“Social Justice is a Spiritual Practice”:

Exploring Civil Society Participation among young Anglican Social Justice Activists in Aotearoa New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

This research explores how, and what, young Anglican social justice activists are contributing to civil society in Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 21st century. I wanted to know how the Anglican Christian worldview of my research participants was forming them into a particular type of subject, and if/how this was impacting the engagement of the Anglican Church in New Zealand's civic and public spaces. The research findings draw from in-depth ethnographic fieldwork based in sensory methodologies that engaged with members of an Anglican Diocese in New Zealand, which I call Diocese J. A theoretical lens of Assemblages and Phenomenological Becoming is used to examine how these social justice activists were formed.

The results from the fieldwork indicated that the young social justice activists in Diocese J were shaped by main three factors: living in Intentional Communities, engaging with rhythmic and sensorial spiritual practices, and existing Anglican ecumenical and interfaith activity in civil society. My research also signalled that interactions with civil society amongst my participants were changing from how Anglicans in Diocese J had inhabited this space in the past. For my participants, a concern to provide social services and charity was declining and interest in social justice was growing.

Aspects contributing to these changing civil society interactions were neoliberal economic precarity, the looming uncertain future in a climate-shocked world, a decline in the societal influence of mainline Christian denominations in New Zealand, the incorporation of a new religious movement (neo-monastic evangelicals) into Diocese J, and transnational institutional Anglican initiatives for change in response to de-growth in Western Anglicanism.

I argue that the types of civic participation and social justice activities these young Anglicans chose to get involved with were influenced by their embodied experiences of rhythms of daily and spiritual life, and understandings of time, space, and theologies of human flourishing and pluralism.

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GLOSSARY

Acronyms

AFT	Ancient Future Temporality
HBT	Holy Trinity Brompton: A large, evangelical style Anglican Church in London, UK
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PEC	Pentecostal, Evangelical, and Charismatic

Christian / Anglican / Theological Terms

Diocese	A bounded geographic area that a Bishop is responsible for. Composed of smaller geographic units called parishes (see below).
Ecumenical	Where Christians from different denominations work/come together, usually over issues of mutual interest. Is sometimes applied to people from different religions working together.
Eschatology	Theological concept pertaining to what happens at the end of time.
Eucharist	A Christian rite or sacrament which recalls Jesus's death on the cross through the eating of a piece of bread/wafer/cracker and drinking of wine or juice from an individual or communal cup. Also called Communion, Mass, or the Lord's supper.
Interfaith	Where people from different religions work together on topics of mutual interest (e.g. poverty alleviation).
Liturgy	A set of fixed utterances or patterns used in public and communal worship and prayer. For example, from the Book of Common Prayer.
Liturgical	In a Christian setting makes a practice fixed, set, and repetitive. For example, liturgical worship, liturgical prayer, liturgical calendar.
Mainline	The traditional and established denominations of Christianity. Protestant mainline denominations include Anglican/Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, and Baptist. Some definitions include the Catholic Church, Quakers, and the Reformed church.
Megachurch	American term for a church which is composed of 2,000 or more people in average attendance.
Mitre	Item of headgear worn by bishops of traditional Christian denominations.

Novitiate	A period of training and reflection before being admitted to a religious order.
Parish	A bounded geographic area that a pastor/vicar is responsible for (see Diocese).
Sacrament	An important type of Christian rite or ritual; includes Baptism, and the taking of the Eucharist.
Third Order	People who follow a minor form of a monastic rule of life who are not initiated monks, priests, or nuns.
Vestry	A committee of church members who make decisions on governance issues for local parishes.

Māori Words

Aotearoa	New Zealand
Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe
Kōrero	narrative/story/speech
Kaupapa	a specific set of values and principals
Mahi	work/chore/activity
Marae	A group of buildings and land that belong to a particular tribe and usually include a meeting house and a dining hall.
Pākehā	A non-indigenous, non-Māori New Zealander
Te Reo	The Māori language

Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa: Māori branch of Anglican Church in New Zealand

Tikanga	habits/customs/rules
Whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The wind whistled as we dodged raindrops and piled into Jonathan's van. I discreetly tried to do up my seatbelt without pushing my elbow into my fellow passengers as Jonathan backed out of the university driveway and hurtled off down the narrow street, dodging buses and cars with practiced dexterity. "I could never drive here," I tell him. He grinned; "I have lost a few wing mirrors". Within a few minutes, we had pulled up to the restaurant where the conference dinner was being held. As we exited the car, I fell in step with a young woman who was a fellow passenger. I recognized her as the discussant of the panel I had presented on earlier that day. She introduced herself, "Hi I'm Julia[1], I enjoyed your paper today".

Little did I realize at the time of this encounter in 2016, that I had just met the person who would make my PhD research possible. It turned out that Julia was an Anglican vicar. We sat next to each other at the restaurant and discussed my Master's research on evangelical youth and their understandings of social justice. Julia told me about the many and varied social justice activities going on in her Diocese[2]. Not only was Julia a Reverend, she also had a PhD in Geography. I was intrigued by the fact that she was a rather young woman with a leadership position in this very old religious institution. She did not fit my preconceived ideas of an Anglican vicar who, in my head, were old white men looking after dwindling congregations of fellow elderly people. Julia mentioned that many of those involved in social justice activism in her Diocese were young. A few months later I thought back to that conference dinner and wondered if this Diocese could be a possible fieldwork site to explore my growing interest in how contemporary Christians are engaging with civil society and democratic participation in New Zealand.

Introduction to Research

This thesis examines how a group of young Anglicans were participating in civil society in New Zealand through the medium of social justice activism. At the beginning of my research I focused on 'millennials', those between the ages of 23 to 35. However, over

[1] All names of participants have been changed (see Chapter Four)
[2] A bounded geographic area that a Bishop is responsible for. Composed of smaller geographic units called parishes.

the course of the fieldwork it became apparent that I would need to widen the generational cohort to include some older 'Gen Zs' (18-23). Hence, I use the term 'young' as a moniker for those aged 18 to 35 years old, although most were millennials.

Social justice activism was conceptualized as a form of democratic participation and a particular way of 'being' in public spaces. My research question was divided into two main parts. Firstly, I wanted to examine how and why the group of young Anglicans Julia had told me about were interacting with and participating in civil society in New Zealand in the latter half of the 2010s. The second part of the question was to explore how (or if) the religious worldview and spiritual practices of these young people were formative in shaping them into a particular type of participant in civil society, that of an activist. This two-part question sought to understand what gave these young people the capacity for the social justice work they were doing and whether or not an increased emphasis on this form of democratic participation was changing how this group of Anglicans were engaging with New Zealand's civic and public spaces.

The research was conducted through 16 months of ethnographic fieldwork using anthropological methods of 'deep hanging out' and interviews with members of an Anglican Diocese in New Zealand, which I called 'Diocese J' (see Chapter Four). The ethnographic component of the fieldwork was based on sensory and phenomenological methodologies, especially using the work of anthropologist Sarah Pink (2015). This meant I sought to incorporate sensory (such as touch, smell) as well as verbal forms of data gathering, and made a concerted effort to experience and participate in the same 'lifeworld' (Jackson, 2013) as my participants. Sensory methodologies involve using one's body as a research tool; to in essence acknowledge that it is bodies that experience worlds, contain memories, and interact with specific people and places (Pink, 2015).

The results from the fieldwork indicated that the young social justice activists in Diocese J were formed by main three factors: living in Intentional Communities, engaging with rhythmic and sensorial spiritual practices, and existing Anglican ecumenical and interfaith activity in civil society. My research also signalled that interactions with civil society amongst my participants were changing from how

Anglicans in this Diocese had inhabited this space in the past. A concern with providing social services and charity was declining and interest in social justice was growing. Aspects contributing to these changing civil society interactions were neoliberal economic precarity, the looming uncertain future in a climate-shocked world (Connolly, 2017b), a decline in the societal influence of mainline[3] Christian denominations in New Zealand, the incorporation of a new religious movement (neo-monastic evangelicals) into the Anglican Diocese I studied, and transnational institutional Anglican initiatives for change in response to de-growth in Western Anglicanism. All these factors were changing the way civil society, social justice activism and social service provision were conceptualized and engaged within the Diocese I researched.

These results were examined through a theoretical lens of 'assemblages' from philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987), and combined with understandings of embodied phenomenological 'becoming' present in political and anthropological philosophy. In particular, the work of political philosophers William Connolly and Romand Coles, and anthropologists João Biehl and Peter Locke are used (see Chapter Three). I 'mashed' together these theoretical viewpoints in order to provide an interdisciplinary lens through which to analyse various elements of civic participation and social justice activity. I argue that the types of civic participation and social justice activities these young Anglicans chose to get involved with were influenced by their embodied experiences of rhythms of daily and spiritual life, and understandings of time, space, and theologies of human flourishing and pluralism.

Relevance of Research and Gaps in the Literature

This research is relevant because there is a gap in ethnographic, qualitative research on contemporary Christianity in New Zealand in general, and little that I could find on Christianity, civil society, and democratic participation in a New Zealand context. The small amount of ethnographic research that has been done on contemporary Christians in New Zealand is chiefly from post-graduate students, such as Susan

[3] Mainline - The traditional and established denominations of Christianity. Protestant mainline denominations include Anglican/Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran, and Baptist. Some definitions include the Catholic Church, Quakers, and the Reformed church.

Wardell's (2015) doctoral research on Christian youth workers, and Sarah Haggar's Master's thesis (2017) on the interfaith movement in Auckland. Most scholars of religion in New Zealand focus on either historical, psychological, or evolutionary analyses of religion (see Greaves et al., 2015; Shaver, 2020; Troughton, 2017), or use large, broad surveys (for example New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study). New Zealand has become highly secularized and religion is often considered to be a private affair and not relevant to the public square (Ward, 2013). Many universities have closed their religious studies departments which seems to have had the effect of limiting research on lived Christianity to theological institutions. However, there are trends and events from the past two decades which indicate the importance of understanding how religious people in New Zealand perceive their place in civil society and the issues which are important to them.

One trend is the decline of Christianity and the number of people identifying as Christian in New Zealand. This has been particularly notable amongst mainline Christian denominations such as the Anglicans but applies to Christianity in general across the country (Ward, 2013). Census figures from 2018 indicate that more New Zealanders now identify as being 'of no religion' than Christian (Department of Statistics, 2019). This decline has some potential knock-on effects for civil society in New Zealand as many of these churches are the backbone of the country's volunteer and social service sector. Another trend is that of increasing religious diversity in New Zealand, which has risen sharply since the 1990s (Hoverd, 2008). Additional to these trends, during the period of my research two events brought the topic of religion and civil society to the forefront of New Zealand's collective consciousness. These events were the Christchurch Mosque Terrorist Attack in 2019 and the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020/21.

These long-term trends and recent crises have invigorated discussion and action from Christian groups on topics such as religious diversity, pluralism, and the power of the State over religious freedoms (Oxholm, Rivera, Schirrman, & Hoverd, 2021a, 2021b). A result of increasing religious diversity seems to be a rise in Christian nationalism in New Zealand. Christian nationalism is the idea that Christianity should be privileged by the State due to its historical and cultural primacy in a particular nation (Whitehead &

Perry, 2020). There are some Christians in New Zealand, especially amongst evangelicals, who are feeling threatened by becoming one religious group amongst many (Oxholm et al., 2021b). Responses from Christians that hint at this disquiet have included protests against the removal of the words 'Jesus Christ' from the Parliamentary prayer, consternation at the use of Muslim prayer in Parliament and on national media channels after the Christchurch Mosque Attacks (Wall, 2019), and the formation of specifically Christian fundamentalist political parties such as Vision NZ and One Party in 2019/20.

In 2020 the Covid-19 pandemic led to unprecedented restrictions on religious activities as a strict lockdown kept New Zealanders confined to their houses and neighbourhoods for a couple of months. It can be argued that these restrictions have led to intersections between Covid-lockdown protestors, conspiracy theorists and some (mainly) evangelical pastors and groups who felt their religious freedoms were being unreasonably curtailed (Oxholm et al., 2021a). Some church groups still met in secret during Auckland's level 3 lockdowns in August 2020 and February 2021, such as the Mt Roskill Evangelical Fellowship which subsequently became a site of Covid-19 transmission (Owen, 2020). These trends and events show that Christianity still has influence in New Zealand society, despite its declining numbers.

Use of Sources - Politics, Religion, and Anthropology

The literature and background reading in this research drew primarily from political studies, political philosophy, and political theology. There were several reasons why I used so much material from political science and from outside of my discipline, anthropology. Firstly, I was specifically interested in the concept of social justice as a form of democratic participation, which is explored primarily by political theorists. Secondly, I found anthropological ethnographic explorations of religion as it relates to the political subject of civil society and democratic participation to be both thin on the ground, and/or too contextually narrow to be able to address the transnational flows that I suspected were influencing my participants. Also, I wanted to explore the concept of civil society in a Western setting, which, as discussed in Chapter Two, has not been an area of interest for anthropologists who have tended to research this topic in non-Western contexts.

Furthermore, it became quickly apparent that theology was going to play a significant role in my findings. Anthropologists have preferred to focus on studying religious practices, rather than engaging with the understandings of God and the divine that their participants hold. However, recently some anthropologists have started to discuss the place of theology in ethnographic writing. McAllister and Napolitano (2021) state:

> We are advocating...for the central place of the theological (not just religious) in contemporary anthropological engagements…we hope to undo secularist understandings that confine theology to the domain of the supernatural, obscuring how it partakes through this history in the materiality of everyday life (p.2).

In this thesis, I analyze religious practices as well as the theology that has brought these practices into being. Differing theologies produce varying forms of practice, both in the private space of the church and in public sphere of civil society. Specific theologies shaped how social justice was enacted and framed by my participants.

While much of the literature I read for this thesis was based in political studies, the way I conducted the research was based in ethnographic methodologies from social anthropology. As such the results discussed in this thesis are grounded in-depth fieldwork and 'deep-hanging out', rather than the more qualitative data gathering methods used in political science (see Chapter Four). These ethnographic methods have provided an in-depth look at these young Anglicans in a specific geographic location, at a certain point in history. Providing deep and 'thick' descriptions of specific lifeworlds is the 'gift' of the discipline of anthropology, and I provide it gladly. However, it is also important in these current times of growing xenophobia and hyper-nationalism worldwide to be aware of the broader implications for research findings. By casting the disciplinary net wider and using an interdisciplinary approach, specific findings can speak to larger global issues. I found the combination of political theory and anthropological ethnographic sensory methods helped to produce this type of local/global synergy.

How I got here – The Background Story

This research topic was born out of shock at Donald Trump being elected the 45th President of the United States of America in November 2016. As a researcher who was studying young, evangelical Christians at the time, and having spent much of my life attending Pentecostal, Evangelical and Charismatic[4] (PEC) churches, I could not believe so many Christians supported this thrice-married, unscrupulous businessman who was at such moral and ethical odds with what Christians claimed to hold dear. Amongst American white evangelicals, 81% voted for Trump (Smith & Martinez, 2016). While I am not American, through my social media feeds I noticed many of my non-American evangelical friends were also excited about the election of Trump. One private-messaged me on Facebook asking why I was upset at the results; did I not know that he was 'God's chosen man'?

In the months after Trump's election I became increasingly interested in how certain segments of Christianity were interacting with, and trying to claim a bigger influence in, public and political spaces. Many Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, backed the populist movements that led to Trump's election, as well the exit of the United Kingdom from the European Union (Brexit) (Smith & Woodhead, 2018). Soon it was not only Trump being given a 'divine mandate' by increasingly right leaning Christians. The election of evangelicals Jair Bolsonaro as President in Brazil in 2019, and Scott Morrison as Prime Minister in Australia in 2018, were claimed as victories by evangelical groups hoping to 'bring God' into halls of power around the world (Kibuuka, 2020; Maddox, 2021; D. Smith, 2020). This seemed a different narrative from that of secularization theorists such as Peter Berger (1999) who claimed that religion had left the public square for good and was now confined to the private space of home and church buildings.

