⁴ At the time of the initial research 16 was the legal age for buying cigarettes or tobacco products. It rose to 18 in October 2007.

smoking is discouraged... but is possible in a small damp outside enclosure set aside for smokers. (Field Notes; 19/08/2005).

An adult organiser for this event said the aim was that smoking areas would not be thought of as social areas for the whole group and to discourage smoking by making it as uncomfortable as possible. Other boundaries prohibit behaviour which is legal for some members of the group, for example alcohol consumption by those aged over 18.

Justification for this is given in terms of the necessity of these rules to build an inclusive community:

They [adolescent Quakers] know that... if they are legally able to drink when others in their group are not, to do so would exclude some members of the group (Dawson 2006:100).

Rather than citing relevant laws as their basis, boundaries are often framed in terms of prohibiting 'exclusive behaviour' (Field Notes 21/01/2006) and justified with reference to Quaker values and to the community:

As we believe in equality, it is important to the success of JYM that everyone ... attempts to get on well with others in order to build a sense of community and boundaries are necessary for this to happen (Junior Yearly Meeting Boundaries 2006).

The rules which govern group behaviour are therefore justified as being necessary to maintain the community. These rules, some of which are liberal and others which are more conservative and demanding, together with the justification given for them, represent an attempt to control the behaviour of adolescents during Quaker-time whilst expressing the centrality of principles of inclusion and of the primacy of group needs over the needs of individuals.

In addition to formal boundaries, a series of less formal norms also operate to moderate behaviour. Behaviour that contravenes these informal rules is sometimes mentioned in

terms of being 'inappropriate' or 'un-Quakerly' (Field Notes; 13/4/2003). One adult volunteer said, in response to a young person who had been annoying other adolescents

I told him that it wasn't the kind of thing that it was ok to do at Summer School (Field Notes 23/8/2006).

I suggest that the maintenance of the community is the value which underpins these norms. There are similarities between the criteria used by adolescent Quakers to determine whether behaviour is acceptable and those used by the Amish to negotiate modernity. The Amish do not prohibit all technology but rather 'examine how ... [it] might help or hurt their way of life' (Carter 2004) and place an emphasis on whether it benefits the community. I argue that similar criteria are used when adolescent Quakers implicitly negotiate informal norms of behaviour. One example of this is swearing. At one event, although it was not explicitly mentioned in the boundaries, there was a general boundary relating to the use of language (intended to prevent racism, sexism and homophobia expressed through slang and jokes). When several participants were made aware that their use of swear words in sketches performed to the group was offensive to other members of the community they instantly acknowledged that it should not be allowed in these circumstances (Field Notes 13/4/2006). Although formal boundaries are written and signed agreement is required from those attending events, I suggest that informal norms of the adolescent Quaker group evolve to reflect the nature of the community and its needs. This is similar to the Amish where the 'ordnung, the body of policies regulating the life of the community, is generally not written down but is a fluid, dynamic set of understandings' (Kraybill 1994:29).

During participant observation I noted one example of a boundary being challenged. This concerned the perceived prohibition of the playing of a game (called Ratchet Screwdriver [G]) regarded by adult facilitators as potentially dangerous and involving inappropriate

physical contact (Field Notes 9/4/2003). When this was challenged by adolescents the response from adult organisers was that occasionally, for the benefit of the community, it was necessary to accept rules that one did not necessarily agree with (Field Notes 31/3/2006). Adolescents accepted this justification rather than the reasons that were given for it being discouraged, which did not relate to its effect on the community. Significantly, adult organisers stated that the game was merely 'actively discouraged' (Field Notes 9/4/2003) while adolescents regarded it as being 'banned' (Field Notes 9/4/2003). In reality this game is still played at many events (Field Notes 12/10/2004) although often out of sight of adult facilitators because playing it more publically would present a direct challenge to the community. I argue that this demonstrates that adolescents regard some rules as more significant than others. I suggest that maintenance of the community is the primary justification given for rules and norms of behaviour, and that upholding these rules is of central importance to the community.

6.2.2 Maintaining Group Behaviour

When group rules are broken, the behaviour may be termed as being 'inappropriate' (Field Notes 4/2003). I suggest that this terminology presents a clear distinction from making any form of judgement on the legal or moral status of the behaviour but frames it clearly as being outside the expected behaviour within the group and during Quaker-time, without necessarily passing judgement on its acceptability outside Quaker-time. Those breaking boundaries will often be described as having 'broken the trust of the group' (Field Notes 21/1/2006). The sanctions that are imposed for breaking boundaries, or other forms of inappropriate behaviour, are often in the form of community service.³⁵ The most serious sanction is for an individual to be sent home from an event; and one adult responsible for organising Quaker events for young people stated that:

³⁵ In participant observation at Quaker events for young people I recorded instances of individuals having to collect litter, tidy communal areas and help pack up equipment at the end of events as punishment (Field Notes 27/8/2004).

it would have to be very bad before I sent someone home (Field Notes; 9/4/2006).

I discovered only one case of several individuals being excluded; this was for taking drugs at an event in 2000 (Field Notes). However, even when individuals are excluded from an event this does not necessarily amount to expulsion from the adolescent group. In the example mentioned above the two individuals who were sent home from an event were allowed to participate in other similar events soon afterwards (Field Notes).

In the adolescent Quaker group, gate-keeping functions in relation to explicit boundaries are often performed by adults who are seen as part of the group at events. Amongst older adolescents, especially those aged over 16, those group members who are in positions of responsibility³⁶ have a key role in outlining and maintaining boundaries and challenging those who break boundaries. One adult organiser describes the difference in the following way: 'I am responsible for the 'non-negotiable' areas³⁷. The group is responsible for policing the boundaries they set for themselves' (Dawson 2006:99).

Behaviour that is outside the rules or norms of the group does not necessarily result in formal sanctions. The group also implicitly excludes people by challenging behaviour and isolating them within events. To illustrate this I use the example of an individual new to an established link group who displayed behaviour that other members of the group described as being

inappropriate (Female, 18; Field Notes, 17/3/2004).

36 At many Quaker events for young people adolescents are nominated by their peers to be involved in the planning and organisation of events. Examples of these roles are Peer Group Planners [G] JYM Arrangements Committee [G] and Base Group Facilitators [G].

37 These non-negotiable boundaries are those relating to the prohibition of alcohol, drugs and sexual activity and the regulation of smoking.

Other group members stated that:

He just made me extremely uncomfortable and he was very offensive to me (Female, 16; Field Notes, 17/3/2004)

and

he completely disregarded community guidelines (Female, 16; Field Notes, 17/3/2004).

Although it wasn't specified which guidelines he had ignored. I suggest that the individual's behaviour provoked a negative reaction from the group to some extent because of differences to other group members and because he did not conform to the sectarian characteristics of the group:

I think some of it was because he was a Kev³⁸. I can see it from his point of view - he sees us being all huggy and doesn't get it (Male, 17; Field Notes, 17/3/2004)

His attitude was downright scary, and at points, just wrong. It is not that I instantly dislike all townies, but it is just so that he was a townie (Male, 15; Field Notes, 18/3/2004).

During the event the individual in question spent a considerable amount of time on his own, according to an adult who was present (Field Notes 18/3/2004). However, members of the group rejected the suggestion that the individual had been excluded because he was different to other group members and instead focused on his behaviour:

I am sure that [the group] are more than capable of accepting new members into "the fold" when those people don't constantly test and challenge the group's patience (Male, 18; Field Notes 17/3/2004).

The fact that this individual's behaviour did not conform to that expected by the group, was made explicit at the time:

³⁸ 'Kev' is a term often used derogatorily to describe young working-class person who dresses in casual sports clothes, similar to a Chav. Townie is also a synonym for Chav and Kev.

I did try to talk to him and explain I thought certain things he was doing were inappropriate but he just blatantly ignored me (Female, 18; Field Notes, 17/3/2004).

The unwillingness or inability of that person to follow the boundaries led to the individual being implicitly expelled from the group:

I do not know what, if anything, the ... committee has done, but I've been told he won't be coming again. Whether that was his personal decision, or a committee idea, I don't know (Male 15; Field Notes, 26/3/2004).

It was made clear by a committee member that

the committee would not refuse anyone on such grounds (Male, 17; Field Notes, 20/3/2004).

This indicates an emphasis on inclusion but I suggest otherwise and argue this individual was implicitly excluded, because his behaviour had challenged the group's norms. I argue therefore that behaviour within the group is strictly monitored and behaviour that does not conform to group rules or norms is highlighted and challenged through explicit sanctions or implicit exclusion.

Although I describe above the gatekeeping function performed by those with designated responsibility within the group (either adults or young people). The example above, demonstrates that, at times, it is the group as a whole that polices behaviour within the group and enforces the group's norms.

6.3 Quaker influence over individuals' private lives

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Quakers were accountable to the meeting for all parts of their life, including their work and behaviour outside the Quaker group (Dandelion 1996:10, Collins 2001:122). Following reforms in the nineteenth century when strictures on plain dress, plain speech and endogamy were ended, the notion of Friends having a life that is private from the meeting became more prevalent (Dandelion 1996:xxvi, 1996:11). Dandelion states that in liberal-Liberal Quakerism, the influence of the Quaker group over the lives of individual Friends is limited because there is limited discussion of individuals' private lives during Quaker-time and 'decisions which are concerned with the private life have become private' (Dandelion 1996:xxvi). Dandelion argues that within liberal-Liberal Quakerism the interpretation of testimony has become individualised and that 'what any part of Quaker testimony means, whether on peace or integrity or gambling or moderation is now up to the individual' (2006:vi). In the following section I argue that, because the scope of Quaker-time for the adolescent group is broader than for adult Quakers and, because adolescents identify closely with the adolescent Quaker group, the rules and norms of behaviour that operate within the group have a greater influence over the private lives of individual adolescents than is the case for adult Quakers, although as indicated above there is still individual expression of corporate values (4.8, 5.2.5).

6.3.1 Scope of Quaker time

An adolescent with limited involvement (5.2.7) attending a link group could spend three weekends, or approximately 110 hours, in Quaker-time in a year. This is the equivalent of attending Meeting for Worship once a week for a year.³⁹ An adolescent participating in a link group, a regional summer event and a national event and thus having widespread involvement (5.2.7) could spend over 300 hours in Quaker-time in a year, which amounts to attending Meeting for Worship every week for three years. Therefore, although many

³⁹ I have allowed two hours for each Meeting for Worship as Quaker-time can extend beyond the hour long worship period.

adult Quakers' involvement can include service on committees and other activities I argue that members of the adolescent Quaker group spend considerably longer in Quaker-time than most adult Quakers. Adolescents' experience of Quaker-time is also different to that of adults. Dandelion states that for adults to speak outside of worship in Quaker-time requires a structured opportunity (2005:96). Quaker events for young people and young people's activities at local meetings provide such structured opportunities for the adolescent Quaker group. These opportunities include discussion of social and moral issues, usually with a distinctive Quaker emphasis, and personal issues, including beliefs, values and spirituality:

[Quaker events] have made me think about my life and values (Female, 18; YQQ).

Because these structured opportunities are provided, adolescents continue discussions in unstructured time during events (Field Notes). Dandelion suggests that within the adult Quaker group there are limitations to what is considered as appropriate for discussion in their public Quaker lives (1996:xxviii) and that, as a result, the influence of the group over the lives of individuals is reduced. Discussions at events (Field Notes) and on a young Quakers internet message board⁴⁰ have included sex, sexuality and personal relationships; education and leisure; drugs and alcohol; depression, music, career choices and people's day-to-day lives. Given this, I argue that within the adolescent Quaker group there are fewer limits on what is thought appropriate for discussion.

6.3.2 Quasi-Quaker Time

⁴⁰ This message board (www.friendlink.org.uk) is a members-only forum where anyone wishing to join must be vouched for by an existing member before they can participate in discussions.

Adolescent Quakers also remain connected outside formal Quaker-time, with the group operating as a networked community (7.3.3). Individuals who have built friendships at events stay in contact between the occasions on which they meet face-to-face (7.3.2). This contact includes conversations and communication between individual adolescent Quakers, which occurs outside formal Quaker-time, in what I describe as informal or 'quasi' Quaker-time. One example of this is the message board referred to above, and groups specifically for adolescent Quakers on social networking sites such as Facebook (www.facebook.com) (Best 2008b:214). Individuals use this to share opinions and views as well as to seek advice relating to personal dilemmas. Although it is obviously a limited example the responses are generally supportive and accepting of individuals' life choices, rarely challenging and usually rooted in personal experience; however they reflect the group's behavioural norms, especially in terms of inclusion, anti-discrimination and treating others with respect. They also reflect the shared values of the group, which influence individuals' ethical choices particularly as these relate to issues of peace, equality and social justice. I argue that this continued contact extends and sustains the influence of the Quaker group on individual behaviour between Quaker events and outside Quaker-time. Significantly, discussion of the private lives of adolescent Quakers rarely leads to judgement of individuals, which is a difficulty within the adult group (Dandelion 1996: xxvi). I argue that this is a result of the individualisation of the personal expression of shared values (4.8), which mirrors the individualisation of belief described above (4.7), and of the importance to the group of its own values of tolerance and acceptance (4.8, 6.2.1).

Because the number of issues which can be appropriately discussed within Quaker-time are increased, and there is greater knowledge within the group of individuals' private lives both during and between Quaker events for young people, than is the case in the adult Quaker group. Given this I argue that the part of adolescent Quakers' lives that occur outside Quaker-time is smaller than is the case for adult Quakers.

Giordano argues that 'particular friends with whom one has forged an especially strong bond will be the most influential as reference others' (2003:266). For adolescents, family and close friends serve as faith referents (Collins 1999:171). Adolescent Quakers identify closely with other adolescent Quakers, both in terms of group belonging (7.3.1) and close individual friendship (7.3.2). I argue that adolescent Quakers are therefore the strongest 'reference others' for other members of the group. Additionally there is an influence on individuals' behaviour outside of Quaker-time as a result of the wide scope of Quaker-time, including quasi-Quaker time. Adolescents closely identify with the adolescent Quaker group via friendships with individual adolescents, via the role of group members as 'reference others' and via acceptance of the rules and norms of behaviour that operate within the group. Formal rules have their basis in Quaker values (6.2.1).

6.3.3 Modelling

Quaker events for young people have both firm ground rules and shared values which expose adolescent Quakers to particular moral values (Pearmain 2005:281):

Being away from our everyday lives gave us a glimpse of how we hope the world could be (Britain Yearly Meeting 2003 Minute 38 14-18 year olds group).

I argue that these formal group rules and informal behavioural norms, and the values that underlie them provide a model for external behaviour :

You just go back, you try to apply summer school and senior conference as your actual life and it's really good (Pearmain 2005:238).

We leave having identified our values and beliefs... eager to apply them to our daily lives (Junior Yearly Meeting Epistle [G] 2003).

I suggest that individuals connect the positive experience of being part of the Quaker group and their Quaker-time experiences with certain patterns of individual and group behaviour. As a result they associate the adolescent Quaker group's rules and behavioural norms, which are different to those of groups they belong to outside of their Quaker involvement, with these experiences and consequently the formal rules and informal norms of behaviour that operate within the group influence adolescent Quakers' behaviour in their 'private' lives outside Quaker-time.

A further aspect of modelling exists at Quaker events for young people where older adolescents and adult facilitators act as role models (Pearmain 2005:284). Adolescents identified adults at Quaker events for young people as having:

experience and you can share your views on various subjects (Male 15; QEQ)

This idea of adult facilitators as role models is reflected by the comments of adults who have volunteered at Quaker events for young people, who saw their role as being:

an informal teacher...as someone who has more life experience and is willing to share it (Field Notes 29/5/2004)

to show young people that you can actually live as a Quaker and being a Quaker is [about] more than going to meeting on Sunday. It is about a practical day-to-day existence, which is not necessarily to do with being a hippy, or a particularly 'alternative' lifestyle (Field Notes 24/8/2004).

Through a process of modelling behavioural conformity to the formal rules and informal norms of behaviour which operate in the adolescent group, as well as to the values underlying them; spills over into individual's lives outside Quaker time and influences their external behaviour:

I now have a far healthier interest in the world around me due to Quaker events (Male, 17; YQQ)

I'm more conscious of others in the world (Female, 16; YQQ)

[it's] made me think about my life and values (Female, 18; YQQ).

As with adult Quakers, the adolescent Quaker group has no formal authority over the behaviour of members when outside the group and individuals are not accountable to the group for their actions outside Quaker-time (Dandelion 1996: xviii); in addition few demands are placed on members in terms of outward witness to Quaker values (4.8). I argue that the process of modelling, both of behavioural boundaries within the group and ethical choices made by other group members, exerts an optional influence on adolescent Quakers' behaviour in their private lives. These rules and norms and the values that underlie them provide individuals with a basis and a model for external behaviour, although as described above, the individual interpretation of this may vary (4.8). The influence on external behaviour is difficult to evaluate and further research (9.4) is needed to investigate the extent of the influence that Quaker values, group rules and behavioural norms have on individuals' behaviour outside Quaker-time.

6.4 Corporate Worship

In this section I consider the rules governing behaviour in worship within the adolescent group and argue that adolescent Quakerism operates different rules regarding speech and silence from the adult Quaker group. I examine Dandelion's 'culture of silence' (1996:239) in relation to adolescent Quaker worship and argue that, within the adolescent Quaker group, worship activity and other speaking in Quaker-time rejects the creedal attitude towards the form of silent worship and counteracts the 'culture of silence', replacing it with a 'culture of contribution'.

6.4.1 Adolescent Quaker worship and the rules of silence

Silence is at the core of unprogrammed Quaker worship and 'marks the boundaries of the collective worship' (Dandelion 1996:15); silent worship is an active process and the medium through which God's will is heard and voiced (Dandelion 1996:239). In relation to speaking in worship there is a tension between two extremes 'that everyone may speak equally in worship' and that nobody 'really should speak because... speaking... removes us from God' (Davies 1988:106). Individuals must ensure that if they speak, what they say is legitimised by being from God (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:1.02.13). The role of speech is further diminished as a result of the Quaker view that firstly 'words are not of practical use in expressing spirituality' and secondly that it 'is not appropriate to try and verbalise religious belief' (Dandelion 1996:242). For the Quaker group silence is therefore central to Quaker theology and revered as such.

In unprogrammed worship in the adult Quaker group vocal ministry [G] is governed by rules regarding: length, style, frequency, timing, thematic construction and linguistic construction (Dandelion 1996:245). In both programmed and unprogrammed adolescent worship that I observed, rules which operate in the adult group concerning the length of ministry, not speaking twice (Dandelion 1996:245-256) and leaving space between contributions were not always followed (Field Notes). Collins emphasises the importance of learning, and observing, the 'rules of the game' in unprogrammed Quaker worship and suggests that children 'delineate the rules of meeting through breaking them' (2005:329).

Adolescent Quakers identify programmed or semi-programmed worship, such as epilogue, described above (3.3.4) as not following the same rules as those that operate in Meeting for Worship:

Meeting for Worship ... ties more back to structures and standing up and saying and you're not allowed to touch people and you have people standing up and speaking whereas in epilogue it's kind of the done thing just to collapse on each other and fall asleep – well not actually fall asleep but... (Male, 18; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Within the adolescent Quaker group standards do apply to programmed elements of worship. Although participation in programmed worship is emphasised, on one occasion an adolescent introduced a song played on acoustic guitar by saying:

if you know it then you can sing along but please sing quietly so you don't spoil the atmosphere (Male, 14; Field Notes, 18/8/2003).

When asked if playing pop music in epilogue is still worship, one adolescent responded that it would be acceptable:

if it's reflecting on what you've done in the day or how it has inspired other [people] but not if it's just a song (Female, 15; Field Notes 13/12/2003).

Therefore I argue that individuals have to be able to justify the breaking of silence with programmed elements such as music or readings, in terms of their potential spiritual benefit to the group. I observed one semi-programmed epilogue where pop music was played and another where its use was vetoed, jointly by young people and adults with shared responsibility for the event, as not being appropriate for worship (Field Notes 13/12/2003, Field Notes 12/11/2005).

There are also rules governing appropriate behaviour during worship. I observed adolescents complaining about individuals talking, whispering and laughing during epilogue stating that:

they should be told not to (Male, 15; Field Notes, 26/8/2003)

because

it spoils it for everyone else, and stops them enjoying [epilogue] (Male, 15; Field Notes, 26/8/2003).

Several adolescents were spoken to by the elders at JYM for displays of physical affection during epilogue (Field Notes; 5/4/2007).

6.4.2 The Culture of Silence

Dandelion (1996, 2005) identifies the operation within liberal-Liberal Quakerism of a phenomenon he terms the 'culture of silence'. The 'culture of silence' has three components: the value given silence, the devaluation of speech and rules on speech and silence (Dandelion 1996:239). Dandelion argues that within liberal-Liberal Quakerism the rules governing silent worship, the constraints placed on speaking in worship and the higher value placed on silence over speech foster this 'culture of silence' within and outside worship (2005:110). For the adult Quaker group silence operates as a mask that hides changes and diversity in individual and group belief (Dandelion 1996:259). The 'culture of silence' therefore accommodates and, at the same time, conceals changes in individual and group belief, helping to secure the unity of the group. Adolescents who valued silent worship mentioned the openness and freedom of worship:

I love the silence as you think about what you like there's no pressure to pray etc. (Male, 17; YQQ)

I think that Meeting for Worship is a great idea as everyone can worship who they want (i.e. their idea of God) how they want (Female, 17; YQQ).

These comments reflect Dandelion's assertion and suggest that for the adolescent group silence also accommodates the diversity of individual and group belief. However I argue

that adolescent worship is qualitatively different from adult worship and that this difference challenges Dandelion's concept of the 'culture of silence'.

6.4.3 The Culture of Contribution

In the adolescent Quaker group silence remains the basis of worship (3.5.2) and programmed contributions are made out of the silence which still 'marks the boundaries of the collective worship' (Dandelion 1996:15). However silence is not the only element of adolescent Quaker worship and both programmed and semi-programmed worship is common amongst adolescent Quakers (3.3.1) and whilst greater value is given by adolescent Quakers, than by adults, to contributions through speech, music, song, dance and activity within worship (3.5.1). The value given to speech in worship in the adolescent Quaker group acts to encourage individual vocal ministry:

I have spoken in meetings but only when it has been a reading or in structured meetings or ones when it is encouraged. (Female 16, Field Notes).

Within the adolescent Quaker group there are numerous opportunities for individuals to share their beliefs and this is often explicitly encouraged:

Our worship together... will hopefully be a time for reflection and we hope that people will feel comfortable and safe enough to share their thoughts... in ministry. (Introduction to worship at Junior Yearly Meeting 2003).

I argue therefore that the attitude of the adolescent Quaker group towards silence is non-creedal and that this acts against the consequences of the 'culture of silence' described by Dandelion, that silence operates as defence and masks changes in popular Quaker theology (1996:257-259).

In addition to worship, adolescent Quakers have other opportunities in Quaker-time to vocalise their beliefs, including both formal discussion groups and informal conversations.

I contend that there is the possibility of religious experience occurring at other times, that other speaking which occurs in Quaker-time is part of this experience and that it can influence the formation of individual beliefs which are created to make sense of this experience.

Within the adult Quaker group individual beliefs are never or rarely vocalised in ministry because of the lack of opportunity or courage (Dandelion 1996:259), silence is used as a means of self-defence against the possibility of a confrontational reaction and ostracism following the expression of certain beliefs which appear to be outside the popular theology of the group (Dandelion 1996:257); as a result the theological diversity within the adult Quaker group remains virtually unknown (Dandelion 2005:110). I argue that within the adolescent Quaker group, belief is so marginal and so diverse (4.7, 5.5) that the boundaries of the popular theology of the group are both much broader and more flexible. In the adolescent Quaker group belief stories are accepted as valid for that individual and the vocalisation of belief stories is not treated as an attempt to express anything more than personal, provisional views. As a result the threat of a confrontational reaction to the expression of individual beliefs is minimal. Dandelion argues that because individual beliefs are seldom vocalised in the adult Quaker group there is no reaction and silence functions as a consequence of this non-vocalisation (1996:259). Conversely I argue that because of the increased vocalisation of individual belief stories in the adolescent Quaker group, particularly outside worship but within Quaker-time, the reaction is more likely to be that others are encouraged to vocalise their beliefs, meaning that the theological diversity is both known and accepted by the adolescent Quaker group.

I argue that rather than Dandelion's culture of silence within the adolescent Quaker group there is 'a culture of contribution' which operates across Quaker time. Figure 6.1 shows the

culture of silence as outlined by Dandelion (1996:258) and the contrasting culture of contribution that operates within the adolescent Quaker group.

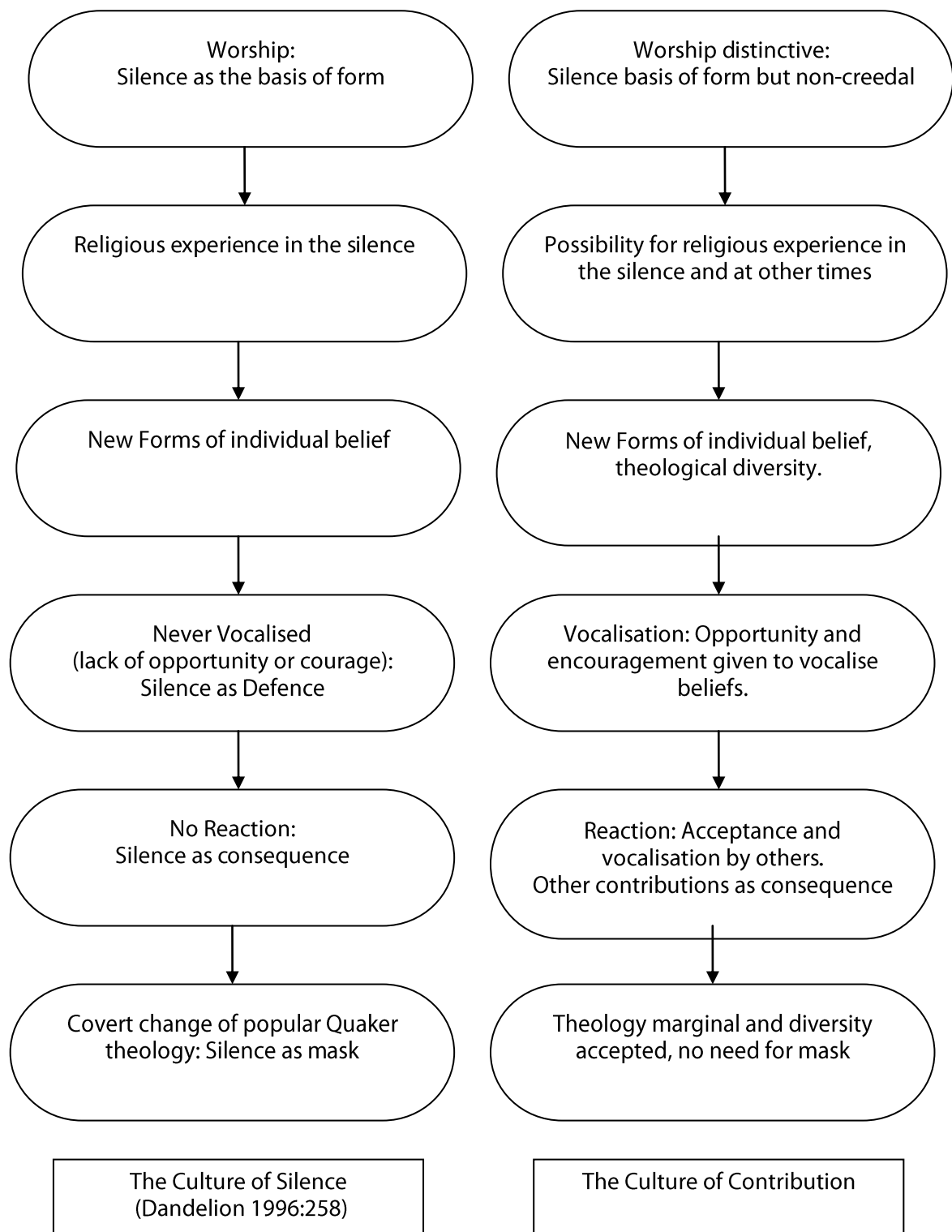


Figure 6.1: The Culture of Silence and the Culture of Contribution

Within the adult Quaker group the silence presents a picture of unity and masks changes in the popular Quaker theology and which occur covertly (Dandelion 1996:259).

I argue that within the adolescent Quaker group there is no need for silence to operate as a mask. This is because theology and belief are marginalised (4.7) and are not central to individual or group Quaker identity (5.2.4). It is evident also in adolescent Quakers' familiarity with worship where silence is the basis but not dominant, together with increased opportunities to share individual belief stories outside worship but in Quaker-time, and the acceptance of theological diversity.

Significantly, despite there being rules governing adolescent worship described above (6.3.1), these appear to be trumped by the culture of contribution. When faced with an adolescent giving ministry that was thought to be pre-prepared, and described by an adult volunteer as

attention seeking (Field Notes; 5/4/2008)

an adolescent, despite thinking it was inappropriate stated that:

I don't want to say anything because it might discourage someone from ministering and that would be worse (Field Notes; 6/4/2008).

6.5 Adolescent Quaker Worship and ritual

In this section I examine adolescent Quaker ritual using a multi-perspectival approach developed by Peter Collins (2005). Collins identifies thirteen ways of looking at Quaker ritual, and although I follow Collins in arguing that 'no single interpretation is sufficient to account for the form and content of Quaker worship' (Collins 2005:325) I suggest below that not all of these are applicable when examining adolescent Quaker ritual. By viewing

ritual from several perspectives, I illustrate the role of ritual in creating and sustaining the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and argue that it is instrumental to creating and sustaining community and is also a visible embodiment of that community.

6.5.1. Quaker worship as commitment

Collins identifies Quaker ritual as an expression of commitment to the community and states that individuals go to meeting because it is part of being a Quaker (2005:331). Ritual is important because it enables participants to be visibly doing the same thing, even if their individual interpretations of what they are doing differ enormously (Collins 2005:331). In this interpretation ritual carries importance because, through appearing to participate in the same activity, individuals are able to show commitment to the community: 'to participate in meeting itself signals a certain commitment, consciously entered into' (Collins 2005:335). I argue that adolescent Quakers similarly demonstrate their commitment to the adolescent Quaker group through participation in worship at Quaker events for young people:

I enjoy Meeting for Worship at Holiday School because there is a real sense of community and belonging and unity in the silence (Female, 17; YQQ).

By attending events, adolescents consciously participate in this worship, although they see it as different from adult Quaker ritual.

6.5.2 Quaker worship as emotional

Collins cites examples of Quaker ritual 'where emotions have been made manifest' (Collins 2005:331) and that the expressive properties of the 'ritual' are apparent from the behaviour of the participants (Collins 2005:332). In adolescent Quaker worship both laughter and tears were observed on several occasions (Field Notes). Heightened emotions are particularly apparent in the final worship at Quaker events for young people (Field Notes); I

argue that the intensity of Quaker-time gatherings makes it more likely that adolescents will experience and express heightened emotions. I suggest that this is in part a result of encouraging contributions and the implicit permission that expression of emotion is acceptable, within the particular rules of silence and speech that operate in adolescent Quaker worship.

6.5.3 Quaker worship as storied

Collins states that members of a Quaker meeting communicate through story and that vocal ministry in Meetings for Worship can bind participants together through explicit references to relationships 'created in and through meeting' (Collins 2005:333). I suggest that the same is the case for adolescent worship where ministry often includes explicit and implicit references to friendships formed between individual adolescents and the community created during Quaker-time:

Summer School is a place where I have been able to relax and have fun and be part of the Quaker community (Male 14, Field Notes, 24/08/2003)

The stars are like people, each one like one of us, looking up at them with you they look more beautiful and when I leave I will look up and think of us together here (Male 13, Field Notes, 23/08/2003).

6.5.4 Quaker worship as embodied

Collins states that Quaker worship is an embodied ritual and emphasises the importance of the arrangement of participants and the lack of differentiation in that no one individual sits higher than another or is marked off in any other way (Collins 2005:328). Collins argues that this lack of differentiation 'signifies... equality between people and also the direct relationship each person has with God' (Collins 2005:328). However I argue that in unprogrammed worship amongst the adult Quaker group differentiation occurs when an individual stands to minister, as is usual practice in adult Quaker worship. This act marks

the individual who is speaking, even if only temporarily. Amongst adolescent Quakers, standing when ministering, especially in semi-programmed worship, is very infrequent. In semi-programmed adolescent worship I observed there were over 150 vocal contributions, but only one individual stood to minister (Field Notes 16/4/2003). In unprogrammed worship amongst adolescent Quakers, approximately one third remained seated when ministering (Field Notes). Adolescents participating in worship frequently sit on the floor in one large circle, without lines or rows as is usual in Meeting for Worship in the adult group, while this is more common in epilogue and worship other than unprogrammed worship, it is noted by adolescents when the layout is different:

There was an unfortunate layout - that Meeting for Worship was not in a circle (Field Notes, 16/4/2003).

I argue that this is symbolic of a focus on the group and a lack of separation of the individual from the group. Dandelion cites the extension of the ritual of shaking hands from just the elders to the whole meeting as an example of the democratisation of the creedal form of worship (2005:111). In adolescent worship, worship is normally ended by the whole group joining hands in a circle, although this is initiated by those acting as elders (Field Notes). This practice has spread to the adult group but usually only in programmed or semi-programmed worship (Field Notes). I argue that this way of closing worship is a symbol of community togetherness and that adolescent Quaker ritual symbolises and embodies equality and the inclusion of all in the community.

6.5.5 Quaker worship as transformative

Collins argues that the ritual of Quaker worship can be transformational, and that through participation in Quaker worship an individual can emerge as a changed person (Collins 2005:336). Ramp argues that individuals, who are participants in everyday life, cross a temporal or spatial threshold of events or assemblies and are transformed in that act

through being 'called out of particularity and into identification with each other' (1998:141-142). Durkheim emphasises the significance of 'effervescent collective assemblies'⁴¹ and states that 'excitable gatherings... heighten people's passions and energies' (Allen, Pickering and Millar 1998:10). The intensity of gatherings creates social cohesion, 'serves as a social glue' and binds individuals to the group (Ramp 1998:137). 'The charged emotional environments call individuals out of themselves, imbuing them with a heightened sense of their participation in the collective' (Ramp 1998:141). I argue that communal worship at Quaker events for young people has this effect on adolescent Quakers:

At holiday school I felt like much more connected to people when I was sat in meeting ... cos like I went to meeting the other day to my normal meeting and although I know everybody there I didn't feel as connected to them (Female, 16; Interview, 6/9/2003).

I suggest that for adolescent Quakers the form, content and setting of ritual can be similarly transformative. The form: based in silence but not dominated by it; the content: vocalisation of belief stories; and most importantly the setting: in a communal space with other adolescents and separate from other Quakers and the world. This transformation is evident in adolescents' responses:

I feel like I'm two different people when I'm with my friends and among Quakers. (Female, 15; Field Notes, 13/12/2003).

The silence is different in Meeting for Worship in Quaker events where you have been doing it for a least a day because everybody is in 'Quaker mode' whereas with meeting everybody is coming in from outside. (Female, 15; Interview, 13/12/2003).

⁴¹ According to Durkheim ritual exercises a profound influence or force over its performers. Forces are reawakened in their *consciences*, and intense emotions are stirred up. (1995: 327-328). Furthermore, 'It is in these effervescent social milieu, and indeed from that very effervescence, that the religious idea seems to have been born.' (1995:220). Durkheim argues that 'the very act of congregating is an exceptionally powerful stimulant. Once individuals are gathered together, a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness and quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exaltation'. (1995:217-218). Durkheim stresses that the most important characteristic of collective effervescence is the fact that it is communal, and collective.

I suggest that adopting this 'Quaker mode' represents a transformation that occurs at Quaker events for young people and that ritual is instrumental in causing this transformation.

The idea of Quaker worship as transformative is also reflected by Pearmain (2005) who highlights silence and shared silence as an element in this transformation: 'Participants attributed a sense of support and nourishment from the opportunity for sharing silence and time for reflection and integration which could facilitate... transformational experiences' (Pearmain 2005:285-286).

6.6 A typology of adolescent Quaker ritual

In this section I examine adolescent Quaker ritual using the typology of ritual developed by Richard Fenn (1997). I describe how the ritual of the adolescent Quaker group enables it to maintain cohesion, integration and a sense of purpose. I argue that adolescent Quaker worship is a ritual of transformation which is focused on creating a separate physical and psychological space for the group.

Fenn's typology of 'ritual requirement' attempts to explain the kinds of rituals that different types of groups need in order to maintain a sense of purpose (1997:29). The kind of ritual that a group requires depends on their level of internal integration and their level of separation or distinctiveness from the world. Internal integration is the degree to which personal experience is contained within the framework of permitted social interaction and also the extent to which such interaction expresses and reinforces the way the social order assigns duties and accords privileges to its members. The level of separation or distinctiveness refers to the strength of organisational boundaries between the group and the outside world (Fenn 1997:29).

Fenn identifies four distinct types of ritual: in terms of their primary function: transformation, aversion, purification and restoration. These are illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Ritual as transformation represents the renewal of the social order by the group and the creation of new chapters of time to transform the group out of the everyday sense of time into one of their own (Dandelion 2005:122). Rituals of purification are an attempt to mark a break with the past and make a clear new start for the group (Dandelion 2005: 122). They emerge when there is a sense that the group may have lost its way and requires 'cleansing'. Rituals of aversion 'preserve unity between personal experience, interaction and the social order' (Fenn 1997:49) and keep the group together. Dandelion argues that present-day Quakers are held back from fragmentation at an outward level by an explicit ritual of inward aversion away from outward belief statements and worldly forms (Dandelion 2005:122). Rituals of restoration are present when ideas of transformation, purification and aversion have lost their currency (Dandelion 2005:122) and the group is in need of the recreation of a period of original vigour and harmony in the life of the group.