My social media feeds and past research experience also made me aware that there was a smaller group of vocal and active Christians who had a different view from their PEC brethren on how religious faith should be enacted in public spaces. These

[4] Evangelicalism often includes two other Christian movements, Pentecostalism and Charismatics. Pentecostalism has a strong emphasis on the experiencing the supernatural and has often broken away from traditional denominations to form independent churches. Charismatic Christianity is similar but has tended to remain within established denominations (Coleman & Hackett, 2015).

Christians were primarily from mainline denominations. I was fascinated by the lived experiences many mainline Christians (Anglicans, Methodists, Catholics) had with social justice activism. Some had been part of protest movements in New Zealand and around the world on issues such as nuclear disarmament, apartheid, the peace movement, immigrant rights, and environmental concerns. At a retreat I attended on Christianity and Social Justice in 2016, a Catholic nun told us how she had been arrested multiple times for chaining herself to various objects in protest. These mainline Christians were often also involved in civil society by providing social services. In many Western countries they have, for decades, provided the bulk of religious-based non-governmental social services such as food banks, refugee support and so on. It piqued my interest as to how these church denominations 'produced' and formed the types of people who were involved in such a wide array of social justice and social service activities.

In 2017, a few months before officially beginning my PhD in November, I began following media coverage on a large group of mainline clergy in the USA who were protesting at a white supremacist 'Unite the Right' rally in Charlottesville, Virginia using techniques of non-violent resistance. The way they calmly confronted the screaming and menacing far-right protestors was a sight to behold.

Image 1: Clergy at 'Unite the Right' Rally. Photo: Jordy Yager (2017)

I wondered if this same dynamic was present in mainline churches in New Zealand. I knew Anglicans had been an important civil association in New Zealand's past, but how

were they contributing now in the late 2010s? Was it still predominantly through providing social services or were there other more activist forms of democratic participation taking place, such as those I had seen in the examples from the United States and the young Anglican activists Julia had told me about at the conference dinner? My interest in the Diocese which Julia was part of grew further when I discovered the Bishop of the Diocese, Bishop John, was a seasoned social justice activist who had spent many years living in intentional communities with the poor and marginalized before becoming Bishop. All this wondering and speculating contributed to the research questions and framework of my PhD Doctoral thesis research.

Finding the Fieldwork Site

A common question I was asked by my participants was 'why study Anglicans?' usually with the implication that Anglicans were rather boring and surely there must be a more exciting group I could be researching. They commonly assumed that I must be Anglican and were puzzled to learn I wasn't. As outlined earlier, my reason for choosing to study Anglican social justice activists came from meeting Anglicans like Julia during my Master's fieldwork.

In mid-2017 I emailed Julia and asked if she could put me in contact with someone in the Anglican Church whom I could talk to about doing fieldwork with them on the topic of what social justice looked like for Anglicans in early 21st century New Zealand, especially for those who were from the 'millennial' generation. She replied that in a few months she was being appointed as the Deputy Bishop of Diocese J and would gladly meet with me to discuss my research project. I met with (now) Bishop Julia in August 2017 and she was instrumental in allowing me access to the fieldwork site of Diocese J by taking my permission forms to the Anglican hierarchy and signing them off for me. These permission forms allowed me to approach members of the Diocese and ask for interviews and attend events.

Having permission from Bishop Julia was particularly necessary as some potential participants requested this permission be in place before they consented to be involved in the research project. A condition for me to do fieldwork in the Diocese was that they would not be named or the geographic location within New Zealand disclosed. Bishop Julia conceded that most Anglicans in New Zealand who read this

thesis will be able to recognize which Diocese the research is about, due to the small population of the nation. All participant's names, site locations, and organization names have been changed to allow for a degree of anonymity (see Chapter Four).

A Map for the Journey – Conceptual and Contextual background

There are a number of actors and concepts that made up my research question which need introducing. The main conceptual ideas were those of civil society, democratic participation, and social justice. The actors who helped to 'flesh out' those concepts were 'young' people (millennials and Gen Zers), Anglicans, and Emergent/neo-monastic Christians.

Concepts of civil society and democratic participation are the overall frameworks to which I link my research analyses. These ideas are examined and discussed extensively in the literature review that makes up Chapter Two and so I will provide only a brief explanation here. Civil society is the idea that there is a space where 'ordinary' people organize themselves in ways and for purposes that are different from governance (formalized politics) and the market (Held, 1989; James, 2007). Civil society is thought to consist of many different types of civic associations, such as churches, unions, sports clubs, charity organizations, and any other type of non-governmental organization (NGOs) that contributes to the betterment or social cohesion of their local (and increasingly global) communities (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Putnam, 1993; Warren, 2004). Civil society starts to cross into the political sphere through democratic participation, which attempts to bring about change to governance and power systems. Democratic participation can be formal, such as through voting (Tormey, 2015), or more participatory, such as through protesting or occupying a public area (Cohen & Fung, 2004). An example of participatory democracy is the 'Occupy Wall Street' movement. Volunteering and community projects such as planting a community garden are also considered by some as forms of democratic participation (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). For this thesis, the particular kinds of democratic participation I am interested in are those which advocate for social justice.

Social justice

While civil society is the overarching framework I use, it is a specific form of being present in civic and public spaces that I am interested in; that of protesting and

activism which takes place through a conceptual lens of social justice. Social justice definitions include efforts at ensuring that people have fair and equal opportunity to engage in the society that they live in ("Church Leaders' Statement of Intent," 1993; Lane, 2015; David Miller, 1999; Plant, 2001). Raymond Plant (2001) defines social justice as enabling people to have the "common needs or basic goods which people have to have in order to…pursue any conception of the good, whatever it might be" (p.198). Specific values are often attached to the concept of social justice such as fairness, dignity, and equality (Butler, 2015; Cramme & Diamond, 2009) and can be linked to historical arguments on the theological concept of the 'common good' (Bretherton, 2015; Williams, 2012). It is also intimately tied to the concept of human rights and that all people have inherent human rights, including political, civil and cultural (Hunt, 2008; Lane, 2015).

Social justice is not necessarily the same as charity; charity is a short-term solution to immediate hunger or need, social justice involves advocating for long-term, structural solutions (Agartan, 2014). Structural solutions are usually enacted at the state level by governing authorities and linked to perceived moral obligations that states have to their citizens to provide employment, protection from violence, and so forth (Agartan, 2014; Banai, Ronzoni, & Schemmel, 2011; Barry, 2005). Since the end of World War Two and the establishment of the United Nations, social justice is also understood as important at the global level and addressed through various human rights documents and legislation such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Since the late 20th century arguments for who should be responsible for enacting social justice have shifted from the state to more grassroots and civil society organizations (Banai et al, 2011). However, some theorists, like Judith Butler (2015), still insist that the state has an outsized impact on whether or not people are recipients of social justice

> a commitment to equality and justice…entails addressing at every institutional level the differential exposure to death and dying that currently characterizes the lives of subjugated peoples and the precarious (p.48).

Anthropology and Social Justice

Much of the anthropological framing of social justice focuses on power, the other/othering, and how social justice is practised in specific places and time (see Farmer, 2003; Greenberg, 2018; Nader, 2007). The concept of 'justice' as something universal has been heavily critiqued by a discipline founded on cultural relativism[5] and comparativism (Goodhale, 2007; Lane, 2015). Cultural relativism led to the rejection of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) by the American Anthropological Association in 1948, who felt the documents universalist claims were akin to 'cultural imperialism' (Lane, 2015). The legacy of this argument can be seen when contemporary anthropologists discuss human rights, a concept often associated with social justice in academic literature. Mark Goodhale (2007), for example, questions the 'normativism' of human rights discourses such as those contained in the original version of the UDHR. He argues it doesn't consider the diversity and difference of humanity across cultures. Penny Lane (2015) challenges the eurocentric base of human rights understandings

> as anthropology engages with human rights discourses and processes…[it should] ensure diversity in perspectives and utterances and, I believe, serve to hold open discursive spaces to the centrifugal and emergent meanings that can challenge hegemonic Western and liberal theories of social justice offered by political philosophy (p.63-64).

For anthropologists, universalism can be impossibly ambiguous when it encounters real lives (Dembour, 2002). What interests them regarding social justice are primarily the *practices* of it in particular places at specific times (Goodhale, 2007; Greenberg, 2018). As Greenberg points out "in order for justice to be done, it must be done somewhere" (2018: webpage). Spaces where social justice activism occurs are often located at societal margins and boundaries (Scheper-Hughes, 1992) and encompass global and local social spheres (Goodhale, 2007). These spaces and places move, change, form and reform, often moved by inequalities in power (Nader, 2007).

[5] Cultural Relativism = Cultural practices and viewpoints need to be understood within the context of the group who practices them and not judged according the standards of another culture/group (Reichert, 2011)

Where anthropology can contribute to discussions on social justice is through the disciplines use of ethnographic fieldwork which can provide in-depth, empirical, and 'thick' descriptions (Lane, 2015) of peoples and communities. Ethnographic accounts can provide insights into "local meanings, circulating discourses…and changing forms of power" (Paley, 2002:469) that capture the lived experience of social movements as they fight for democratic change (Greenhouse, 2002). Others have suggested that fieldwork can be a form of 'witnessing' to injustices and inequalities as anthropologists enact affective embodied participation (Alexandrakis, 2016; Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). My fieldwork enabled me to provide a 'thick', sensory description of an Anglican community that was participating in actions of social justice. It witnesses to religious-based social justice activism as an embodied practice lived out through everyday constructions of space, movement, and time.

Christians and Social Justice

Christians have a long history of attempting to further social justice. They have often been at the forefront of pioneering social justice movements, especially Christians from minority communities such as African Americans in the USA and indigenous groups in Latin America. A well-known example is the Civil Rights movement led by Rev. Martin Luther King in the USA during the 1950s and 1960s (Werner, 2017). Another is the Base Community Movement based on liberation theology which played an important role in challenging corrupt and violent dictators in Latin America (CIVICUS, 2017). In recent years climate change has become an important issue for some social justice-minded Christians, with the concept of 'creation care' being linked to caring for the planet by being good stewards of God's creation. Pope Francis's 'Laudato si', published in 2015, argues that caring for the earth is caring for the poor (Davie, 2017).

Some Christian groups challenge government policies on human rights and inequality (J. Berry & Wilcox, 2018; James, 2007). For example, in New Zealand the Salvation Army's Social Policy and Parliamentary Unit releases a widely discussed and influential 'State of the Nation' report every year highlighting various social issues affecting the country (van Dongen, 2017). Human rights work can extend beyond government into civil society through such initiatives as the Community Organizing movement.

Community Organizing models were most famously pioneered by American Jewish activist Saul Alinsky, who founded the Industrial Area Foundation which encourages localized democratic participation and has many Christian participants (Bretherton, 2015). There is a more New Zealand-centric discussion on Christian social justice activism in Chapter Five.

How Christians interact with and understand the concept of social justice is related to the political theologies I outline in Chapter Two and more wide-ranging theologies on what constitutes a good life and a just society as far as God is concerned. Christian theological perspectives on social justice are many and varied, ranging from the Social Gospel and anarchist-leaning Catholic Worker movements, to anti-social justice Protestant Calvinists exemplified by pastors such as John MacArthur (Relevant Magazine, 2018). For those Christians who see social justice as an important part of their faith, several theological concepts are commonly referred to, including the Kingdom of God, human flourishing, and the common good (Brueggemann, 2004; Reinhardt, 2015; Williams, 2012).

Theologian Walter Brueggemann (2004) has argued that the Israelites in the Old Testament of the Bible were warned against hoarding material goods and commanded to share communally so that no-one would go without. Specific instructions were also given on how to treat the widows, orphans, foreign aliens, and the poor. Images of a just and good 'commonweal' were wrapped in the language of peace and harmony where "the nations will beat their swords into ploughshares" (Isaiah 2:2), and people were to "act justly and love mercy" (Micah 6:8). Social justice activism has also been framed theologically by some as an act of incarnation[6], that is bringing the presence of Jesus into unjust situations (Bretherton, 2010a; Williams, 2007). All of these themes are defined and discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Scholars such as Romand Coles (2008) have noted there can be theological barriers that can prevent some Christians from participating in social justice work. One of these barriers the inability of some Christians and churches to learn from those outside of the Christian tradition; "the church construes itself as the foot-washer, but not in need

[6] Incarnation - "invoking the biblical presence of Jesus on earth" (Bielo, 2011:ebook)

of being foot-washed by non-Christians…as server but not in need of being served by others" (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:212). Coles argues that theology which claims God cannot receive anything worthwhile from humans, especially non-Christians, is a problematic. If those outside Christianity are perceived as having nothing beneficial which can be given to God or his church, this can dampen involvement in social justice work, which works better when drawing from multiple sources of wisdom and "beyond the limits of what any single tradition can call its own" (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:228)". This factor is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Millennials

My research participants were mainly from the millennial generation. 'Millennials' are generally considered to be the generation born between the early to mid-1980s up to the end of the 1990s (Strauss & Howe, 2000). They grew up in an era where the Cold War had ended, and the world was becoming increasingly connected in 'cyberspace' through digital technologies (Gregg, 2017). While millennials have been maligned by some as narcissistic, inward-focused, and addicted to 'screens', research suggests that Millennials are more civically engaged than their predecessors from Generation X (those born from the late 1960s to the early 1980s) (Milkman, 2017; Twenge & Campbell, 2012). They are more likely to be progressively liberal in their political and social worldview regarding issues like gender equality, LGBTQ+ rights, and marijuana use (Eagan et al., 2015; Gregg, 2017; Milkman, 2017; Putnam & Campbell, 2010; A. Smith, 2013).

Another attribute of many Millennials is that they are more likely than the generations before them to show awareness that they are part of not only a nation-state but also a global community (Pew Research Centre, 2014). There is growing awareness amongst Millennials that they have rights and responsibilities that go beyond the border of their nation-state (Baillie Smith, Laurie, Hopkins, & Olson, 2013), and the ability to embrace diversity and empathise with those from other cultures (Brunell, 2013; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013). On the other hand, very recent research released in 2018 suggests a growing group of Western millennials, particularly white males, are rejecting globalism and turning towards nationalistic versions of governance, particularly fascism and dictator-style leaders (Abramowitz, 2018).

Millennials in the West are the least Christian generation ever if adherence is measured by attendance at a church (Putnam & Campbell, 2010; Ward, 2013; Welliver, 2017). While not interested in institutional Christianity and religion, both millennials and Gen Zers are often interested in spirituality, mindfulness, meditation, and yoga practices (Halafoff, Singleton, Bouma, & Rasmussen, 2020; Jian Lee, 2018; Tippet, 2016). Considering the characteristics of millennials discussed in the literature it could be assumed that they would not be attracted to or be part of a religious institution like Anglicanism. Yet Diocese J had a growing cohort of them. This factor was a prominent reason why I chose to do my research in Diocese J.

Anglicans

The Anglican Church is a Christian Protestant denomination that is present worldwide but originates in the United Kingdom. Religious historian Peter Lineham (2017) calls Anglicanism the most 'Catholic' of the Protestant Churches, which reflects its historical split from Catholicism under the reign of King Henry VIII in 1534. Henry bestowed upon himself the title of the Supreme Head of the Church of England (COE), thus removing the Pope as his spiritual authority and allowing him to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. The role of the reigning monarch of the UK as the head of the COE, even up to the present day, has historically linked Anglicanism to the English State (Lineham, 2017). Anglicanism was spread outside of the UK primarily through Britain's colonisation efforts (Butcher, 2017) and is present in most ex-British colonial nations, including Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the USA, many African countries, and India.

The nominal head of worldwide Anglicans is the Archbishop of Canterbury (AOC), who is currently Justin Welby. Unlike Catholic Popes, the AOC does not have the power to enforce doctrine or decisions made at a global level, although they can advocate for a certain position. Practical power and decision-making apparatus are contained in regional and national 'synods' (regular gatherings of local bishops and archbishops). The entity of one global Church under devolved regional and national authority is called the 'Anglican Communion'.

Anthropology and Anglicans

Many academic papers and books discuss Anglicanism from a theological, historical, or organizational angle, but I found little anthropological or social science literature that

uses qualitative, ethnographic methods to study contemporary Anglicans in Western countries, especially by non-Anglicans. I found ethnographic studies on social services run by Anglicans, but these concentrated on the social service provided, such as a food bank, with little on Anglicanism itself. Most ethnographic studies on Anglicans were undertaken by researchers who are themselves Anglican.