In these different ways ritual enables groups to maintain cohesion and integration (Fenn 1997:41).

	Degree to which a social system is differentiated from nature and other societies	
Degree of internal integration	High	Low
High	Transformation	Aversion
Low	Purification	Restoration

Type of ritual	The manufacture of time
Transformation	Creation of a new chapter in the life of the individual, e.g. through initiation into adulthood, marriage or the ancestral community; the renewal of the social order over time.
Aversion	Reinforcing the integration of self with the conventions of social interaction and the constraints of social organization; buying time for the social system.
Purification	Separating the present from the past by resolving grievances and expelling outside influences from the community; the renewal of 'the times'.
Restoration	The recreation of a period of original vigour and harmony in the life of the society; initiating a future that is a sharp break from the present; the restoration of a mythic past.

Figure 6.2: Ritual and the manufacture of time (Fenn 1997:41)

Dandelion (2005:122) applies Fenn's typology to the Quaker group based on their understanding of, and relationship to, time. Dandelion argues that twenty-first century liberal-Liberal Quakerism exhibits increasingly low internal integration and low levels of separation between participants and the world (2005:122); as a result the group's ritual of silence is one of inward aversion, 'away from the outward in terms of belief statements and the worldly in terms of form' (Dandelion 2005:122). Historically, silent Quaker worship was related directly to the second coming of Christ; as a result of intimacy with God and an 'inward communion' there was no need for outward ritual (Dandelion 2005: 27). The liberal-Liberal Quaker group has moved 'out of time' because the present 'is real and can be trusted' and the group has nothing to wait for and there is no need to adopt 'meantime

practices' (Dandelion 2005:116). Dandelion argues that for liberal-Liberal Quakers the 'now' is all that there is and that 'every day is equivalent rather than special' (2005:124). For liberal-Liberal Quakers 'post-millennialism becomes simply secular, a time ahead to aim for with the best intentions' (Dandelion 2005:125).

Dandelion argues that the rituals of liberal-Liberal Friends are designed to buy more time for the group, to prevent fragmentation and 'preserve unity between personal experience, interaction and the social order' (2005:122). He further suggests that because the theological boundaries of Quakerism are no longer clear, Quakers are wary of voicing their beliefs and silence represents 'the best approach to the unknown for a group highly wary of words' (2005:116). As liberal-Liberal Quakerism becomes increasingly optional in terms of testimony and attendance, the function of ritual may move towards 'restoration'; the recreation of a period of original vigour and harmony and restoration of a mythic past (2005:94). I argue that the Experiment with Light [G] is an example of a modern day liberal-Liberal Quaker restoration ritual. It is presented as alternative and 'grass-roots' (<http://www.charlieblackfield.com/light/index.htm>) and described as 'a personal practice of meditation' with the possibility of transformation which Ambler says he 'discovered in early Friends' (2001:1). I suggest that the Experiment with Light is an attempt to recreate the experience of early Friends, to restore practices of early Friends to current Quaker ritual, and restore a mythic past.

I argue that unlike the adult Quaker group, the adolescent Quaker group has a high level of internal integration (6.2, 7.3) and a high level of differentiation from the world (5.4.1). I suggest furthermore that adolescent Quakers have no sense of being a group that is running out of time, or of being in a 'meantime' and waiting, and unlike the adult Quaker group (Dandelion 2005:122), they do not therefore need ritual that will 'buy' the group more time. In contrast to this, what is significant for adolescent Quakers is not time, but

space. This is illustrated by the fact that 9.4% of YQQ respondents described Meeting for Worship as a 'space' and a chance to escape life:

I use it as a space to regain perspective (YQQ; Male, 18)

It allows one space which is set aside solely for mental/spiritual 'activity' (YQQ; Male 18).

Because of this, I argue that Fenn's particular typology does not fit adolescent Quaker ritual, however I suggest that it can be revised and reapplied to illustrate how ritual is used to create space, rather than time. This revised typology is shown in Figure 6.3.

	Degree to which a social system is differentiated from nature and other societies	
Degree of internal integration	High	Low
High	Transformation	Aversion
Low	Purification	Restoration

Type of ritual	The creation of space
Transformation	Creation of a new chapter in the life of the individual, through initiation into the community, the renewal and creation of an ideal social order through establishing a separate space
Aversion	Reinforcing the integration of self with the conventions of social interaction and the constraints of social organization; creating a separate space for the group
Purification	Separating the group from the outside world by resolving grievances and expelling undesirable influences from the community; the renewal of the space.
Restoration	The (re)creation of a place of original vigour and harmony in the life of the society; initiating a future that represents a sharp break from the outside world.

Figure 6.3: Ritual and the creation of space

Cohen states that for a group, rituals make a statement about the relation of the group to other groups, while for individuals they convey a message about the individual's relation to the group and to the world as mediated by their group membership (1985:53). As such rituals 'construct and allow the individual to experience social boundary' (Cohen 1985:54). Dandelion states that 'silence is the basis of Quaker form' and forms a boundary to Quakerism (2005:112). Here the Quaker group displays a further similarity with Amish to that described above (6.2.1). For the Amish 'the use of silence, like worship, actively reaffirms and restores community identity and marks off community boundaries' (Zimmerman Umble 1994:100). Similarly the distinctive adolescent Quaker ritual can be seen as marking a boundary between that community and the world, including adult Quakers. I argue that like the Amish the adolescent Quaker group uses ritual and worship to recreate the adolescent Quaker community, and to reaffirm it as a space separate from the world and the adult Quaker group. Cohen identifies groups where members have been dispersed and for whom 'ritual provides occasions to reconstitute the community' (1985:51). I argue that for adolescent Quakers the particularised ritual of Quaker worship in the adolescent Quaker group reaffirms individuals' membership of the physical community that is manifested at Quaker events for young people and recreates and marks off the community from the outside world. I argue above (6.4.5) that at Quaker events for young people individuals adopt a 'Quaker mode' which represents a transformation that occurs when individuals cross the threshold into the group. I suggest that for some adolescents this transformation maybe temporary and that on leaving events they may re-cross the threshold into their non-Quaker lives. Bell states that ritual involves 'the interaction of the body within a symbolically constituted spatial and temporal environment' (1992: 93). The adolescent Quaker group, and Quaker events for young people, represent a separate space that is seen by adolescent Quakers as qualitatively different from the rest of their lives and as separate from other groups (7.5.3); given this I argue that they represent examples of such an environment. Thus I argue that Quaker

worship for the adolescent group is a transformative ritual that represents both an initiation of the individual into the community and the creation of an ideal social order, through the creation of a physical and psychological space that is separate from adult Quakers and the non-Quaker world.

6.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I outlined the formal and informal rules which operate in Quaker-time in the adolescent Quaker group. The way in which these rules are maintained within the group was explained. I demonstrated that a significant number of adolescents spend more time than adult Quakers in Quaker-time and that there is greater discussion of individuals' private lives in Quaker-time. I argued that although the group has a low formal authority over individuals' private lives, considerable influence exists in the form of modelling both through behavioural boundaries within the group and ethical choices made by group members.

The nature and place of corporate worship within the adolescent Quaker group was considered. I argued that as a result of the qualitative differences in the form, content and nature of adolescent worship, worship activity and other speaking in Quaker time within adolescent Quakerism breaks the 'culture of silence' (Dandelion 1996:258), and replaces it with a culture of contribution in which contributions are encouraged, worship is democratised, and whilst the silent basis of worship is maintained, the view of silence is non-creedal. I argued that ritual for the adolescent Quaker group is transformative, both for individuals and for the group; and that the requirement and purpose of ritual is the creation of a separate space for the group, which is both physical and psychological and represents an ideal social order.

CHAPTER 7

THE COMMUNITY OF INTIMACY

7.1. Introduction

As I show above, for the adolescent Quaker group belief is unimportant and non-definitional (4.7, 5.2.4, 5.5); values are broad, generalised and open to individual interpretation (4.8). However corporate worship is central (3.3, 6.4), internal discipline is strong (6.2), involvement is key (3.2), and the scope of Quaker-time is extensive (6.3.1).

In this chapter I argue that the adolescent Quaker group represents what I term a Community of Intimacy. This is a collective grouping which places emphasis on belonging to the group, inter-personal networks secured by friendships, shared values, the expression of group identity in some form and the separateness of the group both from others - in this case from adult Quakers and other young people. I describe the features of a Community of Intimacy in general and the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in particular and describe how they function in relation to each other (7.2, 7.3, 7.4 & 7.5). I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is both the visible community, as expressed in the separate space occupied by adolescent Quakers during Quaker-time (for example at Quaker events) (7.6.3), and also the variable, networked community of friendships between adolescents that exists beyond and between Quaker-time gatherings (7.3.3). I demonstrate that the Community of Intimacy is strictly bounded in terms of behaviour (7.5). I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group the Community of Intimacy is central in terms of forming both group and individual Quaker identity and that it provides the group with unity (7.7). I describe adolescent Quakers' perceptions of difference from other groups, both Quaker and non-Quaker, and analyse ways in which the group is separate and separates itself. I explore further adolescent Quaker identity, giving

consideration to the role of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in identity formation (7.7). I consider the adolescent Quaker group in relation to habitus (Bourdieu 1977) and lifestyles (Miles 2000) (7.7). I examine the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in relation to theories of social capital such as those of Pierre Bourdieu (1985, 1991) and Robert Putnam (2000), and of spiritual capital (Guest 2007).

I suggest that for the adolescent group there is a triple-culture, the three elements of which are: networked community, ritual (which includes the culture of contribution as a subcomponent), and narrative and behaviour. I argue (7.8) that the features of the triple-culture function together to create and sustain the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. I argue that the Community of Intimacy is a model for what the adolescent Quaker group looks like and that the triple culture represents the way in which the Community of Intimacy is formed and functions.

7.2 The Community of Intimacy

Figure 7.1 shows the core features of a Community of Intimacy. These features are:

- that group members feel a sense of belonging and affiliation to the group and a separateness from other similar groups within society;
- the group has some shared values, which can be contrasted with the values of other, similar groups;
- the group and its members in some way outwardly express their identity.

I suggest that this term is applicable to a variety of groups, however the way in which the various features are manifested, their inter-relationship and additional sub-features will differ for different groups.

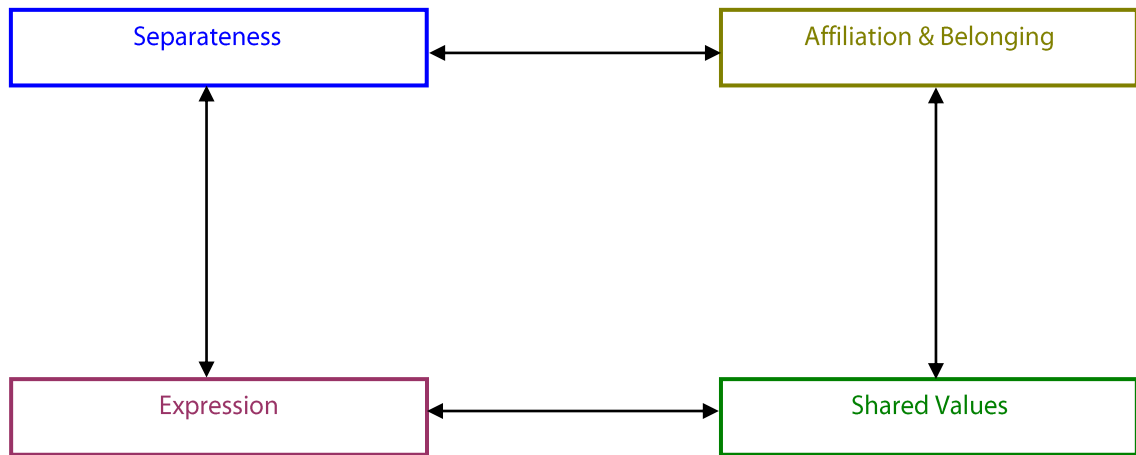


Figure 7.1: A Community of Intimacy

Figure 7.2 illustrates the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, its key features and their interrelationship. The features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy are:

- a strong sense of belonging to the group and interpersonal friendships that extend beyond occasions when the group meets;
- shared Quaker values and a plural and marginal belief.
- internal group rules which are influenced by shared values.
- expression in the ritual of group worship and external behaviour.

I argue that these features function in relation to each other in the operation of the Community of Intimacy which is formed by, and in turn impacts on, the relative importance of each of these features.

In the following sections I consider each feature of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in turn, starting with affiliation and belonging (7.3) I then examine shared values, including belief and internal group rules (7.4), outward expression through worship and internal and external behaviour (7.5). Finally I explore the feelings of difference and separateness experienced by the adolescent Quaker group (7.6).

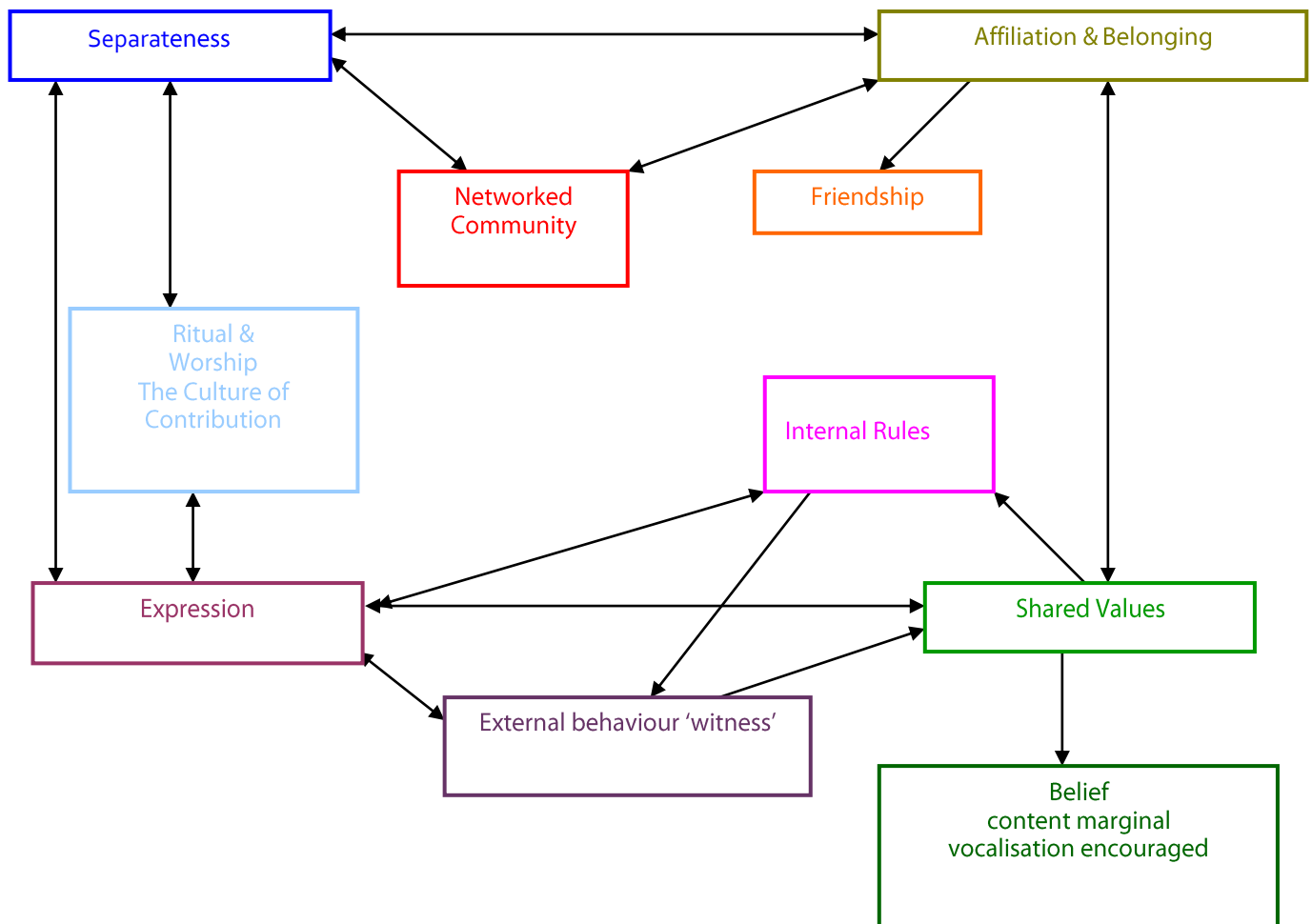


Figure 7.2: The Adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy

7.3. Affiliation & Belonging

In this section I consider together the feature of affiliation and belonging and the closely related features of friendship and the networked community which are closely interrelated and should be considered together. Through their participation in Quaker events and involvement in other Quaker activities individuals gain a feeling of belonging to the group. This is fostered by personal friendships formed at events, which enable adolescent Quakers to be linked to a network of friendships, to remain connected to this network and to continue to be part of the community outside Quaker-time.

7.3.1 Affiliation

Figure 7.3 shows the groups that individual adolescents feel most part of. The majority of adolescent Quakers (58.0%) affiliated most closely with an exclusively adolescent Quaker group (Regional Events⁴² 38.1 %, Junior Yearly Meeting 10.3% and Link Groups 9.6%), the second largest group (27.2%) said that the group they felt most part of was their local Quaker meeting, while only 3.3% felt most part of their area meeting. A small number of adolescents affiliated most closely with Britain Yearly Meeting, although since they would have experienced this through their participation in the separate programme for young people I argue that this could be thought of as affiliating with an exclusively adolescent group. 3.6% identified other Quaker groups⁴³ and 4.3% stated that they didn't feel part of any group of Quakers.

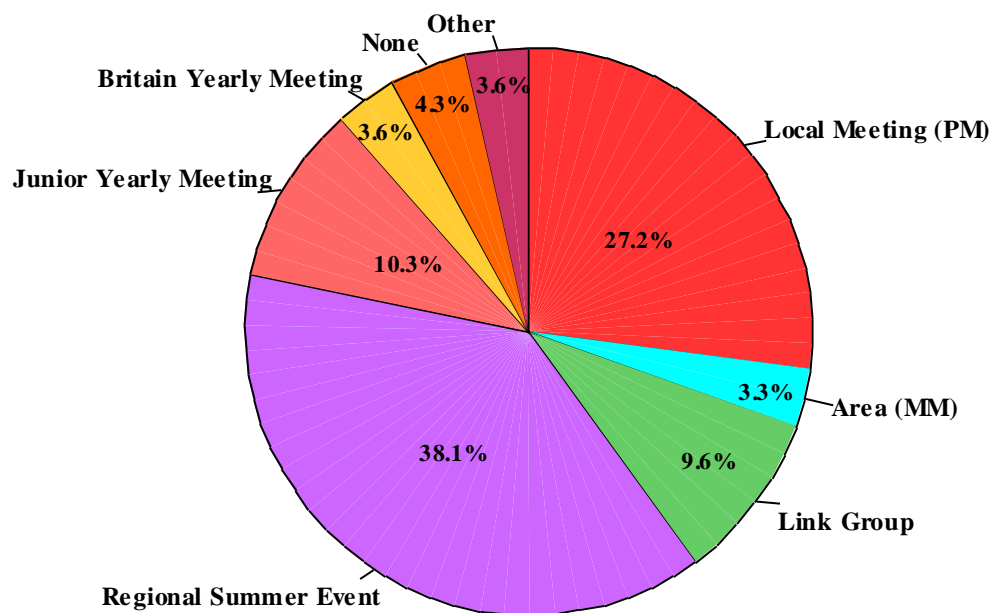


Figure 7.3 Which Quaker group do you most feel part of? (n=306)

⁴² Regional residential events for young Friends often divided according to General Meeting, boundaries. These are usually a week long and occasionally divided by age. Typically between 80 and 100 young people attend. There are a number of such events in different areas of Britain Yearly Meeting with different names such as 'Holiday School', 'Senior Conference', 'Summer School'.

⁴³ Other groups mentioned were: Quaker camp (1.6%), Quaker School (1.0%), Friendlink (see 7.3.3 below) (0.3%). Two people (0.7%) stated that they couldn't make one choice as 'they are all special in their own way' (Male, 17; YQQ).

People examine themselves as reflected in others and construct themselves in relationship to others (Gilligan quoted in Erricker 2001:202). Adolescent Quakers involvement in Quaker events for young people (3.2), suggests that their formational relationships with others take place within exclusively adolescent groups.

7.3.2 Friendship

Within the Quaker group as a whole personal friendships act to secure unity and function as a dimension of religious identity (Dandelion 1996:311). 66.3% of YQQ respondents stated that they had either a lot or some Quaker friends of their own age. 91.7% of those who had Quaker friends of their own age⁴⁴ stated that these were close friendships. Despite not meeting frequently, adolescents are often closer to their Quaker friends than others:

closer than all school friends (Male, 14; QEQ)

we don't see each other often but every time we do meet, it's like we've never been parted
(Female 18; QEQ)

I argue that friends and friendships are also key in forming the unity of the adolescent Quaker group.

38.5% (QEQ) stated that they enjoyed going to Quaker events for young people to see old friends and make new ones, and 84.6% (QEQ) stated that they had gained friendships from going to Quaker events. Adolescent respondents identified the importance to them of the opportunity to meet and develop friendships with:

like-minded people (Female, 18; QEQ).

⁴⁴ 75.6% of total respondents

A crucial factor is that these friendships are with other adolescent Quakers, reflected by the fact that 69% of QEQ respondents mentioned either making new friends or seeing old friends or meeting other Young Quakers as something they enjoyed about Quaker events for young people:

I've made a lot of very good friends (Female, 15; QEQ).

A key factor in forming friendships is 'proximity' which may lead to regular contact or exposure to the other person (Erwin 1998:92). Amongst adolescents 'friends...are likely to go to the same class in the same school in the same neighbourhood' (Erwin 1998:75). In contrast to this adolescent Quakers' friendships are spread over a wide geographical distance:

I've gained lots more contacts all over England (Male, 15; QEQ).

However Erwin argues that 'functional proximity' or accessibility⁴⁵ (Erwin 1998:93) may be more significant than geographical distance. There is also evidence that friendships are more frequently formed between individuals from similar social backgrounds (Giordano 2003:260, Erwin 1998:73). The Quaker demographic is largely middle-class (Collins 2002a:156) and educated, with 59.6% of the adult Quaker group having a university degree or higher qualification (Rutherford 2003).

The middle class is more geographically mobile and has more widely spread 'circles of sociability' than working class populations (Allan 1989:137). Middle-class sociability depends on establishing contacts through 'participation in leisure organisations' and developing these in a way that 'celebrates personal commitment above circumstances' (Allan 1989:138).

⁴⁵ Functional proximity or accessibility refers to how easy it is for people to meet, covering a range of factors, and the form meetings may take.

People who are regarded as close friends may not, in fact, be interacted with at all frequently ... because of the solidarity and trust that has been generated over time, they remain close friends, but, because of circumstances, actually spend little time socialising together' (Allan 1989:19).

Giordano states that some relationships in adolescence are especially important because 'they provide a kind of safety zone – an arena of comfort' (Giordano 2003:261) Given the separate space in which the adolescent Quaker group operates (6.6) I argue that for many adolescent Quakers their friendships with other adolescent Quakers provides this arena of comfort.

Quaker events for young people enable adolescents to gather and make connections with other adolescents, to develop friendships and create networks. I argue that because of the small numbers of adolescent Quakers, and the atmosphere of acceptance that is fostered at Quaker events for young people, once adolescent Quakers establish contacts they develop these friendships as they provide social support especially relating to issues of personal or social identity (Erwin 1998:8). The similarity they experience with other adolescent Quakers is amplified despite the geographical distance between individuals.

7.3.3 The Networked Community

At Quaker events for young people the 'sense of community' is often highlighted:

We found confidence in each other's company, and were able to build a close community in this short time (Junior Yearly Meeting Epistle 2003).

This is not restricted to events, but young Quakers form what can be described as a continuing community:

JYM doesn't end, it goes on in all of us (Female, 17; Field Notes 17/4/2003).

For the current generation of adolescents, in place of geographically-based communities, there has been a rise of 'communities of interest' that are built around people's hobbies or pastimes and are increasingly facilitated by new media (Salvation Army 2001:60). Pahl states that 'modern technology in the form of telephone and email helps people to nurture friendships' (2000:172). Internet chatrooms, discussion boards and social networking⁴⁶ websites are a popular form of alternative community with adolescent Quakers as with other teenagers (Salvation Army 2001:60). There is an internet discussion board for adolescent Quakers which is a members-only forum where anyone wishing to join must be vouched for by an existing member before they can participate in discussions. As of April 2008 there were approximately 17 groups for British adolescent Quakers on the Facebook social networking website (www.facebook.com).

Most of us have got MSN⁴⁷ now so most of us talk quite frequently anyway – or we get in touch by phone or letter or something (Male, 16; Field Notes, 13/12/2003).

I argue that given the geographical dispersal of adolescent Quakers these forms of communication maintain friendships and provide support to each other. Continued contact through these media reflects the existence of a networked community that extends and sustains the Community of Intimacy between Quaker events and outside Quaker-time.

7.4. Shared Values

⁴⁶ Social networking sites are websites that create online communities, enabling users to create profiles and connect with others they know or have interests in common. Examples include www.facebook.com, www.myspace.com and www.bebo.com.

⁴⁷ MSN, sometimes referred to by the name 'Messenger' is an online instant messaging programme. This allows individuals connected to the internet to have conversations in real-time. People can have simultaneous conversations with several people at the same time, or have three-way (or more) conversations and use webcams.

The shared values of the adolescent Quaker community include both religious belief and also values which can be seen as forming a moral or ethical code. Adolescent Quakers' shared values influence the rules that operate within the group and Quaker-time, and find expression in individuals' behaviour outside the group. Given this, I suggest that the shared values that provide a basis for external behaviour and internal rules are similar, but that there is individual interpretation, as expressed in external behaviour, of some values.

7.4.1 Belief

I argue above that there is no unified theology within the adolescent Quaker group (4.6), and that belief in God is not a necessary feature of being a Quaker (4.2). Although, as Dandelion states, it would be misleading to say that Quakers don't hold beliefs in common (1996:120), if the term 'belief' is used to refer to Quaker theological belief content or faith content (Dandelion 1996:110) then this is marginal for the adolescent Quaker group. In terms of the functioning of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, belief operates at the periphery to the extent that plurality and multiplicity of belief stories do not undermine the unity of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

I argue further that the popular orthodoxy of the adolescent Quaker group is one where belief in God is non-definitional and non-essential (4.2); God is described in unconventional abstract terms (4.3). Jesus is not seen as divine or unique, and while his teaching and example may be significant for some, the majority of the adolescent Quaker group do not regard Jesus as an important figure in their spiritual lives (4.4). Prayer is not common and when it occurs it is not prayer to God but rather meditation or contemplation (3.3.4). Given this, it appears that the popular religion of this group has moved beyond that of the post-Christian or post-Quaker-Christian popular religion of the adult group (Dandelion 1996:178) and I suggest that it is appropriate to describe the popular religion of the group as non-Christian.

7.4.2 Quaker values

Because belief for this group is marginal (5.2.4, 5.5) I argue that rather than identifying with particular belief items as defining their Quaker identity, adolescent Quakers identify with particular Quaker values, such as pacifism, equality and tolerance (4.8). Adolescent Quakers exhibit their Quaker identity in part through the identification with and assimilation of these core values into their daily lives. Belief has importance for this group in so far as it is a basis for these values. The ways in which adolescents consider that being a Quaker makes a difference to how they live their lives are analysed above (4.8); this indicates a pluralisation of values and an individualisation of the behaviour that is a manifestation of these values.

7.4.3 Group Rules

I describe above (6.2) the formal rules and informal norms of behaviour that operate within the adolescent Quaker group to moderate behaviour during Quaker-time. Both formal and informal rules are justified with reference to Quaker values and are aimed at ensuring the maintenance of the community. Dandelion states that the rules on Quaker form are accepted as legitimate by the adult Quaker group en masse (1996:104). Similarly, I suggest that the adolescent Quaker group accepts rules which are aimed at maintaining the Community of Intimacy. I suggest that in the adolescent Quaker group the final authority for acceptability of behaviour rests with the group, and that the group locates itself in a physical (during Quaker-time) and a psychological (beyond Quaker-time) space that is seen to be or felt to be separate from and different to the world which surrounds it.

7.4.4 Quaker Ethics and the Community of Intimacy

I explore above the values of adolescent Quakers (4.8). Collins states that expression of a moral or ethical code is:

a form of self-understanding in which an individual is able to say 'that's how I feel' or even 'that's how I am' It is a matter of seeing the world from the standpoint of the work which [in the Quaker context] might be a meeting house, the act of worship or a peace vigil. (2001:125)

According to Collins, 'works' are a metonym for the world, that is, they are representations that we ourselves create in order to make sense of the world (2001:125). Works, such as a Meeting House and the book of discipline are 'expressions of a way of seeing the world and of living in it with which all Quakers are familiar and which prompt them to perceive and act in the world in a particular way' (Collins 2001:126). I argue that in the context of adolescent Quakerism, the Community of Intimacy as manifested at Quaker events for young people, can be seen as the 'work'. These events represent an expression of seeing the world in a particular way and prompt adolescent Quakers to behave in certain ways, both within and beyond the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Just as, for Collins, the Meeting for Worship 'recreates and expresses a world characterized by the aesthetic and moral values represented by the Quaker tradition' (Collins 2001:125), so too do Quaker events for young people. Thus I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is the most influential exemplar for adolescent Quakers, and that through formal and informal behavioural norms it provides an example of how to live in the world.

7.5 Expression

In this section I consider the ways in which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is expressed by the group and its members. I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is expressed visibly through adolescent Quaker ritual and worship and through

the behaviour within the group and in Quaker-time, through individual behaviour outside the group and Quaker-time.

7.5.1 Behaviour within the Group

In Section 6.2 I describe the formal rules and informal norms that govern behaviour within the adolescent Quaker group. Dandelion argues that within the Quaker group the 'conformity of collective practice is in direct contradiction to the diversity of individual theological belief' (1996:107). The attitude of the adolescent Quaker group towards belief (4.7) and the private interpretation of shared values is permissive of plurality (4.8).

Although the group rules are legally and morally liberal (6.2.1), there is a high level of internal discipline and the adolescent group is conservative and conformist in terms of behaviour during Quaker-time. I argue that because formal rules and informal norms are justified in terms of maintaining the community (6.2.1) these rules and norms reflect shared values, and the individual and corporate behaviour that results from them is an expression of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

7.5.2 Behaviour outside the group

Similarly, the behaviour of individuals outside the group is both reflective of shared values and an expression of the adolescent Quaker Community of intimacy as a result of the process of modelling described above (6.2.3). Through this process adolescent Quakers' behaviour in their 'private' lives outside Quaker-time is influenced by the rules that govern the group during Quaker-time because of a desire to recreate the positive experience and continue the sense of belonging and connection with the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy:

We go back to our lives with renewed enthusiasm and passion for living out the Quaker testimonies which are so important to us. (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 54 Minute of the 17 and 18 year olds group).

Although the group has little authority over the behaviour of members when outside the group and few demands are placed on members in terms of outward witness to Quaker values I suggest that there is an optional influence on individuals' external behaviour, especially relating to non-violence, tolerance and acceptance, and equality.

Chambers describes the Quaker ability to hold a tension between retaining a meaningful standard without a loss of inclusivity of behavioural diversity (Chambers 2008:103). I suggest that this is reflected within the adolescent Quaker group where the basis for rules is the preservation and strengthening of the community. Although the interpretation of testimony in the adult Quaker group is 'negotiated individually outside Quaker space and time' (Chambers 2008:103) in the case of the adolescent Quaker group these negotiations are informed by the values and behavioural norms that have been discussed and modelled, in Quaker-time.

The operation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy which extends beyond formal Quaker-time increases the influence of modelling. Adolescent Quakers remain connected outside formal Quaker-time and there is greater knowledge and greater discussion within the group of individuals' private lives, for example in conversations and communications between individual adolescent Quakers, in what can be described as 'quasi Quaker-time'. This continuing contact with the networked community ensures that the influence and example set through behavioural rules in the group is reinforced in informal ways. Behaviour is critical to the way in which the group operates, and whilst demands made on individuals in terms of their behaviour outside Quaker-time are low, those made on individuals within the Community of Intimacy are, in contrast, demanding in terms of the sacrifice of personal liberties to support the behavioural norms of the group.

Within the adolescent Quaker group, loyalty to the community is used as the primary justification for having both formal, stated boundaries and unspoken rules of group behaviour. Given this, I suggest that in terms of the group's rules and norms, the justificatory reasons and the nature of sanctions for transgressions, the authority is held by the community; and the group should therefore be thought of as corporate. Stewart argues that 'youth by and large are a conformist group' and states that:

Many youth are conforming rather easily to the tastes and values of their contemporaries and trading their souls for the pottage of acceptance, easy friendship and an anonymous protective coloration with the crowd (1967:292).

Engebretson argues that young people 'while they are political, their politics are focused on specific issues ... they are motivated for particular causes but will not radically challenge the system' (2002:60). It is my contention that the politics of adolescent Quakers would not fit this description, but may exhibit a radical challenge to the system in which they are particularly located (e.g. school, home, peer-group) as well as society in general (5.4.2). I argue that while the adolescent Quaker group's internal rules can be seen as conservative and corporate (6.2), in terms of values which influence external behaviour (6.3) the group is non-conformist. I argue above that there is a high level of non-conformity from society amongst adolescent Quakers, a result of their Quaker beliefs and values. Thus I argue that the adolescent Quaker group can most accurately be described as 'corporate non-conformist'.

7.5.3 Ritual

The adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is also visibly expressed through the group ritual. This ritual includes both communal worship, in a variety of forms, and other Quaker-time activities. As described above adolescent Quaker worship includes programmed and semi-programmed, as well as unprogrammed worship (3.3, 6.3). I suggest above (6.5), that

communal worship is key for adolescent Quakers in connecting individuals and forming a community:

The silence has a unique ability to form bonds between people. A really deep meeting can form bonds that last a lifetime. (Female, 16; YQQ)

I feel the presence of what may be called God and all the people in the room. (Female, 13; YQQ)

I argue that the form, ritual and context of communal worship as described above (3.3, 6.4) serves to bind individual adolescent Quakers together in a collective intimacy of the community. Through ritual, the adolescent group maintains cohesion and integration (Dandelion 2005:121) but this ritual occurs primarily at Quaker events for young people and is separate from that of adults and set apart from the world (6.5, 8.8.5.2 b).

If you go away to a Quaker event you get Meeting for Worship there and it's different again. – it's more like epilogue than normal Meeting for Worship but it's not quite like epilogue – its kinda in between (Female, 17; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Connections ... like silent connections like everyone in the room is silently connected. (Female, 16; Interview, 20/9/03).

The worship which held JYM together ... was the basis of everything and was really deep. (Gulliver 2004).

Given this, I suggest that it is through participation in ritual that individuals are initiated into the community, and thus transformed. I argue above that the adolescent Quaker group has a high level of internal integration (6.6). This is similar to early Friends who were 'knit together... in the unity of the spirit' (Gwyn 1995:108).

I argue above that the 'Culture of Contribution' (6.3) is a consequence of the form of adolescent worship; further to this I suggest that this 'Culture of Contribution' impacts on the outward expression of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Adolescent

Quakers are familiar with worship where silence is the basis but not dominant, and they have wide opportunities and encouragement to share individual beliefs both during worship and outside worship but during Quaker-time; this means that, within the Community of Intimacy, although the content of individual belief stories is marginalised their vocalisation is encouraged.

Dandelion states that amongst the liberal-Liberal Quaker group 'for some, the intimacy is no longer with God but with self and community' (2005:125); this claim is reinforced by the fact that in the 2003 survey 97.7% of adults state that they think of Meeting for Worship as a group or community activity and 95.1% state that the community or corporate aspect of Meeting is important to them (Rutherford 2003). Similarly, I describe above the importance for adolescent Quakers of worshipping together with other adolescents (3.3.5, 6.5). Only 8.2% of adolescents identified themselves as worshipping God during Meeting for Worship (3.3.2 e). Given this, I argue that just as in the secularised adult Quaker group where the silence itself is revered (Dandelion 2005:124) adolescent Quakers' reverence is for the community, and that adolescent Quakers, rather than worshipping God, worship both the reality and the ideal of the community.

Dandelion argues that liberal-Liberal Quakers seek to 'maintain cohesion and integration' through ritual (Dandelion 2005:121). I suggest that the same is the case for adolescent Quakers. However, whilst the adult Quaker group maintains integration by concealing diversity, of theology and theology of worship, by means of the culture of silence (6.4.2), the adolescent group maintains cohesion through the creation of a separate space (6.6) that reflects an ideal social order and the transformation of individuals to being members of the community. Ritual is used both to create and sustain community and is also a visible embodiment (6.4.4) of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

7.6 Difference and Separateness

In this section I examine and describe the separateness of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy which, I argue below, is a result of differences described above (5.4) as well as of shared identity (5.5).

7.6.1 Perceptions of Difference

Factors of difference, such as behaviour and appearance, are shared by the Quaker group and affirmed, or at least accepted by the group; these factors are explained in detail above (5.4). In particular I argue that the behaviour of adolescent Quakers, both within and outside the group, represents the manifestation of a particular set of values (7.5.1 & 7.5.2). Adolescent Quakers identify these Quaker values as marking them out as different or 'alternative' from their non-Quaker peers:

At Quaker events I can find other young people with similar views to mine rather than always being the odd one out (Male, 16; Interview, 13/12/2003).

7.6.2 Separateness

The adolescent Quaker group marks its separateness in two ways. Firstly the group's perception of difference between itself and what lies outside the group as described above (5.4.2) and secondly the creation of a separate physical and psychological space in which the group exists. I describe above (5.4) how adolescent Quakers perceive themselves as different through their Quaker identity, values and behaviour and their involvement in Quaker events for young people. This is a two-fold difference:

We're different from Quakers because we're young and different from young people because we're Quakers (Female, 17; Interview 5/12/2003)

This perception of difference serves to create a sense of separation between adolescent Quakers and others, both adult Quakers and other young people.