Miranda Hassett (2007) has examined transnational flows of power and money between conservative Anglicans in the United States of America and Global South Anglicans in Uganda and Rwanda. Hasset, herself an Episcopalian (American Anglican), also notes the lack of academic scholars who research mainline churches. Sociologist James Collins (2010) has done ethnographic research for his doctoral thesis on rural Australian Anglican churches, Collins is a long-time member of an Anglican church. Martyn Percy (2018), an Anglican theologian, priest, and academic at Oxford University, has also done ethnographic research on rural Anglicans, this time in the United Kingdom. It seems that few secular anthropologists have found Western Anglicans worth studying.

Anglicanism in New Zealand

Christianity in New Zealand, especially in its early days, is intimately entwined with the Anglican Church. Although New Zealand has no official state church, as the first dominant European religious group in the country, the Anglican Church has had an influential presence within New Zealand society (Butt, 1992; Lineham, 2011, 2017). Anglicans introduced Christianity to the country through the Church Missionary Society (CMS), which sent out the first missionaries from England in the early 19th century. Reverend Samuel Marsden, who was based in the penal colony of Australia, famously gave the first Christian sermon in New Zealand on Christmas Day, 1814. The missionaries sent to New Zealand were from the evangelical branch of the Anglican church, a relatively new phenomenon in England at the time; they saw themselves as bringing the 'gospel of peace' to Māori (Troughton, 2017b). Many Māori took up the message of Christianity, often integrating it with their own spiritual traditions such as the role of prophets, evidenced in the Ringatū and Rātana movements (Lineham, 2014). At first Anglican Bishops in New Zealand were appointed in England, now this

task is undertaken locally by the Synod, a national meeting of Anglican leaders that takes place every two years.

The first European settlers in New Zealand were predominantly Anglican, except for the Otago province where the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland sponsored settlement (Lineham, 2014). The three largest religious groups where the Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Catholics, the latter being mainly from Ireland. In the early 20th century, there was the growth of smaller, revivalist denominations such as the Salvation Army, the Brethren, and the Seventh Day Adventists (Lineham, 2014). Historically, there has been a reasonable amount of diversity within New Zealand's Christian landscape, especially considering the small population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Butcher, 2017; Lineham, 2014; Pratt, 2016), with a high level of tolerance towards other religions (Shaver, Troughton, Sibley, & Bulbulia, 2016). Christian denominations had less of a split than in other British colonies, with Methodists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Catholics often working together on social service projects, especially through the National Council of Churches which was set up in 1947 (Honore, 2013).

While New Zealanders have historically identified with the Anglican Church as the most dominant expression of religious identity, their ties as a nation to religious institutions have been rather weak compared to the English, and especially the Americans (Ward, 2013). Settlers migrated to New Zealand in part to get away from Old World religious institutions with their bishops, vestments and strict morality (Pratt, 2016). New Zealanders may have ticked the census box to indict their affiliation to Christian denominations in large numbers, but the reality was that regular Sunday church attendance has never been particularly high (Lineham, 2017).

The type of Anglicanism brought to New Zealand tended to be more evangelical and 'action based' than the High Church Catholic version that prevailed in England. There was a strong emphasis on morality and self-improvement (Lineham, 2017). The Church has consisted mainly of the middle to upper class of New Zealand society, up until the present day (Donovan, Bowler, Hanneman, & Karp, 2004; Lineham, 2014). The difficulty of class bridging has continued to be a defining factor for the Anglican Church

in New Zealand throughout its history, with vestries[7] and committees being dominated by wealthy patrons who decided where the church spent its money (Lineham, 2017). The custom of 'renting a pew' did not endear the church to the poor and working-class either. Peter Lineham points out that only seven percent of Anglicans fitted into the category of working-class (2017:372). Historically Anglicans have voted for the right-leaning National Party, perhaps a reflection of their upper-class makeup dominated by professionals and businesspeople (Lineham, 2017).

The Anglican Church in New Zealand has experienced a big loss in members since the 1960s. This is not just in New Zealand but worldwide, and most Anglican literature refers to this decline as the major concern for the 21st century (Dormor, McDonald, & Caddick, 2003; Towle, 2007; Ward, 2013). Paradoxically, Anglicanism is the largest Christian denomination according to census data and many New Zealanders still identify as being Anglican (Ward, 2013). However, this identification does not segue into church attendance. Traditionally church growth was dependent on generational renewal, with children growing up and bringing their own families into the church. There is now very little of this type of growth occurring in Anglican and other mainline churches in New Zealand (Ward, 2013).

Anglicans and Māori

A characteristic of New Zealand Anglicanism that appears to be different from other countries is its attempts at establishing an equal partnership with the indigenous people of the land though the inclusion of Māori culture, language, spirituality, and governance, particularly in the last 40 years (see Chapter Eight). The first Māori Bishop, Frederick Bennett, was appointed in 1928, with the title of 'The Bishop of Aotearoa' although he had no Diocese. In 1978 'Te Pīhopatanga o Aotearoa' was established as the branch of the Anglican Church specifically for Māori Anglicans and consists of five regional Māori Dioceses, each with its own bishop. In 1984, the Synod tasked a group to examine the relationship of the Church to the Treaty of Waitangi; this led to a new constitution, 'Te Pouhere', being approved in 1992. Te Pouhere established a three-strand governing structure for the Anglican Church in New Zealand which consists of

[7] Vestry = a committee of church members who make decisions on governance issues for local parishes.

Tikanga[8] Māori, Tikanga Pākehā[9] and Tikanga Pasifika (Kemp, 2018). The Three Tikanga model is unique to New Zealand, an innovative action that shifted the Synod from an adversarial, Westminster style of debate to a Māori 'kōrero' [10]model. While there is a general acceptance of the Tikanga model within the Church, there are also continuing debates as to how it functions in a multicultural society where not everyone is Māori, Pākehā, or from the Pacific (Kemp, 2018).

The Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia has sought to address the role Anglicans played in injustices inflicted on Māori during colonisation through a variety of actions, including official apologies (Troughton & Fountain, 2018a). An example of this occurred in 2010 with the removal of hatchments in St Mary's Church in Taranaki that commemorated military troops who fought against Māori in the Land Wars, with a service of apology and reconciliation between local iwi and Anglican leaders (Allen, 2018).

Emerging Church and Neo-monasticism

While my original research question concentrated on Anglicanism and social justice, it became apparent during my fieldwork that there was another Christian movement that had an equally important influence on how my participants had been formed regarding social justice. This entity was the 'Emerging Church' Movement (ECM), and it was especially the neo-monastic branch of it that was most relevant to this thesis. The Emerging Church Movement has been called "one of the most important reframings of religion within Western Christianity in the last two decades" (Marti & Ganiel, 2014:Abstract). Several emerging and neo-monastic groups had been incorporated into Diocese J, with individuals from these groups becoming important figures and leaders, including the Bishop. The bulk of my participants who were social justice activists came to Anglicanism via the ECM movement.

Currently, not much anthropological research exists on neo-monasticism (Markofski, 2015), although there is more on the Emerging Church Movement. Of note are ethnographies from anthropologists Amy Cox Hall (2017), who spent four years

[8] Tikanga = habits/customs/rules
[9] Pākehā = A non-indigenous, non-Māori New Zealander
[10] Kōrero = narrative/story/speech

researching a neo-monastic community, and James Bielo (2011) who studied a group of ECM communities, both in the USA. Jon Bialecki and Bielo (2016) have written on the temporality of the Emergent Church movement (see Chapter Seven). Both Bielo and Bialecki specialise in the Anthropology of Christianity, a subgenre of anthropology that studies how Christianity is lived out by varying communities around the world (T. Jenkins, 2012). Most academic material on the ECM comes from religious studies scholars, theologians, and sociologists such as Gerardo Marti and Gladys Ganiel (2014), Wes Markofski (2015), and Josh Packard and George Sanders (2013). Some scholars define the ECM as a new religious movement (Marti & Ganiel, 2014; Moody & Reed, 2017; Packard & Sanders, 2013), while Cox Hall (2017) links it to social movements of voluntary simplicity and utopianism. I argue that the ECM also has aspects that make it a religious revitalization movement (Stein & Stein, 2017), especially regarding discourse of 'the ancient' (see Chapter Seven). As far as I know no academic studies, outside of a theological context, have been carried out on neo-monasticism in New Zealand.

The ECM has roots in evangelical Christianity and is primarily made up of 'recovering', post-evangelicals (Bielo, 2011; Cox Hall, 2017). Most academics frame it as a rejection of evangelical right-wing fundamentalism and/or consumeristic 'megachurch'[11] Christianity (Bielo, 2011; Cox Hall, 2017; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). These Christians are in the process of unlearning and reweaving the fundamentalist Christianity of their youth, referred to as 'deconstruction'. The EMC began amongst young evangelicals in the early 1990s in the US and other Anglophone countries such as the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand (Bielo, 2011; Ganiel & Marti, 2015; Guest, 2017). New Zealand had some of the earliest Emerging churches, such as 'Cityside' in Auckland led by Mark Pierson, which came out of the Baptist denomination (Guest, 2017; Taylor, 2019). In the United Kingdom Emerging churches, such as 'The Nine O'Clock Service', were often aligned with the Church of England (Taylor, 2019). Emerging churches have strong transnational links to each other worldwide (Guest, 2017), and often met in non-conventional locations such as pubs, cafes, and people's living rooms.

[11] Megachurch = An American term for a church which is composed of 2,000 or more people in average attendance.

The ECM can be difficult to define, in fact a characteristic is its participant's resistance to being labelled (Packard and Sanders, 2013). Marti and Ganiel note "[they] resist definition. In some cases, the resistance is passionate and obsessive" (2014:5). However, ethnographic research has shown some categorical similarities across the movement. Bielo (2011) observed a preference for 'ancient' rituals and sacramental[12] worship, an orientation toward actions of social justice, a desire for authentic relationships, and scepticism about 'hard' truth. Stefania Palmisano (2016), who studied Catholic neo-monastic communities in Italy, suggests they are is a way of reworking and innovating old religious traditions, rather than reinventing them.

Marti and Ganiel's (2014) definitions of the ECM note an anti-institutional stance, the importance of ecumenicalism/pluralism (see Chapter Eight), and a tendency towards experimentation and creativity. Gibbs and Bolger (2005) include being highly communal, and the importance of practising hospitality and egalitarian participation. Dissent and questioning are valued (Packard and Sanders, 2013), as is storytelling, narrative-style preaching, poetry, and many forms of art (Guest & Taylor, 2006; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). There is often a strong critique of capitalist consumerism and the military-industrial complex of modern nation-states (Bielo, 2011; Cox Hall, 2017). Gerardo Marti (2015) argues that the ECM is a form of religious cosmopolitanism, as it values pluralism and reflexivity.

Demographically the ECM is overwhelmingly white, middle to upper class and highly educated (Bielo, 2011; Carter, 2012; Cox Hall, 2017; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). More women than men are involved (Cox Hall, 2017) and, up till recently, many leaders were men (Taylor, 2019), although this is changing. Most participants in the ECM are millennials or younger Gen Xers (Cox Hall, 2018; Moody & Reed, 2017). These millennial-aged Christians "crave commitments that matter" (Spellers, Ashley, Harkey, & Wesslehoeft, 2010:145) and "value authenticity in relationships and connection with culture" (Taylor, 2019:150). This craving for authenticity is often related to dissatisfaction with evangelicalism, which is perceived to be judgemental, hypocritical, shallow, individualistic, homophobic, intolerant and hungry for power (Kinnaman &

[12] Sacrament = An important type of Christian rite or ritual; includes Baptism, and the taking of the Eucharist.

Lyons, 2007). For some of those in the ECM, the desire to have a holistic and all-encompassing faith leads them to live in neo-monastic, intentional communities.

Neo-Monasticism

Neo-monastics are a sub-group of the ECM (Carter, 2012). They usually live together in communities that consist of one large house, or a few houses close together in a specific geographical location (Rutba House, 2005; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). These communities are 'intentional', which means that those who join make a formal commitment to follow the communities 'rule'; a shared communitarian 'rhythm of life' which structures each day and can include such activities as morning and evening prayer, practical work within the houses themselves and out in local communities, and shared meals (Bielo, 2011). Spiritual practices such as lighting candles, burning incense, contemplation, meditation, centering prayer[13], liturgical prayer, silent retreats, and observing the traditional church calendar are common in most neo-monastic communities (I. Adams & Mobsby, 2010; Bielo, 2011; Cox Hall, 2018). I discuss the intentional communities (ICs) I encountered in Diocese J in Chapter Six.

Neo-monastics see themselves as imitating the first Christian communities in the New Testament established by Jesus and his disciples, called 'The Early Church' (Carter, 2012; Kauffman, 2009), which were based on communal living where "all believers were together and had everything in common" (Acts 2:42, NIV edition). The period of early Christianity is viewed by neo-monastics as a time when Christianity was more pure and unsullied by 'Constantinianism'; an unholy alliance between State power and the Church (Bialecki & Bielo, 2016) that occurred when Roman Emperor Constantine made Christianity a state religion in 313 CE.

Most neo-monastics are committed to social justice. Attempts to bring about a more equal society are wide and varied and can include community gardening, food activism, urban farming, youth clubs, teaching ESOL[14] classes, housing co-ops, health centres, after school clubs, helping the homeless, working with refugees, fostering at-risk children, and providing free community meals (Marti & Ganiel, 2014; Markofski,

[13] Centering Prayer = a type of contemplative mediation developed by a group of American Trappist monks in the1970s
[14] ESOL = English As A Second Language

2015). Environmentalism is valued, the earth is seen to be God's creation that needs looking after, and climate change is a concern (Adams and Mobsby, 2010; Cox Hall, 2018). Some neo-monastics involve themselves in political activism, protesting and civil disobedience as they "resist racism, sexism, and consumerism" (Cox Hall, 2018:681). Pacifism is also common, as is being for gun-control and against capital punishment and militarisation (Claiborne & Martin, 2019).

Ethnographic studies have found that many previously independent neo-monastic communities and Emerging Churches, what Steve Taylor (2019) calls 'first expressions' groups, have aligned themselves with mainline churches such as the Anglicans and Methodists (Taylor, 2019). This was the case in my research also. Since 'first expression' groups are already using contemplative practices and are attracted to the 'old and ancient' (Bialecki & Bielo, 2016), they find mainline churches a good theological fit (Snider, 2011). This process has been helped by the instigation of a new initiative by former Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams called 'Fresh Expressions' based out of the Church of England in the United Kingdom (Guest, 2017; Marti & Ganiel, 2014; Moynagh, 2012; Taylor, 2019). Describing Fresh Expressions, Williams used the language of 'fresh new shoots' and that "the church is always renewed from the edges rather than the middle" (Williams in Taylor, 2019:103).

Fresh Expressions is a formal entity of the Church of England and provides resources, funding, and often buildings to 'first expression' and ECM groups. The payoff for the Anglicans is that they gain a group of energic, creative, and innovative people who can renew and revive dying Anglican parishes. Many first expression leaders become Anglican clergy; Taylor goes so far as to call many ECM/ first expression groups 'vicar factories' (2019:90). I elaborate on the connections between neo-monastic communities and the Anglican Fresh Expressions movement in Chapter Six.

Chapter Layout

In the chapters that follow I consider the question "how and what are young Anglican social justice activists contributing to civil society in New Zealand in the early 21st century?" Chapter Two begins this process with a review of academic literature on the topics of civil society, social justice and democratic participation, and Christian political theology. Chapter Three introduces the theoretical lens I applied to the analysis of the

research findings, that of ‘Becoming’. I examine Becoming through the ideas of philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, William Connolly, and Romand Coles. I then ‘mash’ their ideas with a framework of Becoming that is based on phenomenological arguments from anthropologists João Biehl, Peter Locke and others. Becoming is understood to be a sensorial, phenomenological, affective enterprise that can lead to rhizomatic-like assemblages, such as the social-justice assemblage of Diocese J which is examined in this research. I then move on to Chapter Four where I explain the methodological stance used in this project, which involved sensory ethnography and interviews. The fieldwork site and participants are also introduced in this chapter, as well as a discussion on my positionality as an ‘insider’ researcher, and a short section on the ethics of the research.

Chapter Five is the entry point into the results and ethnographic section of the thesis. It sets the context for Chapters Six to Eight by examining how the concept of social justice has been understood and acted upon by Anglicans in general, and specifically in Diocese J. I describe the process of how social justice was enacted in the Diocese at an institutional level such as providing training and actual protesting, contextual influences such as the Bishop of Diocese J, and introducing the theology that was foundational in forming my participants' understandings of social justice, in particular that of ‘the Kingdom’.

Chapters Six to Eight discuss three main factors that emerged from the fieldwork as to why Diocese J seemed to be a focal point of activity for social justice activism, and the ways of Becoming in the Diocese J assemblage which formed and shaped my participants. The first of these factors was the role of the Intentional Communities where many of my participants lived, this is the topic of Chapter Six. Theological concepts such as ‘incarnation’, ‘missional’, and ‘empire’ are explored, as well as the spatial notion of ‘edges and margins’. Embodied rhythms of life were another motif that emerged in the ICs and is also examined in Chapter Seven, which concentrates on becoming through ritual-like spiritual practices and traditions. This factor was intimately linked to the sensory and phenomenological theories discussed in Chapter Three, as well as to specific framings of temporality and materiality.

In Chapter Eight, I discuss the third factor which emerged, which is a distinctly Anglican understanding of pluralism, called 'the broad table'. The chapter engages with how this concept undergirds institutional Anglicanism's understandings of civil society and the public sphere, and shaped becoming a social activist in Diocese J. In particular, ecumenicalism and interfaith interactions and the bicultural context of New Zealand are highlighted as elements that contributed to an acceptance of societal pluralism and how this played out in 'real-life' situations, such as the aftermath of the Christchurch Mosque Attacks in 2019. The thesis concludes in Chapter Nine with a summary of the main 'threads' that ran throughout my research and wove the assemblage of social justice that was present in Diocese J. Here I return to my research question and literature review to examine this assemblage in terms of its role as a civic association, millennials and democratic participation, and if Diocese J was a 'radical ecclesia' (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008).

Let the journey begin.

CHAPTER TWO: DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN CIVIL SOCIETY AND CHRISTIAN POLITICAL THEOLOGY - LITERATURE REVIEW

> *"Both the unlimited state and the unrestrained market have destroyed civil society, which is our world. Civil society is not the state or the market. Civil society is the world of you and I"* – Phillip Blond (2009)

In this chapter, I outline the main bodies of literature that undergird my research question. These are civil society, democratic participation, and Christian political theology. My research is based on an understanding of social justice activism as something that takes place within the sphere of civil society and asks how young, Anglican social justice activists engage with, and seek to transform, this socially constructed space. Social justice activism is construed as a form of democratic participation that is outworked in the public space of civil society, this is the second kind of literature I consider. Thirdly, the democratic participation evidenced by my participants was influenced by the fact that they were Christians, and so the last set of literature discussed in this chapter is that of political theology. Political theology relates to how Christians perceive their relationship with governing entities such as nation-states and affects how different Christian groups view their responsibilities to God regarding injustice.

To begin with, the emphasis is on how scholars from political studies and my discipline, anthropology, have understood civil society. Civil society, as a concept, has been defined and engaged with primarily by political theorists, so it is this literature I consider first. In this section the focus is on the civic associations that make up civil society, as churches are considered an important civic association. Related to this is a discussion of civil society as a 'third sector'. 'Third sector' literature examines how many governments and international entities, like the World Bank, increasingly view civic associations as a proxy for providing social services and poverty alleviation. Becoming a third sector service provider for one's government can complicate the relationship between a civic association and how they engage with social justice activism. Anglicans, worldwide and in New Zealand, are one of the groups affected by this development.

While political studies scholars often view civil society as being an entity that is 'good', it is also important to consider theory that is critical of the majority view. In this section of the chapter, I outline arguments from both political studies and anthropology that 'civil society' is often made up of the normative ideals of middle-class majorities. Anthropologists have been vocal about this point and I offer examples from ethnographic research to show that civil society is often a complicated and contested space that needs to be understood within particular historical, temporal, and cultural contexts. In political science civil society has traditionally been viewed as a bounded, non-political space. However, as an anthropologist using a sensory methodology, I do not consider civil society to be apolitical. Bodies move in and out of many different spaces, carrying and (re)producing the political and, in the case of this research, religious ideas and practices. Spaces and bodies merge, intertwine, form and reform, and continually Become (see Chapter Three). My examination of civil society literature concludes with an outline of how scholars have understood the role religious groups, especially Christians, play in civil society.

Next, I explore democratic participation literature. Social justice activism can be considered a way of participating in society to make it more just for all citizens (and denizens[15] as well). The subject of democratic participation has generated an extensive body of literature, especially from political studies. I examine a selection of that literature with a focus on how democratic participation is changing from being representative to more participatory, especially amongst millennials, who were the generational cohort most of my participants were part of.

As an anthropologist and not a political scientist, my research is shaped primarily by what I find in 'the field'. After over a year of ethnographic fieldwork, I concluded that the type of democratic participation I observed did not fit in well with typologies present in my initial literature review. The fieldwork findings caused me to consider a subgenre of democratic participation called 'radical democracy'. Radical democracy is based in 'grassroots' movements and the 'unconventional politics' of protest and mobilization that draws on the American civil rights era (Rimmerman, 2011). The

[15] Denizen = one who resides in a place, but does not have the full rights of a citizen or member of that particular community, e.g. someone on a non-residents visa; an illegal immigrant, or a seasonal worker.

people I did fieldwork with could be considered an example of a radically democratic group, as such I examine the literature on radical democracy. Radical democratic scholar Romand Coles (1997, 2002, 2008, 2016) is particularly relevant as he brings radical democratic theory and certain Christian theologies together to discuss how activists, secular and religious, can draw on both traditions to cultivate resilience and receptivity to others. Throughout this thesis, I engage with Coles's work on numerous occasions, especially in Chapter Eight.

The final topic discussed in this chapter is Christian political theology. Political theology may seem a strange concept to use when considering civil society, a supposedly non-political and areligious space. However, I discovered during my fieldwork that, for my participants, the overarching goal of their social justice activism was not primarily viewed as participating in democracy. Rather, they desired to bring the presence of God's flourishing Kingdom to earth, and protest and activism was one way to do this. This led me to literature on how Christians interact with and understand the relationship between them and those in power over them, which in modern states are usually governments.

I found it nearly impossible to unravel the intricate ties between political space, civic space, activism, and Christian political theology. Many of my participants mentioned specific theologians and theological frameworks when interviewed, and at the events I attended. The phrase 'Kingdom of God', and 'the Kingdom' were often used when discussing what a good society should look like. This section considers literature from political theology to explore how politics, governance, civil society and human flourishing have been understood through a Christian theological lens historically. Learning about political theology helped me understand the theological ideas my participants were drawing their ideas on human (and non-human) flourishing and social justice from. Important political theological ideas I discuss are the concept of two, competing, spiritual Kingdoms, and the relationship of Constantinian Christianity with state power.

Civil Society

My participants were part of a civil society group, a church. Part of my research question asked how social justice activism is being enacted by this particular civil

society group. As such, it was important to engage with literature on civil society and how it has been understood and theorised over time and within varying academic disciplines. From Plato to Putnam there has been much ink spilt trying to define and analyse what constitutes civil society. For most of the last two thousand years, civil society was considered to be the sphere of social relations inhabited by 'ordinary people' who voluntarily organized themselves into groups that stood outside of the realm of governance (state or king) and the market (de Gruchy, 2004; Ehrenberg, 1999; Held, 1989; James, 2007).

Theories of civil society go back to early Greek thinkers such as Plato, who perceived civilized society as being made up of three main spheres; the private life of the citizen, and the public spaces of the polis and the market. Plato thought this was the natural law of the universe, and as long as these spheres were balanced out by reason and justice then society would function for the common good of all (Ehrenberg, 1999). Theologians such as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas built on Aristotle's understandings of natural law, emphasising a 'great chain of being' that categorized all-natural matter into a universal hierarchy of ruling order, with God at the top, humans in the middle, and minerals at the bottom. During the Middle Ages, civil society was defined by these theologically based categories and hierarchies. The point of civil society was to either to coerce sinners to obey God (Augustine), or to be a space to serve others through moral duty (Aquinas) (Beauerschmidt, 2004; Bethke Elshtain, 2004; Ehrenberg, 1999).

English philosopher Thomas Hobbes upended this worldview in 1651 with his book '*Leviathan*'. Hobbes introduced the concept of the calculating individual; natural law was not about maintaining a divine ordered role in society, it was based on individualistic self-interest. After Hobbes, John Locke proposed that natural law was not based on the power of the state to reign in the selfish individual, but on economic rights (Thomas, 2005). Natural law was the right to own property and to exchange labour, the role of the state was to protect these rights. Scottish philosopher Adam Ferguson was perturbed by the ideas of Hobbes and Locke and feared that morality would be downgraded by the pressure of economic market values. Ferguson argued that civil society functioned best when it was 'rooted in the love of mankind' and

based on values such as ‘kindness, mutual aid and benevolence’, not individualistic self-interest (Ehrenberg, 1999).

Contemporary theory on civil society can be traced to the post World War II era, beginning with the establishment of the United Nations and the signing of the UN Declaration on Human Rights in 1948. In the latter half of the 20th century, a group of theorists led by Robert Bellah and Robert Putnam argued that voluntary civic association groups had an important role to play in maintaining positive civil societies by providing social connections to temper the individualism of the liberalised ‘economic man’ (Bellah et al., 1985; Putnam, 1993) of Hobbes, Locke, and Adam Smith.

Since the early 2000s, there has been a growth in literature that suggests civil society is under attack from neoliberal market forces that want to privatise public entities and states that want to restrict access to public spaces. It has been argued that civil society needs to be rebuilt and discusses the concept within the context of political, economic and activist frameworks (Ishkanian & Ali, 2018; Lazaridis & Veikou, 2017; Nilsen, Stromsnes, & Schmidt, 2018; Simiti, 2017). Contemporary suggestions of what a ‘good’ civil society may look like include a culture of courtesy and respect (Williams, 2012), generosity and reciprocity (Beausoleil, 2017; Coles, 1997), an “informed and active populace” (Cox, 2009:205), and a commitment to pluralism, shared values, inclusiveness, and integrity (Harris, 2017). I discuss how receptive generosity and pluralism was part of the social justice assemblage of Diocese J in Chapter Eight.

Civic Associations

A common tenant of political science theory regarding civil society is that it consists of many different types of civic association groupings (Bellah et al., 1985; Putnam, 1993; Warren, 2004). A civic association was traditionally thought of as a group made up of people who meet for purposes that are not related to economic or political activity (Cox, 2009; Ehrenberg, 1999; Warren, 2001). Some groups that are considered civic associations include churches (Donovan et al., 2004; Putnam, 1993; Verba, Lehman Schlozman, & Brady, 1995; Ward, 2013; Warren, 2004), unions (Donovan et al., 2004; Putnam, 1993), sports clubs (Donovan et al., 2004; Ward, 2013; Warren, 2004), Professional associations (James, 2007), and hobby and cultural groups such as bowling clubs (Putnam, 2000).

Civic associations, as they have traditionally been defined, are declining in the Western world, both in numbers and influence (Putnam, 1993; Ward, 2013); civic 'belonging' seems to be losing its popularity. This point was noticeable in my research as my participants often commented that the typical Anglican was old, and numbers were declining rapidly. The downturn in the number of civic associations has been attributed to several factors including increasing individualism and an intensely competitive neoliberal economy which means people spend more time at work and are too busy to be involved in their local communities (Ehrenberg, 1999; Ward, 2013).

The 'Third Sector' - Civil Society and Service Provision

Understanding the ways that civic associations function within specific communities and/or nation-states has become more important to scholars since the 1990s. This is partly because the sphere of civil society has come to be seen by many political and economic leaders as a 'third sector' which can provide social services for citizens that had previously been provided by the welfare state or private businesses (Arneil, 2006; Doane, 2001; Frumkin, 2005). Third sector social service provision is relevant to this thesis as much of this is done in Western countries by religious groups, such as Diocese J.

Third space enthusiasts argue that government based social welfare provision is an intrusion of the State into civil society and that civil associations are more efficient in delivering help to the underprivileged (Conradson, 2008; J. Harris, 2011), although many politicians still agreed that state funds should be given to civil associations to do this work. This trend has accelerated into the twenty-first century to include not only local civil society associations, but also international entities such as development and aid organisations. Directing financial resources to 'grassroots' Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) rather than big, state-based projects, is seen as a solution to inefficient, often corrupt, centralised governments (Doane, 2001; Thomas, 2005). Criticism of this approach is that it unequivocally equates the NGO's who make up civil societies with 'doing good' and fails to take into account localised tensions, hierarchies and cultural factors that also function at 'the grassroots' (Arneil, 2006; Doane, 2001; Hearn, 2001; Thomas, 2005).

A Critical Lens

It has been argued by some that belonging to a civic association, like an Anglican church, develops a number of civic virtues including tolerance, trust, respect for others, and a language of 'the common good' (Bellah et al., 1985; Putnam, 1993; Warren, 2001). Skills that are said to be developed include deliberation, discussion, and working together (Donovan et al., 2004; Eliasoph, 1998; Warren, 2004). It was thought that these skills and virtues can increase equality and participation in wider society by enhancing acceptance of diversity and pluralism. However, other scholars argue civic associations are not as egalitarian as they seem (Arneil, 2006; Donovan et al., 2004; Hudson, 2007; Paxton, 2002). Scholars who use a critical lens contend that Plato may have been wrong. There are no 'separate spheres' within political states; civil society, politics and the economy are all intertwined, they cannot be considered as separate from each other (Hudson, 2007; Verba et al., 1995). For example, the precariousness of the neoliberal economic system can 'hollow out' civil society (Arneil, 2006; Ehrenberg, 1999; Skocpol, 2013) through hyper-individuality and an emphasis on economic profit. This can leave societies prone to the rise of 'the mob', a group of angry, lonely people who have been left behind by economic change (Ehrenberg, 1999; James, 2007; Molnár, 2016).

Barbara Arneil (2006) suggests that the type of 'unity' and participation present in civic associations are often based on the normative values of majority groups in societies. Minority groups may feel pressured to assimilate to these majority norms in the group. Arneil's observations are echoed in Nina Eliasoph's (1998) ethnographic research on several civil association groups, which found that political talk is often curbed for the sake of unity and belonging. Local cultural norms can disguise such issues as racism, classism, and gender inequality within civic associations (Mansbridge, 1983, Arneil, 2006; Ehrenberg, 1999). As such it is important to conduct long-term, ethnographic research with civil society groups to try to get below the surface of official statements and discourses to the networks and assemblages which weave and form a particular group.

Civil Society and Anthropology

Much of the theory regarding civil society has come from political science and sociology. Jonathan Hearn (2001) suggests that anthropology as a discipline has been rather critical of the concept and even those doing ethnographic research with civil associations have often not used traditional theories of civil society, or even the term. This could be due to a wider issue where some anthropologists have critiqued political scientists for thinking that their theories can be applied universally, despite cultural or historical differences (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999; Doane, 2001). However, I would argue that civil society is a concept worth considering and using ethnographic methods to research. Civil society is a concept common to many countries and the theories that inform it are used to make government policies and distribute money and resources. As such anthropologists can contribute to discourses on civil society by highlighting how civil society groups actually function.

For anthropologists, civil society is not enacted in some geographically unmoored space; it is always located somewhere, in an actual place with real people, and is (re)formed and influenced by local contexts (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999; Coombe, 1997; Doane, 2001; J. Harris, 2011). Because anthropologists conduct much of their research through ethnographic fieldwork it is difficult for them to accept the theoretical premise that societies can be split into abstract spheres of economy, politics, and civil society. Anthropologists have observed that all these spheres weave in and out of each other continuously, thus the theory does not equate with the real lives of those whom they study (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999; J. Harris, 2011).