I argue above (6.4, 6.5) that adolescent Quaker worship is a transformative ritual. In the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, particularly at Quaker events for young people, adolescent Quakers experience a temporary existence in an 'alternate social and theological ordering' (Dandelion 2005:122) which operates according to rules which emphasise the primacy of the community, rather than morality or legality (6.2.1) and which is qualitatively different to the rest of their lives. I argue that the ongoing friendships (7.3.2) which sustain the community, maintain individuals' sense of belonging to the community (7.3.3), provide influence through the process of modelling (6.3.2 and 7.5.2), and increase the level of adolescent Quakers perception of difference and separateness.

Individuals' involvement in Quaker activities represents an outward expression of belonging to the adolescent Quaker group and a positioning of the self in a space which is separate from other parts of their lives and the world. These activities are also often separated from those of the adult Quaker group, both through choice (of adolescents and of adults) and circumstance. Adolescent Quakers meet at different times and in different places from the adult Quaker group. Even at large, all-age, residential gatherings there are areas which are considered to be 'the under 19s⁴⁸ areas' (Field Notes 30/7/2005) and access for adults is restricted in part to maintain the separate community of the adolescent group (Field notes 16/4/2009). Although in part this is for practical reasons it serves to create a physical distance between groups. Given this I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy represents the creation of a separate physical and psychological space in which the adolescent Quaker group operates, and which is instrumental in the felt differences of adolescent Quakers.

48 The term under 19s primarily refers to children and young people during the event of Yearly Meeting, once in every four years this event happens residentially over a week.

7.7 Group Identity

I outline above (5.5) a model for the formation of individual adolescent Quaker identity, including the role of narrative in this process. In this section I explore further adolescent Quaker identity giving consideration to the role of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in identity formation within the group. I also consider the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the concepts of habitus (Bourdieu 1977) and lifestyles (Miles 2000).

7.7.1 Identity and the Adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy

Through their involvement in Quaker activities, particularly the transformative ritual of corporate adolescent worship, participants identify themselves as belonging to the adolescent Quaker group (5.2.7, 5.4.4). Adolescents indicate that through their involvement in Quaker events and the adolescent Quaker group they meet people with whom they have something in common in contrast to acquaintances outside the adolescent Quaker group. I argue that this represents a low level of affiliation to and unity with the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. I suggest above (5.2.7) that the greater the extent of an individual's involvement the more likely they are to identify as Quakers and to affiliate themselves with the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, i.e. an exclusively adolescent Quaker group (7.3.1). These adolescents have, I argue, a greater degree of unity with the group and a greater feeling of separateness between themselves and those outside the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. They are more likely to have close friendships with other adolescent Quakers, maintaining and further strengthening the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, extending 'Quaker time' and creating 'quasi-Quaker time'. Increased involvement and the resulting increased exposure to the group's norms increases the degree to which the group's norms and values influence individual behaviour. This is further increased through carrying the group's behavioural norms into their non-Quaker lives through the process of modelling (6.3.2). The increased level of counter-cultural behaviour exhibited through their

expression of internal group rules in behaviour outside Quaker-time in turn increases the extent to which an individual's narratives (5.6), including those that relate to occurrences outside the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, will be primarily and explicitly Quaker.

Figure 7.4 below shows a model to illustrate how individuals' Quaker identity is strengthened as a result of an increasing level of involvement in the Community of Intimacy.

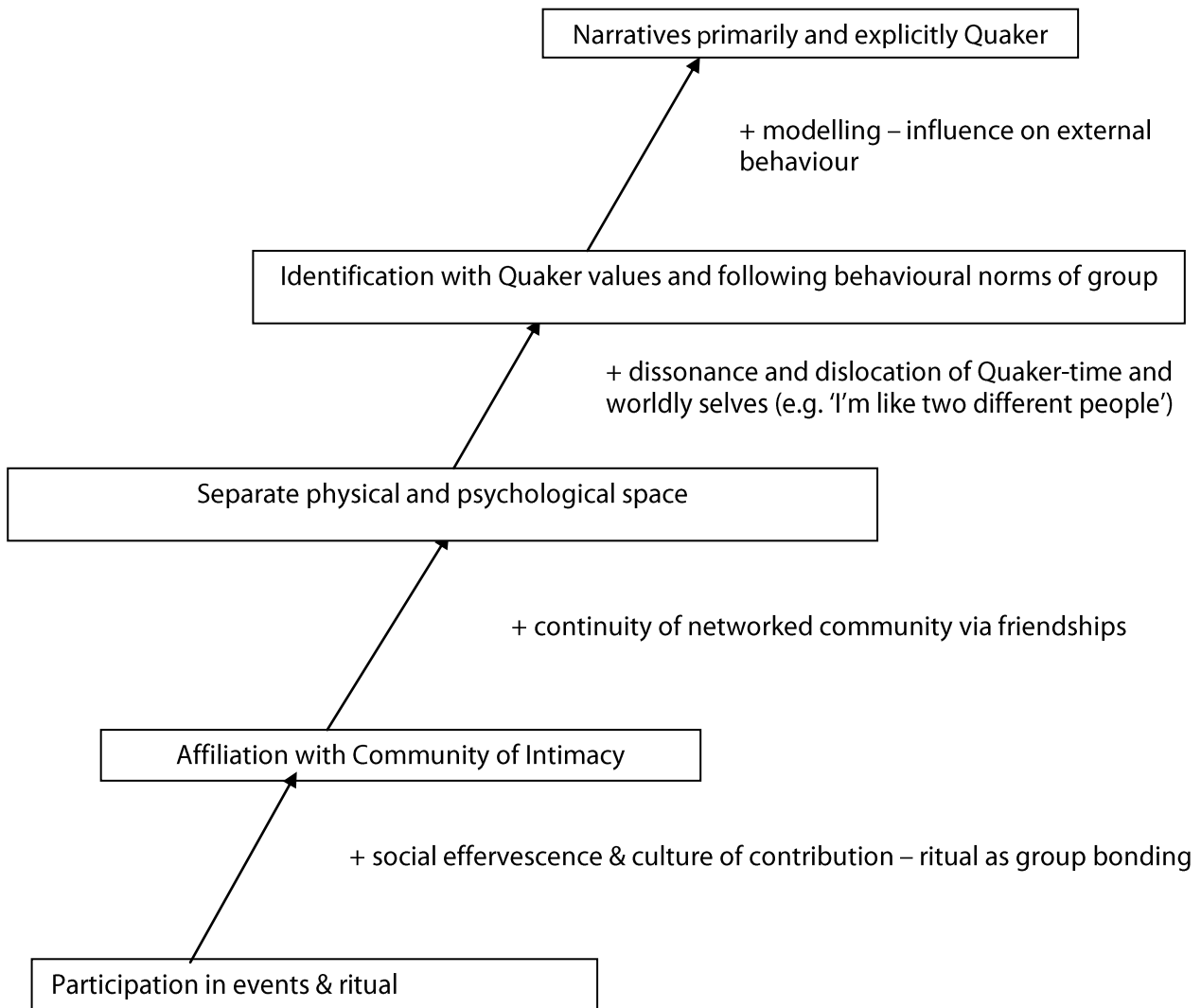


Figure 7.4: The formation and sustaining of identity through the Adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy

7.7.2 Habitus and the adolescent Quaker community of intimacy

The concept of habitus, originally developed by Pierre Bourdieu, is defined as ‘a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions’ (Bourdieu 1977:82–3). The habitus is ‘a set of embodied dispositions, a propensity to do things in certain ways in particular contexts’ (Collins 2002:149). It is through an individual’s interactions with others in various contexts that the dispositions of the group become imprinted on that individual’s habitus (Shepherd 2008:2). Peter Collins (2002a, 2004) has used Bourdieu’s

concept of 'habitus' as a theoretical framework within which to interpret Liberal Quakerism and draws on the concept to illustrate how Quaker identity is formed and sustained.

Collins argues that the Quaker meeting can be thought of as a 'habitus' (Collins 2002a:148-149) that is manifested in 'the formal and institutionalised manner of worshipping and conducting business... in the interests of Friends, in canonic texts and in the environment of the meeting house.' (Collins 2002a:150). Collins suggests that individual Quaker identities are formed within this habitus which consists of 'a set of dispositions that is both caught and taught through interaction with others' (Collins 2002a:158). Individual and shared Quaker identity is formed, in part at least, through a shared narrative which ties together individuals' own narratives (5.6) and 'involvement in the Quaker meeting may exert a unifying influence' (Collins 2002a:158). In the Quaker context, then, habitus is the 'place', or more accurately, the 'space', in which an individual's Quaker identity is formed and expressed. Just as Collins states that the Quaker meeting is something that is obviously 'done' (2002a: 148), i.e. that it is part of adult Quaker practice so Quaker events for young people are part of adolescent Quaker practice. Given the high level of importance that adolescents place on their involvement in Quaker events for young people and their affiliation with exclusively adolescent groups, I argue that for adolescent Quakers it is the physical space at these events and the psychological space of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy which is the habitus where individual adolescents' Quaker identity is formed.

Young Quaker events have really enabled me to become my own person and also a Quaker (Female, 17; QEQ).

Individual identity is therefore affirmed both through sharing values with other individuals and through the acceptance of the individual by the group.

7.7.3 Lifestyles and identity formation

In a similar way to habitus, 'lifestyles' (Miles 2000) are a social structure through which people form and express identity. By choosing to associate with others, engage in certain practices and express certain beliefs, adolescents structure lifestyles that enable them to construct an identity position (Shepherd 2008:1). Miles states that it is 'through the habitus that a [person] constructs an awareness of [their] position within different societal and cultural systems... and it is through this cultural identity that an individual develops individual values, style, cultural taste and hence lifestyle' (Miles 2000:25). Shepherd states that for adolescent Christians, groups, events and associated media represent 'shared cultural practices and ones that shape interaction in the wider world' and enable these adolescents to live a lifestyle' (Shepherd 2008:3). Similarly I argue that by participating in Quaker activities, affiliating with adolescent Quaker groups, adopting Quaker values and behaving in ways which express these values, adolescent Quakers structure a lifestyle that enables them to construct their Quaker identity. It is important to note that a particular lifestyle does not represent an individual's total identity (Miles 2000:25-27) and an individual adolescent can therefore be part of more than one lifestyle. Just as the identity of young Christians is highly influenced by participation in the subculture of Christian youth ministry (Ward 1996) so too, the identity of adolescent Quakers is influenced by their participation in the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy which represents an alternative social ordering.

Giddens states that identity formation is a reflexive project that individuals continuously work and reflect on and that an individual's 'identity is not to be found in behaviour... but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going' and being able to 'integrate events which occur in the external world' (Giddens 1991: 54) into this story of the self. Shepherd

argues that the trait of reflexivity is a necessary habit of modern life and individuals adopt this way of being into their habitus, thereby creating a reflexive habitus (Shepherd 2008:2).

Key to Bourdieu's theory of habitus is the idea of different fields of practice. These fields are the contexts in which the dispositions that form the habitus are enacted. Crossing between fields can generate awareness of dispositions that a person has incorporated into their habitus and is enacting (MacNay 1999). As individuals move between unequally aligned fields there may be a 'lack of fit' (Shepherd 2008:2) which results in a re-orientation of their habitus and which represents a mark of reflexivity within the habitus (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:131).

Shepherd argues that in the Christian church childhood socialisation has contributed to what he describes as a 'habitus of faith' (2008:4); he also identifies the importance of Christian youth groups in the socialisation of adolescent Christians: 'these young people are able to recognise and hold a faith that they strongly feel is theirs... maintaining this is in some way dependent on participating in the group' (Shepherd 2008:6). Shepherd states that a reflexive faith habitus is encouraged by participation in youth groups which have a culture of being a place where questions can be asked and problems discussed (Shepherd 2008:5). This also enables adolescents to engage with their own narrative (Shepherd 2008:4). Similarly, I contend that it is through participation in Quaker events for young people, with their culture of contribution and belonging to the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, that some adolescent Quakers are able to engage with their narrative and develop a reflexive faith habitus.

Late-modern society is characterised by a 'plural cultural context' (Shepherd 2008:8); within this context selves are multiple (or fractured) because the fields of individual experience are increasingly multiple and separate (Collins 2002a:152). Collins argues that

the various fields that individuals inhabit may be more or less conjoined through narratives that that groups create together (2002a:152), that there is no apparent hiatus as individuals move between fields, and that habitus and narrative always go hand in hand (2002a:159).

Shepherd argues that ‘as young people traverse the differing aspects of their social world they do so with the faith habitus reproduced by participation in church and youth ministry embodied in their person (2008:7). Shepherd highlights the possibility of adolescents experiencing a ‘crisis of field crossing’ when they move between the faith group and other areas of life such as school. I suggest that adolescent Quakers undergo a similar crisis when faced with the ‘usual world of young people which [is] hard, competitive, unsafe, bitchy’ (Pearmain 2005:283). This is similar to the Christian group studied by Shepherd which provides ‘a pattern of practices that enable young people to structure a lifestyle around their faith which enables a reflexivity to be able to negotiate the negative connotations and direct pressure’ (Shepherd 2008:4). The supportive, networked community of the adolescent Quaker group succeeds in enabling many adolescents to cope with being a Quaker in a world where:

people at school think religion and God are stupid (Male, 14; Interview, 13/12/2003).

However some adolescent Quakers cope with this crisis by ‘hiding’ their Quakerism and altering how they express and present themselves in non-Quaker contexts:

sometimes if I meet up with Quaker people ... so as not to make things complicated I say [to school friends] that I went out with my girlfriend (Male, 15; Field Notes, 4/2/2004).

I suggest that this is not necessarily the case for adolescents Quakers who have not fully assimilated the adolescent Quaker habitus and their own personal narrative and that these individuals may experience fractured selves:

I'm like two different people when I'm with my friends and with Quakers (Female, 16; Interview, 14/12/03)

I cannot add my Quaker life to my school life as they are incomparable (Male, 15; QEQ).

These responses indicate that for some adolescents the transformation that occurs may be temporary. When participating in ritual at Quaker events they cross a threshold (6.4.5); they become adept at playing roles and may even have multiple identities to reflect the fact that they are part of more than one lifestyle. When they leave the 'Quaker bubble' (Latimer and McConnell 2009) they re-cross the threshold and leave the faith habitus behind.

Within a Christian context youth ministry represents a space within the faith community where a slightly different habitus, which is engendered by 'different stylistic practices of worship and communal interaction' (Shepherd 2008:4), might emerge. Similarly the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and the way the adolescent Quaker group operates at Quaker events represent a different habitus for adolescent Quakers.

Significantly, Shepherd identifies an expectation amongst adolescent Christians to undergo baptism or confirmation (Shepherd 2008:4) and thus adopt dispositions of the adult group, or at least ones which are recognised by the adult group. There is no equivalent expectation for adolescent Quakers to become members or undergo any alternative rite of passage. The adult and adolescent Quaker groups remain separated in a number of ways as described below (8.5) and the connection for adolescent Quakers is with the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy rather than the Quaker group as a whole, as is indicated by individuals' affiliation with exclusively adolescent Quaker groups (7.3.1)

For the adolescent group, belief operates at the periphery to the extent that the multiplicity of belief stories does not undermine the unity of the group. Although belief is marginal, the culture of contribution which is a consequence of the form of adolescent Quaker ritual, leads to greater vocalisation of individual belief stories. The individualisation and non-definitional status of belief places greater weight on ritual and behaviour, which are critical to the operation of the Community of Intimacy.

I argue above that for the adolescent Quaker group the community is the focus of both ritual (6.5, 7.5.3) and behaviour (7.5.1, 7.5.2). The community provides the justification for behavioural rules and norms (7.4.4) and I argue that adolescent Quaker experiences of worship already display the demise of any sense of intimacy with God and instead reflect an intimacy with the community (7.5.3). Given this, I conclude that just as for the adult Quaker group there is a creedal attitude to form and practice (Dandelion 1996:123), so adolescent Quakers have a creedal attitude towards the Community of Intimacy. It is the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, its features, their interrelationship and individuals affiliating with it, that is definitional of adolescent Quaker identity.

7.8 Capital and the Adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy

In this section I examine the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in relation to theories of social capital such as those of Pierre Bourdieu (1985, 1991) and Robert Putnam (2000) and spiritual capital (Guest 2007).

7.8.1 Social Capital

Social Capital was first developed as a term by Pierre Bourdieu who defines it as the resources linked to a 'durable network' of relationships (Bourdieu 1985:248) which are a

means to an end, often material gain (Guest 2007:184). In broader terms, social capital can be thought of as 'the ways in which our lives are made more productive by social ties' (Putnam 2000:19). Robert Putnam refers to 'connections among individuals' and holds that 'social networks have value' for these individuals (2000:19). Many of these connections are based around common norms, values, trust and reciprocity (Weller 2006:558). Given the characteristics of the adolescent Quaker community identified above (7.2), together with group values of tolerance, acceptance and inclusion (4.8, 6.2.1, 6.2.3) and the function of the Culture of Contribution which serves to increase trust (6.3.3), I suggest that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy has value for adolescent Quakers and increases their social capital. This argument is supported by Pearmain, who identified it in terms of participation in Quaker events for young people, which are the physical manifestation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Pearmain states that participants benefited from a 'greater circle of friends than school friends that could serve as a refuge from other school related groups' (Pearmain 2005:284). Given this I argue that the lives of adolescent Quakers are made more productive, in that they gain social capital from the relationships, both individual and group, that they form as a result of being part of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and from participating in Quaker events for young people. Following Bourdieu and Putnam I argue that adolescent Quakers gain as a result of being part of the social networks created by the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

Putnam draws a distinction between 'bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive)' social capital (2000:22). Bonding social capital builds up connections between members of a group and strengthens social cohesion (Putnam 2000:185) while bridging social capital links individuals within different social groups. As with other examples of bonding social capital, these events, and the networks of contacts and friendships that result from them, provide adolescent Quakers with 'crucial social and psychological support' (Putnam 2000:22). I suggest that adolescent Quakers develop bonding social capital through the

increased connections and closer relationships that they gain by being part of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy; and as such acts as a form of 'sociological superglue' (Putnam 2000:23). The adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is connected with a particular Quaker lifestyle and adolescent Quakers identify themselves as having a distinct Quaker identity which is separate from adult Quaker identity (7.6.2). Given this I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy represents social capital which is 'inward looking and tends to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups.' (Putnam 2000:22). It reinforces the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and turns the group in on itself. Weller (2006) identifies the possibility of bridging social capital between adolescent groups and adults. However I argue that in the Quaker group this is limited because of the differences adolescents identify between themselves and adult Quakers and the different ways in which the adult and adolescent groups operate and interrelate (8.5). I contend that the adult and adolescent Quaker groups represent different fields and that adolescents crossing into the field of the adult Quaker group with an adolescent Quaker identity or a faith habitus reproduced by participation in the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy may experience a crisis of field crossing. Adolescents appear more able and more willing to 'bridge' with adults who field-cross into their arena:

[I dislike] people at my local meeting who do not let us express our views as well those adults at JYM (Female, 17; YQQ).

7.8.2 Spiritual Capital

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social capital situates actors and their actions in the context of 'fields' which are domains of social life. (Calhoun 2002:263). The religious field is 'the complete system of positions between religious agents, their objective competitive relations or their transactions' (Dianteill 2003:532). The religious field is 'relatively autonomous and characterised by the production, reproduction and diffusion of religious goods and services' (Dianteill 2003:536). In the religious field, therefore, individuals

accumulate what can be referred to as 'spiritual resources'. I argue that in addition to social capital adolescent Quakers accumulate spiritual resources from participation in Quaker events for young people, as the physical manifestation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Following Bourdieu, Guest (2007) has developed the concept of 'spiritual capital' in relation to the children of Church of England clergy, to represent resources bequeathed to children by upbringing and mobilized in a way that shapes beliefs and identities' (Guest 2007:192-193). While this has a narrow application in Guest's work, he presents religious or spiritual capital as subject to collective boundaries, but states that religious identities are more likely to be sustained by discrete networks, forged throughout the life course in accordance with individual tastes and lifestyles (Guest 2007:190). I suggest that it can illuminate the resources that are 'bequeathed' to adolescent Quakers by the particular form of Quaker spiritual education and identity formation that takes place at Quaker events for young people. 92% of QEQ respondents stated that going to Quaker events for young people has made them think or feel that they were 'more Quaker', 85% of respondents stated that this was something they had specifically gained as a result of going to Quaker events for young people. One respondent stated that as a result of going to Quaker events for young people:

I feel more part of Quakerism at all levels from my local meeting up to Yearly Meeting
(QEQ, Female 19).

I argue that rather than transmitting particular beliefs and values, Quaker events for young people give adolescent Quakers resources such as an understanding of their own spirituality, a sense of belonging to one or more Quaker groups, an awareness of Quaker values that are of importance to them and this connection to an ongoing networked community, all of which enables them to shape their particular adolescent Quaker lifestyle and identity.

7.9 Adolescent Quaker Culture

Dandelion describes culture as 'a transmission system of shared meanings, values and informal rules' (1996:118) and states that it can be divided up into separate areas of organisational life. In this section I consider the double-culture posited by Dandelion (1996:2) in relation to the adolescent group and argue that the double-culture does not apply to the adolescent Quaker group. Instead I argue that an alternative and more complex triple-culture operates within the adolescent Quaker group. I describe the importance of this triple-culture in relation to individual and group adolescent Quaker identity. I argue that the triple culture is the means by which adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is formed and sustained.

7.9.1 Dandelion's Double Culture

Dandelion's Quaker double-culture is comprised of a liberal non-creedal belief system and the 'behavioural creed', that is the meaning attributed to the organisational and behavioural rules (1996:118). Dandelion argues that the double-culture functions as twin components of the culture of the organisation, operating within the organisational life of the group. The Quaker double culture demands conformity to form and practice and a liberal attitude towards belief (Dandelion 1996:123).

7.9.2 The absence of an adolescent double-culture

Within the adolescent Quaker group belief is marginal to the life of the group (4.7); as a result I argue that while there is a liberal attitude towards belief, this is not demanded by the group; instead the acceptance and tolerance of others' views is required by the group's values (4.8) and behavioural norms (6.2.1). I suggest that this may be a consequence of adolescent Quakers' socialisation within the double-culture. I argue they have, via their parents (5.2.6) and involvement in events (5.2.7) become acculturated to the liberal belief culture to the extent that there is no longer an expressed demand for this.

Dandelion argues that within the adult Quaker group there is a conservative attitude towards behaviour (1996:102) and rules of Quaker practice are definitional for Quaker identity (1996:100-101). As I illustrate above, the form of adolescent Quaker ritual represents a change in form that, in comparison to the adult group, is radical (3.3) and subject to less official control (6.3.1). Given this, I argue that adolescents do not have as rigid a conformity to form and practice as the adult group. Within the adult Quaker group the culture of silence is a sub-component of the behavioural creed (Dandelion 2005:119). In the adolescent Quaker group there is a 'culture of contribution' (6.3.3) which operates across Quaker-time, including in worship. This 'culture of contribution' acts against the consequences of behavioural creed more generally, rather than merely specifically against the culture of silence. Although there are behavioural rules within the group and some level of behavioural conformity is required (7.5, 6.2), these rules differ from those which operate within adult Quakerism and there is less conformity to method (3.3, 6.3). The behavioural rules of the group, including those that govern adolescent Quaker practice (6.3.1), have their basis in the maintenance of the community.

In liberal-Liberal Quakerism, belief claims, including those about God and the existence of God, are relativised (Dandelion 2004b:223). Whilst there is a diversity of belief, adult Quakers are 'intolerant of certainty other than the certainty that religious truth claims cannot be held with any intellectual honest certainty' (Dandelion 2004b:225). Although individual uncertainty of Quaker belief is permitted there is 'a constant reinforcement' of this uncertainty and a mistrust of certainty (Dandelion 2004b:225). Dandelion terms this firmly held theological uncertainty the 'absolute perhaps' and argues that this 'perhapsness' is prescribed by the Quaker group (2004b:225). Although the prescription of uncertainty is often implicit it is constantly reinforced and newcomers to the group learn 'a normative style of either theological silence or theological perhapsness' (Dandelion

2004b:225-226). I argue that the 'culture of contribution' (6.4.3) indicates that adolescent Quakers do not share this normative style and that individual belief claims are assessed in a different way, which is influenced by an understanding that everything is included within the plurality of Quaker belief (4.7) and that:

I can think what I want and be part of the Quaker ethos (Male, 17; YQQ).

I am free to discover what I believe without feeling restrained (Female, 14; YQQ).

Because virtually everything, in relation to theological belief, is permitted by the non-creedal belief system which characterises liberal-Liberal Quakerism within the adolescent Quaker group, the vocalisation of belief stories are not treated as attempts to express a truth beyond a personal opinion. I suggest that like the adult Quaker group, the adolescent Quaker group displays a perhapsness about belief. However whilst doubt is valid, uncertainty is not reinforced to the same extent as in the adult Quaker group but rather diversity of belief within the adolescent Quaker group is managed through a principle of respecting difference (Plüss 1995:129).

Dandelion claims that the behavioural creed acts to 'generate unity and maintain cohesion' (Dandelion 2004b:222) and argues that a consequence of the diversity of belief is that for adult Quakers 'it is the way in which Quakers practise their religion which is definitional' rather than the content of Quaker belief (Dandelion 2004b:223). Because belief is so marginal to adolescent Quakers I argue that the certainty, or uncertainty of belief, does not matter to the adolescent group and therefore there is no consequential need for 'orthopraxis' (Dandelion 2004b:221) to generate unity. For the adolescent Quaker group unity is achieved through being part of the Community of Intimacy: by affiliating with exclusively adolescent groups which practice in different ways and gather in separate spaces. The connection of individuals to the Community of Intimacy is strengthened and

sustained through networks of personal friendships. Adolescent Quakers establish, maintain, and express a Quaker identity not because of their beliefs, practices or difference but rather as a result of their adopting the particular 'lifestyle' of adolescent Quakerism (7.7.3). Because the unity of the adolescent Quaker group is not dependent on the behavioural creed or the prescription of permissive belief as with the adult group, I argue that Dandelion's double-culture does not apply to this group.

7.9.3 An adolescent triple-culture

In this section I argue that instead of the double-culture of the liberal non-creedal belief system and the behavioural creed, there is a triple-culture with three components: networked community, ritual which includes the sub-component of the culture of contribution, and narrative and behaviour.

I demonstrate above (7.7.3) that Quaker identity is strengthened by connection to the group through a networked community of personal friendship, through identification with the behavioural norms of the group, and through the tying of individual narrative, the stories adolescent Quakers tell in and with their lives, to the narrative of the group. Given this, I argue that for the adolescent group unity is achieved not by orthopraxis but through the initiation of the individual into the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. This initiation occurs through ritual which serves to create a separate physical and psychological space in which an ideal social order is created, at least temporarily.

Adolescent Quakers establish, maintain, and express unity as a result of their identity. Thus I argue that adolescent Quakers are Quakers not by virtue of believing the same thing or by doing the same thing, as in Dandelion's behavioural creed, but by being the same thing – where this 'being' is universal and essential. They are Quakers because they are Quakers: they affiliate to Quaker groups which are distinctive and different to the adult Quaker group; they behave as Quakers in Quaker-time; they adopt a Quaker lifestyle or habitus

(7.7.2) and field-cross with this habitus; the narrative of their lives is Quaker, and tied to that of the adolescent Quaker group. I suggest that for some adolescents belonging to the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy may be definitional of Quaker identity; that is, they belong to the group because they self-identify as Quakers and they self-identify as Quakers because they belong to the group. This has the implication that their Quaker identity does not exist outside the group and raises questions in relation to the continued involvement of these individuals once they leave the adolescent Quaker group.

Given this, I suggest that the adolescent Quaker group has a triple-culture with three components: networked community, ritual including the sub-component of the culture of contribution, and narrative and behaviour. The features of the triple-culture function together to create and sustain the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. The Community of Intimacy is a model for what the adolescent Quaker group looks like and how it is constituted, the triple-culture represents the way in which the Community of Intimacy is formed and functions.

7.9.3 a) *Networked Community*

Dandelion argues that within the Quaker group 'personal factors may also foster unity' (1996:310), and that personal friendships within the group act to secure unity and function as a dimension of religious identity (1996:311). I argue above (7.3.2) that friendship is a key factor in forming the networked community that is a feature of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Adolescents enjoy going to events to meet and make friends, they have close friendships within the group (7.3.2) and identify this as an important aspect of Quakerism for them (Interview 13/12/2003). Adolescent Quakers also highlight the closeness of these friendships despite often long intervals between actually meeting (7.3.2). These friendships are not limited to events but represent a continuing community

where contact is maintained, despite geographical distance, in a variety of ways, such as reunions and the use of new media.

7.9.3 b) Ritual

I argue above that through participation in worship at Quaker events for young people, individuals undergo a transformative ritual (6.4.5) and are thus initiated into the group, and become members of the Community of Intimacy (7.5.3, 6.5.5). Through this process of transformation and initiation the physical and psychological separate space in which the community exists is created (6.5). I argue that worship is transformative for adolescent Quakers as a result of its radical nature which challenges the creedal attitude to worship in the adult Quaker group. This includes the content, form and setting. The content is semi-programmed with space for the vocalisation of individual belief stories, and not dominated by silence. Silence is a basis for the form but there is a non-creedal attitude to the silence. The setting, in a communal space, separate from other Quakers and the world is the most important aspect of the nature of adolescent Quaker ritual. Further to this, semi-programmed worship, while a key aspect of adolescent Quaker practice, is marginal within the Quaker group as a whole. This is shown by the fact that although Quaker meetings hold occasional semi-programmed all-age worship designed to be inclusive, 'in terms of worship practice Liberal Friends are not inclusive but are clear about the value of silence' (Dandelion 2005:70). Many meetings that have semi-programmed all-age worship will also have a silent Meeting for Worship at the same time (Field Notes).

7.9.3 c) Behaviour & Narrative

The networked community has an important function beyond sustaining personal friendships and I argue that it also operates as a reference group which influences and can moderate individuals' behaviour outside Quaker-time (6.2.3); it serves also to maintain the separate psychological space of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. Rather

than identifying with particular belief items as defining their Quaker identity, adolescent Quakers identify with particular Quaker values such as pacifism, equality and tolerance (5.2.4, 5.2.5). Adolescents identify Quaker values in particular as marking them out as different or 'alternative' from their non-Quaker peers (5.4.1). Within the adolescent Quaker group, maintenance of the community is used as justification for formal, stated boundaries and unspoken rules of group behaviour (6.2.1). Although there is low formal authority over individuals' private lives the rules that govern Quaker-time activities exert influence over behaviour outside Quaker-time (6.2.3).

Dandelion argues that for adult Quakers the double-life between individual and corporate ethics represents 'an attempt to live out the duality of a personal and public ethic.' (2006:vii). In contrast to this I argue that because the scope of Quaker-time for the adolescent group is broader than is the case for most adult Quakers and because adolescents identify closely with the adolescent Quaker group, rules and norms of behaviour that operate within the group influence individual behaviour outside of Quaker-time. As a result of this, in the adolescent Quaker group the personal ethic becomes more public and, in turn, the public Quaker ethic is reflected to a greater extent in the personal ethic of individual adolescents, lessening for some adolescents the duality between the two aspects.

The personal ethic becomes more public amongst adolescent Quakers and, in turn, the public Quaker ethic is reflected to a greater extent in the personal. I argue, therefore, that despite the low formal authority that the adolescent Quaker group has over individuals' private, non-Quaker lives, the group has a higher level of influence over adolescents' everyday lives than is the case with the adult Quaker group. Within liberal-Liberal Quakerism, the interpretation of testimony has become individualised and 'what any part of Quaker testimony means, whether on peace or integrity or gambling or moderation is

now up to the individual' (Dandelion 2006:vi). Dandelion argues that the double-life between individual and corporate ethics represents 'an attempt to live out the duality of a personal and public ethic. But still both are interpreted individually' (Dandelion 2006:vii). For the adolescent group, the influence of the Community of Intimacy as a networked community lessens the duality between the two aspects. The personal ethic becomes more public amongst Quakers and, in turn, the public Quaker ethic is reflected to a greater extent in the personal ethic of individual Friends.

In the adolescent Quaker group the final authority for acceptability of behaviour rests with the group, which locates itself in a physical (during Quaker-time) and a psychological (beyond Quaker-time) space that is seen to be or felt to be separate from and different to the world that surrounds it (7.6). Behaviour is critical to the way in which the group operates, and whilst demands made on individuals in terms of their behaviour outside Quaker-time are low, those made on individuals within the group are, in contrast, demanding in terms of the sacrifice of personal liberties to support the behavioural norms of the group.

I suggest that the principles and values that provide a basis for behaviour within the group and outside it are the same. However in terms of external behaviour, individual interpretation of particular values is allowed. This individualised interpretation of Quaker values, including the Quaker testimonies, is similar to the individualisation of belief. However the importance to the community of internal norms which regulate behaviour and which provide an example for external morality means that values are less marginal than beliefs for the adolescent Quaker group. Adolescent Quakers' shared values are expressed in two distinct but interrelated ways: through behaviour that is outside the group and Quaker-time, and through rules that operate within the group and Quaker-time. Because of the existence of the networked community, at times the distinction between

these may be blurred. I argue that the principles and values that provide a basis for external behaviour and internal rules are the same, but individual interpretation of particular values is permitted.

Because the Community of Intimacy operates as a networked community which exists outside formal Quaker-time there is greater knowledge and greater discussion within the group of individuals' private lives for example in conversations and communications between individual adolescent Quakers, in what can be described as informal or 'quasi-Quaker-time'. This continuing contact with the networked community ensures that the influence and example set through behavioural rules in the group is reinforced in informal ways.

Through a process of modelling which arises in part from a desire to recreate the positive experience and continue connection with the Community of Intimacy, adolescent Quakers assimilate the formal and informal rules that govern behaviour during Quaker-time into their daily lives (6.2.3). Both Quaker values and the formal and informal behavioural norms of the group are reflected in the actions of adolescent Quakers and it is through these actions that adolescent Quakers construct a narrative of their lives. I argue above (5.6) that the greater the number of Quaker stories that are part of any one individual's narrative the greater the extent to which they will feel different from the non-Quaker world. In turn the greater the perception of difference from non-Quaker adolescents and adult Quakers, the more likely the stories an individual tells with their lives will be about being a Quaker. The Quaker content of an individual's life narrative serves to unite the individual with others who have a similar life narrative, and with whom they share stories.

7.9.4 Explaining the triple culture

Within the adolescent Quaker group the triple culture represents the creation and preservation of a separate physical and psychological space, within which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy operates. Table 7.1 below illustrates the different elements of the components of the Triple Culture.

Ritual
Transformational: Initiation of the individual into the community
Radical in terms of form and content: silence as basis but non-creedal
Opportunity and encouragement given to vocalise beliefs
Marginal within Quaker group as a whole
Networked Community
'Gathering function': feeling of belonging through participating in events despite small numbers and geographical distance
Continuing community: not restricted to events. Ongoing contact facilitated by new media
Quality and closeness of friendships despite not seeing each other often
Individual friendships sustain and are sustained by the larger networked community
Friendships provide support especially relating to issues of personal or social identity
Networked community influences individuals behaviour outside Quaker-time
Behaviour and Narrative
Community as justification for formal rules and informal norms of group behaviour
Low formal authority over individuals' private lives but rules and behavioural norms that govern Quaker-time activities exert influence over behaviour outside Quaker-time
Desire to recreate positive experience and continue connection with the Community of Intimacy
Stories that individuals tell about and with their lives reflect the group's values, rules and internal norms of behaviour
Individual prototypical narratives include Quaker elements

Table 7.1: Elements of the Adolescent Quaker Triple Culture

Each of these three components relates to features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy (7.3). The triple culture component of networked community relates to features of affiliation and belonging. The ritual component of the triple culture relates to expression, through ritual, of the culture of contribution that operates within the adolescent Quaker group. Behaviour and narrative as a component of the triple culture

relates to adolescent Quakers' shared values and to the expression of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy through internal rules and external behaviour. All three components relate to the element of the separateness of the adolescent Quaker Community.

The three components of the triple culture are in dynamic interrelationship and function together to create and preserve the physical (during Quaker-time) and psychological (beyond Quaker-time) space that is seen and felt to be separate from and different to the world. This dynamic interrelationship is illustrated in Figure 7.5.

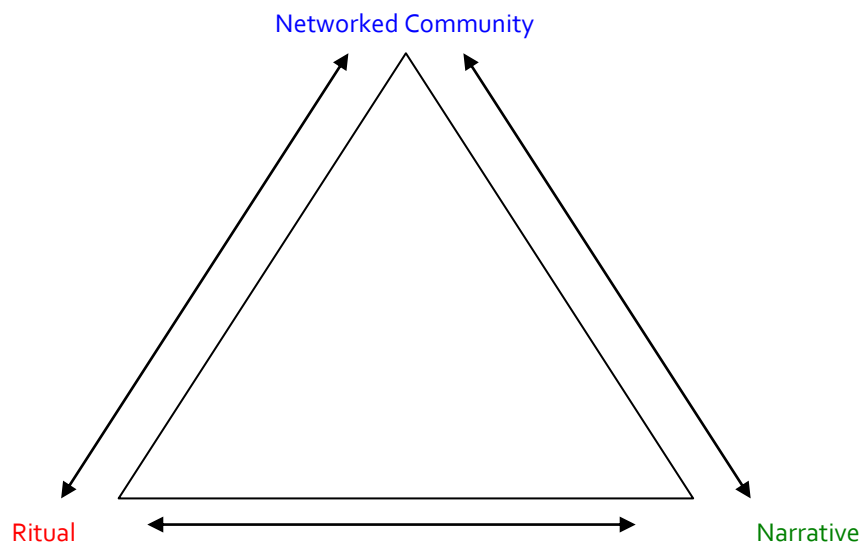


Figure 7.5: The Adolescent Quaker Triple Culture

Dandelion describes culture and structure as operating as parallel systems of the transmission of meaning of the popular religion of the Quaker group (1996:120). The adolescent Quaker group has no formal organisational life or formal structure, therefore I argue that the Community of Intimacy operates as the 'structure' of adolescent Quakerism; and within the adolescent Quaker group, transmission of meaning of the popular religion occurs through the operation of the Community of Intimacy and the triple culture. The

three components of the triple culture serve to maintain and sustain the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and act to increase the creedal status of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy (7.7.3). I explore this in further detail below (8.5) and consider the interrelation between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups.