Anthropologists have also noted political and economic theories on the third sector which emphasises 'grassroots cooperation' can fail to understand the complexities of local dynamics, especially in non-Western settings (Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; J. Harris, 2011). What may be considered by an outsider as 'local' and traditional', can be historically and politically constructed by colonialism and now globalisation (Doane, 2001). This can bring different versions of 'the local' into conflict when third sector civil society initiatives are introduced by international NGO's championed by global entities such as the World Bank and the United Nations (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002). Additionally, civil society cannot be separated from local and global fields of power

relations that are structured along cultural lines and hierarchies (J. Harris, 2011). For example, John Harris's (2011) fieldwork in India showed that the realm of civil society there is strongly affected by the caste system. Molly Doane's (2001) study of community NGOs in Mexico highlighted how the intervention of local and state officials in civil society made it a place of distrust. In Western societies, the middle class often dominates civil society and civic associations, and those who are economically poorer may not have enough influence in civil society to "move the mechanisms of social power" (Hearn, 2001:247).

Arguments from civil society theorists that equate a 'good' civil society to 'progressive' ideals of social advancement, and civil society as a 'moral space', can set off alarm bells for anthropologists. These discourses sound suspiciously like a harkening back to concepts of the 'civilized' and the 'barbarian' that anthropology has spent a century trying to get away from. Hearn (2001) contends that the activities of many of those most involved in civic associations are underpinned by moralizing discourses where the 'reforming middle class' enforces themes of salvation, reform and modernization that are "not far removed from the pulpits of Knox and Calvin" (p.351).

I assert that the concept of 'civil society' cannot be separated from a geographic location, a local embodied context, and historical and contemporary temporalities. As an anthropologist, what I wanted to find out was *which* ethics and values were important to my participants, and *how* these concepts formed them into social justice activists.

Religion and Civil Society

It is common in secularised Western societies to view the public square, and accordingly civil society, as a realm free from the influences of religion (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008; Hudson, 2007; James, 2007; Williams, 2012). This view is a legacy of Enlightenment thinking; that civilised societies are based on rationality and what one can see. Religious beliefs were thought to be irrational and based on 'magical thinking', they were relegated to the private sphere of the home or church and not considered appropriate for the public or political realm (Bradstock, 2013; Suggate, 2014; Williams, 2012). Theologian Stanley Hauerwas states

> it is the politics of secular liberalism that assumes the task is to privatize religious convictions in the interest of a progressive realization of freedom (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:243).

That religion would stay in the private sphere was taken for granted throughout the latter half of the 20th century in Western societies that were becoming religiously diverse, multiethnic and multicultural. Nonetheless, there have been unintended consequences, including anger and resentment amongst some religious believers who feel that their values are disregarded by those in power (Hochschild, 2016; Oxholm et al., 2021b; Toft, Philpott, & Shah, 2011; Volf, 2015), leading to more politicized, fundamentalist forms of religion, exemplified by the 'Moral Majority' Christian Right in the USA.

Since the 1990s, religion has been making a return to the public square in a variety of ways. As already discussed, these include shrinking government involvement in societal service provision that is being taken up by faith-based groups (Davie, 2017; Herbert, 2003; Kolin, 2009; Nowland-Foreman, 2010; Skocpol, 2013), and the influx of immigrants who do not consider religion as belonging to the private sphere (Cox, 2009; Davie, 2017). Clashes between European nationalists and Middle Eastern refugees using the language of 'defending a Christian Europe' (Marzouki, McDonnell, & Roy, 2016; Toft et al., 2011), rising conservative Christian theocratic policies under the Trump Administration in the USA, and the increasing threat from extremist religious terrorists worldwide, are all examples of religious disquiet that is being enacted in public spaces that form civil society.

This 'return of religion' has surprised many secularists and academics who subscribed to secularisation theory which presumed religion would die out within civil societies in the West (Davie, 2017; Herbert, 2003; Williams, 2012). Even Peter Berger (1999), one of the original architects of secularisation theory, has now disavowed his own work, saying

> The world today, with some exceptions…is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that a whole body of

> literature by historians and social scientists loosely labelled 'secularization theory' is essentially mistaken (p.2).

Religion may be making a comeback in civil society, but it does not look the same as when it left.

Christianity and Civil Society

Contemporary Christian involvement in civil society has changed considerably from the past, this is due to a number of factors. One of the main ones is, as mentioned earlier, the precipitous decline in attendance and membership in many Christian denominations, especially in mainline churches such as the Anglicans, Methodists and Presbyterians. This decline, combined with the dominance of secular rationalism, has contributed to a distinct lack of respect for Christian institutions in many Western societies (Davie, 2017; Dormor et al., 2003; Putnam & Campbell, 2010; Ward, 2013). While identification with Christianity amongst white Europeans is much lower than in the past, this loss has been partially offset in Western countries by immigration from African, Latin American, Asian and Pacific countries which have high Christian populations (Davie, 2017; P. Jenkins, 2011; Lineham & Piggin, 2014; Ward, 2013), this is also the case in New Zealand (Lineham, 2014). Christians from the global south often follow conservative versions of Christianity (Hasset, 2007; Lineham & Piggin, 2014), which is changing the way that some Christian churches and denominations function in civil society. A continuing challenge for many Christian churches in the West is accepting that they are now a minority in pluralist and multicultural societies (Bradstock, 2013; Davie, 2017; Ward, 2013).

The way Christians have most commonly participated in civil society is through volunteering and providing social services (Reingold et al, 2007; Greely, 1997; Putnam and Campbell, 2010). Despite a downturn in numerical numbers, in Western countries Christian churches are still one of the most active and common civic associational groups; they are the civic group which gives the most time and volunteer hours to help others (Ammerman, 1997; Greeley, 1997; Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Campbell, 2010). As with civic associations, some religious studies scholars claim that churches teach participation and volunteerism and are the "single most egalitarian imparter of civic skills" (Ammerman, 1997:212). Putnam argues that churches can provide 'class

bridging', a space of contact where people from different classes come together (Putnam & Campbell, 2010), although this feature is not a strong as it used to be as more churches become niched to attract different demographic groups (Ward, 2013).

Volunteer work in churches ranges considerably and can include teaching children in Sunday school, working in the kitchen after a church service, serving afternoon tea for funerals, bringing meals to new mothers, visiting church members in hospital or rest homes, arranging flowers, playing music in the worship band, being a leader in the youth group and many other activities. Outside of the church walls, many churches are also active in providing social services such as food banks, working with the homeless, putting on large community events, resettling refugees, school holiday programmes etc. Religious academic Grace Davie (2017) has called this 'street-level ecumenism', this factor is discussed further in Chapter Eight.

There are varying levels and patterns of volunteering across Christian denominations. Anglicans, for example, and other mainline churches are more likely to participate in volunteering outside of their congregations (Lam, 2002; Hooghe, 1999) than Pentecostal and evangelical churches, which have tended to keep their volunteering activities within the church walls (Elisha, 2011; Hammond, 1991; Lam, 2002). As discussed at the beginning of this section, changes are afoot in the Christian social service and volunteer sector. Many church volunteers have traditionally been women; however, many have entered the workforce since the 1970s and are too busy to do unpaid work (Ward, 2013). Volunteers are aging and not being replaced within church congregations, especially within mainline churches (Day, 2017). One of the reasons this replacement is not happening seems to be because younger church members, where they exist, are not as interested in providing social services as their elders. Rather, they prefer to participate in activities that promote social justice.

Social Justice and Democratic Participation

While Christians have often been present in civil society by providing social services, some Christian groups have moved into the political sphere as well by trying to change societies 'for the better' through social justice activism. Many of the events and protests my participants took part in were an attempt to move those in power to enact legislation or change some element in New Zealand society that was considered to be

unjust. As such, they were participating in the democratic process of making their views heard and advocating for change, rather than being content to be the 'ambulance at the bottom of the cliff' by providing social services to those being spat out of a precarious and unequal economic system. The social justice efforts of Diocese J can be viewed as engaging in a particular version of democratic participation, especially through the subgenre of Radical Democratic theory.

Changing Democratic Participation

For the last two hundred years, the most common version of democracy has been that of representative democracy. This is where citizens elect someone to represent them in parliament or a congress, rather than the Greek version where eligible citizens (Greek males) participated directly in polis decision making. However, representative democracy seems to be in trouble. It is argued that economic neoliberalism has introduced precarity and a sense of limited autonomy, leaving people feeling isolated and with a diminished sense of collective capacity (Standing, 2011; Tormey, 2015).

Some scholars note that common types of formal democratic participation, such as voting, are waning (Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Sloam, 2014; Tormey, 2015), and more participatory and populist forms of democracy are on the rise (Beausoleil, 2017; Cohen & Fung, 2004; Coles & Hauerwas, 2008; Coles, 2016; Rimmerman, 2011; Tormey, 2015). Simon Tormey (2015) points out "increasingly politically engaged citizens don't vote, they act" (p.2). Alternative forms of democratic participation may include the mobilization of 'grassroots' groups (Rimmerman, 2011; Tormey, 2015), participation in volunteering/service programs (Baillie Smith et al., 2013; Dalton, 2008; Rimmerman, 2011), direct action protests, social media campaigns, boycotts, and occupations (Butler, 2015; Dalton, 2008; Teorell, Torcal, & Montero, 2007; Tormey, 2015). Examples in recent years include the march of far-right activists in Charlottesville, USA in 2017, and counter-protests such as the Global 2017 Women's March, as well as renewed American civil rights campaigns such as 'Black Lives Matter' in 2013 and 2020, and Rev. Dr William Barber's 'Poor Peoples Campaign'. These types of actions seem to indicate a change in the way some people prefer to engage with the political process, moving from an emphasis on formalised political participation based around electoral voting and contacting of public officials (Teorell et al., 2007; Verba & Nie, 1972) to a

hybrid form of political participation that involves activism and protesting, as well as more long-term, localised civil society initiatives.

Millennials and Democratic participation

This change is particularly evident amongst millennial-aged people. Research has indicated that millennials are more likely to be involved in alternative democratic participation than voting or joining formal political parties (Amnå & Ekman, 2014; Norris, 2003; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011). While there has always been activism and protest in civic life, political and societal upheavals now exhibit global dimensions due to the use of digital technology such as the Internet (Butler, 2015; Toft et al., 2011). Many young activists are experts at harnessing these new technologies to get their voices heard (Cammaerts, 2015). The influence of young activists such as Swedish teenager Greta Thunberg shows that social media is now a mobilizing force for many Millennials and 'Gen Zers'. There are different forms of web engagement used to engage with politics and activism, from 'clicktivism' (posting on Facebook and 'tweeting' about issues of interest) through to hacking government websites (Neumayer & Svensson, 2016). Digital activism was a common tool for many of my participants.

Alternative democratic participation can also include trying to bring about social change within the space of civil society. Ekman and Amnå (2012) call these civil society initiatives, 'pre-political participation'. Pre-political participation can include activities like recycling, car-pooling or riding bikes for environmental reasons, establishing community gardens, or setting up ecologically friendly waste and composting systems (Ekman et al, 2012). All these activities were present at my fieldwork site and added to the wider ecosystem of attempts to create a more just society.

Radical Democracy

Radical democracy theory is a subgenre of democratic participation literature that centers on activism and social change. It is considered an 'alternative form of politics' which values disagreement, dissent and the 'arts of listening' (Gagnon & Beausoleil, 2017; Honig, 2017; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Radical democratic theory is relevant to this research because my participants' social justice activities can be linked to many of the distinguishing features and tenants inherent in its literature. Multiple themes I

observed and heard during my fieldwork, such as the importance of local communities and the art of listening, are echoed in radical democratic understandings and framings of democratic participation. Radical democratic academic and activist Romand Coles is the scholar I drew on most as he has engaged with Christians and Christian theology on such topics as hope, resilience, compassion, peace-making, receptive generosity and the embodied "politics of the everyday" (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:3) as tools to build radically democratic social movements.

Radical democracy is based on the writings of theorists such as Coles, Ernesto Laclau (1985), Chantal Mouffe (1985, 1991, 2005), Cornel West (2011), Sheldon Wolin (1989), Jurgen Habermas (1996), and William Connolly (1989, 2005). It emerged from skepticism about conventional representative democracy and politics and is linked to ideas from socialism, Marxism, and post-colonial theory. Representative democracy is seen to make citizens lazy and/or apathetic regarding political participation, with important societal decisions left to those in political power (Cohen & Fung, 2004). Radical democrats see themselves as working to form publics for the good of all, especially for those who have been pushed to the margins and edges of society (Cohen & Fung, 2004; Coles & Hauerwas, 2008). They advocate for values of "fairness, liberty, equal opportunity, and the common good" (Cohen & Fung, 2004:26). According to Coles

> Radical democracy names the intermittent and dispersed traditions of witnessing, resisting, and seeking alternatives to the politics of those bent on myriad forms of immortality-as-conquest. (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:3)

Societies that are just are formed and 'become' through struggles for rights; these rights need to be continually fought for, created and (re)formed in spaces that intertwine with the private and the public (M. P. Brown, 1997). Struggles for rights are often enacted by grassroots social movements who challenge (neo) liberal concepts of democracy through protest, activism, and community building.

Radical democracy theory has three main theoretical strands; the agonistic, the deliberative, and the autonomist (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007). The two strands that are relevant to this research are the agonistic and the deliberative. For those from the

agonistic strand, democratic change is only possible when it is based on acceptance of difference (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Liberal definitions of democracy are seen to be based on building consensus and unity which ends up oppressing marginal groups (Mouffe, 2005). Radical democrats advocate for the allowance of dissent, difference and antagonism (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985) and learning to live with discord and tension (Cohen & Fung, 2004). Total consensus is not (Eliasoph, 1998) thought to be possible, and all voices are to be heard and valued (Mouffe, 2005), especially those from people who live on the margins of society such as the poor, the immigrant, and the indigenous.

For those radical democrats who lean towards *deliberative* understandings, in order for invisible voices to be 'made visible,' it is important to develop the art of listening (R Coles & Hauerwas, 2008; West, 2011). This listening should take place in public and civic spaces and communities where all, especially those with less power, can take part (Cohen & Fung, 2004; Habermas, 1996). Cohen and Fung (2004) point out "radical democrats are committed to broader participation in public decision making" (p.23). Radical democrats that value the deliberative approach find the antagonistic stance of the likes of Laclau and Mouffe unhelpful in building networks for activist cooperation (Coles, 2016). Coles argues that Mouffe's (2005) assertion that there is always a 'them' to our 'us' is no better than the anti-democratic politics of those who use this dichotomy to try to keep minority groups out of power. Rather than excluding people, Coles advocates for creating bridges of cooperation between various civil society groups that are based on an ethos of human (and non-human) flourishing (Coles and Hauerwas, 2008). For Coles, Christians engaged in social justice activism should be one of the groups that radical democrats attempt to build bridges with. This is because there is already a theological tradition present within Christianity of human flourishing, which is examined next.

Thy Kingdom Come - Christian Political Theology

How and why Christians participate in civil society in the way that they do can be explored by examining theories from political theology. Political theology comprises of the ways that Christian thinkers across the centuries have sought to understand the relationship between the Christian Church, and different modes of governance and

societies. It is “the analysis and criticism of political arrangements…from the perspective of differing interpretations of God’s ways with the world” (Scott & Cavanaugh, 2004:2). Daniel Bell argues that theology is by nature political since politics is “the social arrangements of bodies [and] the organization of human communities” (2004:423). Varying theologies advance a range of visions and ‘mythos’, as to how society and communities should be organized for humans to flourish and live a good life (D. Bell, 2004). How the theology of human flourishing influences social justice activism is examined in Chapter Five. Some scholars argue that historical understandings as to what constitutes a ‘good’ and civil society in Western countries are founded on centuries of Christian theology, which influenced the principals and values that came to be enshrined in legal documents and constitutions (Ehrenberg, 1999; Cavanaugh, 2011). Christian political theologies have influenced state policies from the setting up of welfare programmes to systems of colonialization and influence contemporary Christian social action and activism.

The term ‘political theology’ is used almost exclusively concerning Christianity, it was developed by Christians and within the schema of Christian beliefs, practices, and communities (Scott & Cavanaugh, 2004). It came into modern usage in Germany after World War II, especially through the work of theologians Johann Baptist Metz, Jürgen Moltmann, and Dorothee Solle. The shock of widespread Christian support for Hitler led to a re-examination of how Christians should interact with the State in the modern era (D. Bell, 2004; Moltmann, 2015). There are several different streams of thought in political theology and which version is favoured differs between Christian denominations.