7.10 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I argued that the adolescent Quaker group represents a Community of Intimacy(7.2) a collective grouping which places emphasis on belonging to the group, inter-personal networks secured by friendships, shared values and the separateness of the group from others, in this case, from both Quakers and from other young people. I described the features of the Community of Intimacy in general and of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in particular and explained how they function in relation to each other (7.2, 7.3, 7.4 & 7.5).

I explained that adolescent Quakers tend to affiliate with exclusively adolescent groups. I demonstrated that this sense of belonging results in part from participation in events. I showed that personal friendships which are formed at Quaker events for young people provide adolescent Quakers with a network which secures affiliation to the group in Quaker-time and a sense of belonging outside Quaker-time. Individual friendships exist within, serve to sustain, and are sustained by, the larger networked community. I argued that through their participation in Quaker events adolescent Quakers form inter-personal networks which are secured by ongoing friendships facilitated by continued contact, maintaining the adolescent Quaker community between gatherings.

I argued that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is both the visible community, as expressed in the separate space occupied by adolescent Quakers during Quaker-time

(for example at Quaker events) (7.6.3) and also the variable, networked community of friendships between adolescents that exists beyond and between Quaker-time gatherings (7.3.3). I demonstrated that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is strictly bounded in terms of behaviour (7.5) and argued that the Community of Intimacy is central in terms of forming both group and individual Quaker identity and provides the group with unity (7.6 & 7.7). I considered the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the concepts of habitus and lifestyles (7.7). I suggested that for the adolescent group there is a triple-culture, the three elements of which are networked community, ritual and narrative and behaviour (7.8).

I argued that the components of the triple-culture function together to create and sustain the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, and that the Community of Intimacy is a model for what the adolescent Quaker group looks like, whilst the triple culture represents the way in which the Community of Intimacy is formed and functions.

CHAPTER 8

ADOLESCENT QUAKERS: A HIDDEN SECT

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in relation to Bryan Wilson's sect/denomination typology (1967) and Dandelion's description of the adult Quaker group as an 'uncertain sect' (2004b) (8.3.3, 8.4). I argue that the adolescent Quaker group is sectarian in nature and that this sectarian nature is differently configured from the adult Quaker group (8.4.6). I consider the position of the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the adult Quaker group (8.5). I describe the structural links and cultural disconnections between the adolescent and adult Quaker groups. I identify tension and conflict between the two groups (8.5.4). I describe three different perspectives of the relationship between the two groups (8.6). I argue (8.6.4) that the adolescent Quaker group is a sect that is hidden from adult Quakers at both institutional and popular levels. I argue that it is hidden because its sectarian characteristics are differently configured and ultimately stronger than holds for the adult group, and because the adult group does not acknowledge it as being both separate and different.

8.2 The Sect/Denomination Typology

Bryan Wilson, in one of his seminal works on sect/denomination typology (1967), identified the following five key characteristics of sects and denominations:

a) Membership: Sects are voluntary associations, while denominations have no prerequisites of entry and emphasise tolerance and breadth (Wilson 1967:25). Wilson argued that 'the commitment of the sectarian is always more total and more defined than that of the member of other religious organisations' (1967:24). In denominations individual

commitment is not very intense (Wilson 1967:25). Typically, sects present opportunities for members to spontaneously express their commitment (Wilson 1967:24).

b) Behaviour: Sect members who transgress standards and precepts of doctrine, morality or organisation are expelled from the group (Wilson 1967:23-24). In denominations expulsion as a measure of control is used infrequently (Wilson 1967:25).

c) Doctrine: Members of sects are required to prove 'knowledge of doctrine, affirmation of a conversion experience' (Wilson 1967:23). In contrast to this, membership of denominations is automatic and there are few demands or requirements (Wilson 1967:25).

d) Worldview: In terms of values, sects are world renouncing and 'hostile or indifferent to the secular society and to the state' (Wilson 1967:24) while denominations typically accept the values of the secular society and the state in which they exist (Wilson 1967:25).

e) Exclusiveness: Sect members think of themselves as 'an elect, a gathered remnant' whilst accepting the concept of the priesthood of all believers (Wilson 1967:24). Denominations are not exclusivist but rather are 'content to be one movement among others, all of which are thought to be acceptable in the sight of God' (Wilson 1967:25).

In Section 8.3 below I examine the Religious Society of Friends as a whole in the light of the sect/denomination typology, and in Section 8.4 I go on to relate each of these characteristics of the sect/denomination typology to the features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

8.3 Quakerism and the sect-denomination typology

In this section I examine the various classifications of the Religious Society of Friends in terms of the sect/denomination typology, by Wilson (1961, 1967, 1970), Isichei (1967) and Dandelion (1996, 2004b).

8.3.1 Quakerism as a sect

Wilson differentiated types of sect by reference to their means of salvation and on this basis identifies eighteenth century Quakerism as an 'introversionist sect' (Wilson 1967:29). Introversionist sects consider themselves to be an enlightened elect and have a 'strong in-group morality' (Wilson 1967:28). Such groups direct the attention of members away from the world and to the community and the individual's 'possession of the Spirit'. Within introversionist sects there is 'a reliance on inner illumination' (Wilson 1967:28). Wilson suggests that this can equally be thought of as 'the voice of conscience or the action of the Holy Ghost' (1967:28). Wilson argues that twentieth century, liberal Quakerism is a 'reformist sect', theologically less orthodox than evangelical denominations and less concerned with doctrine than most sects (1967:212).

8.3.2 Quakerism as a denomination

Beyond the 'perhapsness' of Quaker theology (Dandelion 2004b:226), and within the behavioural creed identified by Dandelion (1996:101), I argue below that the adult Quaker group reflects the following characteristics of a denomination outlined by Wilson (1967) and Isichei (1967): ease of entry into the group; a concern for education of the young over evangelism of outsiders; the group seeing itself as one of many churches; and membership being limited to those who are socially compatible.

8.3.2 a) *Ease of Entry in to the group*

Wilson claimed denominations 'accept adherents without traditional prerequisites of entry' (Wilson 1967:25). Britain Yearly Meeting has stated a desire that 'the processes for acquiring and transferring membership ... should be made as simple and undaunting as possible. (Britain Yearly Meeting 2001 Minute 30). 'Freedom' and 'experimentation' regarding the process of applying for formal membership of the group are also encouraged (Britain Yearly Meeting 2001 Minute 30). This represents an easing of entry requirements in recent years. In addition to this the plurality of belief and the unprogrammed nature of silent worship make participation in the group (as distinct from formal membership) open to all and little demand, in terms of belief, is placed on people joining the group in this way. Some restrictions on membership still remain, such as the geographical basis of membership in a particular area meeting (Britain Yearly Meeting 2006 Minute 23). Given the small number of adolescents who affiliate with their area meeting (7.3.1), I argue that this limitation restricts the ease of entry into the group for adolescents.

8.3.2 b) *Concern for the young*

Both Wilson and Isichei identify 'concern for the young' as a denominational characteristic (Isichei 1967:172). Britain Yearly Meeting has recently emphasised that young people are a vital part of local Quaker congregations (Britain Yearly Meeting 2004 Minute 19) and re-affirmed the importance of the work done with children and young people. Consideration of this at Britain Yearly Meeting in session reflects a concern for the 'spiritual nurture' of young people and their involvement in the life of the Religious Society of Friends.

8.3.2 c) *Evangelism of outsiders*

Isichei identifies a growth in the popularity of evangelism in nineteenth century Quakerism as marking a rapid move 'towards a denominational position' (Isichei 1967:173). Liberal-

Liberal British Quakers are wary of evangelism (Gee 2004) and make it explicit that Quakers 'are not out to convert people but to point them to the divine light that is in them' (www.quaker.org.uk/different; accessed 25/9/ 2008) which may reflect the denominational characteristic of 'an insistence on the liberty of the individual' (Isichei 1967:172). However a number of recent initiatives indicate a recent increase in outreach [G]. These include Quaker Quest [G] which started in London and now runs in several areas; the Spiritual Hospitality project (Meeting of Friends in Wales 2003); and a centrally organised national 'Quaker Week' during which Quaker meetings were encouraged to publicise themselves (www.quaker.org.uk/different ;accessed 25/9/2008). These initiatives aim to make Quakers more visible in the world and welcoming to those currently outside the group. I argue that this also reflects 'a desire to make entry into the group attractive and easy' (Isichei 1967:172) which is characteristic of denominations. Significantly there is little or no outreach directed at adolescents⁴⁹ (Field Notes).

8.3.2 d) *The group as one of many churches*

Denominations have a tendency towards 'a self-conceptualisation of the group as one of many churches, all pleasing to God' (Isichei 1967:172). I argue that for the Religious Society of Friends membership of the ecumenical bodies is a key indicator of this tendency. When joining Churches Together in Britain and Ireland, London Yearly Meeting⁵⁰ stated that 'we must work together with other churches wherever possible' (London Yearly Meeting 1989:304). Dandelion contrasts membership of these organisations with the 'post-Christian pluralism' of the group (1996:192) and states that both Christian and non-Christian Quakers 'advocate that there are 'many paths up the mountain' (1996:183). Isichei identifies a 'move to denominationalism' in the nineteenth century as being 'partly the result of Quaker participation in interdenominational philanthropies' (1967:174). I suggest

⁴⁹ There is currently one centrally produced information leaflet aimed at adolescents.

⁵⁰ Until 1994 Britain Yearly Meeting was known as London Yearly Meeting.

that joining Churches Together in Britain and Ireland reflects a decline in Quaker sectarian exclusivism. This is reflected by the corporate advice to 'work gladly with other religious groups' (*Quaker faith and practice* 1.02.6), and by the recent decision to invite representatives of ecumenical and interfaith organisations to attend Yearly Meeting (Britain Yearly Meeting 2004 Minute 25) which followed the presentation of the 2003 Swarthmore Lecture [G] on the subject of an individual's joint participation in another faith (Nesbitt 2003). Therefore I argue that current involvement in interfaith initiatives indicates a further denominational shift by the adult Quaker group.

8.3.2 e) Composition of the group

The final characteristic of this denominational shift is the composition of the group. Wilson suggested that for denominations 'within one church, or any one region, membership tends to limit itself to those who are socially compatible' (Wilson 1967:25). Quakers are typified as middle-class and educated (Rutherford 2003) and the denominational shift within Quakerism is reflected by its progression to being 'a more or less respectable middle class church' (Isichei 1967:162). I argue that despite the ease of entry to the group, participation generally and membership in particular is limited to those who are socially compatible.

8.3.3 Sect and denomination or uncertain sect

Despite the developing progression towards denominationalism within liberal-Liberal Quakerism, particularly during the twentieth century, which is in contrast to other sects such as the Watchtower movement (Holden 2002:148), Quakers have retained some sectarian characteristics. Isichei suggests that, in the example of Quakerism, 'the sectarian and the denominational outlooks may well exist in the same movement at the same time' (Isichei 1967:180). Following this, Dandelion argues that the Quaker group 'challenges systems of classification of religious groups which are based on mutually exclusive types'

(1996:129). Dandelion claims that modern British Quakerism can be described as being both 'sectarian in the way high demands are placed on members' in terms of behaviour and unity of practice (2004b:225) and denominational in terms of 'low demands ... made on members in terms of the content of their belief' (2004b:225). Within liberal-Liberal Quakerism 'there is a constant reinforcement of uncertainty' of belief and despite the low demands made on members in terms of the content of belief 'the 'perhapsness' about theological claims is absolute' (Dandelion 2004b:225). Dandelion argues that the certainty with which uncertainty is held 'challenges a denominational view of the group' (2004b:226) and as a result argues that liberal-Liberal Quakerism should be classified as 'an uncertain sect' (Dandelion 2004b:226).

8.4 The Adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and the sect-denomination typology

In this section I examine the features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in relation to the sect-denomination typology. I argue that while there is an increasing shift towards denominationalism within liberal-Liberal Quakerism the adolescent Quaker group has retained many sectarian characteristics, while exhibiting some denominational characteristics.

8.4.1 Membership & Commitment to the Group: Affiliation, Belonging and Friendship

The adolescent Quaker group has no formal membership, other than that which exists for the Quaker group as a whole. I argue that individuals 'join' the group through their involvement in the adolescent Quaker group (3.2). To a certain extent this involvement is voluntary, however this is not always the case, especially for younger adolescents:

I only came [to Summer School] because my parents told me I was coming (Female, 11; Field Notes 24/8/2003).

I argue that continued membership is dependent on continued involvement and affiliation (7.3.1) and that for older adolescents, particularly when attending events exclusively for young people, there is a stronger sense of voluntary membership of the group. This is coupled with a primacy of commitment both to the adolescent Quaker group in contrast to other Quaker groups (7.3.1) and is reflected in the level of importance adolescents place on their involvement in Quakerism (3.2.5); all of which, I argue, reflects a level of commitment to the group.

Wilson argued that 'at some level the individual member's commitment to the sect must be total' (Wilson 1967:42). This commitment may represent 'the acceptance of a leader's commands' (1967:42). In the case of the adolescent Quaker group I argue that individuals' acceptance of the groups rules and behavioural norms can be seen as 'a commitment to regulate all social and moral affairs... as the sect directs' (Wilson 1967:42-43). Central to the functioning of the adolescent Quaker group, and its most explicitly sectarian characteristic, is the emphasis on community. Wilson stated that introversionist sects 'direct the attention of ... followers away from the world and to the community and more particularly to the members' possession of the Spirit' (Wilson 1967:28).

25.3% of questionnaire respondents stated that community was one of the things they liked about Quakerism:

[I like] the whole community (Female, 14; YQQ)

being part of an understanding and supportive community (Female, 15; YQQ)

feeling like a big Quaker family (Female, 14; YQQ).

Given the central importance that adolescent Quakers place on their membership of the adolescent Quaker group, in contrast to other groups, I argue that the Community of Intimacy reflects the sectarian characteristic of 'a strong commitment to the fellowship itself' (Wilson 1967:43). The sectarian characteristic most explicitly displayed by the adolescent Quaker group is that the group includes their closest friends:

most of my best friends are Quakers (Female, 15; YQQ).

In contrast to denominations sects are smaller and more likely to include the closest friends of members (Iannaccone 1988:5242); this is the case for adolescent Quakers who identify the group as giving them:

spiritual social life (Female, 15; YQQ).

Wilson states that commitment to the group may mean 'a general ideological commitment or a more specific doctrinal commitment, or a commitment to regulate all social and moral affairs entirely as the sect directs' (Wilson 1967:42-43). For adolescent Quakers the ideological commitment is vague, generalised and peripheral. It can be defined as having some commitment to Quaker values, particularly those of equality and non-violence, and displaying this commitment whilst in the group (4.8). I argue that although it is vague there is, as Wilson states, a distinct moral commitment and certain types of behaviour are expected (1967:43). I argue that this expectation is strengthened by the individuals' commitment to the group. I suggest that the Quaker belief of 'that of God in everyone', which adolescents also describe as 'light' or 'good within everyone' (4.3.2, 4.6) can be seen as equivalent to 'possession of the Spirit' (Wilson 1967:28) and that this is an important factor in the sectarian character of adolescent Quakerism.

In relation to joining the group, the vast majority (95.4%) of YQQ respondents attended meeting for the first time with one or both parents, whilst only 2.9% had been to meeting for the first time with a Quaker friend, indicating that the adolescent Quaker group is not totally isolationist. However I suggest that this represents a process of introduction through the recommendation of existing members which is characteristic of sects (Wilson 1967:23) rather than the active evangelism that is characteristic of denominations (8.3.2 a)

8.4.2 Behaviour: Internal Rules

Quaker events for young people operate with explicit boundaries established before the start of the event (6.2.1), and often with further 'ground rules' negotiated by participants at the start of the event (Field Notes). In addition to this the group has a set of informal behavioural norms (6.2.1).

Wilson states that introversionist sects practice expulsion of the wayward and lax (1967:43) from the group. Although the decision to exclude individuals from an event (6.2.2) was ostensibly taken by the adolescents in a position of responsibility at the event, I argue that exclusion was at the instigation of adults with legal responsibility and that other sanctions may have been preferred by adolescents. Further, even when individuals are asked to leave an event, this does not necessarily amount to expulsion from the adolescent group or the Community of Intimacy⁵¹.

In the example of 'implicit expulsion' by an adolescent Quaker group given above (6.2.2) adolescent Quakers' efforts to explain and justify the group's rules did not alter the behaviour and led to the individual being ostracised from the group. I argue therefore that

⁵¹ I discovered one instance of several individuals being excluded for smoking drugs at an event in 2000. There are instances where behaviour that has broken boundaries has been met with lesser sanctions (Field Notes, August 2004). See 6.2.2 above.

the group practices a form of implicit expulsion of those who do not conform to the group's behavioural norms.

While the level of acceptable behaviour may be less rigorous for adolescent Quakers than for other sects, and it may not be enforced by explicit expulsion from the group, the group is clear when behaviour is outside that accepted by the group and will implicitly exclude people by challenging their behaviour and isolating them within events. As such, they fall outside the canopy of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy because they have contravened the community's 'moral or organisational precepts' (Wilson 1967:24).

8.4.3 Doctrine: Belief & Ritual

Wilson argues that, for sects, formal 'doctrine is of lesser importance' and the focus is on the 'deepening' of the spirit instead (Wilson 1967:28). I argue above (4.6) that for the adolescent Quaker group belief content is marginal, non-definitional and unimportant, reflecting this sectarian characteristic. Adolescent Quakers emphasise and value plurality, and individual responses reflect an understanding and appreciation of Quakerism as de-emphasising doctrine:

[I like] how as a religion... it is not dogmatic (Male, 17; YQQ)

views and beliefs are allowed to be personal – within a group (Male, 18; YQQ)

[Quakers] give you a chance to explore your feelings about religion without forcing their own on you (Female, 15; YQQ).

For adolescents, Quakerism is characterised by

[an] open minded approach to spirituality – no bible bashing! (Male, 18; YQQ)

a great environment to explore my beliefs in (Female 18; YQQ).

This is contrasted with their understanding of other denominations:

It's more thoughtful and spiritual than other belief systems (Male 17; YQQ)

I like it because you're not told what to believe like elsewhere (Male 13; YQQ)

[I like] the fact that it is more open than some churches (Female 12; YQQ).

Adolescents state that within Quakerism there is an:

openness to find your own spirituality (Male 17; YQQ).

I argue that this indicates a focus on broad spiritual development rather than doctrinal teaching. Dandelion identifies the doctrinal nature of the form of Quaker worship as a sectarian characteristic of the group (1996:126). However, it could be argued that this characteristic is not shared by the adolescent group, because of the greater variety of forms of worship (3.3) and because the forms of worship are less prescribed. Adolescents identify worship within the Quaker group as:

relaxed services (Male, 16; YQQ).

and one adolescent, who had attended Meeting for Worship for the first time aged 11, commented that:

I like the concept of silent worship as opposed to being spoon-fed by a priest (Female 17; YQQ).

Despite this, I argue above (7.5.3) that worship in the adolescent Quaker group represents intimacy with the group and is therefore a sectarian characteristic of the group.

8.4.4 Worldview

Wilson argued that rather than having an adherence to doctrine, introversionist sects develop a particular and distinctive worldview that rejects the values of the society in which it exists (1967:28). In this context I take 'worldview' to represent a socially shared framework of beliefs, knowledge and understanding through which individuals experience the world and make sense of their lives (Savage et al 2006:8). The component dimensions of worldviews are: story; praxis - the way of being in the world; and symbol (Wright 1992:124). I argue above (6.3) that rather than having authority over external behaviour, the group rules and behavioural norms of the adolescent Quaker group have an optional influence on individuals' lives. In relation to peace, equality and tolerance the level of influence is greater, because of the importance of these values to adolescent Quakers and the Quaker group as a whole (4.8, 6.2.1). These values reflect a particular adolescent Quaker worldview, and by identifying with these Quaker values adolescent Quakers adopt a particular worldview which informs the way they see the world and act in it, influencing the behaviour of individuals and the group.

Quakers are not a set religion, they are a type of people – a way of living (Male, 14; Field Notes, 23/8/2004)

it [Quakerism] affects how I act, think and believe (Male, 14; YQQ)

I like the beliefs and enjoy bringing them into my day-to-day life (Female, 15; YQQ)

I like the fact that many of the Quaker principles reflect what I see in the world and how I want to live my life (Male, 18; YQQ).

I argue that the adolescent Quaker worldview can be characterised as defining the distinction between values and behaviour that are defined by participants as 'Quakerly' and those defined as 'Un-Quakerly':

[It's hard] when you feel you want to shout at someone etc, but can't because it is un-Quakerly (Field Notes 13/12/2003)

You try not to think about the temptation to do things [that are] un-Quakerly (Field Notes 13/12/2003)

Quakerism leads us away from a VERY bad lifestyle (Field Notes 13/12/2003)

Being a Quaker makes you think more [and] realise [your] way of living before was wrong (Field Notes 13/12/2003).

I suggest that 'Quakerly' and 'Un-Quakerly' refer both to particular types of behaviour and to a way of behaving or acting, and that these terms are used by the group as value judgements.

Adolescent Quakers identify themselves as different from their peers in terms of their behaviour which is rooted in Quaker values (6.5); therefore I argue that the adolescent Quaker worldview exists in dissonance to that of non-Quaker adolescents. Perceptions of difference are consequential to this and adolescent Quakers feel themselves to be different not just because they behave in certain ways but also, as I outline above, because their behaviour is based on particular values with a religious basis (5.4). Wilson argues that sect members 'must not normally be allowed to accept the value of the status system of the external world' (Wilson 1967:41), I argue that this characteristic is not significantly apparent amongst adolescent Quakers, although the comment that:

I regard material possession with less importance than some of my friends (Female 16; YQQ)

indicates that some adolescent Quakers may not place great value on material possessions as according status. One adolescent Quaker had struggled with the issue of leadership and authority after being chosen as joint head pupil of his school. He described traditional use of this role as being authoritarian and stated that:

following the Quaker ideas of leadership has definitely been awkward. I don't like conventional ideas of leadership (Male 16; Field Notes 17 August 2004)

He chose to:

experience it and see what it is like to understand it and use it in a way simply to help and give more to other people (Male 16, Field Notes 17 August 2004).

This illustrates the difficulty adolescent Quakers have when their Quaker values come into contact with the world (5.4). I suggest that despite this, some adolescent Quakers do have a sense of being a people apart (Wilson 1967:41), describing Quakers as:

anybody that doesn't quite fit in [with] the rest of the world (Female, 17; Field Notes).

Adolescent Quakers are, according to one participant:

abnormally mature [in contrast to their peers] (Female 15, Field Notes)

and some adolescent Quakers see the Quaker worldview as being particularly enlightened:

We value things more than other young people – because [we are] more educated about people who have less (Interview; 13/12/2003).

Questionnaire responses suggest that adolescent Quakers implicitly, and occasionally explicitly, view their behaviour as morally superior to that of others:

I notice that I don't lie as much or be as violent as some of my non-Quaker friends (Male, 16; YQQ)

[Being a Quaker] makes you think twice before you slip into the easy role of prejudging everyone – i.e. automatically being homophobic because society as a whole is (Male, 17; YQQ).

Adolescent Quakers identify themselves as having:

A greater sense of self-righteousness, conscientious objections to otherwise ignored moral issues (Male, 17; YQQ).

8.4.5 Exclusiveness: Separateness & the Networked Community

In this section I argue that adolescent Quakers regard themselves to a certain extent as an 'enlightened elect' but that this is moderated by the ideals that are part of the adolescent Quaker worldview. I suggest that the exclusiveness and separateness of the adolescent Quaker group is manifested in the creation of separate physical and psychological spaces which are isolated and insulated from the world.

8.4.5 a) An Enlightened Elect

Wilson argued that a sect's conception of itself is typically one of being an elect possessing special enlightenment (1967: 24). At least some adolescent Quakers regard themselves in this way:

I feel most Quaker when I see ignorant scumbags, people who haven't had experience of Quakerism (Male, 15; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Although this statement is extreme, it is reflected in other comments:

I find that sometimes I can feel a little drowned out because most people have one view but generally I believe that the Quaker view is the better way. (Male, 17; Interview, 5/12/2003).

Identifying the Quaker worldview as 'enlightened' becomes more explicit when examining the way adolescents identify the influence of Quaker values on their behaviour:

I try and live with the testimonies. I think I am less violent and more honest than most of my friends because of this (Male 15; YQQ).

In particular adolescent Quakers identify their worldview and religious practices as enlightened over that of other religions and their non-Quaker peers:

The religion makes more sense to me; its values seem to apply better to our time (Female 16; YQQ)

Quakerism is better – you're not forced to do stuff (Male 14; Field Notes, 21/8/ 2003)

I don't like Catholics; they don't say stuff for themselves (Male 14; Field Notes, 21 August 2003)

Other faiths don't put enough emphasis on acting on what you believe in (Female 18; YQQ)

A lot of [young Quakers] are picked on for their beliefs. Other people want to pick on us because not only are we different but they know we're kind of like accepting and they don't understand it and they have to try and takes us down to their level. I'm not saying that we're better than them but they try to make us feel small and awkward (Male, 15; Interview, 13/12/ 2003).

Significantly this individual is doing precisely what he claims not to be, namely saying that Quakers are better than others in terms of a having a worldview which emphasises tolerance and acceptance. I argue that adolescent Quakers' self-perception as being tolerant and accepting leads to them considering themselves to be an 'enlightened elect'. However I would argue that incorporating these values into their worldview moderates the extent to which adolescent Quakers consider themselves to be an 'enlightened elect' and reduces the extent to which adolescent Quakers explicitly state that their worldview is 'better' than that of others. Although it could be suggested that this moderation negates the group's identification of itself as an elect I argue that adolescent Quakers necessarily identify themselves as an 'enlightened elect' within the boundaries of their particular worldview which itself militates against statements which reject the Quaker value of equality. I argue above (6.3) that adolescents see their Quaker-time practices as modelling how they could behave in the world and as providing an example of a transformed world. This reflects the characteristics of a perfectionist sect outlined by Wilson (1970).

8.4.5 b) Isolation and Insulation

Wilson argued that to ensure their continuance it is vital for all sects to maintain a distinctiveness which is evident to both its members and others (Wilson 1967:36) and to either withdraw from the world completely or restrict the activity of its members in the world (Wilson 1967:28). Wilson identified two mechanisms which sects use to maintain their separation from the world: isolation and insulation (Wilson 1967:36). I argue that both of these operate in the adolescent Quaker group and that the group locates itself in a physical (during Quaker-time) and a psychological (beyond Quaker-time) space that is separate from and different to the world that surrounds it.

The first mechanism, of 'isolation', can be 'consciously designed or unconsciously accepted' (Wilson 1967:36). Wilson argued that 'separateness from the world is clearly a part of the general constellation of values embraced by sects' (1967:37). The continued existence of a sect is dependent on the separation of its members from the world and on maintaining the dissimilarity of its own values from those of secular society. (Wilson 1967:41). Dandelion describes how adult respondents 'kept their Quakerism quiet for fear of being seen as a good person' (Dandelion 1996:xxvii). Similarly some adolescent Quakers isolate themselves through their involvement in the group by maintaining social separateness of the Quaker group and concealing their Quaker identity from the world.

For some, this is unconsciously accepted as a consequence of the difficulties of explaining Quakerism and of other people regarding it as:

a strange cult (Female, 14; YQQ).

Adolescent Quakers live in a society that is perceived as being hostile towards religion:

it's now looked at as a bad thing if you're religious and have morals (Male, 15; Field Notes 14/12/2003).

Adolescents keep their Quaker beliefs and behaviour separate from other young people, however this may be the result of a lack of understanding of non-Quaker friends and fear of bullying. Although Stanger states that 'most people in my year [at school] know I'm a Quaker' (Stanger 2004:14), I suggest that this is not the majority experience. Table 8.1 shows how often adolescent Quakers spoke to non-Quakers about being a Quaker or being involved in Quaker activities:

Always	8%
Often	28%
Sometimes	47%
Hardly Ever	14%
Never	3%

Table 8.1: How frequently do you mention your involvement in Quakerism to non-Quakers? (YQQ Question 24).

Pennock argues that young Friends are reluctant to be open about their Quakerism with their peers because it is so hard to explain and define (2001:21); this difficulty is highlighted above (5.4). Adolescent Quakers are not able to remove themselves from 'the world' however some do implicitly remove themselves from the world by means of keeping their Quaker involvement quiet and by separating their Quaker identity from the rest of their lives:

I found sticking to my beliefs at school and with my peers quite difficult... I was often stereotyped (e.g. the hippy) or patronised because I was open about being a Quaker... [because of this] I would not live out my beliefs for fear of being treated like this more and more (Pennock 2001:22).

It is clear that some adolescent Quakers partly hide their Quaker identity from the world. I argue that for those who keep their Quakerism secret and distinct when they are 'in the

world' the impact of times when they are able to be Quakers openly, such as at Meeting for Worship and Quaker events for young people, is strengthened.

However, there are few formal restrictions on the activity of adolescent Quakers in the world and I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group separateness is, to a certain extent, implicit and is brought about by adolescents not mentioning their Quaker beliefs to non-Quakers (7.6.2). I argue that adolescent Quakers are unable to remove themselves fully from the world because of the necessity of, for example, attending school and participating in other fields (7.7.3). However, many seek to separate themselves by keeping their Quaker identity quiet. Although these adolescents are not entirely separate from the world when in Quaker-time and quasi-Quaker-time they may see themselves as being 'in the world but not of it'⁵² (Dandelion 2007:25).

Adolescent Quakers mentioned experiencing difficulty with the extent to which they feel they live by their Quaker beliefs in their everyday life (Field Notes). Thus, some adolescent Quakers also display an implicit separateness from the world through their values whilst not making their Quaker identity explicit:

When people say they have difficulty carrying over Quakerism to everyday life some of it doesn't necessarily need to be carried on because it becomes part of who you are, like tolerating other people's beliefs; that's not taught to you it's part of who you are. (Male, 15; Field Notes).

I suggest that this is a particular sectarian characteristic of the adolescent Quaker group, in that their Quaker values are distinct from those of the world yet they do not necessarily vocalise this, in an attempt to separate their Quaker identity from the world; for these adolescents the adolescent Quaker group could be described as a 'private' sect.

⁵² This term was used by early Friends to convey the idea that Quakers, while still operating in this world rejected the ways of the world and the dominant culture, to follow God's guidance (Paxson Grundy 2007:161-162).

The second mechanism for maintaining social separateness is insulation, whereby the sect uses behavioural rules to protect its distinctive values 'by reducing the influence of the external world' (Wilson 1967:37). Wilson identifies early Friends as using two insulating devices, those of distinctive dress and group endogamy (1967:37), to set the sect apart from the world. I suggest that the adolescent Quaker group retains these insulating devices, albeit to a lesser extent and in some cases implicitly.

Although regulations on 'plain' Quaker dress [G] were removed in the nineteenth century, as I argue above (5.4.1) for adolescent Quakers wearing what they describe as alternative clothes is seen as a 'badge of belonging' (Salvation Army 2001:39) and as marking them out as distinctive. I argue that despite the statement that they do not wear clothing that would define themselves as part of a group, some adolescent Quakers display the characteristic of distinctive dress.

When I met a group of adolescent Quakers at the train station prior to a focus group interview, as an insider to the wider group I was able to identify the group despite not knowing any of the individuals (Field Notes 13/12/2003). Their response to my comment on this was that

you can always spot Quakers from miles away with their strange clothes and funny hats (Female 15, Field Notes 14/12/2003).

In the interview one participant stated that

there are ways you can tell Quakers like at the station you just get off the train and there they are (Female 15, Field Notes 14/12/2003).

I suggest that distinctive dress, i.e. clothes that are seen as 'alternative' such as 'patchwork trousers' (Field Notes, 13/12/2003) colourful clothes and 'baggy jumpers' (Field Notes 13/12/2003) and not mainstream designer labels (Field Notes, 13/12/2003) is an important factor as a means of identifying the group as distinctive. I argue that it can also operate as a means of insulation. One adolescent who, acknowledged that he dressed conventionally certainly experienced this: 'I've sometimes felt left out of Young Quaker gatherings, seemingly dominated by...black-clad ear-ringed Young Quakers' (David 1992:1). He had even been told, by another adolescent, that 'this is a Quaker gathering – you're supposed to dress in weird clothes' (David 1992:1).

Although the group does not practice endogamy, I argue that there is an endogamous tendency amongst adolescent Quakers, in that they are most likely to have close relationships with other adolescent Quakers. This is evident in the existence of close friendships within the group (7.3.2), the way adolescent Quakers feel that the Quaker group is where they can most be themselves, and the nature of Quaker events for young people. I suggest that this is a feature of the group's difference and a means of insulation. Adolescent Quakers contrast their relationships, including friendships, with adolescents of the opposite gender in the Quaker group with those with non-Quaker peers:

I've only gone out with Quakers... simply because it is generally easier to get close to them and I feel more confident around them (Female 16; Field Notes, 23/11/2004)

I'd prefer to go out with a Quaker girl because they tend to be really, really nice people ... they often have more 'inner beauty' (Male 16; Field Notes, 23/11/ 2004)

the only nice girls I know are Quakers... all others are bitches and if you asked them out they would try and make you look like an idiot (Male 14; Field Notes, 23/11/2004).

Adolescent Quakers also identify most closely with other Quaker adolescents and because of similarities state that relationships with other adolescent Quakers are easier for several reasons:

Quakers tend to be much more understanding than people in the "real world". They're much easier to talk to about feelings, so it makes relationships better. Also, some beliefs are the same, so they don't think you're crazy (Female, 15; Field Notes, 23/11/ 2004)

Quakers as a group are so accepting, and ... there is the point that you don't have to explain Quakerism to a Quaker. The relationship I am in now is with a Quaker... I find that we have a lot in common on a base level, which can be traced back to the fact that we are Quakers, and have been brought up that way (Male, 17; Field Notes, 23/11/2004).

The nature of Quaker events for young people is also a factor in encouraging endogamous relationships between adolescent Quakers:

The kind of atmosphere you get at Quaker events makes it so much easier to talk to people that you like (Male, 15; Field Notes, 23/11/2004)

Quite a lot of young Quakers have been to young Quaker events and (sorry if this sounds soppy) they kind of carry the nice atmosphere with them afterwards which makes them nice to be with (Female, 13; Field Notes, 23/11/2004).

The fact that 'the environment of Quaker events [is] often intense and sexually charged' (http://u19s.quaker.org.uk/qboard/view_thread.pl?id=1115 accessed 12/02/2004) may make it more likely that adolescent Quakers will develop relationships with other Quakers as they may not find themselves in similar situations with other adolescents. However this may not be distinctive to Quaker events for young people as one adult volunteer also involved in statutory youth work stated that this was common to all youth work and that 'fewer relationships are formed at Quaker events than things like Woodcraft Folk' (Field Notes 27/2/2009). It is also the case that not all adolescent Quakers share this endogamous tendency:

I've been out with both Quakers and non-Quakers, and both have worked out really. I'm in a relationship with a non-Quaker, and it's working out fine-he accepts my beliefs and accepts my randomness! I... don't prefer Quakers to non-Quakers, or vice-versa (Female, 16; Field Notes).

I argue that this endogamous tendency also applies to same gender relationships within the adolescent Quaker group, and possibly to a greater extent; one homosexual adolescent Quaker stated that:

Quite a few people from [a young Quaker group] have been out with people of the same sex, or snogged them or something... like experimented with being gay. (Male 18; Field Notes 30/11/2004).

This adolescent indicated that there was more freedom to explore same gender relationships in the adolescent Quaker group than in other peer groups and that adolescent Quakers were:

much more open, more prepared to discuss anything and, at worst, tolerant [of lesbians, gays and bisexuals] (Male 18; Field Notes 30/11/2004).

I observed several open same-gender relationships at Quaker events for young people (Field Notes). The homosexual adolescent Quakers I spoke with didn't feel a need for a separate group such as Quaker Lesbian and Gay Fellowship (Dandelion 1996:xxiv)

because young Friends are so supporting (Male, 18; Field Notes, 19/11/2005).

I suggest that unlike other introversionist sects (Wilson 1967:43) in the adolescent Quaker group there is a tendency towards endogamous relationships rather than a rule. I argue that being involved in a relationship with another member of the group increases an individual's investment in their belonging to the group and, as a result, increases the level of affiliation with, and identification as part of, the group.

8.4.6 Configuration of Sectarian Nature

The Quaker group's sectarian nature is determined by what 'frames' its Quakerism and provides the group with unity and thus differentiates members from the rest of the world.

For the adult Quaker group 'it is the way in which Quakers practise their religion which is definitional' and the behavioural creed which acts to 'generate unity and maintain cohesion' (Dandelion 2004b:222-223). I argue that for the adolescent group unity is achieved not by orthopraxis but through the initiation of the individual into the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and the creation of a separate physical and psychological space (6.6). Because the two groups operate in different ways, the shared meanings, values and informal rules of the adolescent group are different from those of the adult group and exist in a juxtapositional tension to them. The adolescent Quaker group's world-renouncing values (4.8, 7.6.2), exclusivist behavioural norms (6.2.1) and self-conception as an enlightened elect (8.4.5) can be contrasted with the adult group where it is the form and behavioural creed that are exclusivist. Given this I argue that although both the adult group and the adolescent group have sectarian characteristics the sectarian nature of the two groups is differently configured and has a different emphasis and I argue that the adolescent group is ultimately more sectarian than the adult group.

8.5 The Adolescent Quaker group in relation to the adult Quaker group

In this section I consider the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the adult group. I argue below (8.5.1, 8.5.2) that while the two groups are similar and have institutional relationships and structural links, there are disconnections, cultural separation and conflict between the two groups (8.5.4). I argue that the groups are, in reality, only tenuously connected.

8.5.1 Institutional Relationship and Structural Links

There are structural connections and organisational links between the adult and adolescent groups. These links exist in several ways: firstly, Quakers can be seen as belonging to the same meetings regardless of whether they are adults or adolescents;

secondly, the adolescent Quaker group is connected through its reliance on the practical and financial support of the adult group. In addition, in some cases, there is a formal institutional relationship between groups of adolescent Quakers and the adult group. I explore each of these links in turn.

Britain Yearly Meeting has explicitly stated that adolescent Quakers are part of the same group as adults, both structurally and spiritually:

Many young people find their place in the Society through geographically scattered groups of young people. These links are valuable but above all young people are a vital part of our worshipping communities today. (Britain Yearly Meeting 2004 Minute 19).

In this statement the adult group clearly expresses a primacy of belonging to local Quaker meetings. However this does not reflect the reality for adolescent Quakers, a majority of whom place their affiliation to exclusively adolescent groups above any sense of belonging to their local meeting (7.3.1). Despite sectarian behavioural demands, the adult Quaker group displays a denominational inclusivity in terms of admitting new members to the group (8.3.2). However I argue that this denominational inclusivity does not extend to adolescent Quakers already within the group, or to the adolescent Quaker group as being different in relation to this area of Quaker practice. Only 3.3% of YQQ respondents stated that the group they felt most part of was their area meeting (the body through which membership is held) and I argue that the current system of membership excludes the adolescent group. In 2001 Britain Yearly Meeting appointed a group to consider the issue of membership of the Religious Society of Friends, and particularly the possibility of membership not specific to a geographic meeting (Britain Yearly Meeting 2001 Minute 30). In the event the group limited their consideration to the process of membership rather than examining its meaning (Quaker Life 2004:2) and stated that: 'We do not see any practicable ways to implement non-geographically held membership' (Quaker Life 2004:1).

This has served to maintain the status quo in terms of membership being administered through Area Meetings and has prevented the accommodation of sectarian adolescents who affiliate with exclusively adolescent groups and whose sense of belonging is through these groups. Although meetings were encouraged to 'contact an applicant's wider Quaker networks ... such as ... a young people's Link Group' (Quaker Life 2004:7) this report did not address the way in which adolescents hold their belonging to Quaker groups.

The adolescent group is also tied-in to the adult group through its need for financial and human resources. In order for the adolescent Quaker group to meet together, whether at a national, regional or local level, the group requires the financial and practical support of the adult group. This may include the allocation of resources to enable the group to meet and financial support for individual adolescents to participate in Quaker events for young people. The adolescent Quaker group also relies on adults being willing to volunteer their time to plan, organise and run events for the adolescent Quaker group. Even those groups where much of the organisation is undertaken by young people require adult support in order to comply with legislation and good-practice guidance issued by the government and the central organisation (Quaker Life 2008).

There are examples of formal institutional relationships between adolescent Quakers and the adult Quaker group. Each year during Yearly Meeting sessions [G] the epistle of Junior Yearly Meeting is read, as are minutes from the groups participating in the parallel programme for children and young people.

An institutional relationship exists through the allocation of resources and the formal expression of connection which suggests that the adult group sees adolescents as an extension of their organisation and activity. However, as I explain below, in terms of

popular religion, the links are more tenuous and the feelings of the adult group towards adolescents are more ambivalent.

8.5.2 Popular Separation and Cultural Disconnections

In this section I suggest that some adult Quakers' identification of adolescents as being part of the group is an emotional response and disconnection occurs in several ways: through a separation of the two groups during Quaker-time; through a lack of shared practice; and through the exclusion of adolescents from the group's decision making processes.

8.5.2 a) Separation of individuals in Quaker time

Many adult Quakers are reluctant to participate in the adolescent Quaker group or even in mixed-age groups with adolescents. This reluctance is starkly illustrated by the attitude of the adult Quaker who thanked a volunteer running the separate youth programme at an all-age event for 'keeping the little buggers away from us all week' (Field Notes, 26/7/2007). Adolescent groups occasionally have difficulty recruiting adult volunteers needed to enable their activities to take place (Field Notes). At all-age gatherings adults are often given the option of not being part of mixed-age groups.⁵³ Significantly, similar allowances are not made for adolescents (Field Notes, 16/9/2006) however they often opt out of voluntary participation in meetings where there are few other adolescents:

I've kind of given up going to my local meeting because I think the average age is about seventy. (Female, 17; Interview, 13/12/2003).

Collins argues that the Quaker group is 'striated' according to the differentiating social categories to which different members belong. Collins suggests that belonging to the

⁵³ Typically these mixed-age groups would meet for up to 1 hour each day during a gathering, the remainder of the programme would be separated, with adolescents being divided into several groups according to age.

Quaker group, and therefore Quaker identity, rests on the suppression of these 'contradictory positions' (Collins 2002a:82). Because of their age adolescent Quakers share membership of a social category which, I suggest, is contradictory to that of the rest of the Quaker group and is not suppressed but rather is institutionally separated from the adult Quaker group:

I dislike the occasional age group separation, in elder, long time Friends (Male, 17; YQQ).

Cliff Heales and Cook describe Quakerism as 'a religion for mature people' (1992: 24) and Quaker worship in particular is presented as 'a mature, adult form of worship' (McGeoghegan 1978:11). Although this does not explicitly exclude adolescents, I argue that it reflects an implicit view of Quakerism as an adult religion, and as a result one which children or young people are incapable of connecting with. In Quaker meetings 'difficulties in integrating children and young people fully into the life of meetings and specifically into worship are found to be commonplace despite the many affirmatory statements' (Perry 2001:1) and 'within contemporary Quakerism measures proposed to bring children more fully into the life of meetings, and more specifically into worship might prove to be ... unwelcome' (Perry 2001:71). Kline states that 'resistance was observed when the local meeting attempted to manage where children fit in the silent worship' (2002:163).

Within the Quaker group children and young people are not generally seen by adults as being 'spiritually equal' (Bayes 2003a:29). According to Bayes this is because 'spiritual wisdom is seen as the product of seeking and experience' (2003a:30). Given the certainty with which adult Quakers hold the idea of spiritual search without destination (Dandelion 2004a:231), I argue that because of their age, and the implied inexperience of worship and

spiritual seeking, adolescents are excluded from this and placed below adults in a form of spiritual hierarchy.

As I argue above (6.2.3), members of the adolescent Quaker group may spend considerably longer in Quaker-time than adult participants and Quaker activities in which adolescents participate give increased time and opportunity for sharing of individual beliefs and discussion of social and moral issues with a distinctive Quaker emphasis, as well as of personal issues (6.3.3). This time is not, however, shared with the adult group.

This lack of connection between the generations within the Quaker group is identified by Bayes (2003b) and Baltaro (2003). Bayes states that many adult Quakers 'have no sense of connection with children and do not feel they have anything to share with them' (2003b:29) whilst Baltaro, herself a Young Adult Friend [G] states that only rarely has she experienced adult Quakers articulating their religious experience, and questions how Quaker children are supposed to understand, and themselves articulate, such experience, given a 'lack of space to communicate about deeper experience' (Baltaro 2003:105). I argue that within the adult group the constraints placed on speaking in worship and the higher value placed on silence over speech foster a culture of silence within and outside worship (Dandelion 2005:110). There is, therefore, no common practice of sharing of individuals' beliefs, values and spirituality between adults and adolescents. There are some examples of such sharing as in a series of workshops conducted in Quaker meetings in 2005-2006 which were aimed at young people and adults sharing their spirituality; however this work took place in less than 5% of meetings in Britain.

Adolescents identify differences between themselves and adult Quakers in that they are involved at different levels of the organisation and in so far as their Quaker-time involvement does not necessarily include local meetings.

young Quakers do lots of TGMs and Summer School and things like that but we're not necessarily in local Quaker meetings (Male, 18; Field Notes, 13/12/2003)

I argue that adolescent Quaker identity has its basis in individuals' affiliation to exclusively adolescent groups and young people have a sense of belonging to the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, rather than any sense of belonging to the same group as adults. This, together with the participation of adolescent Quakers in a wider range of Quaker-time activities, and the separation between adolescents and adults during Quaker-time, leads to a lack of shared practice between the two groups.

8.5.2 b) Lack of shared practice

Although Britain Yearly Meeting has publicly affirmed that it considers adolescents to be part of the same group as adult Quakers, I argue that there is little shared practice between the two groups. Separation between the adolescent and adult Quaker groups occurs particularly in relation to worship, with radical forms and settings for worship being popular with the adolescent Quaker group (3.3):

I find a field in the sunshine much more conducive of spiritual thought than a cold meeting room. (Female 18; Field Notes 29/7/2004)

The whole point of Quakerism was that we could worship where we wanted, when we wanted... Meetings do not need to be on a Sunday, and especially they do not need to occur in a meeting house. (Male, 17; Field Notes, 29/7/2004).

I argue that worship, whether distinctively adolescent or adolescent participation in adult worship, can result in a separation of adults from adolescents:

Sometimes I find sitting with lots of old people and listening to their ministry is quite off putting. I would prefer to hear ministry from young people about how to live life as a young Quaker, and their problems. (Male, 17; YQQ)

There is a question as to whether adolescent Quaker worship represents a different form of ritual than adult Quaker worship. Collins describes ritual as varying according to local traditions and conditions (2005:326) and states that small differences in ritual between one place and another leave a great impression. Collins argues that 'even an apparently simple ritual with a long established form is bound to vary to some degree in each vernacular manifestation' (2005:326-327). Adolescent Quaker ritual could be seen as merely being a different vernacular manifestation of liberal-Liberal Quaker ritual. However I suggest that this is not the case for two significant reasons. Firstly, as described above (3.3), adolescent Quaker worship is distinctive in form, content and nature. The form of adolescent worship challenges the culture of silence and the creedal attitude towards silent, unprogrammed worship that is present within the adult group (6.4.3). Secondly, in participant observation I identified small but significant differences in the form of different instances of adolescent worship. These differences include: the layout of the room; whether participants sat on the floor; the extent to which worship was programmed; the types of programmed contribution (6.4.2); and the extent to which adolescents were involved in the programming and elderring of worship. I suggest that these differences in worship between different adolescent Quaker groups are different vernacular manifestations of adolescent Quaker ritual, which are apparent to individuals visiting that group for the first time.

Collins states that the formalisation of Quaker ritual may serve to maintain existing power structures through the generation of 'traditional authority' (Collins 2005:336). Quaker worship has become formalised through the creedal attitude towards silent worship in which silence is valued and the role of speech diminished (Dandelion 1996:259). I suggest that within liberal-Liberal Quakerism the form of ritual limits diversity and homogeneity. Ritual content is non-negotiable, and is a way of maintaining existing power structures, whereas within the adolescent group content is negotiable. During the fieldwork I

witnessed two occasions when contributions were allowed following justification by a member of the group that they were spiritually significant for them (Field Notes 12/12/03, 12/11/05). Collins states that ritual may provide the context for critique (2005:337) and Hall mentions three Methodist youth congregations whose worship represents 'a rejection of the established forms of the parent church' (2003:346) and highlights sitting on the floor (Hall 2003:346) and the strong participatory nature (2003:28) as reflecting a different ethos. I argue that adolescent Quaker worship and the culture of contribution represent a challenge to the existing form of ritual, and through this to existing power structures.

However the critique provided by adolescent ritual can be limited by adults present at events who still have the power to direct adolescent worship. At some Quaker events for young people, adults have a power of veto over what is allowed in programmed worship. In one instance the introduction and explanation of worship that was read at the start of the event was re-written by an adult, having initially been written by the young people who had been appointed to oversee worship for the event (Field Notes 13/4/2003). I am aware of instances of adults present at adolescent worship eldering adolescents for inappropriate contributions (Field Notes 22/08/2004). One area in relation to worship that has proved controversial within the Quaker group is the applauding of programmed elements of worship (Field Notes 30/7/2003; 29/5/2006). I argue that this serves to equate the worship with performance or play, as Collins states, 'for some the very idea that worship is or may be playful is obnoxious' and may result in 'disagreements in congregations relating to the presence of young children in meeting' (2005: 333). I suggest that adolescent worship may be seen as more obviously 'playful' than silent worship in the adult group, especially when it includes programmed elements such as art, activities, or popular music that could be equated with a lack of seriousness. This characterisation of adolescent worship as not being proper worship limits the extent to which it may provide a context for the critique of the silent form. Dandelion suggests that the primary

motivating factor for innovations, such as including programmed worship at gatherings and on occasions in local meetings, is 'inclusivity rather than spiritual hunger' (2005:119). I suggest that in addition to this it represents an attempt to silence critique by co-opting these forms of ritual whilst maintaining the primacy of silent, unprogrammed worship.

Collins identifies Quaker worship as a manifestation of 'communitas', a status-free system, which is contrasted with the status system, 'societas' (2005:327)⁵⁴. I suggest that several of the 'tensions' identified by Collins exist between unprogrammed Quaker worship and adolescent worship; these include, significantly: the relation of silence and speech and the plainness of Quaker worship (2005:327). Although adolescent worship is based in silence, programmed worship is often described as 'alternative' (Field Notes) or 'experimental' (Dandelion 1996:318). I argue that this places it below the status afforded silent worship. Worship that does not conform to the 'plainness' identified by Collins is considered marginal and limited to events for young people, all-age gatherings and occasional occurrences in local meetings. Although Collins identifies the right of anyone to stand and minister, he goes on to state that 'God may speak through any person, regardless of race or sex' significantly age goes unmentioned (2005:327). Because of this I argue that Quaker community is actually a status system where there is a hierarchy that places adults above adolescents. Thus I argue that it is separate adolescent worship, regardless of whether it is programmed or unprogrammed, which provides the status-free system for adolescent Quakers.

There are also differences between the groups both in terms of belief content and in the way adolescents perceive adult Quakers as holding their beliefs:

⁵⁴ Communitas is a term defined by Victor Turner (1969). Turner contrasts two modes of existence: societas (the status system) and communitas (the status free system). Turner differentiates communitas from societas by means of binary opposition, for example: anonymity/systems of nomenclature; equality/inequality; absence of status or rank/distinctions of status or rank (Turner 1969:106-7).

Older Quakers have their defined Quaker values that they believe in ... whereas I think lots of young Quakers are unsure whereabouts they are (Female 17; Field Notes 5/12/2003).

I feel uncomfortable with older Quakers who are more religious or [have] more defined beliefs that I may not agree with (Female 17; YQQ).

In contrast to adult Quakers, adolescents identify themselves as:

placing less value on going to meeting/God worshipping but [more on] just holding their own beliefs (Female, 16; Field Notes, 13/12/2003).

A significant aspect of the lack of shared practice is evident when the two groups use the Quaker business method [G] in their separate groups. Adolescents refer to the decision taken being 'the feeling of the meeting' (Field Notes 11/4/2006) rather than the discerned 'will of God' (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:2.89). On the basis of this distinction I argue that the adolescent group places the emphasis on a minute [G] as reflecting the collective decision of the group present without necessarily any reference to God or anyone or anything beyond the immediate group that is present. In terms of structure and practice the adolescent Quaker group is tied into the adult Quaker group's processes but adapts these processes to make them appropriate to their group or, in the case of more sectarian adolescent Quaker groups, create their own. For example the organising committee for one link group appoints new committee members itself without referral to, or approval of, the group as a whole. Although there is nothing to suggest that their discernment process is not rigorous it would not be considered in right ordering by the adult group. Until 2006 the arrangements committee of Junior Yearly Meeting also appointed the committee for the following year. In subsequent years this changed, firstly to the appointments being made by a nominations committee [G] of participants and then to the whole group approving those names (Field Notes 7/4/2008). However, this later change was at the suggestion of an adult volunteer, indicating the influence of adults involved in the adolescent group in bringing adolescent practice in line with that of the adult group. In the

following section I examine the exclusion of adolescents from the adult group's decision making process.

8.5.2 c) Exclusion of adolescents from formal decision making processes

In the adult Quaker group 'practice at the Quaker business method is acknowledged as important' (Dandelion 1996:218) and I suggest that adolescents are perceived as lacking the required experience or knowledge of the complex procedural rules of the behavioural creed (Dandelion 1996:219) Adolescents commented that:

there is no forum for young people to have input into the Society of Friends... there is no way for young people to bring their concerns (Male 18; Field Notes 10/8/2004).

One adolescent stated that the Society of Friends would not change for another ten years because:

[until then] we won't have the confidence to express our views (Male 17; Field Notes 10/8/2004).

The adolescent Quaker group does not participate equally in the corporate decision making of the Religious Society of Friends, and I argue is therefore marginalised.

Adolescents are not always excluded from the process. The committee responsible for planning a recent national all-age Quaker gathering chose to co-opt as full members of the planning committee two adolescents who had been invited to contribute thoughts about their age group into the planning process. However I argue that this committee is acting in a counter-cultural way and that this was possible because the committee was permitted to co-opt extra members without the need for a formal nominations process, and also because the event in question has developed a reputation for being experimental (Dandelion 1996 314-15)

Adolescents do participate in Yearly Meeting; however they rarely participate in plenary sessions with adults but instead undertake separate 'age-appropriate activities' (Yearly Meeting Children & Young People's Programme publicity material). Occasional participation in adult sessions is largely determined by Yearly Meeting Agenda Committee [G] and by adults who run the separate programme for adolescents, based on what they consider to be of interest to the group. One adult volunteer stated that many of the adults involved in running the programme for adolescents:

presume they wouldn't be interested and [that] they would be bored and distract the sessions. (Field Notes, 21/3/2006).

It is also the case that adolescents may be reluctant to be involved in main sessions where the theme and format have been decided on by adults. On one occasion I noted that adolescents were in favour of limiting the cross-age involvement because it would reduce the amount of time they spent in their separated age groups, (Field Notes; 6/12/2006). I argue that this was, partly because such involvement would detract from the experience of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy

The institutional relationship between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups is made explicit by the adult group stating that young people are part of the group as a whole and through the practice of reading minutes from groups of the Children and Young People's Programme at Yearly Meeting. However I argue that the existence of a separate programme at Yearly Meeting is in itself an act of marginalisation that results in a disconnection between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups.

The current attitude of the adult Quaker group towards the adolescent group can be compared to the attitude towards women in the later part of the nineteenth century. A separate women's Yearly Meeting existed from 1784 to 1907, but attendance of women in

the men's Yearly Meeting was permitted from 1896 (*Quaker faith and practice* 1995:6.01). Thomas Kennedy states that the men's Yearly Meeting was regarded as the 'real Yearly Meeting' (personal correspondence April 2008) and argues that women's spiritual equality was 'never carried over into the business of directing the day-to-day affairs of their religious society' (Kennedy 2001:214). Kennedy describes Quaker women as feeling a deep measure of concern over their exclusion from the meaningful business of the Society (2001:26). This can be compared with the attitude of adolescent Quakers to their exclusion:

Within the current structure under 19s do not have a voice (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 24 Minute of 14 and 15 year olds group)

We feel it would be good if Young Friends were able to be more involved in the decision-making processes of Britain Yearly Meeting. (Britain Yearly Meeting 2006 Minute 47 Minute of 15 to 18 year olds group).

Just as it is the current practice for the minutes of the Children and Young People's programme to be read towards the end of the Yearly Meeting sessions, so formerly did the (men's) Yearly Meeting receive minutes from the Women's Yearly Meeting which informed the men of their deliberations (London Yearly Meeting 1895:64). The women's deliberations were quietly ignored (Kennedy 2001:214) and had no real influence on the decisions of the Yearly Meeting (personal correspondence with Thomas Kennedy April 2008).

The minutes of the Children and Young People's Programme, whilst recognised as minutes of Yearly Meeting, have the status of 'minutes of record' [G] rather than 'minutes of decision' [G] and are in no way binding on the Yearly Meeting. The Yearly Meeting receives these minutes, conferring the same status on those from young children as on those from the adolescent group, although the form and content may be very different. Similarly, although the Junior Yearly Meeting epistle is read at Yearly Meeting (8.5.1), there is a sense

that this is received from outside the Yearly Meeting, one adult Friend who had served on several central committees [G] said:

the way we receive the [Junior Yearly Meeting] epistle has always made me feel it is a different Yearly Meeting (Field Notes, 19/1/2006).

Given this I argue that adolescent Quakers view the adult group as behaving in different ways and that adult Quakers do not operate according to the same rules and behavioural norms as adolescents. This is illustrated by the example of a committee including both adolescent and adults, the adolescent members of the committee had signed boundaries (6.2.1) while the adults had not, already establishing a different standard of expectation of behaviour. During a period of informal social time some of the adults chose to go to a pub for a drink, which the adolescents were not allowed to do according to their boundaries. The adolescents expressed the view that drinking alcohol was not something they considered appropriate for a Quaker event (Field Notes 29/3/2008) and one stated that:

I think it is sad that they can't go a weekend without alcohol (Male, 16; Field Notes, 29/3/2008).

He added that although he did drink outside Quaker-time it was not something he would do at a Quaker event, suggesting a behavioural duality (7.6.2) and the primacy of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in influencing behaviour within Quaker-time (6.2.1). On some occasions those adults working with groups of adolescents agree to abide by the same boundaries as the adolescent Quaker group (Field Notes 9/4/2006). One adult volunteer explained their position by stating:

if they have to stick to those boundaries then so should we (Field Notes, 31/3/2007).

I argue that the existence of different behavioural norms, a lack of shared practice, separation during Quaker time and adolescents' exclusion from the group's decision making processes result in the separation of the adult and adolescent Quaker groups and the marginalisation of adolescents.

8.5.3 Institutional, Popular and Adolescent Religion

Institutional religion is that defined by the organisation, its content located within parameters established by the organisational process, whilst popular religion is individuals' personal interpretation of organisational religion that is shared within the collective frame (Dandelion 1996:21). Popular religion is the location of the interpretation of orthodoxy and redefinition and reinterpretation of the orthodoxy, which represents the creation of a neo-orthodoxy (Dandelion 1996:24). Dandelion identifies a distinction between institutional and popular religion in the adult Quaker group (1996:24-25). I argue that disconnections that occur as a result of the separation of the adolescent and adult Quaker groups, result in the existence of a third aspect, namely adolescent religion. Within the Quaker group adolescent religion exists separately from both institutional religion and popular religion because access to both is controlled by the adult Quaker group, and adolescents are excluded in explicit structural and implicit operational ways. The adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy represents the collective frame in which the adolescent group interprets and redefines the orthodoxy of both the institutional religion and the neo-orthodoxy of the popular religion of the adult group. I argue that the adolescent religion is excluded from the redefinition of the new orthodoxy in the adult group and only connected to the institutional religion through a one-way relationship based on 'benign parentalism' and empty co-option.

Dandelion's model of the Quaker religion and of the popular interpretation and redefinition of institutional religion (1996:25) is given in Figure 8.1. Figure 8.2 shows the

relationship between the institutional and popular religion of the adult group and the adolescent religion of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

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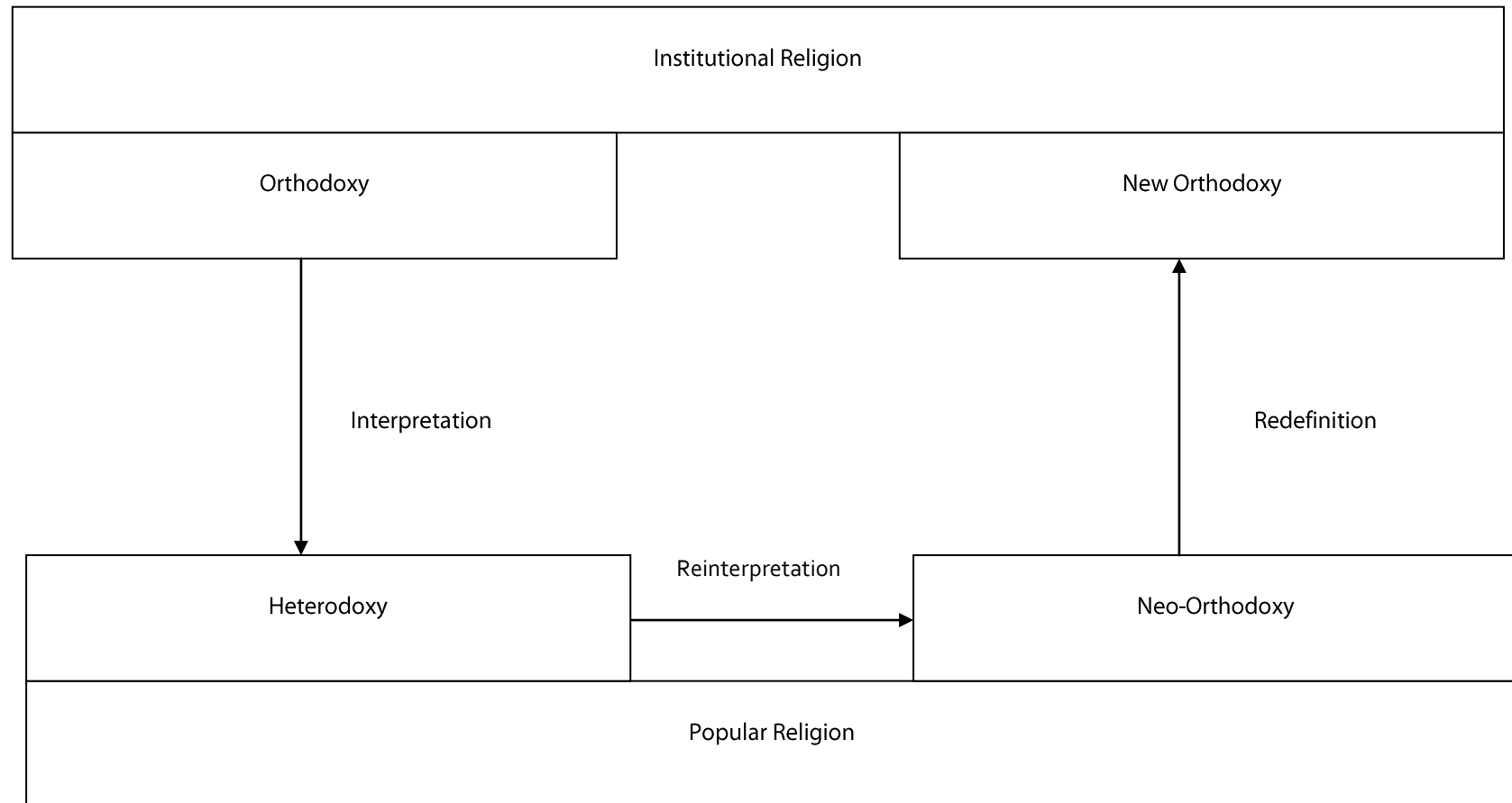


Figure 8.1 The Popular Interpretation and Redefinition of Institutional Religion (Dandelion 1996:25)

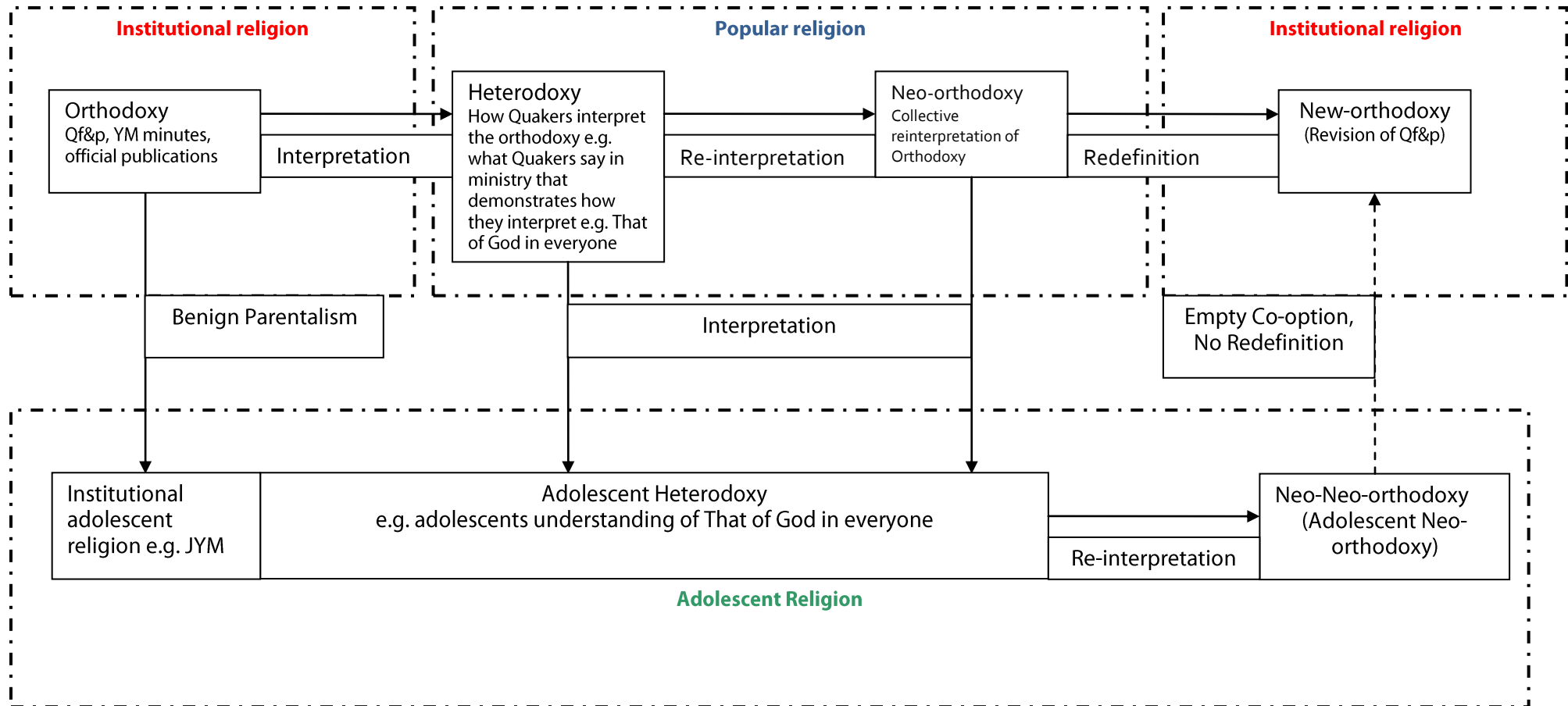


Figure 8.2 The Relationship of institutional, popular and adolescent religion in the Quaker group

As indicated above (8.5.1) the adolescent group relies on the patronage of the adult group which states that adolescents are part of the same group, expressing an ideal position whilst not recognising the reality of the adolescent group's felt belonging. The institutional religion provides patronage of the adolescent group rather than there being a constitutional connection between the two (8.5.2 e). For example the largest gathering of adolescent Quakers in Britain (Junior Yearly Meeting) does not have any formal power to communicate by minute⁵⁵ with Meeting for Sufferings [G] or the Yearly Meeting.

When it receives minutes from adolescent Quaker groups, such as during the Yearly Meeting sessions, the adult Quaker group practices a strategy similar to the co-option of dissent described by Wilkof (1989:198). These minutes are not accorded the same status as other minutes and are in no way binding on the adult group, which can choose to ignore their content (8.5.2 c). Although these are Yearly Meeting minutes and the adolescents' statements are therefore co-opted by the adult group it is not asked to consider whether or not it unites with the theological, cultural or organisational content of the adolescents' statements or to accept these as having validity as statements of the whole group. In the past, minutes (especially from younger children) have been applauded. I argue above that this reflects a patronising attitude to adolescent worship (8.5.2 b) and suggest the same is the case when considering adolescents' contribution through formal minutes. This behaviour from the adult group has been justified by some on the grounds that it was 'a spontaneous expression of joy and love rather than "applause" as such' (The Friend 18 August 1989:1064). Despite this I argue that applauding the minutes reflects a different

⁵⁵ Committees, groups and Quaker meetings communicate with each other by means of sending a minute. This is used, for example, by an Area Meeting to communicate a concern to Meeting for Sufferings or by Meeting for Sufferings to request action by one of its standing committees. Committees are obliged to receive minutes from groups that entitled to communicate with them. The adolescent group does not have the authority to do this. In 2005 a minute from the 17 and 18 year olds was sent to Yearly Meeting Agenda Committee, however the decision to do this was taken by the adult group in Yearly Meeting (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 31).

attitude towards them, a lack of equal treatment and that the adult group attributes these minutes lesser status. In recent years the instances of applause for these minutes has reduced, in part because the Yearly Meeting clerks have reminded the adult group that receiving the minutes from the Children and Young People's Programme groups is part of the worship and not performance (Field Notes, 29/5/2006). This may represent a move towards integration of the adolescent group or may merely reflect a tightening of the behavioural creed in order to avoid applause occurring at other points during a Meeting for Worship for Business.

The current orthodoxy includes mention of adolescents and the adolescent group (for example, references to Junior Yearly Meeting are included in *Quaker faith and practice* and the JYM epistle is read at Yearly Meeting) in its expression of Quaker beliefs and values. However the adolescent group reinterprets the orthodoxy of institutional religion (e.g. *Quaker faith and practice*), the heterodoxy and also the neo-orthodoxy of the popular religion (e.g. what adult Quakers say in ministry). Examples of this adolescent neo-orthodoxy include the reinterpretation of 'that of God in everyone' as 'the light in us all' and its subsequent redefinition as 'that of good in everyone' (4.3.2, 4.6); and the redefinition of the outcome of discernment in Quaker meetings for worship for business as 'the feeling of the meeting' rather than the 'the will of God' (8.5.2 b); and the adolescent attitude to membership (5.3). This adolescent neo-orthodoxy is expressed in a number of ways, for example through minutes written by groups of adolescents particularly at a national level, through the JYM epistle and through the spoken ministry or written thoughts of individual adolescents of whom the adult group are aware. However the extent to which they are embedded in this context is dependent on their being conferred status by the adult group. For example, material appearing in publications controlled by adult Quakers including *Quaker faith and practice*, the last revision of which was undertaken entirely by adults.

Because of this, I argue that the content of adolescent re-interpretation and re-definition of the adult institutional orthodoxy and the popular heterodoxy is not reflected in the new orthodoxy of the adult group, the control of which rests with the adult group. If the exclusion of adolescent neo-orthodoxy from the redefinition of the new orthodoxy by the adult group continues, then the adolescent Quaker group will continue to operate in a space which is separate from the adult Quaker group.

8.5.4 Conflict & Conflict Avoidance

When the structural separation illustrated above (8.5.2) is temporarily suspended and the two groups operate in the same space in Quaker-time then there is tension and occasionally conflict between them. In this section I explore an example of conflict and an example which demonstrates the avoidance of conflict by the adult Quaker group. I argue that the issue of agreement or conflict is avoided through the twin mechanisms of benign parentalism and empty co-option.

In 2000 Britain Yearly Meeting considered the issue of the environment and sustainability, under the title of 'God in all creation'. During this Yearly Meeting a group of adolescent Quakers who had been present in the session stated that: 'Many of us found it frustrating that the depths of our feelings on the subject are yet to be reflected in a Yearly Meeting minute'. (Britain Yearly Meeting 2000 Minute 38, Minute of 14 to 18 year olds group) When the Yearly Meeting returned to the issue the following year adolescents were again involved. It was acknowledged that 'we [the adult group] had reached this point largely thanks to the concern of the 14 to 18 age group, and their presence... underlined the urgency they felt' (Kramer 2001:10). Following consideration in small groups a statement was prepared and it was proposed that another committee do further work on this following Yearly Meeting (Kramer 2001:10). However 'one of the 14 to 18s shamed us into an

undertaking that the statement would be redrafted in the course of this Yearly Meeting for distribution to meetings' (Krayner 2001:10). Although this was done and issued as a 'call to action' (Britain Yearly Meeting 2001, Minute 33) the Yearly Meeting took no corporate action as a result of this and the issue was not considered again for another four years when it was included in a wider session on individual and corporate witness:

Our concern for sustainability and the environment ... is developing and, building on our deliberations at Yearly Meeting four years ago, there is now much individual witness. The time has come to find a way of witnessing corporately (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 38).

However there have been no significant corporate statements since then, and given this I suggest that there has been no accommodation or cooption of the adolescent neo-orthodoxy by the new orthodoxy of the adult group.

I argue that the conflict between the groups that occurred in 2001 is illustrative of the degree and configuration of the different groups' sectarian nature. While both the adults and the adolescents may share the same values that led them to consider the issue of environmental change, as Krayner (2001) indicates the adolescents were keener to take action, which caused conflict with the adult group. The Yearly Meeting epistle that year stated that: 'the sense of urgency of the younger Friends at Yearly Meeting, and the anger they expressed, have discomfited the rest of us' (Britain Yearly Meeting Epistle 2001). 'Discomfort' is used by Robson in her work on Quakers and conflict to describe 'the awareness of discrepancy between personal behaviour and the ideal' (Robson 2008:150). Discomfort can be equated with the stronger term of shame (Scheff 2000). Shame is the marker of the state of the social bond between the individual and other individuals which forms the collectivity (Scheff 2000), and shame occurs when one feels negatively evaluated by oneself or others' (Robson 2008:150). Krayner's comment that 'one of the 14-18s shamed us' (2001:10) is significant in indicating that the adult Quaker group had been negatively

evaluated by the adolescent group. Thus I argue that the shame felt by the adult group was a public marker of the state of the bond between the two groups that was both unexpected and uncomfortable for the adult Quaker group as it indicated that the adult perspective of the group as one collective was not shared by the adolescents. The discomfort of the adult group as expressed in the Yearly Meeting epistle was not focused on the issue under consideration or what had been said but on the 'urgency' and 'anger' of the adolescents. This reflects two elements of conflict with the Quaker group identified by Robson: that of 'identity conflict' and the expression of strong emotion (Robson 2008:148, 153). The adolescent group's sense of urgency showed an unwillingness to act in the 'proper Quaker' way which, is 'often focused on procedural matters in the collective method of discernment and decision making' (Robson 2008:148). The referral of matters to another committee is a standard Quaker process of deferring issues that are contentious or are judged to require further deliberation. Robson states that 'it is un-Quakerly to be immoderate, to show strong emotion, particularly anger' (Robson 2008:153). I argue that in 2001, and subsequently, by focussing on the process the adult group avoided the real source of the conflict which, I suggest below, is a difference of theology and a cultural dissonance. Rather than co-opting the adolescent neo-orthodoxy, the adult Quaker group deflected the content and ignored values and beliefs expressed by the adolescent group because to do so would require the adult Quaker group to acknowledge adolescents as a distinct group.