The Two Kingdoms

Christians believe they will eventually go to heaven when they die, but in the meantime, they dwell on earth in nation-states. The theology of two differing kingdoms, one of God and one of ‘the world’, is an important and influential concept that has defined the relationship between Christians, their church institutions, and how they participate in civil society across history (Rowland, 2015). This theological idea is made up of two main components; how Christians should relate to governing powers such as kings and rulers, and how to form societies into a place/space that

reflects God's ultimate vision for human flourishing. Establishing and working out God's Kingdom on earth was one of the main themes to come out of my fieldwork and was intimately linked to why social justice was important to my participants.

The idea of the two kingdoms, referred to as 'the City of God' and 'the City of Man', was most famously outlined by theologian Augustine in the 4th century, and Protestant reformer Martin Luther in the 16th century. Augustine's 'City of God' referred to the community that Christian believers were part of while they were on earth, the Church. According to Augustine, this community functioned on a specific set of divine values and ethics such as compassion, *Caritas*[16], reconciliation, unselfishness, and the love of God (Bethke Elshtain, 2004; Ehrenberg, 1999). While all believers belong to the City of God, they also belong to the City of Man. The City of Man is the wider world outside the church, which all humans are part of, including its political and governing structures (Gregory & Clair, 2015). God is also present in the City of Man, but not to the same extent as in the City of God, which is embodied by the Christian Church. Human governance in the City of Man was seen to be a "poverty-stricken kind of power" (Bethke Elshtain, 2004:42). Since political power in the City of Man is not eternal, no form of political arrangement was seen by Augustine to be particularly sacred or preferred. Only the Church, as the representative of the City of God, contained the full measure of God's presence (Bethke Elshtain, 2004; Ehrenberg, 1999).

Martin Luther understood the two kingdoms as a dualistic split between an ungodly, public political sphere, and a spiritualised, private sphere (Bradstock, 2004; Leithart, 2015; Rowland, 2015). Luther believed that God had ordained this split and as such Christians needed to obey their rulers, even if they were tyrants (Bradstock, 2004; Moltmann, 2015). For Luther, Christian principals of loving thy neighbour, like those taught in the Sermon on the Mount in the biblical book of Matthew, were unable to be adhered to by rulers, who were forced to punish subjects for the good of the community and go to war to protect their territories. Therefore the only place for

[16] Caritas in this instance is a theological term derived from Latin for 'love' and pertains to a certain type of love exemplified by the virtue of charity and loving one's neighbour.

people to be fully 'godly' was in their private lives and within their church communities (Bradstock, 2004). Bradstock points out that because of this dualism "unlike Augustine, Luther offers no space for a Christian critique of structural injustice" (2004:66).

Political Allegiances and Constantinianism

Debates concerning Christianity's role in civil society have also used the Hebrew Bible and the Jewish Torah as reference points. Some political theologians use passages from the Old Testament to argue that Christians are bound by God to only support political and economic systems that are just (Brueggemann, 2004). They refer to God's instructions to the kingdom of Israel through prophets such as Amos, Jeremiah and Ezekiel who warned Israel to turn from its empire-building ways and refocus on God's vision of a fair society; whose king cared for, rather than exploited, his people (Brueggemann, 2004; Leithart, 2015). According to Christopher Rowland (2004), Jesus carried on the Old Testament role of the prophet who spoke 'truth to power', and the theme of a kingdom that was the 'anti-Caesar'. Jesus's followers were to have allegiance to Christ, before fidelity to the state, represented by Caesar or Herod.

When Emperor Constantine converted to Christianity in the fourth century CE, Christianity becoming the state religion of the Roman Empire. This lead to much less contrasting between 'God and Caesar' (Rowland, 2004) and a form of Christian accommodation to rulers which came to be termed 'Constantinianism'[17]by theologians such as Mennonite, John Howard Yoder (1994). Historically there have been two main responses to Constantinianism; accommodation and separatism (Rowland, 2004). Those who 'accommodated', developed theologies as to how Christians and Christianity functioned in conjunction with the ruling powers. The intertwining of the Church with the State in Europe peaked during the Middle Ages (5th-15th century) in Europe and came to be called 'Christendom'.

The separatists, a much smaller group, can be traced back to small monastic communities who withdrew to the Egyptian desert in the 3rd century. Now commonly called the 'Desert Fathers' (Moltmann, 2015; Rowland, 2004), these Christians felt Christianity had been corrupted by imperial power. Many of my participants were

[17] Originally the "identification of the church with the Roman empire" (Hagman, 2014:103). Now used to describe political alliances between Christians and state power.

interested in the Desert Fathers (and Mothers) and their anti-empire version of Christianity. Well-known separatist Christian groups have included the Puritans, who broke away from the Church of England and eventually became the first colonists to what is now the USA.

The Social Gospel

During the Middle Ages in Europe there developed a Christian model of what being a 'good citizen' entailed. It was linked to concepts of enhancing the public good through performing acts of compassion and charity such as giving to the poor, and financially supporting alms houses and leper institutions (A.Brown, 2017; A. Brown & Griffiths, 2017). The good citizen was morally constructed through the religious value of honest and hard work, a divinely ordained role that each individual played in maintaining a godly society (A. Brown, 2017). From the early 18th century onwards, buffeted by cries for 'Liberté, égalité, and fraternité, this version of political theology began to lose its hold on political power in the Western world.

Political theologies regarding how the Kingdoms of God and Men were worked out practically in societies had a decisive reorientation in the latter part of the 19th century. Around this time, especially in the United Kingdom, there was an explosion of forms of social action that came to be called 'the Social Gospel'. The Social Gospel was a reaction to growing poverty caused by rapid industrialisation, it advocated for human flourishing as God-given right. Christian activists fought for child labour laws, unions rights, the abolition of slavery, and other types of social reform (K. Armstrong, 2000; Rivera-Puddle, 2016; Wallis, 2008). Social Gospel theology was originally popular with many types of Christians, but in the 20th century became the domain of Catholics, and mainline Protestants such as the Anglican and Methodist Churches (Long, 2015).

The Social Gospel influenced the classical strand of Political Theology which, as mentioned earlier, became prominent after World War Two. Classical political theology saw the Church as holding an apolitical role, along with other religions and groups, within the sphere of a pluralist civil society. The secular realm was seen to hold God's presence in some form, and so is a sphere where Christians should be present (D. Bell, 2015). The role of the Church then was to 'hold' societies values and ideals such as justice, equality, and human rights with the goal of 'perfecting' modern

democracy (D. Bell, 2015). Theologians who championed the Social Gospel, such as Walter Rauschenbusch and English Anglican Bishop William Temple, were more concerned about the ethics of human rights than they were about being raptured in some distant future to heaven. Rauschenbusch viewed the City of God as being present in all social institutions that worked for social justice, including society and the state, and not just the Church (Phillips, 2015). According to Temple, Church and State should be separated as far as a political rule, but this did not mean that the Church should remain only in private spaces (D. Bell, 2004). The role of the Church was to challenge the state when it forsook its ethical duty to look after the poor and downtrodden (Suggate, 2004).

Temple understood there could never be a complete Christian state, yet a good society could be obtained through a form of natural morality that was present in all systems, as Rauschenbusch had suggested. Temple championed the sphere of civic society as the space between the family and state that could provide a "general order for community life" (Suggate, 2004:172). For Temple, Christians should cooperate with the state on issues of common interest such as poverty alleviation but should still be clearly Christian. Temple preferred democracy over other forms of governance but still had his doubts, worrying that it could descend into mob rule (Suggate, 2004). Many Anglicans today still function in civil society as social service providers from the Social Gospel framework put forward by the likes of Rauschenbusch and Temple.

Political theology for a post-Christian civil society

From the later part of the 20th century up till the present day, classical political theology has evolved to include subgenres, such as critical theology, that examines contemporary issues such as climate change and neoliberal economics. For example, theologian Jürgen Moltmann (2015) argues that Christians need to resist consumerism and proposes a theology for Earth and creation care in the light of climate change. He advocates for a change from a 'domination' theological model regarding the earth, to one where "there is a direct covenant of God with the earth; the divine Spirit is the earth's creative life power (Isa 32:14)" (Moltmann, 2015:16). A growing number of theologians are critiquing political theologies which spend their energies on theoretical arguments over the City of God/City of Man debate, rather than acting to help others

flourish (N. Adams, 2004). Building the fair and equitable Kingdom of God here on earth is seen to be what is most important and should be the focus for the Church today (Phillips, 2015).

Critical theologians argue that those who think Christians should be apolitical and keep to the private sphere do so from a position of privilege in society (Hewitt, 2004). Academic Carl Raschke has called critical theology a 'theology for crisis' (2016). Early critical theologians drew on the works of Germans Ernest Bloch and Max Horkheimer who were active in the period between the two World Wars and asked hard questions of German Christians who were becoming increasingly nationalist and accommodating suppression of minority groups. Theology is understood to be culturally based and "is mediated through human action and experience" (Hewitt, 2004:455). Critical theologians focus on such issues as ethnicity, gender, and sexual identities, encompassing movements such as 'Black Lives Matter', Feminist groups, and LGBTQ rights activists. They are suspicious of classical political theology, particularly the American version, because of its universalist and uncritical view of the good of liberal democracy and 'freedom' (Lee, 2015).

Postliberal Theology, also called radical orthodoxy, has grown in influence in the early 21st century and become increasingly well-known and debated by mainstream theologians. Postliberal theology asks what Christianity looks like after decoupling itself from Western political liberalism (D. Bell, 2015) and draws on the work of Germans Karl Barth and Ludwig Wittgenstein from the 1940s. Well-known postliberal theologians include George Lindbeck, Stanley Hauerwas, John Howard Yoder, John Milbank, and Oliver O'Donovan. Postliberal theologians perceive Christianity as being embedded in historical, cultural, and geographic locations and "epistemologically mediated by a particular tradition, narrative and set of communal practices" (Lee, 2015:57). Daniel Bell notes that "at the heart of [this] theology is a…worldview founded on an ontology of participation. Christ is with us…here and now" (2015:123). Many of my participants read books by and quoted the works of postliberal theologians; they were more interested in Hauerwas than Temple.

The neo-Augustinian leanings of postliberals are evident in their location of the Church community as the fulcrum where human flourishing takes place, the Church "is a

concrete public and political space in its own right" (D.M. Bell, 2015:433). Barth argued for a church community that aligned with God only, not with any particular political ideologies or ideas (Willmer, 2004). The role of the Church should not be to advance Western liberalism since "modernity [is not] autonomy or freedom, but an iron cage" (D. Bell, 2015). According to postliberal theologians, the individualist focus of liberalism will not provide Kingdom human flourishing; instead, it will lead to societal chaos as individuals fight each other for their rights. They rejected liberal individualism in favour of a focus on the common good, encouraging communalism, and advocating for societal flourishing based on *Caritas* and gifting/ gift exchange (D. Bell, 2015).

Postliberal theology is a natural conversation partner for Romand Coles's version of radical democracy, which led Coles to write a book together with postliberal theologian Stanley Hauerwas, *Christianity, Democracy, and the Radical Ordinary* (2008). The book consists of a conversation between the secular, but theologically curious, Coles and theologian Hauerwas on "possibilities and practices of radical democracy and radical ecclesia that take form in the textures of relational care for the radical ordinary" (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:back cover). The authors reflect on how (and if) radical democrats and Christians can work together to advance flourishing for humans and the earth. It was this book that got me thinking about exploring assemblages and intersections of social justice activism and Christianity for this project and to which I have come back continually over the last four years to theorise how my participants are engaging with social justice in New Zealand in the early 21st century.

What can be seen from this type of literature is that Christians have a wide and deep set of theologies from which to draw on as to how they should function in civil society. I noticed aspects of all the political theologies discussed at different points across my research of young, Anglican social justice activists. Unlike the eras of Augustine and Luther, Western Christians are wrestling with their position as a marginal group in political and civil spaces. They are asking how they should participate in civil society in this era of perceived increasing crises such as climate change, political upheavals, and global pandemics. Millennial-aged Christians are participating in civil society in growing numbers, however, the way this is done is not so much in the vein of William Temple. Rather than providing social services, they are more interested in

transforming society in a way akin to the early Social Gospel pioneers, that is through social justice activism.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined and engaged with literature on the formative frameworks of civil society, democratic participation, and Christian political theology. All these bodies of literature contributed to understanding the social justice activism of my research participants as occurring in a specific space, leaning towards a particular type of democratic participation, and being moulded by their Christian faith. These frameworks are also in a time of change, with civil society experiencing pressure from political and economic forces, democratic participation moving towards more populist forms, and Christianity in Western societies attempting to find its place as a marginal entity.

The literature in this chapter has come mainly from political science, philosophy, and political theology, which are disciplines which lean towards a universalistic viewpoint. However, as an anthropologist I am more interested in what civil society looks like when enacted by actual people in local contexts. For this reason, I chose a theoretical lens that could encompass the mixed together and 'mashed up' messiness of religious life and its engagement with social justice as it is experienced in the everyday. It is to this theory I turn next.

CHAPTER THREE: MASHED UP THEORIES - ASSEMBLAGES, RHIZOMES AND PHENOMENOLOGICAL BECOMING

> *"To catch the moment of becoming, emergence, phase transition, enlightenment, tipping point, switching point, Euclidean point is a matter of the unfinishedness of living"* – Fischer (2017)

The theoretical lens through which this research is analysed is that of 'Becoming' ('Becoming, with a capital B', to distinguish it as a theory, rather than a verb, although it is also that). Becoming is a theoretical stance, as well as a methodology, ideology, and epistemology (Waller, 2018). I found it problematic to unravel and separate theoretical and methodological aspects of Becoming, yet academic writing requires some artificial partitioning in order to discuss Becoming as both theory and method. As such, in this chapter I outline a theoretical approach to Becoming that draws on engagement primarily with political philosophers Gilles Deleuze (1987), Felix Guattari (1987), William Connolly (2011, 2017b), and Romand Coles (1997, 2008, 2016) The methodological application is examined in Chapter Four.

Becoming is a philosophical concept based in the ontological[18] supposition that all matter – including time, space, and humans - are consistently changing, reforming, and being remade. As the Greek philosopher, Heraclitus of Ephesus is supposed to have claimed, "no man ever steps in the same river twice, for it is not the same river and he is not the same man". Human subjectivity can be understood as an "unstable assemblage of organic, social, and structural forces…that at once shape and are shaped by their milieus" (Biehl & Locke, 2017:8). Becoming entails movement; entities are always changing, shifting, reforming. Humans are not totally at the mercy of these forces, they consistently use agency to resist and shape the situations they find themselves in (Biehl & Locke, 2017b; Jackson, 2013). It is what caused this embodied changing, shifting, and reforming Becoming for young Anglican social justice activists in Diocese J that I was most interested in for this thesis.

[18] Ontology = The philosophical study of being; understandings of existence and reality.

I used Becoming as an overarching theoretical framework because my participants were intentionally trying to reform the world and themselves through social justice action, living in intentional communities, ritualised spiritual practices, and pluralistic democratic engagement. As a researcher interested in Becoming, I wanted to explore how my participants, both individually and as a group, were moulded by varying social, cultural, religious, and institutional forces (Biehl & Locke, 2017a:x). The knowledge gained in this research is understood to be temporal and therefore provisional; a snapshot of a particular location at a specific point in history and grounded in the everyday interactions and relationships I observed and participated in (Biehl and Locke, 2017).

The theory of Becoming can be defined in general and disciplinary-specific ways. My research was essentially asking a political question about democratic participation through an anthropological lens and methodology. As such, I drew on political philosophers and philosophical anthropologists in order to understand the concept of Becoming. William Connolly's work revolves around pluralism and how multicultural democratic societies can maintain social cohesion amid rising intergroup tensions. Romand Coles is also interested in pluralism but is a political activist as well as an academic. He is curious how people's embodied, lived experiences form and shape varying types of activism. Both Connolly and Coles draw on multiple aspects of Deleuze and Guattari's work to inform their understandings of Becoming, and engage with Christian theology, which made them a good theoretical fit for this research. João Biehl and Peter Locke's work on an Anthropology of Becoming was the main anthropological source I drew on regarding how people and things Become.