An example of conflict avoidance occurred at Britain Yearly Meeting in 2005. Adolescents had been invited to send minutes to Yearly Meeting on the issue of structural and constitutional change in the Yearly Meeting. When these were not read in full, the adolescent groups expressed considerable anger (Field Notes 1/8/2005). As a result the Yearly Meeting clerk met with groups of adolescents in order to address this. Although adults were encouraged 'to take full account of them' the adult group still took 'the view

that reading all these minutes in full in the session is not the best way to bring the content of these minutes to Friends' attention' (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 31) . At this Yearly Meeting the oldest adolescents (those aged 17 and 18 years old) identified 'a gap which needs to be bridged between ourselves and the rest of the Society' (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 24 Minute of 17 and 18 year olds group). The adolescents proposed the establishment of a 'transitional programme' for those aged 19-25 which would 'enable part-time involvement in the "adult" programme, be organised by the age group itself, and provide a safe and inclusive community for us [i.e. adolescents] all to be involved in (Britain Yearly Meeting 2005 Minute 24 Minute of 17 and 18 year olds group).

I argue that this outcome represents a continuation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and demonstrates an aversion to confront conflict on the part of the adult Quaker group between it and the adolescent group. In this instance the adult group failed to explore the reasons for the gap 'circumnavigating the real issues... turning the eyes and the mind away from conflict' (Robson 2008:144). Although the transitional group [G] was wanted by adolescents I suggest that its establishment represents the co-option of dissent (Wilkof 1989:198) and that the real issue of the separation of adolescents from the adult Quaker group, their exclusion from decision making, the differences between the two groups and the gap between triple culture and double culture (7.9) were ignored. Robson argues, in relation to differing attitudes to conflict, that 'the heterotopic boundary between Quakers and the wider society is differently placed in Ireland Yearly Meeting and Britain Yearly Meeting' (Robson 2008:155). Similarly I suggest that the heterotopic boundary, that is, the degree of difference between the surrounding society and the Quaker group, varies between adults and adolescents.

In Section 8.6 below I argue that the gap between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups, the different heterotopic boundary between the group and the world and the

different configuration of the sectarian nature of the groups leads to the adolescent group being a hidden sect.

8.6 A Hidden Sect

In this section I use Argyris and Schön's (1996) analytic scheme of theories of action to examine the relationship between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups. Although formal institutional statements by the Quaker organisation express a view that adolescents and adults are part of a single Quaker group, this is not reflected in the reality of the group. I argue that the sectarian nature of the two Quaker groups is differently configured and that the adolescent group operates a sectarian attitude towards the adult Quaker group which is unacknowledged by the adult group. I suggest that because the differences between the groups are not acknowledged the structural relationship does not amount to a defence by the adult Quaker group against an alien theology or a cultural dissonance caused by adolescents being Quaker in a different way.

Argyris and Schön's analytic scheme of theories of action contrasts espoused theories and 'theories in use'. Espoused theories (Argyris and Schön 1996) are the values on which people believe their behaviour is based and to which the organisation has made a public commitment. Espoused theories are expressed through authoritative statements and are keenly defended (Robson 2008:153). 'Theories in use' are 'the notional maps which guide action in the organisation on a day to day basis' (Robson 2008:153); these co-exist with the espoused theory and may not be so easily discovered.

I argue that there are three different perspectives of the relationship between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups: the espoused theory and two 'theories in use', one representing the adult perspective and another the adolescent perspective, of the cultural

reality. The espoused theory is that adult Quakers and adolescent Quakers are part of one group, however the theory in use is that there is a separation between the two groups. The adult perspective of the cultural reality is that the two groups are the same but separate whilst the adolescent perspective is that the two groups are separate and different. I argue that because the institutional religion of the adult group does not acknowledge the theory in use, and because the popular reality does not see the adolescent Quaker group as separate and different, the adolescent Quaker group is a 'hidden sect'.

8.6.1 Institutional Expression

The first perspective of the relationship between the adult and adolescent Quaker groups is that of the 'espoused theory'. This is the perspective conveyed by the organisation's institutional expression and made explicit, for example in public statements by the Yearly Meeting:

We are glad to record a new understanding that we are one people, irrespective of age, gathered together at Yearly Meeting (London Yearly Meeting 1993, Minute 54).

above all young people are a vital part of our worshipping communities today (Britain Yearly Meeting 2004 Minute 19)

This is also the view presented in authoritative publications such as *The Friend* which gave prominence to the statement by a Yearly Meeting staff member that 'We are one religious community not two; we are one Yearly Meeting, not two' (Risley 2007:6). This 'institutional expression' is illustrated in Figure 8.3.

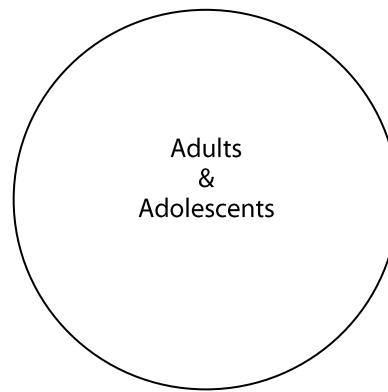


Figure 8.3: Institutional Expression

The institutional expression is that adults and adolescents are part of the same group, it emphasises the structural connections and organisational links between the adult and adolescent groups (8.5.1). As I argue above (8.5.1 and 8.5.2) an institutional relationship exists through the allocation of resources and the formal expression of connection which suggests that the adult group sees adolescents as an extension of their organisation and activity. However the actual feelings of the adult group are more ambivalent and adolescents do not feel the same affinity with the adult group as they do with other adolescents.

8.6.2 Cultural Reality: the adult perspective

The first theory in use which reflects the adult perspective of the cultural reality, as illustrated in Figure 8.4, is that the two groups are 'the same but separate'.

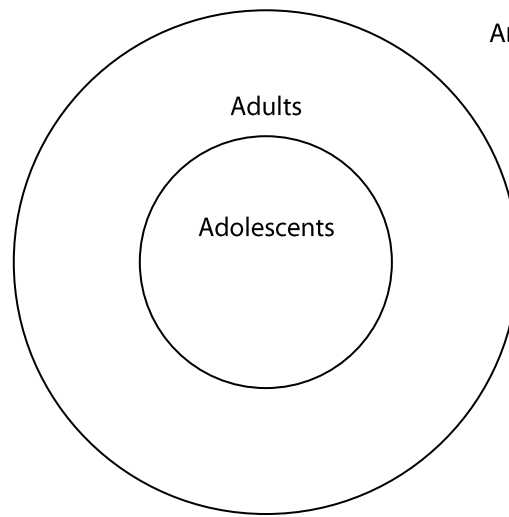


Figure 8.4: Cultural Reality: The adult perspective

As described above (8.5.2) this separation occurs in several ways: the separation of individuals in Quaker-time, a lack of shared practice and the exclusion of adolescents from the decision making process of the Religious Society of Friends. In addition, I suggest that the vast majority of the adult Quaker group do not share the experience of being part of the adolescent Quaker group. In her research on the Unification Church, Barker highlights that children and young people 'experience a different environment to converts' (Barker 2008). Given this, and the fact that almost 85% of Dandelion's sample were adult converts (1996:74) the majority of adult Quakers lack a common experiential reference point with the adolescent Quaker group.

Although there is little shared practice, because of Quaker-time separation of the two groups, I argue that, as a consequence of the adult perception of the adolescent group as the same but separate, the adolescent Quaker group is subject to the same rules of practice. Not only do the behavioural demands of the adult group extend to occasions when adolescents are present but also to the adult group's judgment of adolescent Quaker practice.

In one epilogue observed for this research there were 21 pieces of ministry in 40 minutes of worship (Field Notes 16/04/2003) including two contributions from one individual. This was referred to by adult Friends who had not been present as 'popcorn ministry' [G] (Field Notes, 5/05/2003), an implication that the ministry had broken rules on speech and was inappropriate. This comment was made; without reference to the content of the ministry itself but because it did not reflect the accepted practice of the adult group. The fact that the behavioural creed is not relaxed when adolescents are present to accommodate their practice suggests further that the adult group regards adolescents as being part of the same group and subject to the same rules but separated from it in terms of practical participation. The behavioural demands of the adult group on adolescent practice are particularly apparent when considering the group's decision-making process. As described above (8.5.2) adolescent Quakers are excluded from this decision making process because they are seen as lacking the required experience or knowledge of the complex procedural rules of the Quaker business method. Quakers have a long held acceptance of the ideal of the priesthood of all believers (*Quaker faith and practice* 27:35) and while the institutional expression of the group may include adolescents in this I argue that the cultural reality excludes them.

The adult perspective of the structural reality is illustrated by the attitude towards minutes and epistles produced by the adolescent group. Despite the formal, institutional expression that the adolescent group's minutes are added to the minutes of the Yearly Meeting, the structural reality is that the adult group is given the choice of reading the adolescent group's minutes or ignoring them. I argue that the cultural reality is that the adult Quaker group is not in the practice of listening to or responding to the adolescent group. As I describe above (8.5.4) the adolescent group's minutes have a different status and the adult group is not asked to consider whether or not it unites with the theological,

cultural or organisational content of the adolescent group's statements or to accept them as having validity for the whole group.

Because of this the theological and cultural differences between the two groups remain publicly unacknowledged, and in some cases unidentified, by the adult group. I argue that Collins' statement that 'we are the same because we are Quakers' (2005:327) reflects the adult perspective of the 'theory in use'. When considering the issue of membership (8.5.1) the Yearly Meeting stated that all age groups should, as far as possible, be treated in the same way' (Britain Yearly Meeting 2001 Minute 30) reflecting the institutional expression that adult and adolescent Quakers are part of the same group and subject to the same behavioural rules. The encouragement to Area Meetings (Quaker Life 2004:7) to contact other groups that adolescents are involved in, reflects the adult 'theory in use' of the adolescent group as the same but separate. While accommodating adolescents belonging to other groups it still requires them to follow the same rules and does not acknowledge the adolescent group as different; it excludes adolescents who consider themselves as belonging to the Religious Society of Friends through exclusively adolescent groups. This fails to acknowledge the adolescent group's attitude towards membership (5.3).

Although the adolescent Quaker group could be seen as similar to the youth congregation model described by Hall as 'a church within a church' (2003:257) Krayner's account of the 2001 conflict refers to the adolescent Quaker group as 'them' and as different from the 'us' of the adult Quaker group, reflecting a separation of the two groups in terms of their practical participation. When the theory in use challenges the espoused theory, as was the case in 2001, it provides a source of tension and discomfort. The values expressed in the 'theory in use' are, Robson argues 'not necessarily explicitly in awareness and the dangerous prospect of exploring them is often defensively resisted' (2008:153).

8.6.3 Cultural Reality: the adolescent perspective

Just as adults separate themselves from adolescents so too adolescents separate themselves from adults (8.5.2):

As described above (7.3.1) the majority of adolescent Quakers affiliate with exclusively adolescent Quaker groups. These groups are physically and psychologically separate from the adult group (7.7). Adolescent Quakers also identify differences in theology, practice and culture between themselves and the adult Quaker group (8.5.4).

I argue that the theory in use which reflects the adolescent perspective of the cultural reality is of the two groups as being 'separate and different'; this is illustrated in Figure 8.5.

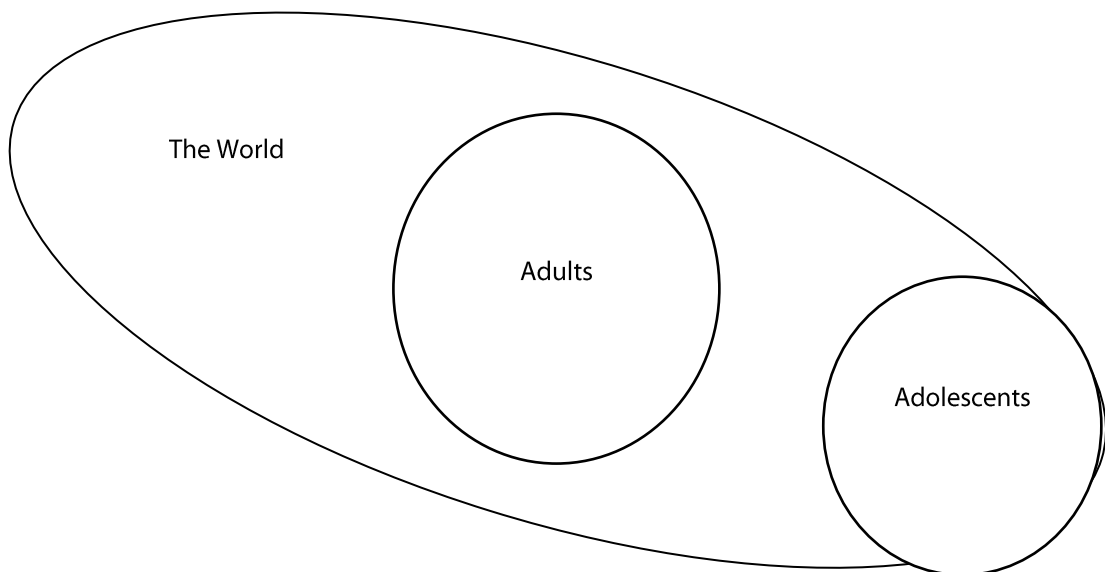


Figure 8.5: Cultural Reality: The adolescent perspective

Adolescents experience both a separation from the world and a sense of themselves as a distinctive worshipping community separate from adult Quakers (6.5).

The adolescent Quaker group's perspective places the adult Quaker group outside the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. It is through the operation of this Community

of intimacy that the adolescent Quaker group sees itself as 'marginal to the wider society' (Wilson 1967:41) and as being 'in the world but not of it' in terms of behaviour (7.6.2). This includes the adult Quaker group which is regarded as more 'worldly':

older Quakers have their Quaker values that they believe in but at the same time they've learnt to live in the world and they've got that balance. Whereas I think lots of young Quakers are ... sort of exploring things more. I think older Quakers don't understand young people all the time and they sometimes have strict face... to show the differences (Female 18; Interview 5/12/2003)

[Adult Quakers] are not as easily identified outwardly – can't be put into a group [or] picked on (Interview, 13/12/2003)

The different behavioural rules of the two groups provides an example of the separation. The adolescent Quaker group has rules and norms of behaviour (6.2) and individuals associate their belonging to the adolescent Quaker group with these rules and norms (7.4.2 & 7.5). Given this, I argue that adolescent Quakers are clear on how to behave within the group and how others will behave towards them. Adult Quakers, both individuals and as a group, operate under different behavioural rules (Dandelion 1996:219) and, as illustrated above (8.6.2), have an expectation that adolescent Quakers will behave according to the adult behavioural rules. This expectation creates a feeling of separation in adolescent Quakers and a sense of the two groups operating in different ways. I argue that a consequence of this is that adolescent Quakers feel that they do not belong to the adult Quaker group to the same extent as they belong to adolescent Quaker groups.

8.6.4 The Hidden Sekt

Wilson argued that the development of sects from a parent body can result from a 'conflict... between genuine separateness from the world and the desire for social respectability' (Wilson 1967:41). In the adolescent triple culture (7.9.3), the networked community provides a feeling of belonging to a distinctive group that exists in a separate space; ritual is radically different both in terms of form and in its setting in communal

space separate from other Quakers. Adolescent Quakers construct their individual identity and group unity through narratives which are excluded from the institutional religion of the Quaker group and provide a model that enables them to assimilate core values into their daily lives, marking them out as different from non-Quakers. In terms of practice, the behavioural creed component of the adult Quaker double-culture does not express the same values, meaning or rules as the ritual component of the adolescent Quaker triple-culture, thus creating a cultural dissonance that is particularly apparent in the contrast between the 'culture of silence' operating in the adult group and the 'culture of contribution' that operates in the adolescent group (6.3.3). Given this it could be argued that because the adolescent Quaker group is more demanding than the adult Quaker group (6.2.1) and requires a stronger commitment and fellowship of those who are part of the group (7.7), the adolescent Quaker group exists as a sect solely because of conflict with the adult Quaker group. However, sects can also form around a charismatic leader (Wilson 1967:30). Shills (1965) states that cultures have charisma and that ideas or ideals can have a charismatic authority, similar to that of an individual leader. Within the adult group silence is revered to the extent that 'Quakers approach silence as exhibiting charismatic attributes' (Dandelion 1996:242). I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group the Community of Intimacy is similarly revered and has a charismatic authority. This charisma is endowed on the Community of Intimacy through group ritual. In relation to ritual, I identify above that for many adolescent Quakers, intimacy with the community masks lack of intimacy with God (7.7.3, 7.5.3) and rather than adolescents worshipping God, they worship the ideal of the community and the community itself. As a result, I argue, the community becomes an icon. The maintenance of the community is the primary justification given for rules and norms of behaviour and upholding these rules is of central importance to the community (6.2.1). Hence I argue that the group's rules and behavioural norms also have a charismatic authority. Those who do not conform to the community's rules or norms of behaviour are excluded, despite the group expressing ideals of acceptance (4.8). There is evidence that

the group implicitly excludes those who do not conform to its particular type of non-conformity (6.2.2):

We feel we ought to be like the defined stereotype. There's a lot that we think about ourselves that perhaps we're not but we think we ought to be. It's assumed that you're in this and you SHOULD be idealistic and you SHOULD be outgoing. (Male, 18; Interview 6/12/2003)

Challenges to the group's acceptance and inclusivity are greeted with hostility even when coming from other group members. (Field Notes, 6/10/ 2007). Given this, I argue that because the community is central it cannot be challenged, particularly in relation to the group's ideals of acceptance and inclusivity.

The desire of adolescents to prolong their membership of the adolescent Quaker group (at least in part) through the establishment of the transitional group (8.5.4) is, I argue, further evidence of the charisma of the group and its charismatic pull over individual adolescent Quakers.

I argue that the ritual, rules and behavioural norms of the adolescent Quaker group cause the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy to turn in on itself and make itself sectarian. I identify below that the adolescent Quaker group is in a seventh theological age of Quakerism (9.3.1 b), given this I argue that the charisma of the community of intimacy is the most convincing reason for the adolescent Quaker group operating as a sect in relation to the adult group.

Although the institutional expression of the adult Quaker group reflects the inclusion of the adolescent group this is expressed in terms of the adolescent group being the same as the adult group rather than representing an accommodation of the distinctive values and practices of the adolescent Quaker neo-orthodoxy by the new orthodoxy of the adult

Quaker group. There is both 'a failure of the social system [that is, the adult Quaker group] to accommodate a particular age group' (Wilson 1967:33) and also 'a conflict... between genuine separateness from the world and the desire for social respectability' (Wilson 1967:41), two reasons given by Wilson for the emergence of sects. Formal institutional statements express a view that adolescents and adults are part of a single Quaker group, however this places adolescents assumed belonging to the Quaker group as a whole over their felt belonging to exclusively adolescent groups. As a result of the operation of 'empty co-option' the theological and cultural differences between the two groups remain publicly unacknowledged, and in some cases unidentified, by the adult group. To acknowledge these differences would require the adult Quaker group to acknowledge the adolescents as a different group with distinctive values and practices.

I argue that the failure of the adult group to acknowledge the adolescent group as a separate and different sect within the sect, the different configuration of the sectarian nature of the two Quaker groups and the adolescent group's sectarian attitude towards the adult Quaker group results in the continuing cultural, institutional and theological marginalisation of the adolescent Quaker group. The charismatic position and iconisation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy further increases the separation. The separateness of the adolescent group is hidden from adult Quakers by the adult Quaker group at both institutional and popular levels and is only visible to the adolescent Quaker group. Given this I argue that the adolescent Quaker group can be best described as a 'hidden sect'.

8.7 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is examined in relation to Bryan Wilson's sect/denomination typology and Dandelion's description of the adult Quaker group as an 'uncertain sect'. I argued that both the adult and adolescent Quaker groups are sectarian but that the sectarian nature of the groups is differently configured. The adult Quaker group has many of the characteristics of a denomination but Dandelion's description of the adult Quaker group as an 'uncertain sect' is significant in relation to the high demands on its members in terms of behaviour and unity of practice (2004b:225). In relation to aspects of Quaker practice, the adult group can be seen as world-rejecting and requiring initiation for individuals to formally become a member of the group. I argue that the adolescent Quaker group exhibits some characteristics of a denomination, such as the lack of unity of practice, the unimportance of belief content, and acceptance of individuals joining the group without entry requirements; but that it is more properly described as a sect because of its strong internal discipline, world-rejecting (or, more appropriately, world-rejected) values, isolation and insulation from the world and self-conception as an enlightened elite.

I outlined the structural links and cultural disconnections between the adolescent and adult Quaker groups. Three different perspectives of the relationship between the two groups were given; the institutional expression that adult Quakers and adolescent Quakers are part of one group; the adult perspective of the cultural reality which views adults and adolescents as the same but separate; and the adolescent perspective of the cultural reality as the two groups being separate and different. I argued that the adolescent Quaker group operates as a 'hidden sect': it is sectarian in relation to both the world and the adult Quaker group, and it is hidden from adult Quakers as a result of the failure of the adult group at both institutional and popular levels to acknowledge it as being both separate and different.

CHAPTER 9

IMPLICATIONS

9.1 Introduction

This thesis has explored the nature of adolescent Quaker spirituality. In Chapter One I described the place of the adolescent Quaker group within the context of the Religious Society of Friends in Britain and provided background and context for this research. In Chapter Two I detailed the constituency for this research and outlined the methods used. In Chapter Three I examined the religious practices of adolescent Quakers, including worship practices. I argued that adolescent Quaker worship is qualitatively different from adult worship in terms of its form, content and nature. In Chapter Four I considered the beliefs of adolescent Quakers and argued that for adolescent Quakers belief content is marginal and non-definitional and belief in God is not a defining characteristic of adolescent Quaker identity. Chapter Five contains an exploration of adolescent Quaker identity, including self-identification and group affiliation. I described a mechanism for the way in which the features of adolescent Quaker identity function in relation to each other. I also described how adolescent Quaker identity has its basis in perceptions of difference. In Chapter Six I identified and explained the formal rules and informal norms that govern adolescent Quaker behaviour. I examined corporate worship within the adolescent Quaker group and argued that adolescent Quaker ritual represents a ritual of transformation and the creation of a separate physical and psychological space. In Chapter Seven I argued that the adolescent Quaker group represents a Community of Intimacy and I described the features of a Community of Intimacy in general and the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in particular; and I explained how these features function in relation to each other. In Chapter Eight I argued that the adolescent Quaker group is sectarian in nature. I

described the structural links and cultural disconnections between the adult and adolescent Quaker group and identified tensions and conflict between the two groups. I described three different perspectives of the relationship between the two groups. I suggested that the adult Quaker group fails to acknowledge adolescent Quakers as separate and different and argued that the adolescent Quaker group is a 'hidden sect'.

In this chapter I detail the key findings of this research and outline the original contribution this thesis makes. I highlight the implications and consequences of this research for existing scholarship in a variety of fields: Quaker studies, where it challenges a number of existing theories; the study of youth and religion; the sociology of religion; and the wider sociology of groups and sub-cultures. I outline areas for future research arising from the research generally and these consequences in particular.

9.2 Summary of Original Points

This thesis is the first doctoral research to focus primarily on the adolescent Quaker group. It makes a number of original contributions to existing scholarship which are outlined in the following six sections.

9.2.1 The Community of Intimacy

The features and form of the Community of Intimacy in general and the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy in particular (Chapter Seven) provide a new way of describing and explaining how groups function and maintain their cohesion. The key aspects of the Community of Intimacy are the operation of a networked community, shared values, the expression of these values in the behaviour of group members, and the existence of the group in a separate physical and psychological space. This way of theorising about group culture can be used in researching all areas of social life (see 9.3.4 below).

9.2.2 The Culture of Contribution

The Culture of Contribution (6.3) describes how the adolescent Quaker group approaches silence and speech in Quaker-time. It is consequential on qualitative differences from adult Quaker worship in the form, content and nature of adolescent worship, worship activity and other speaking in Quaker-time. The Culture of Contribution challenges Dandelion's 'culture of silence' (1996:239) and rejects the creedal attitude towards the form of silent worship which Dandelion claims is an aspect of the Behavioural Creed which helps to secure the unity of the adult Quaker group

In describing the Culture of Contribution I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group, belief content is marginal but the expression of individual belief stories is encouraged. The Culture of Contribution provides an alternative model for securing group unity despite diversity of belief. This leads to a further challenge to the behavioural creed and highlights the distinctive ways in which the adolescent group operates.

9.2.3 Ritual

In Section 6.5, I presented a reapplication of Fenn's typology of ritual and argued that for the adolescent Quaker group worship is a ritual of transformation focussed on creating physical and psychological space for the group. This demonstrates that Dandelion's analysis of the purpose of ritual for Quakers - to buy more time for a group that feels it is running out of time (2005: 122) - does not apply to the adolescent Quaker group. This model emphasises the role of the particularised ritual of adolescent Quaker worship in the creation of a separate space and the marking of the community as separate from and different to, the outside world. This model provides a new way of examining ritual that should be taken into account by other researchers of any kind of group.

9.2.4 Adolescent Quaker Narratives

In Section 5.5 I presented a model, based on that of Peter Collins, which explains the way in which adolescent Quakers construct their individual identities, and the identity of the group, through the stories they tell, including stories told through their actions. I described three forms of narrative, namely individual, vernacular and canonic, and analysed how adolescent Quaker narratives are located, either within popular or institutional religion. In turn and significantly, I argued that adolescent Quaker narratives are largely excluded from the institutional religion of the Quaker group, and from the popular religion of the adult Quaker group.

9.2.5 Triple Culture

In Section 7.9 I described the adolescent Quaker culture as a triple culture with the three components, of narrative, ritual and networked community. This triple culture represents the way in which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy functions and how it serves to create and preserve a separate physical and psychological space in which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy operates. In conclusion, I argued that these three components are in dynamic interrelationship and are focused on maintaining and sustaining the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

9.2.6 Hidden Sect

In Chapter 8 I argued that the adolescent Quaker group demonstrates stronger sectarian characteristics than the adult Quaker group. I described how, despite an institutional relationship and structural links with the adult Quaker group, there is a popular separation between the two groups as expressed in group practice, including ritual and individual statements of belief. I described three different perspectives of the relationship between

the two groups: the institutional expression that adult Quakers and adolescent Quakers are part of one group, the adult perspective of the two groups as being the same but separate, and the adolescent perspective of the two groups being separate and different. I argued that the adolescent Quaker group is a sect that is hidden from adult Quakers as a result of the failure of the adult group at both institutional and popular levels to acknowledge it as being both separate and different.

9.3 Challenge to existing scholarship

This research challenges existing scholarship in three areas: Quaker studies, the sociology of youth, the sociology of religion and the sociology of groups and subcultures. In this section I summarise these challenges.

9.3.1 Quaker Studies

This research challenges a number of existing theories in the field of Quaker studies, particularly those advanced by Dandelion, Pilgrim and Collins. I argue that three major theories articulated by Dandelion, those of the culture of silence, the behavioural creed and the Quaker double-culture, are not applicable to the adolescent Quaker group. I argue that this research demonstrates that the adolescent Quaker group has moved to a seventh theological age of Quakerism, suggested as a possibility by Dandelion (1996:18). Pilgrim's description of the Quaker group as heterotopic is challenged by this research, a finding which has implications for predictions concerning the future of the Religious Society of Friends. This research, I argue, challenges Collins's identification of Quaker worship as the manifestation of a status-free system. These challenges are considered in turn.

9.3.1 a) *The Culture of Silence and the Culture of Contribution*

I argue that the 'Culture of Contribution', as described in section 6.3.3, challenges Dandelion's 'Culture of Silence' (1996:238-239) and describes an alternative model with a non-creedal attitude towards silence which allows for the vocalisation of individual belief stories and the possibility of changes in popular Quaker theology. I suggest that there may be examples of the Culture of Contribution within the adult Quaker group, for example 'Experiment with Light' groups (Meads 2008). However I argue that these examples are counter-cultural and exist outside the boundaries of Meeting for Worship.

9.3.1 b) *The Behavioural Creed*

Dandelion argues that the behavioural creed is formed by organisational and behavioural rules which act to 'generate unity and maintain cohesion' (2004b:222-223). For the adolescent group, unity is achieved through the initiation of the individual into the community through ritual (7.7.3) and the creation of an ideal social order by means of the creation of a separate physical and psychological space (6.6). I argue that the absence of a coherent orthopraxis as well as orthodoxy, particularly given the rise in congregationalism in some Quaker meetings, requires a reexamination of the idea of the behavioural creed.

This research also challenges Dandelion's assertion that a liberalisation of the behavioural creed upsets the balance between collectivity and individualism (1996:317) and may lead to complete individualism, fragmentation of the group and schism (Dandelion 1996:318). The adolescent Quaker group displays some of the marks of the changes to the behavioural creed identified by Dandelion (1996:318). The most prominent of these is the use of experimental and alternative forms of Quaker worship (3.3). I argue that, given the primacy of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and the creedal function of the

community; liberalisation of the behavioural creed amongst the adolescent Quaker group has not reduced the communal character of Quakerism.

9.3.1 c) *Double Culture and Triple Culture*

I outline above (7.8) an alternative model to Dandelion's Quaker double-culture. Dandelion argues that the double-culture is comprised of a liberal non-creedal belief system and the behavioural creed, that is, the meaning attributed to the organisation and behavioural rules (1996:118). Dandelion states that the elements of the double-culture function as twin components of the culture of the organisation, thus operating within the organisational life of the group. The Quaker double culture demands conformity to form and practice, and a liberal attitude towards belief (Dandelion 1996:123). I describe (7.8.4) an adolescent triple culture with the elements of narrative, ritual and networked community that represents the way in which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy functions, and which serves to create and preserve a separate physical and psychological space in which the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy operates. These three elements are in dynamic interrelationship and are focused on maintaining and sustaining the Community of Intimacy. I suggest that there may be a third strand to the culture of the adult Quaker group, related to individual and corporate behaviour and narrative. Future research may fruitfully examine this.

9.3.1 d) *A Seventh Theological Age of Quakerism*

Dandelion outlines six theological ages of Quakerism⁵⁶ (1996:6-12) and identifies 1991 as a possible point between the sixth age, 'a pluralistic theological paradigm in which the

⁵⁶ These six periods are: I) 'Early Enthusiasms': covers the period from the birth of the Quaker movement to the end of the 1650s. The central idea for Quakers during this period was the concept of the Inward Light and the revealing of sin by turning to the light of Christ. II) 'Restoration Quakerism': this covers the period from 1662 (a year marked by the Quaker Act which outlawed Quakerism). This was a period of hostility and persecution for Quakers and was characterised by a pragmatic sense of survival. Structure and organisation was introduced by Fox as a response to persecution and this led to conservatism. The peace testimony was

influence of Christianity is diminished' (1996:13) and a seventh theological age of 'greater plurality' (1996:315). Dandelion suggests that the advent of the seventh theological age of Quakerism may take twenty or thirty years (1996:315). This research was started twelve years after 1991, however in this section I argue that the process of theological change has been considerably quicker and that the seventh theological age of Quakerism has already started for the adolescent Quaker group.

I argue that for the adolescent Quaker group plurality of belief is accepted (4.7), even to the extent that 'anything goes':

I can think what I want and still be part of the Quaker ethos. (Male, 17; YQQ).

In belief terms, at least, pluralism has become the 'ultimate reality' (Hobday 1992:1167). The influence of Christianity is minimal and the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group is non-Christian (4.7). There is a similar plurality in the enacting of Quaker values (4.8) although this is lessened by the influence of the group's behavioural norms on individual behaviour (6.2.3). In terms of practice, the adolescent group rejects the creedal form of silent worship (3.3, 6.3) and no longer characterises decision making as being 'God led' (Dandelion 1996:203) but rather frames it in terms of a collective agreement by the

adopted to gain favour with the monarchy (Hill 1992:176) and authority of the collective took precedence over the authority of individual experience. III) 'Quietism': Early enthusiasms were replaced in the eighteenth century by the 'Quietist' period which was marked by fervent self-discipline, and a codification of group discipline. This period was marked by an emphasis of the principle of direct revelation beyond its proper importance (Punshon 1984:121). IV) 'Evangelicalism': By the 1830s Quietist principles were put aside and evangelicalism was in the ascendant amongst Friends (Isichei 1970:3). Evangelicals discounted the idea of the inward light and emphasised the paramount authority of scripture (Dandelion 1996:10) and believed that sanctification was proven through good works (Dandelion 1996:10). The evangelical period was marked by the ending of Quietist enforcements of plain speech and dress and endogamy (Dandelion 1996:10). V) From the 1890s evangelicalism was replaced by liberal theology shaped by Darwinism, Biblical criticism and an increased interest in historical studies and the teachings of early Friends (Jones 1921:991). The Liberal period was marked by the reclamation of the idea of the Inward Light and religious authority founded on personal experience (Isichei 1970:35). VI) Dandelion identifies 'present-day trends', as being a liberal attitude towards liberal theology. The sixth theological age is a 'pluralistic theological paradigm in which the influence of Christianity is diminished' (Dandelion 1996:13).

community (8.5.2 b). Given this I argue that the seventh theological age of Quakerism has already started for the adolescent Quaker group.

In addition to the plurality of belief and the rejection of the behavioural creed I suggest that there are two further characteristics that distinguish the adolescent Quaker group: the de-theologisation of Quakerism and the individualisation of understandings of worship. (Dandelion 2005:112). The de-theologisation is marked by individuals no longer seeing their Quaker involvement as a religious exercise. For some adolescent Quakers this is already the case: 'One idea was that Quakerism is the philosophy and way of life whilst Christianity, Buddhism or Atheism, for example, is the theology' (Junior Yearly Meeting Epistle 2008).

Dandelion argues that the popular understanding of silence as the basis of Quaker form is in transition (2005:112). Liberal-liberal Quakerism has moved away from a scriptural understanding of the basis of unprogrammed worship and theological understandings of worship are now individuated in the Quaker group (Dandelion 2005:112). Dandelion suggests that this could lead to the demise of a sense of collective intimacy with God (2005:112) and argues that today Quakers can 'choose their Gods and choose their intimacies' (2005:114). Given the significance of worshipping with other adolescent Quakers (7.5.3), the lack of belief in God (4.2) and the fact that only 8.2% of YQQ respondents state that they worship God in Meeting for Worship (3.3.3) I argue that in adolescent worship there is no sense of collective intimacy with God, however there is a sense of collective intimacy with other individuals who are part of the group (7.5.3). Thus, I argue that for many adolescents it is the adolescent Quaker community that they worship and what adolescents choose is a collective intimacy with each other rather than God.

Dandelion suggests that the advent of the seventh theological age of Quakerism may take twenty or thirty years (1996:315). Given the progression to a seventh theological age of Quakerism demonstrated above, I argue that this process has happened more quickly than anticipated by Dandelion. I suggest that the move towards a seventh theological age for the adult group will be evidenced by pluralism of belief, a similar plurality of the enactment of Quaker values, a breakdown in the form of silent worship and the individualisation of understandings of worship; this will be accompanied by a changed understanding of Quaker discernment together with the de-theologisation of Quakerism. Dandelion states that the advent of the seventh theological age of Quakerism could have far reaching consequences for the Religious Society of Friends (1996:315). I argue that operation of the adolescent group as a 'hidden sect' (8.6) and the creation of the 'transitional group' (8.5.4) (Britain Yearly Meeting 2006 Minute 48) are indicative of the start of the disintegration of the Religious Society of Friends that Hobday (1992) argues is a potential consequence of pluralism. I suggest that the continued involvement, or otherwise, of the adolescent Quaker group researched here will be a major factor in determining whether or not Pilgrim is proved right in her assessment that 'there will certainly be two yearly meetings in Britain [by 2050] and it is likely that there will be three' (2003:156).

9.3.1 e) *Heterotopia*

Pilgrim argues that the unity and identity of the Quaker group has 'come to rest on ... their sense of difference, of otherness', that it is difference itself that distinguishes Quakers from other religious groups and from society itself (2003:152) and that the modern Quaker essential is that they occupy a 'heterotopic space' (2004:208). Heterotopia is defined by Hetherington as

spaces of alternative ordering [which] organise a bit of the social world in a way different to that which surrounds them. That alternate ordering marks them out as Other and allows them to be seen as an example of an alternative way of doing things (1996:2).

Pilgrim argues that because diversity of belief has become 'the hallmark of present-day Quakerism' (2004:215) and 'Friends' concerns are no longer exclusively ... Quaker issues' (Pilgrim 2004:217) Quakers' sense of unity and identity now rests on 'their heterotopic stance itself: their sense of themselves as being other and offering an alternative ordering to the rest of society (Pilgrim 2004:217). To be heterotopic, heterotopias must be juxtaposed to something (Pilgrim 2004:214). I suggest above that the adolescent Quaker group is juxtaposed both to other young people and other Quakers (7.6.2). Adolescents value being part of the group because of the similarities they find between themselves and other members of the group (7.3.2, 5.4.3). It is more radical than the adult group and is defined, and defines itself, against the world and also against the adult Quaker group (8.6.3). It is the adolescent Quaker group's patterns of affiliation, values and behaviour that mark it as different from both the world and from the adult Quaker group and, allows it to be seen as an example of an alternative way of being Quaker and an alternative way of being young people (Hetherington 1996:2). However, given the adult Quaker perspective, (8.6.2) this example may only be apparent to adolescent Quakers.