Understanding Becoming

How I understand and use 'Becoming' is one version along a nuanced spectrum of how scholars and thinkers have engaged with the ontological concept of 'Being'. There are some, including many early anthropologists such as Edward Burnett Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan in the 19th Century, who were more interested in 'Being' as discovering essentially unchangeable and eternal structures of the universe, based on ultimate truths where knowledge was obtained by uncovering stable and fixed rules (Tylor, 1881). Others, such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Gilles Deleuze, were more focused on

how societies, humans, and the universe continually transform and change. Since the late 1980s, within the social sciences there has been a theoretical shift towards understanding Being and Becoming commonly called 'the ontological turn'. The ontological turn in anthropology was propagated by people like Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2014), who argued different forms of Being exist synchronously, that is alongside each other. Viveiros de Castro gave the example of the alternative realities often found amongst indigenous people groups, like the Brazilian tribes he studied, whose ontologies of Being defied the Western categories anthropologists had traditionally applied (kinship and so forth). Who gets to say whether a jaguar is an animal or an ancestor (Viveiros de Castro, 1998)?

Many philosophical ideas about Becoming are contained in anthropological understandings of phenomenology, affect theory, liminality and the in-between, which I discuss later in this chapter. Anthropologists Biehl and Locke (2010) advocate for the use of Deleuzian thought in the discipline as a way of understanding their participants, "in Deleuze's writing we find approaches that seem refreshingly ethnographic and unabashedly open-ended" (p.7). I explore both philosophical and anthropological ontologies of Becoming in order to mash, reform, and weave them into my own theoretical assemblage to be used to discuss my findings in the chapters that follow.

Philosophical Becoming

Deleuze and Guattari

Much contemporary theory on Becoming, no matter what the academic discipline, is based on the work of French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and, to a lesser extent, Felix Guattari. Concepts contained in their seminal book 'A Thousand Plateaus' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) are consistently referred to by researchers and theorists of Becoming, particularly those *of movement*, *multiplicities*, *assemblages*, and the *rhizome.* According to Patton (2000), for Deleuze and Guattari, Becoming is

> the processes of creative transformation and the lines of flight along which individuals or groups are transformed into something different to what they were before. (p.2)

Deleuze was influenced by monists[19] such as Spinoza and Henri Bergson who understood the world as an interconnected whole that could be known through experiences, rather than a rationalised system of hierarchies (Connolly, 2011; Probyn, 2010).

Deleuze and Guattari theorised that movement and change are important factors in how something Becomes. All things are in flux, move, and change unceasingly at varying speeds and intensities, nothing is forever stable and eternally unchanging (Waller, 2018). Even how things change is never the same, as specificities of time and geographic spaces influence how change takes place. For example, democratic participation does not occur the same way all over the world, because of localised factors such as culture, histories, geography, collective memories, and many other forces. Changes in democratic participation in New Zealand will not follow the same trajectory as that of the USA, although it can be influenced by it. Becoming can happen when forces/issues from the past repeat themselves but are folded into present circumstances and specific localities in a way that creates a new, different entity (Connolly, 2011). For Deleuze, it's these localised differences, what he calls the 'spaces between things' (Biehl and Locke, 2017) that can create possibilities for newness (Waller, 2018). These creative spaces of the in-between are often on the edge and at the margins of societies and institutions (Patton, 2000). Being 'at the margins' was a concept often discussed by my research participants.

Rhizomic Multiplicities and Assemblages

The image that Deleuze and Guattari used to explain their theory of Becoming is a type of plant root called a rhizome. Rhizomes are the parts of some plants that help it reproduce. They can shoot off in all directions, grow at different speeds depending on the soil conditions, always having a unique trajectory, and if broken off from the original plant contain all the ingredients to replicate new shoots. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the process of Becoming is like a rhizomatic plant in that it has "no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo" (p. 25). Rhizomic Becoming is also non-hierarchical and endlessly

[19] Monism = "a theory or doctrine that denies the existence of a distinction or duality in a particular sphere, such as that between matter and mind" ("Monism," n.d.)

connects, reweaves, and multiples (Hamilton & Placas, 2011). Its growth is non-linear (Waller, 2018). In Deleuzian thought the linear rhizome is compared with the vertical tree, verticality symbolises hierarchies (Hamilton et al, 2011). Organizations and religions often function like trees with a head leader or deity and then descending levels of authority which spreads power down the varied branches, diluting as it goes. Activists, however, often function more like rhizomes; with decentralised nodes and webs of relations, rather than top-down organizations. My participants, in many ways, were rhizomes in a tree-like, hierarchical organization.

Like the rhizome, Becoming happens in multiple ways. Multiplicity is an important part of understanding Deleuze and Guattari's theory of how things Become. Becoming is like a map, which has multiple entry and exit points; there is always more than one way to get somewhere (Biehl and Locke, 2017; Wallller, 2018). People's lives are made up of complex and multiple spheres. They are not just doctors, lawyers, or students; they could also be Christians, fathers, hockey-players, musicians, academics, Europeans, Americans, wealthy, poor, gender-fluid and other endless numbers of combinations (Biehl and Locke, 2017). Multiplicity is connected to what Deleuze and Guattari call 'lines of flight' (1987). 'Lines of flight' refers to how constant change brings forth an infinite number of possible futures.

These lines of flight connect to assemblages; complicated and ever-morphing configurations of multiple elements where "the whole emerge from the interactions between parts" (Escobar & Osterweil, 2009:191). Connolly (2011) explains that the assemblages individuals, and groups join have the potential for variable outcomes,

> Joining this church rather than that one, acquiring these friends and allies rather than those, participating in this mode of consumption…entering into this political movement rather than that, voting this way rather than that, such actions…alter the networks in which you participate….You now participate in a modified assemblage of desire that includes and exceeds you. (p. 116)

Deleuze and Guattari argued that assemblages are not created primarily by powerful structures, like State power, but rather through the small, everyday actions that people use to remake their worlds (Patton, 2000). In particular, they were interested in

those at the margins who lived precarious lives, and how they attempted to create assemblages that could carve out spaces to counteract negative narratives about themselves. The idea of assemblages became an important theoretical framework for analysing my research results.

William Connolly

Political theorist William Connolly argues for "a world of becoming" (2011:6) which consists of overlapping 'temporal forcefields' that are open, porous, and continually changing and bumping up against each other (ibid, 7). Connolly defines a forcefield as

> any energized pattern in slow or rapid motion periodically displaying a capacity to morph, such as a climate system, biological evolution, a political economy, or human thinking. (2011:5)

Forcefields create 'resonances', a type of back and forth movement that can form political and social assemblages that become more powerful than their separate groups (Connolly, 2011).

Calling himself a 'connectionist', Connolly understands Becoming as a rhizomatic process of "loose, incomplete, and partial connections" (ibid, 36). He links Deleuze and Guattari's understandings of multiplicity to democratic pluralism; "a plurality of creeds will always bloom in a world of becoming" (ibid:68). Multiplicity and pluralism, like the rhizome, are never neat and bounded. Rhizomic Becoming is messy and chaotic. It is never complete, is infused with multiple sources, and always folds past temporalities and forcefields into present-day political concerns. Thus, political Becomings are often accompanied by "litter, precarity, noise, and forces that sometimes careen out of place" (Connolly, 2011:98). Connolly's views on pluralism were helpful for me when comparing and analysing Anglican understandings of pluralism and are discussed further in Chapter Seven.

Connolly also argues for the importance of embodied sensing, or 'affect', in processes of Becoming. He muses how politics is influenced just as much by sensorial bodies as by rational thought

> Sunlight bathing the body…a pungent smell, a dancing body in motion…all of these affect the sensorium before being organized by it into conscious perceptions, feelings, and reactions. (2011:151)

When applying this to religious bodies Connolly points out that belief is not just a verbal agreement to a set of suppositions, sensorial affects such as touch, sight and smell are also part of the many layers woven into human lives (ibid:49). These links to sensory aspects of belief connect to the sensory methodological approach I used in my research.

Another aspect of Becoming Connolly took from Deleuze and Guattari was that of immanence. Immanence, from a theological perspective, means that the divine permeates the natural world. God is present in all peoples and interwoven into all creation. God is 'the ground of all being' (Tillich, 1951). Deleuze, an atheist, used Spinoza's framework of immanence to describe earth-bound life that flourishes without needing some kind of transcendental divine influence from 'the outside' (Reinhardt, 2015). Connolly argues that for a religious person or group to participate well in a pluralist society they need an immanent worldview. That earth is a place that has some importance, it is a space where God is active. Religion based on an immanent view of the universe can help with 'attachment to this world'

> Each tradition develops what might be termed meditative strategies to deepen, extend, or amplify our attachment to the world…such strategies [may] be helpful in moving us to more generous or accepting modes of being. (Connolly, 2011:121)

Connolly's 'meditative strategies' include contemplation and meditation, common practices amongst the neo-monastic Anglicans I studied. Connolly's view on immanence is echoed in by Michel Jackson (2016) who notes that anthropologists have been more inclined toward every day, immanent views of the world, rather than transcendent ones.

Romand Coles

Political philosopher Romand Coles draws on Connolly, and Deleuze and Guattari, to explore ways of Becoming through radical democratic action, as discussed in Chapter

Two. For Coles, the construction of spaces of Becoming is important, what he calls 'the ecotone'. Similar to the liminality of the penumbral and the threshold, which are discussed later in this chapter, the ecotone is a space where two ecological communities cross (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008). It is a "rich evolutionary zone of tension and pregnant commingling" (Coles, 2016:1). When applied to democratic participation and activism, the ecotone is a marginal and ambiguous space where different ideas mingle, interweave, and form new entities and assemblages. In my research, Coles's ecotone was present in themes of 'the margins' as a space of embodied, precarious creativity, especially in the intentional communities and activism spaces that were important to my participants.

The ecotone does not consist of disembodied space, but real people going about their daily, ordinary lives. Coles calls this the 'politics of the everyday', or 'the radical ordinary' (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008). When thinking about the activism of the Civil Rights era in the American South, Coles wondered whether it was the big protests that had the most impact in changing people's minds, or rather the small, everyday routines that built relationships between neighbours and townsfolk

> By radical ordinary, we gesture to the ways in which the complexities of everyday life forever call forth new efforts of attention, nurture and struggle that exceed the elements of blindness that accompany even our best words and deeds. (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:4)

The importance of rituals, both in the everyday of living in community and the more sacred in places like church, was something I noticed in my fieldwork, and are discussed further in Chapters Six and Seven.

Becoming and Anthropology

As mentioned earlier, many anthropologists from the 19th century were more interested in the immutable end of the spectrum when it came to understanding Being and Becoming. They often based their theoretical observations on evolutionary Darwinism with its categories and hierarchies of races and species (Diah, Mahboob, Associate, Mustari, & Ramli, 2014). Understanding the world in this way caused them to spend their fieldwork looking for universal, deep, unchanging structures that

underpinned the cultures they were studying. However, the idea of Becoming also has a tradition within anthropology, for example in the writings of Edith Turner (1992, 2012) on healing and ritual.

The use of philosophical concepts, such as Becoming, in anthropology has been contentious. This is because philosophers are criticised by anthropologists of living in their heads, and not applying their ideas to the lives of actual people (Banner, 2014; Jackson, 2013; Patton, 2000). Biehl and Locke (2017b) note that

> typical philosophical renderings and uptake may be too distant from experience, missing something of the various constraints and conditions that shape how becomings actually unfold…[anthropology is] attending to life as it is lived and adjudicated by people. (p.10)

The academic tradition of Philosophy is also seen to be Eurocentric and privileging 'reason' over other forms of knowledge, with a tendency to be prescriptive, rather than open-ended (Banner, 2014; Jackson, 2016).

Phenomenological Ethnography

For anthropologists, philosophical understandings of Becoming can be helpful as a framework when combined with ethnographic research (Jackson, 2016, Patton, 2000). Anthropological fieldwork can take a philosophical idea and observe how (or if) people and groups actually use it, and its practical effects (Jackson, 2016:15). Ethnography is open-ended, allows for uncertainty and even mystery (Biehl and Locke, 2017). Thus, it can be connected with the rhizomatic understandings of Becoming present in the work of philosophers such as Deleuze and Guattari.

Becoming crosses over with phenomenology, a theoretical lens used in anthropology by scholars such as Veena Das, Michael Jackson, and Paul Stoller. The sensory methodology (discussed in Chapter Four) I used in my fieldwork is based in phenomenology. Anthropologists who use phenomenology often do so as a way to understand knowledge that goes beyond the verbal and the rational, such as intuition or spirituality (Jackson & Piette, 2015), and is embodied. It is

> a determination to open our minds to domains of human experience that fall outside of or defy the rubrics with which intellectuals typically seek to contain. (Jackson & Piette, 2015:11)

Anthropologists such as Jackson draw from Heidegger's idea of 'Dasein' (being-in-the-world), and philosopher Edmund Husserl's 'lifeworlds' (Lebenswelt) (Jackson, 2016). The job of an anthropologist is to try to enter into and understand the lifeworlds of their participants, usually through the use of embodied participation (Jackson, 2013; Stoller, 2009). With its focus on lived experiences, phenomenological theory and methodologies were a good fit for exploring how the social justice activists of Diocese J engaged in processes of Becoming.

An Anthropology of Becoming

Anthropologists Joao Biehl and Peter Locke (2017) suggest that an Anthropology of Becoming has three main dimensions. Firstly, that people belong to multiple systems, secondly that people inhabit multiple temporalities, and thirdly that the researcher's knowledge is always partial. They define the concept of Becoming as "how people and social forms partake of and are shaped by multiple systems and forces" (Biehl and Locke, 2017:8). Additionally, "becoming [happens] through things, relations, stories, survival, destruction, and reinvention" (ibid:x) and "attends to shifting sets of relations and the ongoing production of difference in the world" (ibid:8); "We are interested in the human subject as always under construction" (ibid:4). Robert Orsi (2005) notes that

> religious cultures are local and to study religion is to study local worlds. There is no such thing as a 'Methodist' or a 'Southern Baptist' who can be neatly summarized by an account of the denomination's history or theology. (p.167)

For the anthropologist, Becoming takes place in bodies rooted in local and global geographies, at a certain point in history.

Affect

Affect theory is also helpful in understanding an Anthropology of Becoming. Affects are embodied responses, such as feelings and emotions (Spinney, 2015). For Deleuze and Guattari, affect was about a human's ability to affect, and be affected by, others

(Massumi in Deleuze & Guattari, 1987:xvi). Alexandrakis (2016) notes that affects are "intensities that disrupt" (p.3). For Seigworth and Gregg (2010) affect is about

> Bindings and unbindings, becomings and un-becomings, jarring disorientations and rhythmic attunements. Affect marks a body's belonging to a world of encounters. (p.2)

Cultural theorist Sara Ahmed defines affect as "the messiness of the experiential, the unfolding of bodies into worlds, and the drama of contingency, how we are touched by what is near" (2010:30). Anthropologist Kathleen Stewart, echoing Coles' 'radical ordinary', writes that affect is linked to everyday lives, what she calls 'ordinary affects' (Stewart, 2007). Ordinary affects are the "capacity to affect and be affected" (Stewart, 2007:1), they create 'social worldings'; worlds that people create for themselves to try to understand and make sense of what they are going through. Stewart (2010) writes "[worlding is] serial immersion in some little world you never knew was there until you got cancer, a dog, a child" (p.340).

Affect theory draws on many concepts already discussed such as resonances, the everyday/ordinary, unfinishedness, the importance of the senses, and temporalities (see Bertelsen & Murphie, 2010; Highmore, 2010; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010; Stewart, 2007). Like phenomenology, affect theory's role in my research was keeping in focus embodied, sensory experience and the variety of worldings present in my fieldwork that went beyond the verbal and spoken. Concepts such as 'flow' and 'rhythm' discussed in Chapter Seven and the neo-monastic worlding of intentional communities in Chapter Six are examples of where I use affective analysis.