Given the central place of the Community of Intimacy in adolescent Quaker culture (7.9), I suggest that the adolescent Quaker group is not heterotopic in the same way as the adult group and that the group's 'heterotopic imperative' is not otherness itself but rather the networked community, shared values and common behavioural norms of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. What is important to adolescent Quakers is that in the Community of Intimacy they can identify with others like themselves, with whom they share values and are emotionally close to. It is this which knits them together. Thus I argue

that the perceptions of difference and the adolescent Quaker group's separateness are a consequence of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy rather than being definitional of it.

A consequence of adolescent Quakers' different heterotopic imperative is that they do not necessarily fit into any of the three different groups of Quakers identified by Pilgrim (2004). Pilgrim defines twenty-first century Quakers as 'Exclusivist', 'Inclusivist' or 'Syncretist' (2004: 220-21). Exclusivists are an extremely small, discrete group, who identify separately because of BYM's lack of explicit Christianity. Inclusivists hold to Friends' mainstream traditions and the behavioural creed, believe in God and the possibility of discernment, and value the discipline and authority of the corporate body over the Syncretists' individualised privatised spirituality (Pilgrim 2004:220). Pilgrim states that Inclusivists tend to regard themselves as a 'moral elect'. Syncretists on the other hand, have a sense of disconnection from traditional sources of meaning and place great emphasis on freedom, authenticity, the recovery of rejected knowledge and a synthesis of spiritualities. I suggest that adolescent Quakers combine characteristics of Inclusivists and Syncretists (Pilgrim 2004:220). They value the authority of the corporate body, although for them this is the adolescent group rather than the Quaker group as a whole, and, they place an emphasis on freedom, social solidarity and a synthesis of spiritualities (Pilgrim 2004:221). Significantly, although spirituality is individualised and may be disconnected from traditional sources of meaning, it is not privatised within the adolescent Quaker group. I argue that the continued involvement of the current adolescent Quaker group and the introduction of features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy into the organisational culture of the adult group may alter Pilgrim's prediction of 'serious splits' resulting from a shift in power relations (2004:223). However, I suggest, that Pilgrim's prediction will be significantly altered only if there is a shift within the adult Quaker group

to counteract the effects of the 'hidden sect' (8.6) and if the adult Quaker group were to reflect the features of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy rather than hold to an inclusivist or syncretist position.

9.3.1 f) *Worship as status free*

Collins identifies Quaker worship as a manifestation of 'communitas', a status-free system, which is contrasted with the status system, 'societas' (2005:327). In making this comparison, Collins identifies a number of tensions between Quaker worship and the world and argues that in Quaker worship there is an absence of rank. In particular, Collins argues that Quaker worship represents a minimisation of sex differences and that 'God may speak through any person, regardless of race or sex' (2005:327). I suggest that it is significant that Collins does not include age in this list, and I argue that tensions exist between unprogrammed Quaker worship and adolescent worship which are apparent through adolescent participation in adult worship and through adolescent attitudes both to separate adolescent worship and to the participation of adolescents in adult worship.

Within the Quaker group, ministry given by adolescents is often received differently from adult ministry (Australia Yearly Meeting 2003:241). Although adolescent programmed worship is based in silence it is often described as 'alternative' (Field Notes) or 'experimental' (Dandelion 1996:318) which, I suggest, places it below the status afforded silent worship. Worship that does not conform to the 'plainness' identified by Collins (2001) is considered marginal and limited to events for young people, all-age gatherings and occasional occurrences in local meetings (8.5.2 b).

This research challenges Collins' identification of Quaker worship as a status-free system. I argue that Quaker worship actually represents a status system where there is a hierarchy that places adults above adolescents.

9.3.2 Youth and Religion

The research outcomes highlight several contrasts between the adolescent Quaker group and other adolescents, both religiously affiliated and not. In this section I identify these contrasts and the questions they raise for the study of youth and religion and spirituality.

9.3.2 a) Adolescent Quakers and Generation Y

Generation Y refers to those born after 1982 (Savage et al 2006:7), also sometimes known as the millennial generation (Singleton et al 2004:248). The adolescents participating in this study were born between 1985 and 1992 and so fall clearly into this cohort. Generation Y is characterised by a celebration of choice and a tolerance of diversity (Salvation Army 2001:12) and by increasing anxiety about risk, rampant consumerism, dislocated families and a major shift towards gender equality (Singleton et al 2004:248). The use of technology is taken for granted as a way of life for them (Salvation Army 2001:12). This generation is community-minded and values family and friends (Savage et al. 2006:7) drawing on friends as a source of support whom they can talk to about things they might not want, or be able, to discuss with parents or other adults (Salvation Army 2001:57). The adolescent Quaker group reflects many of these characteristics, particularly the tolerance of diversity (4.7), the importance of friendship (7.3.2) and 'the use of technology as a way to stay connected' (Cozzalizo 2004), to the networked community (7.3.3).

Bosanquet argues that the young people who are part of 'Generation Y' develop their spirituality outside formal churches and express their beliefs outside the traditional

religious channels (Salvation Army 2001:63-65). Young people incorporate religious beliefs into their lives at an individual level. (Salvation Army 2001:65) and see religion as a 'way of life' (Salvation Army 2001:84-85). However, amongst British adolescents, Savage et al discovered 'an absence of young people being involved in explicit spiritual seeking or claiming to be spiritual but not religious' (2006:51). 'Spiritual but not religious' is a term developed by Fuller (2001) to describe individuals who are concerned with spiritual issues but choose to pursue them outside the context of a formal religious organisation (2001:4): they view their lives as spiritual journeys and don't see religion as a fixed thing (Fuller 2001:5). Religiousness is associated with higher levels of interest in church attendance and commitment to orthodox beliefs. Spirituality, in contrast, is associated with an interest in mysticism, experimentation with unorthodox beliefs and practices, and negative feelings towards both clergy and churches. (Fuller 2001:5).

However, the vast majority of adolescents do not identify as 'spiritual not religious' (Smith 2005:27, 127) and very few young people are pursuing spiritual but not religious personal quests (Savage et al 2006:23): many adolescents have not even encountered the concept (Smith 2005:127). Although adolescent Quakers are not unchurched and may not therefore fall into a strict definition of 'spiritual but not religious': 23.9% of YQQ respondents described themselves as spiritual, with almost half of these (10.2% of the group as a whole) self-identifying as 'spiritual' without also labelling themselves as Quaker, Christian or as identifying with another religious group, 11% stated that they were 'Quaker and spiritual' and one adolescent described the diversity of adolescent Quaker beliefs as:

very varied ideas from strong Christian to almost agnostic or atheist, spiritual rather than religious (Male, 17; Field Notes, 6/12/2003)

another stated:

I think that Quakers now, certainly the Quakers I know, can be thought of as spiritual rather than necessarily religious (Male, 18; Field Notes, 6/10/2008).

I argue that being 'spiritual but not religious' can be thought of as characteristic of the seventh theological age of Quakerism which I identify the adolescent Quaker group as being at (9.3.1.b).

Spirituality, Fuller states, is as much about 'silent reflection or coffeehouse conversations' as about formal worship (2001:9). I suggest that the Culture of Contribution (6.3.3) and the informal exploration that is a feature of Quaker events for young people (6.3.1) reflect this understanding of spirituality. This may be a result of the operation of the 'absolute perhaps' (7.9.2) and the Quaker certainty of spiritual search without destination (Dandelion 2004:231) within the adult Quaker group through which adolescent Quakers have, in part, been socialised (8.5.3). Fuller acknowledges that church members have a great deal in common with those who are spiritual but not religious and that spirituality is reshaping the faith of those who belong to religious organisations (2001:9)

Savage et al argue that those adolescents who are part of Generation Y are not generally entertaining alternative spiritualities (2006:51) but rather organise their faith around family, friends and the reflexive self (Collins 1999: 171). Although adolescent Quakers do organise their faith around the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, they particularly organise their faith involvement around the features of affiliation, belonging and friendship (7.3). I suggest because of the differences in form and practice from the adult group (3.3, 6.3.3) and the resultant separation of the two groups (8.5.2 b) adolescent Quakers are engaged in alternative forms of Quakerism which can be thought of as being spiritual but not religious.

9.3.2 b) Adolescent Quakers and Moralistic Therapeutic Deism

The term 'Moralistic Therapeutic Deism' (MTD) is used by Smith to describe adolescent religion (Smith 2005:162). Smith summarises MTD as inculcating a moralistic approach to life, and the idea that being a good and moral person is central to living a good and happy life. Being moral in MTD means being the kind of person other people will like (2005:163). MTD is also about providing therapeutic benefits for its adherents, about attaining subjective well-being. The God of MTD created the world and defines our general moral order but is not particularly present, except in times of need. He is a combination of divine butler and cosmic therapist (2005:164). MTD is, according to Smith, the faith of therapeutic individualism and as he argues 'colonising many established religious traditions and congregations in the US' (2005:164).

Within the adolescent Quaker group the individualisation of belief and the acceptance of pluralism described above (5.2.3 and 4.7) reflects the characteristic of MTD that no-one can make judgements about the religious beliefs of others (Smith 2005:147) and that many religions may be true (Smith 2005:74). These may be aspects of increased secularisation. Despite this, I argue that the adolescent Quaker group provides a challenge to the 'Moralistic Therapeutic Deism' described by Smith (2005). I argue that the religion of the adolescent Quaker group is less individualistic than Moralistic Therapeutic Deism because of the operation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. For adolescent Quakers, moral decision making is related to the community (7.4.2, 7.4.4, & 8.4.2) to an extent which goes beyond 'don't be an arsehole, that's all' (Smith 2005:163) and demands more of the members of the community; this also results in some adolescents viewing the group as an elite (8.4.5). Although adolescent Quakers may gain well-being from their involvement in the adolescent Quaker community, this is not a cost-free exercise. For

adolescent Quakers, peer-influence and group belonging (7.4.4, 7.5.2) provide the motivation and the basis for the moralistic and therapeutic elements of their religion, whilst the belief in God, even a non-interventionist God, is marginalized (7.4.1). For adolescent Quakers it is being part of a group with shared values that helps them to feel good and live a moral life.

Smith argues that adolescents' MTD is influenced by their socially significant relationships (Smith 2006). He suggests that the key relationships for informing the identity of adolescents are their school friends and those they live near (Smith 2006). The fact that adolescent Quakers have socially significant relationships despite their geographical dispersal (7.3) marks a further contrast. The adolescent Quaker group, and the operation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy as both value-setting and identity-forming provides a communitarian variation on MTD that is not identified by Smith and which, I argue, bears further examination and consideration in relation to other groups of adolescents.

9.3.2 c) *Formative and Transformative Spirituality*

Adolescent Quaker ritual (7.5.3) and Quaker events for young people (3.2.2 & 3.2.3) provide deliberate practices and can also be seen as giving participants a 'continued reverential experience' (Heelas and Woodhead 2005:7). The distinctive values and behavioural norms of the group guide individual decision making and represent a 'maintained effort regarding practice... living in accord with a particular convention' (Heelas and Woodhead 2005:7) (4.8, 6.2.3, 7.8.5 c). Adolescent Quakers also identify behaviour (either maintained or temporary) which suggests a life, if not filled with, then certainly containing, altruistic activities (Heelas and Woodhead 2005:7) (4.8, 8.4.4, 8.4.5).

Quakerism... becomes part of who you are, like tolerating other people's beliefs that's not taught to you it's part of who you are. (Male, 15; Field Notes).

Savage et al emphasise that the spirituality of adolescents in Britain is formative rather than transformative and based in normal day-to-day relationships of everyday life. What little transformative spirituality exists is framed within a vague Christian framework (2006:51). I argue that Quaker events for young people and the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy, which are seen as encompassing a separate physical and psychological space (6.6); provide adolescent Quakers with transient experiences of the ideal (Savage et al. 2006:115), representing, as they do, the temporary creation of an alternative, ideal, social order (6.6), 23.1% of QEQ respondents stated that they had gained spiritual awareness from participating in Quaker events for young people. Adolescents' responses indicate that this involvement enabled them to gain:

a deeper faith (QEQ Female, 17)

spiritual thoughts (QEQ Male, 15)

and also gave them a:

greater understanding of how Quakers perceive God (Male, 15; QEQ).

However, greater spiritual awareness occurs within the framework of the adolescent Quaker triple culture, a framework which challenges the tightly boundaried framework of adult Quaker practice characterised by the behavioural creed and the absolute perhaps. Savage et al claim that formative spirituality is 'inherent in the human condition' and implicit in many individual actions and experiences (2006:12). In contrast, transformative spirituality 'involves the individual in deliberate practices' which aim to 'foster a

mindfulness of the other and help maintain a sense of connectedness' and guide individual decisions (Savage et al 2006:12).

Therefore I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy represents, for some adolescents, a transformative spirituality. However, this must be qualified as there is an extent to which this is only transformative within the context of the separate physical and psychological space of the adolescent Quaker group and is only temporary, taking place while individuals are part of the group.

9.3.2 d) *The Community of Intimacy versus Individual Commitment*

John Fulton describes modern religion for young people as being a 'person-based religion' in which individuals are linked in with various forms of religious community celebrations (2000:172), a description that appears to include the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. In his work relating to young Catholics, Fulton states that 'the more religious experiences and events predominate' in an individual's life the closer they are to a 'core' within that group (2000:156). Fulton argues that the choice of young Catholics to be involved in 'church celebrations, group meetings, pilgrimages, sodalities⁵⁷ both old and new, and friendships' (Fulton 2000:170) marks them out as belonging to the core. Although 'core' Catholics may be seen as similar to the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and adolescent Quakers can be seen as having a similar level of community involvement, I argue that the operation of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is distinct from Fulton's 'core Catholics' because of the sectarian nature of the adolescent Quaker group. This sectarian nature marks adolescent Quakers out as more separate from the adult Quaker group which is in contrast to young Catholics for whom 'being part of a

⁵⁷ This is a term, especially in the Roman Catholic Church, used to refer to a fellowship or fraternity.

religious community... means keeping in touch with fellow believers by regular face-to-face encounters, prayers and celebrations rather than living within a sect-like structure separated out from the world' (Fulton 2000:173). I argue that although not necessarily separated out from the world to as great an extent as Fulton suggests, adolescent Quakers who have a widespread involvement (5.2.7) display more sectarian characteristics than Fulton's core Catholics. Fulton states that core Catholics feel secure in their faith, even if they often feel weak in carrying out its moral precepts (2000:145). I suggest that for adolescent Quakers the opposite is true as a result of the provisionality of belief and the functioning of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy. While belief is personal and provisional and adolescent Quakers may be uncertain of their beliefs (Chapter 4), the community can be seen as galvanizing individuals' moral and social action. While the religious belief and morality of young Catholics is 'sustained by individual commitment... with some 'community' extensions' (Fulton 2000:170), for adolescent Quakers it is the community which has primacy. I argue that despite differing levels of involvement amongst adolescent Quakers (5.2.7), because of the very particular nature of the adolescent Quaker group and because the constituency in this research is younger than that studied by Fulton, labels such as 'core', or 'intermediate' cannot be applied to the adolescent Quaker group. Given this I argue that one of the implications of this is that the study of adolescent religion needs to be seen as distinct from that of young adults (those aged over 19 or 20).

9.3.2 e) *Expressive Communalism and the Community of Intimacy*

In their research on post-boomer religion and spirituality Flory and Miller describe a new form of spirituality that they define as 'expressive communalism' (2007:217). In this section I argue that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is a manifestation of this 'expressive communalism'. In expressive communalism, individuals' spiritual quest is

mediated through the communities to which they belong (Flory and Miller 2007:216-217). Flory and Miller describe how for religiously affiliated young people, 'stained glass, icons, and incense of liturgical traditions' only 'have meaning within the context of the religious community' (Flory and Miller 2007:217). Similarly I argue that for adolescent Quakers, ritual and worship have meaning within the context of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy and the Culture of Contribution (7.5). Therefore I argue that it is the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy that gives spiritual meaning to the activities of adolescent Quakers. Flory and Miller argue that individuals find spiritual fulfilment 'primarily in the context on the religious community' (2007:204) and that the primary goal is 'living out ... their spiritual commitment' rather than 'individual fulfilment' (2007:204). This can be equated with the adolescent Quakers primacy of affiliation to exclusively adolescent Quaker groups (7.3.1) and the influence of the process of 'modelling' on individuals' external behaviour (7.5.2). Like those young people researched by Flory and Miller I argue that the spirituality of adolescent Quakers 'only makes sense in the context of the religious community and through demonstrating those spiritual commitments in the larger community' (Flory and Miller 2007:214-215). Flory and Miller's research relates to Generation X, the post-boomers, born between 1961 and around 1981 (Flory & Miller 2000:3) this is an older group than the constituency for this research, who were born between 1985 and 1992 and thus are part of 'Generation Y' (Savage et al 2006:7). Given this, I suggest that Flory and Miller's forms may apply to adolescents as well as the young adults who are the primary focus for their research. I argue that the fact that the Community of Intimacy reflects Flory and Miller's 'expressive communalism' strengthens it as a model with which to examine religious groups and subgroups.

9.3.3 The Sociology of Religion

In this section I outline the implications of this research for the broader sociology of religion, particularly in relation to the study of sectarian movements. I suggest that these consequences are apparent when adolescent Quakers are contrasted with adolescents from other sects in relation to the forms of socialisation they experience. Holden identifies socialisation of adolescents within the Watchtower Movement as occurring at both a macro level through organisational precepts and, at a micro level through everyday parenting (2002:126). I suggest that macro level socialisation of adolescent Quakers occurs to some extent through the Testimonies (4.8, 7.4.2) although I suggest that there is little macro level socialisation of adolescent Quakers and that the organisation does not regard this as a priority. I argue that micro level socialisation of adolescent Quakers occurs through involvement in peer activities, such as Quaker events for young people. However adolescent Quakers are similar to Jehovah's Witnesses in that the movement's *Weltanschauung*⁵⁸ has a huge impact on the way they view the world (Holden 2002:133). For both the adult and adolescent Quaker group this *weltanschauung* is expressed through the interpretation and expression of the Testimonies. I suggest that, like Jehovah's Witnesses, Quakers are sectarian. However unlike the Quaker group, there is little difference in the sectarian nature of adults and adolescents within the Watchtower Movement. This is because of Witnesses' deference to authority, particularly the authority of adults over children (Holden 2002:126-127) and as a result adults are the driving force behind children's participation (Holden 2002:127).

I argue that the identification of the adolescent Quaker group as a 'hidden sect' (8.6.2) has implications for research into other sectarian groups such as Jehovah's Witnesses which may contain groups within the group, characterised by a differently configured sectarian

⁵⁸ The group's particular worldview or outlook (Wilson 1967:28)

nature. Given this I argue that future research into sectarian movements would benefit from consideration of this aspect.

This research also makes a contribution to the 'believing and belonging' debate. Grace Davie uses the term 'believing without belonging' (1994:5) to explain the mismatch between statistics which indicate relatively high levels of belief with those that show low levels of practice (1994:4). The term is used to acknowledge the apparent persistence of the sacred despite an undeniable decline in churchgoing (Garnett et al 2007:6). Davie also highlights a generational shift and states that a 'markedly lower church attendance, institutional attachment and adherence to traditional beliefs is found in younger rather than older respondents' (1994:122). In contrast Voas and Crockett state that more individuals self-identify as belonging to a particular religious group than say that religious beliefs have personal significance for them; and they argue that religious belief is lower than passive belonging or self-identification (2005:15). Voas and Crockett suggest that 'belief and belonging are essentially connected, so that deterioration in one is associated with a decline in the other' (2005:20) and that 'older generations are markedly more religious than younger ones' (2005:13); this is reflected in the comparison between adult and adolescent Quaker belief (4.6.2). Whilst Voas and Crockett do not necessarily provide an explanation for a decline in the Christianity of active participants, this trend is evident in the popular religion of the adolescent Quaker group (4.7).

Voas and Crockett go on to argue that a 'failure in religious socialisation has resulted in whole generations being less active and less believing than the ones that came before' (2005:20) and that in terms of both active participation and affiliation 'young British adults are half as religious as their parents' (2005:21). The YQQ did not ask respondents about the length of their parents' involvement in Quakerism; however some indication can be drawn

from the fact that 85% of Dandelion's survey respondents were adult converts to Quakerism (1996:74). Of the adolescent group 32.2% had been attending Meeting for Worship since they were born and a further 50.1% attended meeting for the first time when they were older than a baby but under 10; only 7.8% attended for the first time aged 11 or older. It is unclear whether those who had been involved in Quakerism since birth are the children of adult converts or from what could be described as 'established' Quaker families. However, I suggest that given the proportion of the adult group who are adult converts to Quakerism, it is likely that at least some of the adolescent Quaker group are the children of adults who converted to Quakerism before their children were born. It is clearer that those whose involvement in Quakerism started between the ages of 1 and 15 are the children of adult converts to Quakerism. 57.9% of the adolescent Quaker group started their involvement when they were older than one year of age. Given this, I suggest that the majority of the adolescent Quaker group are the children of adult converts rather than from families with long traditions of Quakerism. They have mainly been brought up after 1995, and therefore within the neo-orthodoxy (Dandelion 1996:24) as expressed in the current revision of the book of discipline and also the post-Christian popular religion of that time (Dandelion 1996:178). Secondly, I argue that those adolescents who are the children of converts to the liberal-Liberal post-Christian group are less likely to have an awareness of the Christian basis of the Religious Society of Friends. The continued involvement of adolescent Quakers may be a result of individuals' participation in activities and events with their parents when they were children (3.2.4) which has continued into adolescence because of personal affiliation to the group, without maintaining any Quaker beliefs. I suggest that this is due to the particular nature of the adolescent Quaker group, which predicates belonging on affiliation rather than on belief; the pluralism of the adolescent Quaker group enables these individuals to remain part of the group without requiring them to subscribe to a creed or make a commitment similar to confirmation.

Voas (2008) uses the term 'fuzzy fidelity' to describe a group who 'retain some loyalty to tradition, though in a rather uncommitted way' and who are neither regular churchgoers nor self consciously nonreligious. Voas describes fuzzy fidelity as 'a staging post of the road from religious to secular hegemony' (2008:13). However I argue that some adolescent Quakers, with a lack of overt religious belief (4.7) but with a high level of committed involvement and active affiliation (5.2.7, 7.3) provide a challenge to this and I suggest that there may be an earlier staging post, one which is characterised by committed involvement but lack of religious belief. In order to gain an accurate picture of the decline in belief of adolescent Quakers and whether the Quaker group reflects or runs counter to the argument that decline in belief is matched by decline in belonging, and participation (Voas and Crockett 2005:20), further longitudinal research of adolescent Quakers is necessary.

9.3.4 The Sociological Study of Groups.

In this Section I argue that the identification in this research of the concepts of the Community of Intimacy and the Hidden Sect has implications for the sociological study of groups.

The concept of 'a Community of Intimacy', identified and described above (7.3) is one which is applicable to other groups. A Community of Intimacy (7.3) is a group in which affiliation, belonging and shared values are contrasted with values of other similar groups and which find expression in behaviour within and outside the group. The group identifies itself as being separate from other, even similar, groups within society. These features bind the group together and mean it functions in a particular way. In this research, these general characteristics are applied to the particular example of the adolescent Quaker group. I suggest that other groups may share these characteristics and these may not

necessarily be limited to youth or religious groups but could include, for example the women's peace movement which marks itself as separate: 'having women's actions has got nothing to do with excluding men... it's got to do with including women... it's positive... this way women can join together' (Cook & Kirk 1983:80).

I suggest that the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy may be rare in that it functions despite geographical distance between members, and despite the group being a largely informal organisation. I argue that the features of belonging, separateness, shared values and expression of values identified above (Chapter 7) should be taken into account by other researchers looking at groups.

The identification of the adolescent Quaker group as a 'hidden sect' has methodological implications for research within the sociological study of groups and subcultures. I identify above the operation of two distinct theories-in-use within the Quaker group (8.6.2 & 8.6.3), both of which differ from the organisation's espoused theory (8.6.1) relating to the position of the adolescent group. The adolescent Quaker group's perspective as described above (8.6.3) was only apparent as a result of detailed study and conversation with adolescent participants. I suggest that scholarship relating to religious groups tends to focus on the groups' espoused theory or the adult group members perspective of the theory in use. Given this I suggest that this leads to a misreading of the nature of the relationship between the youth and their 'parent' church and gives an incomplete picture of the religious group as a whole. If there is to be meaningful and accurate research of youth religion, especially in situations where adolescents meet separately from adults, then there needs to be primary research with adolescents and participant observation both of separate adolescent gatherings and of occasions when the two groups operate in the same space or overlap, in order to get a full picture of the group. I argue that there are

similar implications for all sociological research of groups and subcultures within a dominant larger group; I argue that this is particularly the case with research into youth sub-groups or subcultures but includes the study of other 'subcultures'.

9.4 Directions for future research

I suggest that there are a number of important areas of research that are needed to increase the understanding of the adolescent Quaker group and of the relationship between the adolescent and the adult Quaker groups. I suggest that there are eight main research agendas resulting from the current study:

- 1) The issues relating to Quaker values highlighted in this research could be developed by a greater consideration of the impact of Quaker values on the lives of adolescent Quakers.
- 2) A longitudinal study of several individual adolescent Quakers, perhaps covering a range of ages would provide a more in-depth picture and may provide answers to several questions: whether or not the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy is diminished when adolescent Quakers move into adulthood; whether they retain their links with the Religious Society of Friends; and what is the consequential impact on the Religious Society of Friends.
- 3) The place of the adolescent Quaker group in relation to the adult Quaker group suggests that there could be fruitful consideration of the place of adults whose involvement in Quakerism is either mainly or solely through participation as facilitators at Quaker events for young people (whether in a voluntary or a paid capacity) and the place of these adults in relation to the adolescent and adult Quaker groups. Consideration should be given to whether they occupy a 'hinterland' where they are between the

adolescent and adult groups and act as adult leaders to adolescent Quakers, or a 'neverland' where their involvement is an attempt to be a 'camouflage kid' (Goebel and Griffin 1993) and retain pseudo-membership of the Community of Intimacy.

4) Greater research is required into adolescents' experience of worship, the significance of worship and its function as a means of transformation of individuals into part of the adolescent Quaker Community of Intimacy.

5) There needs to be research comparing British adolescent Quakers with those from other Yearly Meetings and other Quaker traditions. This should include examination of similarities in relation to the importance of community as indicated by Kashnig (2003) and Anderson (2003) as well as identifying contrasts and assessing whether liberal-Liberal Quakerism in Britain is exceptional.

6) Fruitful research could be undertaken with the current adolescent Quaker group using latent class analysis to investigate types of adolescent Quakers, following similar research of the adult Quaker group by Cary and Weber (2007) and Cary, Dandelion and Rutherford (2009).

7) Given the findings of this research in relation to adolescent Quaker identity (Chapter 5), I suggest that research is needed into whether there are rites of passage or identity markers for adolescent Quakers. The absence within the Quaker group of outward baptism or confirmation and the fact that whilst membership (5.3) may be seen as a 'rite of passage', formal membership does not occur at a particular point in an individual's development and is considered unimportant by the adolescent Quaker group. Rites of passage may be

implicit or explicit and may be confined to the adolescent Quaker group or could mark their transition from adolescence to membership of the adult Quaker group.

8) Following the identification of the concept of the Community of Intimacy (7.2) further research is required to explore whether there are other 'Communities of Intimacy' within the Quaker group, particularly considering the role of friendship (Dandelion 1996:310) and the number of semi-formal and informal Quaker groups that represent communities of interest.

9.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the key findings of this research and outlined the original contribution this thesis makes to scholarship. I identified implications and consequences of this research for existing scholarship in the fields of Quaker studies, the study of youth and religion and also the sociology of religion and the wider sociology of groups and sub-cultures. I highlighted challenges posed by this research to existing theories within the field of Quaker studies. I outlined potential areas for future research arising from these challenges and from the research generally.

APPENDIX 1

YOUNG QUAKER QUESTIONNAIRE

What do Young Quakers believe?

A Questionnaire about young Friends' spirituality, beliefs and practices

Simon Best

University of Birmingham/Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre

I am currently at Birmingham University doing a masters degree in Quaker Studies. As part of my course I am researching and writing about what young Quakers believe. In order to do this I need your help to find out what young Quakers really do believe. One of my ways of researching this topic is this questionnaire. I would be very grateful if you could take the time to fill in this questionnaire. Your answers will provide me with important information about the beliefs of young Quakers.

There are questions about Meeting, questions about God and Jesus and questions about Quaker events. Please be honest and answer for yourself – there are no right or wrong answers. All the answers will be kept confidential, and individual answers will not be identified when it is written up. There is space to put your name if you are willing to be contacted again, however this not compulsory.

For some questions there are a range of possible replies, please choose the one that is closest to what you think. There is some space if you would like to write more.

Thank you very much for your help with this – I couldn't do it without you.

Simon Best



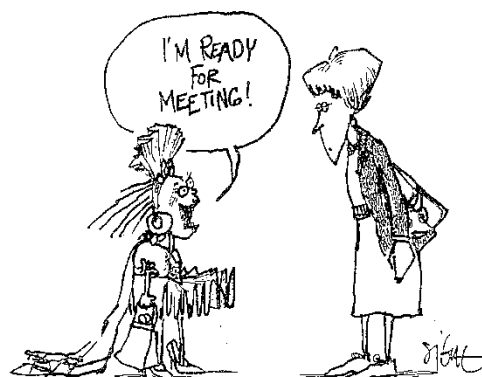
1. About what age were you when you first went to Quaker meeting?

2. When you first went who did you go with?

- ☐ Parent(s)
- ☐ Quaker Friend
- ☐ Alone
- ☐ Other (please say)

3. If you go to Childrens' Meeting do you go?

- ☐ Every week
- ☐ Nearly every week
- ☐ Once a month
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Hardly ever



N.B. The introduction mentions a masters degree. This was not a separate piece of work but from an MPhil stage prior to transferring to a PhD.

4. If you go to Meeting for Worship for the whole hour do you go?

- ☐ Every week
- ☐ Nearly every week
- ☐ Once a month
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Hardly ever
- ☐ Never been for whole hour

5. a) Have you been to any of these events? (please tick all that you have been to)

- ☐ Local link group (e.g. Junior Young Friends, Teenage General Meeting)
- ☐ Regional events (e.g. Summer School/Senior Conference/Holiday School)
- ☐ Junior Yearly Meeting
- ☐ Leaveners/Quaker Youth Theatre
- ☐ Quaker Youth Forum
- ☐ Summer Gathering:

Canterbury 1999	Lancaster 1995	Bradford 1991
-----------------	----------------	---------------
- ☐ Yearly Meeting Under-19s Programme:

London	Exeter 2001	Aberystwyth 1997	Warwick 1993
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b) Why did you go?

6. Which group of Quakers do you feel most part of (please tick one box only)?

- ☐ Local Meeting (Preparative Meeting)
- ☐ Area (Monthly Meeting)
- ☐ Link Group (Junior Young Friends)
- ☐ Summer School/Senior Conference/Holiday School
- ☐ Junior Yearly Meeting
- ☐ Yearly Meeting (Britain)
- ☐ None

7. What do you like about Quakerism and being involved in Quakerism?

8. What do you dislike about Quakerism and being involved in Quakerism?

9. Do you find the silence in Meeting for Worship?

Easy

1 2 3 4 5

Difficult

6

10. Do you like the silence in Meeting for Worship?

Like

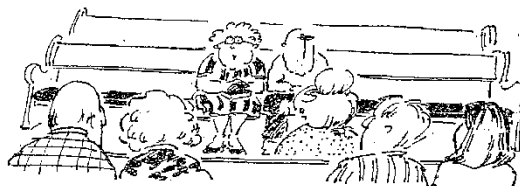
1 2 3 4 5

Dislike

6

11. What do you do in Meeting for Worship (you can tick more than one box)?

- ☐ Pray
- ☐ Meditate
- ☐ Listen
- ☐ Sleep
- ☐ Worship God
- ☐ Think
- ☐ Other (please say)



Please write a little about what you think about Meeting for Worship and what you do during the silence:

12. Do you think of yourself as (you can tick more than one box)?

- ☐ A Quaker
- ☐ A Christian
- ☐ A spiritual person
- ☐ An atheist
- ☐ Are there other important labels for you (please write any here)?

13. a) Are you a Member of your Monthly Meeting?

- ☐ Yes – I applied myself
- ☐ Yes – my parents applied for me
- ☐ No

b) If you applied yourself please say a little about why you decided to become a member:

14. If you are not a member do you intend to apply?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

15. Are you/have you been a pupil at a Quaker school?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

16. How important is being involved with Quakers to you?

Very Important Quite important not important

1 2 3 4 5 6

17. Do you believe in God?

Yes Not sure No

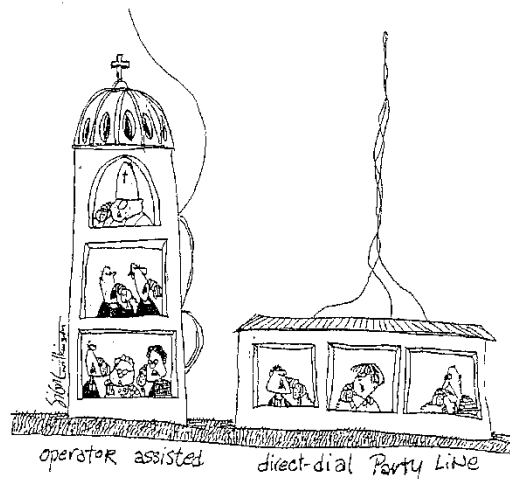
1 2 3 4 5 6

18. If you believe in God, which of the following best describes God for you (you can tick more than one box)?

- ☐ A spirit
- ☐ A being
- ☐ The inward light
- ☐ Love
- ☐ Father figure
- ☐ Mother figure
- ☐ Person figure
- ☐ A life force
- ☐ Other (please say)

19. Do you pray?

- ☐ Every day
- ☐ At least once a week
- ☐ Occasionally
- ☐ Only in times of difficulty
- ☐ Hardly ever
- ☐ I don't pray



20. What best describes prayer for you (you can tick more than one box)?

- ☐ Talking to God
- ☐ Listening to God
- ☐ Meditating

APPENDIX 2

QUAKER EVENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

Quaker Events for young people Questionnaire

Dear Friend,

I am currently at Birmingham University doing a degree in Quaker Studies. As part of my studies I am doing research about Quaker events for young people in Britain Yearly Meeting.

One of my ways of researching this topic is this questionnaire. I would be very grateful if you could take the time to fill in this questionnaire. Your answers will provide me with important information about how Young Friends view Quaker Events for Young People.

There are questions about events you have been to; what you enjoy about events, and what you might gain from them; questions about how important Quaker Events are to you; and questions about what you think of Adults who volunteer at Quaker events.

Please be honest and answer for yourself – there are no right or wrong answers. You **don't have to answer any questions that you don't want to. All the answers will be** kept confidential, and individual answers will not be identified when it is written up. There is space to put your name if you are willing to be contacted again, however this not compulsory.

For some questions there are a range of possible replies, please choose the one that is closest to what you think. There is some extra space if you would like to write more.

Thank you very much for your help with this – **I couldn't do it without you.**

In Friendship,

Simon Best

How many Quaker events for young people have you been to?

(if you have been to one event for several years please count each year separately)

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2-4
- ☐ 5-9
- ☐ 10-14
- ☐ 15 or more

What events have you been to? (please tick all that apply)

- ☐ National (JYM, Britain YM, Summer Gathering)
- ☐ Regional (Summer School, Senior Conference, Holiday School)
- ☐ MM (Link Groups/JYF/Teenage General Meeting)
- ☐ Other (please say)

Do you think of yourself as a Quaker?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Has going to Quaker events had any effect on whether you think of yourself as a Quaker?

- ☐ Made me feel/think I was more Quaker
- ☐ Made me feel/think I was less Quaker
- ☐ Not made a difference

Have you been to Meeting for Worship more because of going to Quaker events?

A lot more ☐ A bit more ☐ Not much more ☐ No more ☐

I've been to Meeting for Worship less since going to Quaker Events ☐

How important has going to Quaker events been for you

As a Quaker?

- ☐ very important
- ☐ quite important
- ☐ slightly important
- ☐ not very important
- ☐ not important at all

In your life generally?

- ☐ very important
- ☐ quite important
- ☐ slightly important
- ☐ not very important
- ☐ not important at all

Can you think of three things which you have gained by going to Quaker events?**What do you enjoy most about going to Quaker events?****What do you dislike about going to Quaker events?****Where did you learn most about Quakerism? (please tick ONE box only)**

- ☐ Quaker Events for Young People
- ☐ Local PM/Children's Meeting
- ☐ Parents
- ☐ Other Quaker adults
- ☐ Other Young Quakers
- ☐ Other (please state)
- ☐ None

How much have you learnt about Quakerism?

- | | |
|---|--|
| At Quaker Events?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| At Children's Meeting?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| From Parents?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| From Other Quaker adults?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| From Other Young Quakers
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Other
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |

At Quaker events for young people have you learnt about:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Quaker History?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Quaker Beliefs?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Quaker Worship?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Quaker Testimonies?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| (Simplicity, Equality, Truth, Peace) | |
| The work Quakers do now?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |

Have you learnt about

- | | |
|---|--|
| Yourself?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Your personal beliefs?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |
| Your morals/principles?
<input type="checkbox"/> | A lot <input type="checkbox"/> Quite a lot <input type="checkbox"/> A bit <input type="checkbox"/> Not much <input type="checkbox"/> Nothing |

What if anything has helped you to learn or stopped you from learning?

Do you talk about your Quakerism to non-Quakers (e.g. school friends/peers)?

- ☐ A lot

- ☐ Quite a lot
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Hardly ever
- ☐ Never

Has going to Quaker events affected what you think about membership of the Society of Friends?

- ☐ Yes – I've decided to become a member
- ☐ Yes – I will not become a member
- ☐ Not changed what I think

How important to you is Quaker worship at Quaker events?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Quite important
- ☐ Slightly important
- ☐ Not very important
- ☐ Not important at all

Have you had a religious/spiritual/deep/intense experience at a Quaker Event? If so could you say a bit about this.

Have you been in a position of responsibility at a Quaker Event?

(e.g. Clerk, Base/Family Group Facilitator, Arrangements Committee, Elder, etc.)

If yes please say what your role was and for what event it was at?

(if you have been in a position of responsibility at more than one event please list all)

What, if anything did you gain from being in this role? (e.g. skills, experience, confidence)

Have you used any of these skills outside Quaker events?

Are adults at Quaker events for young people like (please tick ONE box only)?

- ☐ friends
- ☐ Parents
- ☐ Teachers
- ☐ Carers
- ☐ Mentors
- ☐ Other (please say)

Have any adults at Quaker events for young people had an influence on you:

As a Quaker?

Negative ☐ Positive ☐

In your life generally?

Negative ☐ Positive ☐

Can you say a bit about how they have had an influence on you?

Is there any difference between adults at Quaker events for young people and

Parents

A lot ☐ Quite a lot ☐ A bit ☐ Not much ☐ None ☐

Teachers

A lot ☐ Quite a lot ☐ A bit ☐ Not much ☐ None ☐

Could you say a bit about any differences?

Do you have any other comments about adults at Quaker events for young people?

Do you have any other comments/is there anything else that you want to say?

Are you?

- ☐ **Male**
- ☐ **Female**

Age (in years):

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

If you are willing to be contacted further please write your name, address and email below

APPENDIX 3

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

GROUP INTERVIEW 1
USED WITH 16-18 YEAR OLDS AT BRITAIN YEARLY MEETING SUMMER GATHERING
SUNDAY 27 JULY 2003
3:45 –4:30

1. 3:45 (Introduction)

Explain the research project and what I'm doing. I'm interested in what they think about Quakerism. I hope that you'll get the chance to think about what Quakerism means for you and to share that with each other. If it is okay with you then I would like to collect the writing/drawings you do but if you would like them back then let me know and I will make sure you get them back.

Check to see if they have a working agreement/ground rules/boundaries and say I'll stick by them too.

(3 mins.)

3:50 (Whole Group/Pairs)

I know that you started this morning and have done some introductions so I'd like you to start by pairing up with someone that you don't know very well – take a risk to meet someone new. Introduce yourselves and find out one interesting or unusual thing about them.[Go round and introduce them – the name and fact]

(7 mins.)

3. 3:57 (Small Groups)

Now we are going to start off thinking about spirituality and Quakerism – to help us start I'd like us all to do a quick think in your base groups.

I'm going to give you each a big sheet of paper with three words on them and I'd like you to write down any words/thoughts/ideas come to your mind when you hear:

- Quakerism
- Religion
- Spirituality

I'm going to give each group a sheet of A3 paper with these words written on – do a quick think of what words they associate with these three words in their base groups.

Keep an eye on the time 3:45 move on to second. 3:48 move on to third. (8 mins.)

4. 4:05 (Individually)

Now you're going to have a chance to explore more closely what you think individually.

What I'd like you to think about what you could call your 'Quaker priorities' the things that are the most important things about Quakerism for you now.

The might be things that are particularly about Quakerism - like meeting for worship – the silence or ministry or they might be about your individual beliefs and strong values.

Beliefs and Values are words that we often use but may not be exactly clear what they mean.

The way I like to think of them are:

Value: A standard or moral principle which you try to live by – Quaker values might be pacifism or equality.

Belief: Something that is true for you – and you use to guide you in the way you live. Quaker beliefs might be the belief of that of God in everyone, the importance of silent worship.

I'd like you to think about these Quaker beliefs and values on your own and I am going to give you each a sheet to write these on.

Now the theme for Summer Gathering is 'Light' and so I thought we could use light bulbs as a symbol for these.

I thought that you could write your beliefs inside the bulb – almost like your inner light and then put the Quaker values that are important to you around the edge – like the light shining out from the bulb.

Take a moment to think about this and then begin writing or drawing if your prefer – remember this is about what Quakerism means for you personally and your beliefs and values – you're not being examined on how many of the testimonies you can remember and there are no wrong or right answers!

Check out – is that okay? Any Questions? (10 mins.)

5. 4:17 (Small Groups)

Now I'd like you to get back into your base groups and share these priorities. If you can go round the group and share 3 things from your light bulb.

I am going to give each group a sheet and I'd like you to try as a group to come up with 5 things that are important about Quakerism for you all – there maybe a lot of things you have in common or there maybe difference is what is important. You may need to negotiate about what makes it onto the list.

(10 mins.)

4:27 Each group to quickly share their lists with all

6. 4:30 (Individually)

Questionnaire – there isn't time now as your session is ending but if you'd like to take a questionnaire and fill it in in your own time then you can – and I'd be very grateful.

It'll take you about 15 minutes to do.

Thank you for inviting me to come –and for all your input this session I hope that you have got something out of it – it's been very interesting for me so thank you and I hope you enjoy the rest of Summer Gathering.

GROUP INTERVIEW 2
USED WITH 13-15 YEAR OLDS AT BRITAIN YEARLY MEETING SUMMER GATHERING
MONDAY 28 JULY 2003
9:15-10:30

1. 9:15 (Introduction)

Explain the research project and what I'm doing. I'm interested in finding out what you think about Quakerism and what it means to you. I hope that you'll get the chance to think about Quakerism and to share that with each other. It will also hopefully give you the chance to think about how you explain Quakerism or deal with difficult RE teachers – it might also help you to counteract the jokes about Quaker oats!

If it is okay with you then I would like to collect the writing/drawings you do but if you would like them back then let me know and I will make sure you get them back.

Check to see if they have a working agreement/ground rules/boundaries and say I'll stick by them too.

(3 mins.)

2. 9:20 (Whole Group/Pairs)

I know that you started yesterday and have done some introductions so I'd like you to start by pairing up with someone that you don't know very well – take a risk to meet someone new. Introduce yourselves and find out one interesting or unusual thing about them.

[Go round and introduce them – the name and fact]

(7 mins.)

3. (Whole Group --- in small groups if they have base groups)

Now we are going to start off by thinking about spirituality and Quakerism – to help us start I'd like us all to do a quick think.

What are words/thoughts/ideas come to your mind when you hear

- Religion
- Spirituality
- Quakerism

Three words written on a large sheet of flip chart paper – do a quick think of what words they associate with these three words.

(10 mins.)

If in small groups then on sheets of A3 prepared.

Keep an eye on time 9:31 Second; 9:34 Third;

4. (In threes)

Now we have begun to think about what these words mean we are going to move on to look a little more closely at our individual beliefs and values

We often use these words but may not be exactly clear what they mean.

Value: A standard or moral principle which you try to live by – Quaker values might be pacifism or equality.

Belief: Something that is true for you – and you use to guide you in the way you live. Quaker beliefs might be the belief of that of God in everyone, the importance of silent worship.

I'd like you to get into 3's and talk with each other about what things that are the most important things about Quakerism for you now.
(7 mins.)

5. 9:44 (Individually)

I'd like you to think about these Quaker beliefs and values on your own and I am going to give you each a sheet to write these on.

Now the theme for Summer Gathering is 'Light' and so I thought we could use light bulbs as a symbol for these.

I thought that you could write your beliefs inside the bulb – almost like your inner light and then put the Quaker values that are important to you around the edge – like the light shining out from the bulb.

- Some of these beliefs and values may be specifically Quaker based
(e.g. silent worship, the belief of that of God in everyone)
- Others will be from areas outside Quakerism
(e.g. peace issues – some of you might have been on the anti-war marches)

Take a moment to think about this and then begin writing and drawing – remember this is about what Quakerism means for you personally and your beliefs and values – you're not being examined on how many of the testimonies you can remember and there are no wrong or right answers!

When you have written all that you want to you might want to colour in the Q – to personalise it because it is about your Quakerism.

Check out – is that okay? Any Questions?

(10 mins.)

6. 9:55 (Small Groups)

Now I'd like you to get into groups of 4 or 5 (check on numbers in group) and now you have a choice of what you want to do. (think about how they get to decide/are divided up).

You can either

- Write a 'mission statement' for Quakers – it has to be short and snappy – try to think carefully about what to include.
 - You might like to think about the Quaker beliefs and values that you have just been concentrating on.
 - What things do you as a group have in common – or not in common – that you might want to mention? – you may have to negotiate some of these things as to whether they are included.
 - Is there anything that any of you haven't mentioned that you think is important?

- You can design the front page of a website about Quakerism – the first thing you see as you log on to a site. Something that is short and catchy and eye-catching.
- If you want me to I will pass this on to the Under 19s website.
 - Again you might like to think about your Quaker beliefs and values that you have just been concentrating on.
 - Are there things that several of you have mentioned? Are these important? Do you want to put them in the ad?
 - Again is there anything that any of you haven't mentioned that you think is important.

(15 mins.)

7. 10:10 (Individually)

Questionnaire - Explain and give out questionnaire

It'll take you about 15 minutes to do and I'd be very grateful if you do it.

Thank you for inviting me to come –and for all your input this session I hope that you have got something out of it – it's been very interesting for me so thank you and I hope you enjoy the rest of Summer Gathering.

(20 mins.)

GROUP INTERVIEW 3
USED WITH YORKSHIRE LINK GROUP
SATURDAY 20 SEPTEMBER 2003

4:00

- Introduce and Setup
- Explain my research
- Boundaries/Ground rules
 - Confidentiality
 - Anonymity – use of age and gender
 - Give lets outs
 - Don't have to answer any questions
 - If you don't want to speak in a go round then its fine to pass
 - Can ask others questions for clarification but speak from your experience not criticizing others experience.
 - No right answers I'm interested in what you have to say.
- Recording/Photos

4.10

- Quick think of Meeting for Worship – words associated with it
- Quick think of Epilogue – words associated with it
- Quick think of what you do in Meeting for Worship
- Quick think of what you do in Epilogue

Or do together but write in different colours

4:20

- Body sculptures
- To represent what is happening to you in meeting for worship, what you are feeling not just what you are doing
- Go round and share – what does it feel like
- Add noise if there is any – just for a few seconds
- Go round and share this

4:45

- Spiritual Lifelines
- A3 paper – a line anywhere on the paper – to represent your life up to today, the line of your spiritual journey.
- You may have done this before – but you might think differently now or things may have happened since you did it last.
- The line may go up and down, back and forth, be jagged or curved or straight, it may go straight across the page or from corner to corner.
- Mark points along the line and if you want you can make notes to indicate significant events, changes, experiences or encounters. Examine the directions, dimensions, turning points and how you feel about them.
- Record on it things of significance in your spiritual journey

- Think about particular people, places, key events, important times in your lives, or particular feelings
- You may also want to include particular meetings for worships or epilogues that have been important for you.
- Think about times or moments when you may have felt 'spiritual' or had a 'spiritual experience'
- Do it in which ever ways you want; you can write notes or draw pictures you can choose whichever you feel comfortable with.
- Afterwards we'll have a go round and you'll have the chance to share something from it but you don't have to if you don't want.
- They may bring up difficult things as well as good memories – that's okay as these are all part of our experience and you don't have to share anything you don't feel comfortable doing..... even adult Quakers find it difficult to talk about these things.
- You have 20 minutes for this so do take time to think about it – any questions?

5:15

- Go round of things to share from lifelines if you want – you can say as much or a little as you like and its okay to pass if you want to.
- Go round of what you thought of the exercise
 - What was useful for you
 - What didn't work as well
 - What might make it more useful

Questions for discussion

- What do you feel in Meeting for Worship?
- Do you find it easy to talk about these feelings/kinds of things?
- Do you get the chance to?
 - With other young Friends?
 - With adult Quakers
- Do you think Quakers talk about these things enough?
- Do you prefer epilogue or meeting for worship?
 - Why? What do you like/dislike about them?
 - What are the differences?
- Are there things that it's okay to do or talk about in epilogue that aren't okay in Meeting for Worship?
 - Why?
- Have you ever ministered in Meeting for Worship? Epilogue?

GROUP INTERVIEW 4 & 5
USED WITH
WARWICKSHIRE JUNIOR YOUNG FRIENDS
6 DECEMBER 2003
AND
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE TEENAGE GENERAL MEETING
14 DECEMBER 2003

Introduction (5 mins)

What this session is about and what we are going to do
 Inform and get agreement about recording, photographs
 Give let out

Exercise 1: Stereotypes (30 mins.)

In pairs/threes:

Using large sheets of paper (A3 or flip chart) I'd like you to draw and describe a stereotypical Young Quaker.

You may want to think about:

- Their appearance
- What sort of clothes they wear – badges, logos, designs
- Their interests/hobbies
- What music they like
- Family – what's it like, parent's jobs, newspaper, etc.
- Their values – what's important to them

Once you've drawn them you're going to be introducing them to the rest of the group and I'd like you to think about the ways in which they might be different from other people their age and from other Quakers.

Don't worry about taking a long time to think – just do this quick and light-hearted. (15 mins. to think and draw)

Whole group:

Go round

- Describe your young person to the whole group.

Questions

- How accurate is the stereotype?
- How close are YOU to the stereotype? Hold one picture up/stick it on the wall and ask them to line up/ place themselves where they see themselves in relation to the stereotype.
- What does the stereotype represent?
 Is it an aspiration?
 A badge?
 Is it how you (Young Friends) would like to be thought of by others?
 Is it how you (Young Friends) think you are thought of by others?

Exercise 2: Identifying differences (45 – 50 mins.)

Whole Group:

Quick think on flip chart paper list:

Ways in which young Quakers are similar too and different from

Other Quakers?

Other Young People?

[One sheet for each different colours of pens for similarities and differences]

Ask about inward and outward differences.

(15 mins)

Individually

I'd like you to look at these sheets and on the slips of paper list differences that you think are good/differences that you like and differences that you find difficult. They can be differences either from other young people or from other Quakers. I'd like you each to think of six important differences for yourself – three that you like and three that you find difficult. (Good on yellow paper; Difficult on green paper)

(5 mins.)

Small Groups

Now I'd like you to move into small groups – 4s or 5s depending on size of group and share the differences that you have each come up with. In your small groups I'd like you to work together to think of what the most important differences are for your group – they can be good or difficult – I'd like each group to select the three most important differences and put them in order.

(15 - 20 mins.)

Whole Group

Go round of the differences that each group has listed and stick them up on the wall – separately.

(10 mins)

Questions:

What helps you to cope with these differences – where do you get support from?

- Does going to events like TGM or summer school help?
- What other sources of support are there?
- Adult Quakers? Adults at TGM?
- If opportunity ask about facilitators/adults at Summer School and TGM – is there a difference from other adult Quakers?
- If one method of support is talking about it ask if it is easy to talk about these things.
- What helps and hinders when talking about it

Exercise 3: Continuum (35 mins)

Whole Group

Now I'd like you to think about yourselves – as people and as Quakers.

I'm going to read out several topics/issues/things and I'd like you to move to the group which you are most similar too for each of them.

One end of the room is a picture of the world which represents things outside of Quakerism – so that could be your school friends, other young people, the rest of the world

At the other is a Q which represents Quakerism generally – so that could be your local meeting or Britain Yearly Meeting or what's in Quaker Faith and Practice

So remember when I read them out then move to whichever one is closest to how you feel – which group would you put yourself in. – and pause for photos.

Dress?

Music?

Politics/Current Affairs/The War?

The Environment?

What you do at the weekend?

Your beliefs – things that are true for you and that may guide you in the way you live (e.g. of Quaker belief: that of God in everyone)?

Your Values – standards/moral principles that you try to live by (e.g. of Quaker value: pacifism or equality)?

If clumps ask where and why?

If extremes ask where and why?

GIVE LET OUT

(20 mins)

Now for you overall – where would you place yourself on the line

Where you are and why

Go round remind them that they can pass

Why?

GIVE LET OUT

(15 mins)

Exercise 4: Questions for discussion (20 mins)

Small Groups (4s or 5s depending on size of group)

Work on sheets of questions – quick thinking – go rounds making sure everyone has a chance to share.

Questions on A3 paper already

- I like being a Quaker when...
- I find it difficult being a Quaker when...
- Have you had/do you have problems fitting in with:
 - Peers at school
 - Older Quakers
 - Other Young Quakers
 - Any reasons why?
- Does being a Quaker make a difference to the way you live the choices you make and the things you do?

(20 mins)

GROUP INTERVIEW 6
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE TEENAGE GENERAL MEETING
14 DECEMBER 2003

Introduction (5 mins)

What this session is about and what we are going to do

- Start by looking at involvement in Quakerism and its importance to you,
- Then look at your own thoughts about Quaker worship and
- Then explore your own personal experiences.

Inform and get agreement about recording, photographs

Give let out

Exercise 1: Involvement and Importance (10 mins)

Whole Group

Just to start us off I'd like you to think about how involved in Quakerism you are and how important it is to you

Line up

Involvement – one end very involved go to meeting, TGM, Summer School. Lots of other Quaker events etc the other end not very involved – say TGM is the only Quaker thing you really go to, don't often/ever go to Meeting

Importance – how important is being involved in Quakerism to you? Think about how it fits in with other things you do – school, work, if you're in an orchestra, play for a sports team, other things you do in your free time. One end of the room – Quakerism is the most important thing you do/are involved in. The other end – Quakerism is just one thing you – but not important.

Where you are and why?

(10 mins)

Exercise 2:

Quick Think on Epilogue and Meeting For Worship (20 mins)

Whole Group

Quick Thinking

- Quick think of Meeting for Worship – words associated with it, think about what you do in Meeting for Worship
- Quick think of Epilogue – words associated with it, think about what you do in Epilogue
- Chance to add anything – think of any differences

(15 minutes)

- Ask about – which they prefer and why.
- Ask about – if they have ever ministered in Meeting or Epilogue.

(5 mins)

Exercise 3: Body Sculptures (25 mins.)

Whole Group

Individually I'd like you to make body sculptures to represent ...

- To represent what is happening to you in meeting for worship, what you are feeling not just what you are doing
(2 minutes to think and get into position)
- Go round and share – what does it feel like, what does your sculpture represent
(10 minutes)
- Second body sculpture to represent your relationship with God/the inner light/the spirit whichever word you feel comfortable using.
(2 minutes to think and get into position)
- Go round and share – what does it feel like, what does your sculpture represent
(10 minutes)

Exercise 4: My Quakerism is like (20 mins)

Individually

I'd now like you to find a space on your own and just sit down.

In a moment I'm going to give you each a sheet and you can use this in whatever way you want to think about your Quakerism.

Firstly I just like you to sit quietly and think about your Quakerism and as I say the different things you can jot words or phrases or draw pictures on your sheets – use them how you like.

Thinking about your Quakerism

What does it sound like? Soft, loud, harmonic, discordant, etc.....

What does it taste like? Sweet, sour, sharp, smooth, cold, hot, etc....

What does it feel like? Soft, rough, smooth, hard,

What does it smell like?

What does it look like? Bright, dull,

What are its precious moments?

(20 mins)

Exercise 5: Spiritual Lifelines (35 mins)

Individually

- A3 paper – a line anywhere on the paper – to represent your life up to today, the line of your spiritual journey..
- You may have done this before – but you might think differently now or things may have happened since you did it last.
- The line may go up and down, back and forth, be jagged or curved or straight, it may go straight across the page or from corner to corner.
- Mark points along the line and if you want you can make notes to indicate significant events, changes, experiences or encounters. Examine the directions, dimensions, turning points and how you feel about them.
- Record on it things of significance in your spiritual journey
- Think about particular people, places, key events, important times in your lives, or particular feelings
- You may also want to include particular meetings for worships or epilogues that have been important for you.
- Think about times or moments when you may have felt 'spiritual' or had a 'spiritual experience'
- Do it in which ever ways you want; you can write notes or draw pictures you can choose whichever you feel comfortable with.

- If you don't feel that a line will work for you then that's fine – you can do whatever you like to represent your thoughts, feelings and experiences. Drawings – shapes, colours, doodles, anything that works for you
- Afterwards we'll have a go round and you'll have the chance to share something from it but you don't have to if you don't want.
- They may bring up difficult things as well as good memories – that's okay as these are all part of our experience and you don't have to share anything you don't feel comfortable doing..... even adult Quakers find it difficult to talk about these things.
- You have 20 minutes for this so do take time to think about it – any questions?

Whole Group

- Go round of things to share from lifelines if you want – you can say as much or a little as you like and its okay to pass if you want to.
- Go round of what you thought of the exercise
 - What was useful for you?
 - What didn't work as well?
 - What might make it more useful

(15 minutes)

Exercise 6: Questions for discussion (20 mins)

Small Groups (4s or 5s depending on size of group)

Work on sheets of questions – quick thinking – go rounds making sure everyone has a chance to share.

Questions on A3 paper already

- When do you feel most Quaker?
- Can you be a Quaker even if you don't go to Meeting for Worship on Sundays?
- Is Quaker worship important to your Quakerism?
- Do you find it easy to talk about worship, Quakerism and spiritual experiences?
 - What helps?
 - What hinders?
- Do you get the chance to talk about worship, Quakerism and spiritual experiences?
 - With other young Friends?
 - With adult Quakers

(20 mins)

GLOSSARY

Advices and Queries. A section of the Book of Discipline (see below). This is also published separately. It consists of 42 short passages, a combination of questions and guidance. It is designed to enable Friends, both individually and corporately, to examine their religious life and action in various areas.

Area Meeting. The term used for a geographical constituency, including within it a number of local meetings, and the name given to the business meeting of that constituency, usually held monthly. It is Area Meetings that handle membership applications. Individual Quaker who are members of the Religious Society of Friends are, officially, members of an Area Meeting (formerly known as 'Monthly Meeting')

Attendees. The term given to individuals who participate regularly in a local meeting but who have not formally joined.

Behavioural Creed. Dandelion coined the term 'behavioural creed' to refer to the organisational and behavioural rules of the group which include both explicit rules as outlined in *Quaker Faith & Practice* (see below) and also cultural rules around behaviour in Quaker-time (1996).

Book of Discipline. Most Yearly Meetings (see below) publish a 'Book of Discipline' to guide Friends in procedural matters and to reflect the spiritual experience of the Yearly Meeting. The Book of Discipline has been revised, roughly every twenty-five years or so. This allows changes in practice and theological outlook to be incorporated. The current Book of Discipline for Britain Yearly Meeting is titled *Quaker Faith and Practice: the book of Christian discipline of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in Britain*. (1995)

Britain Yearly Meeting. Britain Yearly Meeting is the name given to the organisation of Quakers in Britain and to the annual gathering of Friends in Britain; this includes a 'parallel and integrated' programme for those age under 19.

Britain Yearly Meeting Summer Gathering. Summer Gathering is an event organised by Britain Yearly Meeting and held every four years. This event is open to all members and attendees and focuses on activities and spiritual exploration rather than formal business as is the case with Britain Yearly Meeting.

Central Committees. The four committees that oversee the work of Britain Yearly Meeting. Quaker Communications works to improve information sharing amongst Friends. Its services include providing printed and audio-visual materials. It seeks to promote a dialogue through which the purposes and programmes of Britain Yearly Meeting's work are developed and to secure financial and other support to enable Quaker testimonies to be demonstrated in the world. Quaker Finance & Property Central Committee is accountable to the Britain Yearly Meeting Trustees for the effective stewardship of finance and property for Britain Yearly Meeting's work. Quaker Life Central Committee works to strengthen and sustain the fabric of Quaker life by offering programmes and opportunities that will empower Friends, individually and in their meetings, to deepen their spiritual lives and attract new people to their meetings. It seeks to nurture the worshipping community of Quakers in Britain, developing it into an inclusive community. Quaker Peace & Social Witness Central Committee works for Britain Yearly Meeting to translate faith into action. Quakers seek to make their lives an active witness for peace and justice, underpinned by historic

testimonies to equality, justice, peace, simplicity and truth. The committee aims to ensure that its work is clearly rooted in Quaker values, expresses Quaker testimonies and builds upon Quaker experience.

Centring down. The process by which individuals settle into worship, with the intention of deepening their worship experience.

Children and Young People's Committee (CYPC). Children and Young People's Committee (CYPC) was a committee of Britain Yearly Meeting responsible for organising events for young people and providing training and resources for Friends working with those under 19. CYPC was responsible for running Junior Yearly Meeting (see footnote 14 below). This term is also used to refer to Children and Young People's Committee of various local meetings. In this study CYPC will be used to refer to Children and Young People's Committee of Britain Yearly Meeting. Where it refers to a local CYPC this will be made explicit in the text. This committee was laid down in September 2007 and its responsibilities assumed by Quaker Life Central Committee

Children's Meeting. 'Children's Meeting' refers to the activities undertaken by the children with one or more adult volunteers during Meeting for Worship. Children are normally present in the Meeting for Worship for 10 or 15 minutes either at the beginning or end. The exact length of time and whether the time spent in Meeting for Worship is at the beginning or end differs between local meetings. Some meetings use 'young people's meeting' to distinguish between activities for different age groups.

Clerk. The officer responsible for the administration of the Monthly Meeting, including dealing with correspondence and 'clerking' business meetings. The Clerk is usually the first formal point of contact with an Area Meeting.

Concern. A leading from God, to action on a particular issue. Concerns can be held by individuals or can be corporate concerns of a meeting.

Culture of silence. The term 'culture of silence' is used by Dandelion to refer to 'the transmission system of meanings and values attributed silence within the framework of cultural/theological organisational rules, which operate to regulate silent worship and vocal ministry within the worship' (1996:237).

Elders / to elder / Eldering. Elders are appointed by an Area Meeting. They are responsible for nurturing the spiritual life and discipline of the Meeting. They usually determine the end of Meeting for Worship. The verb 'to elder' is commonly used to refer instances where a Friend is publically or privately told that his/her behaviour is inappropriate (particularly behaviour in Meeting for Worship). Many Quaker events for young people often appoint a small group to act as elders, however their responsibilities may be limited to arranging and planning worship.

Epilogue. Epilogue is a period of worship normally at the end of the day. Epilogue is not an exclusively adolescent practice and residential events for adult Quakers often include an epilogue. Woodbrooke Quaker Study Centre in Birmingham (see below) holds a daily epilogue which is semi-programmed and led by a member of the community.

Epistles & Testimonies. Part of the Proceedings of (Britain) Yearly Meeting (see below), it is published prior to Yearly Meeting and includes epistles from other Yearly Meetings and testimonies to the grace of God in the lives of deceased Friends (see below).

Epistle An epistle is a message from a group of Friends (usually a Yearly Meeting although Junior Yearly Meeting also produces an epistle) Epistles are collectively drafted and thought to reflect the thoughts and message of that group to other Friends both within that Yearly Meeting and in other Yearly Meetings.

Experiment with Light. The Experiment with Light is a movement within the Religious Society of Friends that started off in 1996 when Rex Ambler devised a guided meditation based on early Friends' writings. 'Experiment with Light' is based on the steps which Ambler believes led seventeenth century Quakers to their 'convincement' or encounter with God and the resulting dramatic changes in their lives. Its aim is to follow the same process as early Quakers did and to see what happens, literally to experiment, and to see if the light can be experienced as it had by early Quakers, to resolve issues and find peace (Ambler 2002: 37-38). The Experiment itself comprises a forty minute meditation, consisting of six steps interspersed with periods of silence. The meditation is usually guided by a tape or compact disc, but in some groups one member reads it. Usually, but not always, the meditation is followed by silence for individual personal reflection, making notes or drawing representations of the Experimenter's experience. Finally, participants share what has come up for them

Friends House. The administrative headquarters of Britain Yearly Meeting.

Junior Yearly Meeting. Junior Yearly Meeting (JYM) is a five-day residential event for Quakers aged between 15 and 18. Area Meetings and Quaker Schools within Britain Yearly Meeting appoint representatives (usually two) to attend JYM. Junior Yearly Meeting is organised by Britain Yearly Meeting Quaker Life Central Committee

Liberal-Liberal Quakerism. A term used by Dandelion to describe current trends in British Quakerism. It is typified by a liberal attitude to liberal theology. Liberal-liberal Quakerism is described by Dandelion as a 'pluralistic theological paradigm in which the influence of Christianity is diminished' (1996:13). Liberal-liberal Quakerism is marked by a permissive attitude to the language of theology and spiritual experience which is seen as of secondary importance to the experience itself (Scott 1980:70)

Link Group. A group for adolescents (aged approximately 12-18) from one or more Area Meeting within the same rough geographical area that meet, usually for a weekend, perhaps three or four times a year. Some groups meet for a morning/afternoon or meet less often.

Local Meeting. Local Meetings are the local organisational unit of British Quakerism. The formal term give to local congregations of Quakers in Britain, where individuals attend Meeting for Worship on Sundays. It is also the name given to the business meeting of the local group. Many meetings use the name X Quaker Meeting in internal and external publicity and other communication (formerly called 'Preparative Meeting').

Meeting for Sufferings. The executive body of Britain Yearly Meeting which acts on behalf of the Yearly Meeting between Yearly Meeting sessions. This name originates from its original role of recording the sufferings of early Friends in the seventeenth century. Meeting for Sufferings includes representatives from every Area Meeting in Britain Yearly Meeting and Young Friends General Meeting (see below). Since 2005 some of the functions of Meeting for Sufferings have been assumed by a group of trustees.

Meeting for Worship. The term used to refer to Quaker worship (rather than service); usually it refers to 'unprogrammed' worship.

Members. Those Quakers who have formally joined their Area Meeting (see above).

Minute. A record of the group's decision on a particular item in a Quaker business meeting. These are always agreed in the meeting by all those who are present. There are several types of minute (see below).

Minute of decision These are minutes which record a substantive decision of the meeting concerned.

Minute of record. These minutes record what has occurred in a particular session, for example consideration of an issue on which no decision has been reached.

Nominations committee. The committee (or group of people) that 'discerns' which Friends should serve in particular roles such as Clerk or Elder. It is usual practice for these nominations to be approved, and the Friends appointed, by a full business meeting.

Outreach. Outreach involves publicising Quakerism and the Quaker message to non-Quakers of both other religious backgrounds and none. This term is widely used amongst Quakers in preference to evangelism.

Plain dress. Early Friends dressed in the simplest style of their day as they believed that outward appearance was much less important than inward faith and that one's spiritual responsiveness depended on being as free as possible from dependence on material possessions. Quakers sought to resist the temptation to define their place in society through dress. This continued and, amongst the second generation, became codified in regulations and the expectation that all Friends would dress in plain fashion. These regulations were relaxed in the nineteenth century.

Popcorn ministry. A pejorative phrase used to refer to ministry that does not observe the usual rules governing unprogrammed (see below) worship where it is customary to leave silent pauses between ministry to allow for reflection. The implication is that the speaker is merely contributing their own thoughts without reflecting on ministry earlier in the meeting.

Proceedings of Yearly Meeting. These include the Minutes of Yearly Meeting which are published each year following the annual Yearly Meeting sessions. The Proceedings also include the Yearly Meeting agenda together with preparatory material and *Epistles and Testimonies* (see above).

Programmed. Quaker worship that can involve music, readings or singing. Programmed worship at Quaker events for young people usually includes a period of silent reflection, during which individuals may minister, as in an unprogrammed meeting for worship. In many Yearly Meetings worship may be led by a pastor and include, a sermon, readings and hymns. A period of silence (similar in practice to that of unprogrammed meetings, though generally shorter) is included in some Programmed Friends worship services.

Quaker business method. The process by which Quakers make decisions. This 'method' governs the conduct in Quaker business meetings (also called Meetings for Worship for Church Affairs). The Quaker business method is a vote-less process of discernment of the will of God.

Quaker Faith and Practice The current British Book of Discipline (see above). It includes guidance on Quaker practices and procedures as well as a selection of extracts describing Quaker religious and spiritual experience, and Quaker attitudes to contemporary issues. It also includes *Advices and Queries* (see above).

Quaker Quest. A programme of events for those interested in finding out more about Quakers. A typical Quaker Quest session includes contributions from speakers, on a topic covering an aspect of Quakerism, time for discussion/questions and a half-hour period of Quaker worship.

Quaker testimonies. The testimonies are an expression of Friends' attempts to put faith into practice. They arise from an understanding of certain values and principles which are central to the Quaker faith. The testimonies can be expressed in corporate statements, often contained within the Book of Discipline. Within Britain Yearly Meeting there are currently testimonies to truth, equality, peace and simplicity, together with what is sometimes described as the 'emerging' testimony to the earth.

Quaker. The informal name for members of the Religious Society of Friends. It is used equally for individuals and the group.

Quaker studies. The multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary study of Quaker history, Quakers and Quaker activity. It includes research in the fields of theology, history, philosophy, politics, sociology, anthropology, women's studies, peace studies, development studies and cultural studies. There is a Quaker Studies Research Association (formed in 1992).

Quaker-time. This phrase is used by Dandelion (1996:xii) to describe the time which participants spend together on Quaker activity. This term will be used in the same way in this study.

Ratchet Screwdriver This is a game played by young Quakers; it is a high energy game involving physical contact. An odd numbered group of players of any gender (preferably all acquainted with one another) arranges itself in pairs with one person on their own. Each pair of players sits one behind the other on the floor in a two concentric circles, with one player seated on their own. The person on their own then identifies a number of players (two or three) from the inner circle. The most common ways to identify someone are to call them by name. Anyone in the front row who has been identified attempts to be the first to do whatever they can to kiss the Wink somewhere on their face. While they are doing this, each player's partner attempts to restrain him or her by whatever means possible. It was once popularly played during Quaker events, but the decision was taken in the 1990s to not allow the game to be played at events run by Britain Yearly Meeting due to the frequent occurrence of injuries, both minor and major. There is also the concern that the game can be exclusive or make people feel uncomfortable due to the high levels of physical contact. However, the game has not died out and is often played at local events or surreptitiously during un-programmed free time.

Religious Society of Friends. The formal name for 'Quakers', as a group.

Residential summer events. These are events for young people organised on a regional level and drawing participants from several Area Meetings. They usually last for a week and cover a variety of age ranges (11-14, 12-17, 12-18, 15-18) There are currently 5 regional summer events in Britain Yearly Meeting.

Responsible adult. This can be either an adult volunteer at an event for young people, where their presence is required for legal reasons or to meet insurers' requirements. It can also mean the adult who accompanies a child or young person to an all-age Quaker event such as Yearly Meeting or Summer Gathering (see above) and who has parental responsibility outside of the time of organised activities for young people.

Southern Senior Conference. Southern Senior Conference is a week-long residential event, organised independently of any Monthly Meeting or Britain Yearly Meeting. It is attended by adolescents aged 15 to 18 from Area Meetings in the southern half of England.

Southern Summer School. Southern Summer School is a week-long residential event, organised independently of any Monthly Meeting or Britain Yearly Meeting. It is attended by adolescents aged 11 to 14 from Area Meetings in the southern half of England.

Swarthmore Lecture. The Swarthmore Lecture refers to both an annual lecture set up in 1907, delivered currently at the time of the annual gathering of Britain Yearly Meeting, and a book 'on some subject relating to the message and work of the Society of Friends.'

Tabular Statement. The tabular statement is an annual record of the number of members and attenders, including child members and children associated with meetings. Area Meetings are required to submit these figures each year. These are consolidated by the Yearly Meeting and published as part of the Yearly Meeting's *Proceedings*.

Testimonies to the grace of God in the lives of deceased Friends. A written account of the life of a Quaker to demonstrate examples of a spiritually lived life and its application.

Testimony to the earth. Often described as an "emerging" testimony as it is not formally recognised in Quaker faith and practice. However many Friends are concerned about stewardship of the environment and see a spiritual basis for care for the earth and sustainable living.

Testimony to times and seasons. Early Friends held a testimony against the keeping of 'times and seasons'. Traditionally Friends did not observe religious festivals such as Christmas, Lent, or Easter at particular times of the year, but instead believing that Christ's birth, crucifixion and resurrection should be commemorated every day of the year and that, for example, that fasting at Lent but then eating in excess at other times of the year was hypocrisy. This was part of the conviction that all of life is sacramental; that since all times are therefore holy, no time should be marked out as more holy. Similarly, early Friends held that 'every day is the Lord's day', and as such referred to day of the week not as Sunday, Monday, etc but as First Day Second Day.

Transitional group. A group for young adult Friends aged 19 to 25 years old meeting during Yearly Meeting. It is self-organising and normally involves the group meeting separately for some sessions and joining Yearly Meeting sessions at other times. It was set up following Britain Yearly Meeting in 2005.

Unprogrammed. Refers to silent Quaker worship in which Friends gather together in 'expectant waiting' for divine leadings. Individuals may minister, as moved by God or the spirit. Meeting for Worship generally lasts about an hour. This also refers to silent worship at Quaker events for young people

Vocal ministry. The term used to describe verbal contributions in unprogrammed Meeting for Worship.

Woodbrooke. Woodbrooke is the main Quaker study centre in Europe, situated in Birmingham.

Yearly Meeting. The name given to a discrete geographical unit of Quakerism comprised of numerous Area Meetings. Each yearly meeting is independent. Quakers in Britain are part of Britain Yearly Meeting. It is also the name given to the annual gathering of all the Friends within its constituency.

Yearly Meeting Agenda Committee. The committee responsible for planning the Yearly Meeting sessions (see below), including deciding which topics will be considered. This committee is also responsible for deciding the extent to which children and young people are involved in Yearly Meeting sessions.

Yearly Meeting sessions. The deliberative and decision making sessions of the annual gathering of Britain Yearly Meeting (see above).

Young Adult Friend. Used to refer to Quakers aged 18-30ish. This term is used widely in North America but not in Britain Yearly Meeting. It is used in this thesis to distinguish this group from adolescent Quakers who are aged 18 and under.

Young Friends Central Committee (YFCC)/ Young Friends General Meeting (YFGM). This is the national organisation for Young (adult) Friends in Britain. Young (adult) Friends are those aged 18-30ish. (http://yfgm.quaker.org.uk/pages/About_YFGM#Quakers). This group is constitutionally part of Britain Yearly Meeting and YFGM appoints to representatives to Meeting for Sufferings (see above) as well as occasionally to other Quaker committees. The name changed from Young Friends Central Committee to Young Friends General Meeting in 1993.

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