In between: Liminal Borderlands, thresholds and the penumbral

Deleuze and Guattari's 'intermezzo' ('the in-between'), has also been a common theme for anthropologists like Arnold Van Gennep and Victor Turner, who argued for the power of liminal experiences to transform (Stoller, 2009). Turner wrote how rites of passage placed young initiates into a liminal state where they were neither "here nor there" (Turner, 1969). Liminal, in-between spaces are ambiguous, and often experienced through the sensorial, affective body (Stoller, 2009). Vincent Crapanzano (2003) remarked that "the liminal… suggests imaginative possibilities are not

necessarily available to use in everyday life…and the evocation of transcendent realities, mystery and supernatural powers" (p.58). Paul Stoller (2009) points out that for the shaman's in his research in West Africa, rituals of creative transformation always happened away from the main village, in 'threshold' spaces that were seen to be dangerous, but also creative.

Michael Jackson refers to the concept of the in-between as the 'penumbral'; an indeterminate and shadow zone (2009:xii). The penumbral is an affective space, where "where we experience ourselves as actors and a world where we experience ourselves as acted upon" (Jackson, 2009:39). Like Stoller, Jackson argues that the penumbral is where change can take place, it is where people are "most susceptible to those epiphanies, breakthroughs, conversions, and revelations" (2009:102). In this thesis I mesh together anthropological concepts of the in-between with Cole's 'ecotone' to argue that Becoming takes place in messy, liminal, and precarious spaces such as intentional communities and protests, which can create and transform the everyday.

Conclusion

An Anthropology of Becoming uses ethnographic fieldwork to find out how people and groups become; how they try to transform situations and find agency within their everyday lives, especially in times of turbulence and change. It relies on a form of empiricism that is radically open to understanding research participants on their terms, instead of trying to shoehorn their experiences into some predestined theoretical hypothesis (Biehl and Locke, 2017). This is where the Anthropology of Becoming may depart from philosophical understandings of the concept; "I take the road away from Plato by giving primacy to empirical particulars rather than eternal ideas" (Jackson, 2016: 5).

My approach to this research was Deleuzian in its construction; a theoretical mashup of philosophical and anthropological Becomings that were open-ended, and continually formed and reformed throughout my fieldwork. Becoming that not only transformed the community but also changed the researcher from someone who knew about social justice to one who was involved with attempts to enact it. Using this theoretical framework drew my attention to the incomplete and rhizomatic experiences that formed a community through processes of everyday and sacred

Becoming. In the following chapter I introduce this community and the sensory methods used to understand their lifeworld.

CHAPTER FOUR: SENSORY ENTANGLEMENTS - METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

> *"By following his heart and lending his body to the world, Mojud received the great wisdom…and forged rather than severed the interconnectedness of things. The sensuous wonders of the world had so humbled Mojud that he let them illuminate his being"* – Paul Stoller (1997:xi)

> *"I was drawn to ethnography because it licensed the kind of controlled experimentation on myself that might enlarge my understanding of what it means to be human"* – Michael D. Jackson (2013:10)

In this chapter I outline the methods and methodologies I used to frame and conduct my fieldwork. Firstly, I discuss and define my methodological framework, that of Sensory Ethnography as outlined by anthropologists Sarah Pink, Michael Jackson, and Paul Stoller. I explain why I chose this this methodology and how it was used to gather data. In the next section I highlight the ethnographic 'tools' which made up this research, which were 'deep hanging out', interviewing, written texts, and digital resources. I also outline the contours of my fieldwork site through introducing the various individuals and groups who were participants in this research. Lastly, I reflect on the unexpected issues that came up while doing fieldwork, my positionality as a researcher, and the ethical components.

Methodology Frameworks and Sensory Ethnography

> *My fieldwork tastes like coffee. Lots of coffees in little cafes discussing, laughing, and gesturing. It tastes like eggs and bacon; my favourite breakfast when getting off the train first thing in the morning.*
>
> *My fieldwork feels cold and damp. Navigating the rain and wind in narrow streets on the way to meetings. Sitting at events in old, cold churches with little heating. Stamping frozen feet to keep warm at protests and solidarity marches.*
>
> *My fieldwork smells like the fumes of public transport and the wet wool of fellow commuters. I wish I didn't hate driving in cities.*
>
> *My fieldwork sounds like prayer, protest, and lament. "God, we lament that our society fails to care for those in need". Speeches and sermons. High chant*

and rock music. Silence and reflection. "As it was in the beginning, is now, and shall be forever, Amen". (From Fieldwork notes)

Sensory ethnographic methods are part of the 'reflexive turn' and 'writing culture' shift in the social sciences, which began in the early 1980s with such works as Marcus and Cushman's 'Ethnography as Texts' (1982). Scholars in the social sciences such as David Howes began to deconstruct the mind/body Cartesian dichotomy that had traditionally dominated academia (Pink, 2015, Stoller, 2009). This change brought philosophical understandings of phenomenology (see Chapter Three) into greater consideration within anthropological fieldwork methods by encouraging researchers to move their focus from abstract theoretical typologies, to 'embodying forth' understandings of multiple and varied 'lifeworlds' (Jackson, 2016; Stoller, 1997). Researchers were prompted to critique traditional social science methodologies which had tended to "exclude the lived body…and the life of the senses" (Jackson, 2013:3) and be explicit in their writing as to how sensory knowing shaped their scholarship. In essence, sensory ethnographers are attempting to reflexively enter the worlds of their participants through participation and methods which allow for "embodied, emplaced knowing" (Pink, 2015:54).

Sensory ethnographers are interested in ways of knowing and understanding that go beyond language. They want to account for alternative forms of knowledge that are not necessarily spoken about and thus seemingly invisible (Bendix, 2000; Bloch, 1998). The body and its sensorial experiences are part of the 'field' that sensory ethnographers focus on as the site of this alternative knowledge that 'makes worlds' (Jackson, 2016). Anthropologist Paul Stoller muses that for sensorial researchers, "the scholars body yearns…to breathe in the pungent odours of social life and run its palms over the jagged surface of social reality" (1997:xi). Bodies contain memory, they move through space and interact with time in specific places (Pink, 2015). Sensory ethnographers gives attention to, and account for, "how sensory ways of experiencing and knowing are integral to the lives of people who participate in our research" (Pink, 2015:xi). They reflect on their own embodied experiences during fieldwork and ask questions as to how their participants are being constituted through sensorial

practices and how social memories are formed by the bodily experiences of this group of people (Connerton, 1989).

Participation

As a research method, sensory methodology takes place in conjunction with varying forms of participatory ethnographic methods already common in anthropological fieldwork such as interviewing, participant observation and 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1973; Pink, 2015). 'Deep hanging out' is a term developed by anthropologist Clifford Geertz. It is a research method that involves spending a lot of informal time just 'hanging' out with participants, as opposed to only conducting survey's or interviews. 'Deep hanging out' involves participating and not solely observing. In addition to these methods, the researcher reflexively and intentionally attunes to and notes how 'being in the field' affects their own physical bodily sensations, such as pain, taste, smell, and touch. Taking notice of bodily senses is an attempt to experience a non-verbal form of knowledge by which to understand and enter into the lives of ones participants (Stoller, 2009). As Pink (2015) points out, it is to "insist that ethnography is a reflective and experiential process" (p.4). Empirically this is done by taking participant observation a step further from observing to co-creating and forming things together with ones' participants (Pink, 2015). For example, instead of observing a teaching session, the researcher teaches in that session; instead of watching others pray, the researcher writes a prayer and prays it together with their participants. Pink calls this 'purposeful joining in' (2015:40). She argues that "to 'know' as others do, we need to engage in practices with them, making participation central to this task" (Pink, 2015:40). Participation involves "lending your body to the world" (Stoller, 2009:34) and experiencing it through smell, taste and sound. Sensory ethnographers acknowledge that 'things' come into existence and are made through the actions of people 'doing stuff' (Pink, 2015). Accordingly, sensory ethnography focuses on praxis; on the making of knowledge "in real time…and in actual situations" (Jackson & Piette, 2015).

Using a sensory methodological approach makes fieldwork a formational process that (re)shapes the researcher through their embodied participation. Sensory ethnographers acknowledge that the researcher, as well as their participants, are

formed and fashioned through the experience of doing research and fieldwork. Pink (2015) invites researchers to clearly situate themselves and their own sensory experiences during fieldwork

> A sensory ethnography calls for a form of reflexivity through which the ethnographer engages with how his or her own sensory experiences are being produced through research encounters" (p.58).

Sensory methodologies often intertwine research processes and lifeworlds, creating 'messy' boundaries between the personal and academic lives of the researcher (J. Marshall, 1999). As such the researcher who uses this methodology needs to be open to being vulnerable, 'not-knowing', and a good measure of humility (Pink, 2015; Stoller, 2009). Participating and being part of the lifeworld of one's participants "encourage us to be involved, and through being involved, we may come to care" (Porteous, 1990:200).

Why Sensory Methodology?

I chose to use sensory ethnography because its emphasis on embodied experience as a type of knowledge was particularly relevant to activism, a highly sensorial activity, and religious becoming, which is grounded in experiencing divine beings through ritualised practices that continually form and reform participants (Orsi, 2005). Religious scholar Robert Orsi (2005) argues that researching religious people requires not being academically 'detached' from their embodied experiences. Understanding a religious culture requires entering into, coming alongside, and being together with the people engaged in it (E. Turner, 2012). Orsi (2005) points out that the divine, "the saints, gods, demons, ancestors and so on are real in experience and practice" (p.70) for those embedded in religious communities. To ignore the sensory aspects of this lifeworld would be acting unethically toward the participants involved. My participants used their bodies in a sensorial way to experience God and to participate in protests and social action. I heard the word 'embodied' numerous times, and even 'being-in-the-world' and 'bodies-in-the-world' were terms entwined used in theological discourses on issues such as climate change.

It has been noted that sensory methodology has a certain 'moral perspective', with researchers who use this method often leaning towards social activism and "the ethics of those who hope to make the world a better place" (Pink, 2015:69). This viewpoint is consistent with my own understandings of the anthropological project. Anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes has argued for an anthropology that is "politically committed and morally engaged" (1995:409) and a form of research that can bear witness to injustices (Scheper-Hughes, 1992). Political theorist Romand Coles points out that for activists the body is literally a tool for change where "mass protests, [and] raucous demonstrations…send reverberations through our bodies that unsettle our frames and commitments" (Coles and Hauerwas, 2008:172). Allowing for the inclusion of sensory experiences as a type of knowledge lets the embodied actions that form activists and religious people acquire 'agency', an important part of respecting ones' participants and being open to their lifeworld.

Use in my Fieldwork

Embodied sensing, both as a methodology and a theoretical stance, came to be an integral part of my research project. I took Stoller, Jackson and Pink's advice to use my body as a sensate tool of research gathering. As Pink (2015) points out, the purpose of using sensory ethnographic methods is not to produce an objective account of a truthful reality, but

> should aim to offer versions of ethnographer's experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, and [their] embodied, sensory…affective experiences (p.5).

I recorded these 'affective experiences' in my fieldwork journal by noting the common sensations I felt and encountered whilst with my participants. I also wrote up what I came to call a 'sensory palette' for the different events I attended (see Chapter Three). This involved describing the light, temperature, smells, sounds, and textures present. I noted music used, songs sung, prayers prayed, protest chants that were used, what types of bird song was present, materialist aspects, and other sensory factors. Biehl and Locke (2017) refer to the concept of a sensory palette as 'ethnographic sensoriums'.

I had a repertoire of sensorial practices that I used to indicate to my body that it was now 'in the field'; taking public transport (usually the train, sometimes the bus), a 'fieldwork' musical playlist I listened to as I travelled, one particular café where I had the same breakfast (the $9.90 special) every time, another café were I had salad for lunch, and yet another café for coffee breaks. There were specific spaces I would wait before and after interviews and events, such as the local library, a seat opposite some government buildings, and two church buildings that were open during the day. Many of the sensorial aspects I experienced in my fieldwork were also on the minds of my participants as we moaned about the windy, damp weather, and the crowded and unreliable public transport.

As part of using sensory methodology, I intentionally joined in the spiritual formation practices used by my participants. I wanted to experience what it was like to be 'formed' by the daily rhythm and rituals so important to most of them (see Chapters Six and Seven). A vital part of their lives was keeping a 'rhythm of prayer', which usually meant joining together to pray two or three times a day at set times. This ancient practise, often used by Christian monks who lived in monasteries, is called 'The Liturgy of the Hours'. While with my participants I often participated in praying 'the hours'. I also set up my own personal prayer rhythm for when I was not with my participants, as this was a common practice they did in their own homes. This consisted of observing morning and evening prayer, firstly by using a digital 'app' from the Church of England on my smartphone, and later the Anglican New Zealand Prayer Book (Church of Aoteroa New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989). At the last fieldwork event I attended I was asked to select a song and led the singing part of evening prayer. That I was able to do so was a highlight for me and I felt that I had at least been able to master a small part of an embodied, sensory discipline that my participants were very used to. Days spent digging up blackberry roots, pruning trees, and communal prayer together helped to weave me into the edge of the tapestry of the Diocese J community, even if for a little time.

Back in my office, I paid close attention in the interviews to where bodies and experiences were discussed regarding social justice activism and the religious practices that undergirded the lives of the activists. This turned out to be rather easy because, as

I had suspected from the beginning, themes of where bodies were placed and how they were used were prominent in the interview transcripts. While going over fieldwork notes during analysis, I played recording of songs, prayers, and protest marches encountered during my fieldwork experiences in order to recreate elements of the sensory landscape I had been part of at that event. As mentioned elsewhere in this chapter on the use of 'netnography', the internet was very helpful for this as most of the songs were available online, many of the protests I'd attended had been covered by various news outlets, and the Diocese itself put many of their events on YouTube. The alternative forms of bodily knowledge described in my 'sensory palette' notes took me back to the multisensorial landscape of the many events and days I spent with my participants and gave an embodied, felt context to their spoken words from interviews, meetings and sermons. Creating these sensory palettes was an affective attempt at grounding parts of my fieldwork knowledge in the realms of the body; to "pick up density and texture as [one] moves through bodies, dreams, dramas, and social worldings" (Stewart, 2007:3).

Ethnographic Methods…and reweaving them to suit purpose

Participant selection initially focused on millennial-aged Anglican Christians interested in social justice issues who agree to be involved with the research, with the aim to recruit participants between 22 to 35 years old, as per my research question. However, I was open to exceptions to this age preference as long as participants were over the age of 17, due to university ethics requirements regarding minors and children. The majority of my participants did end up being in the preferred age cohort, with the exception of the SJ students (as explained later in this chapter) who were in their late teens (Gen Zers), and several participants who were in their late 30s and early 40s. All research participants have been given another name to afford a degree of anonymity, as have all placenames, organizations, and groups (see Ethics section later in this chapter for further details).

At the beginning Bishop Julia sent an email to people she thought could be possible candidates to participate in my project, asking if any of them wanted to be involved. Two people, Erin and Dan, replied to me through email in response to Bishop Julia's email. Once fieldwork began it proved unexpectedly difficult to define who was an

official participant and who wasn't. While I officially interviewed eight people, many others ended up in my thesis purely by being at the same events that I attended and being Anglican. They knew I was a PhD student and were curious about what I was doing. I had many good conversations with these people who added to the overall layers of understanding of Diocese J and its social justice work. I introduce the participants I interviewed in more detail later in this chapter.

To conduct the research, I used qualitative methods that were framed through the sensory methodological lens I outlined earlier, particularly ethnographic fieldwork. Ethnography involves observing, 'hanging out' with, and having direct and sustained contact with a group of people as they go about their lived, daily life (Jackson, 2013; O'Reilly, 2004). The point of ethnographic research is to produce "a richly written account that respects the irreducibility of human experience" (O'Reilly, 2004:3), or as Geertz (1973) calls it, 'thick description'. This can be done through a variety of methods; the ones I used were participant observation through a modified version of 'deep hanging out', semi-structured interviews, analysis of digital material such as websites, YouTube clips, Facebook and other social media sites, and textual analysis of books, pamphlets, newsletters and other written material.

While participant observation is a standard practice in anthropology, once starting fieldwork I found I had to tweak this method. Like many contemporary researchers, it was not possible for me to be constantly physically present 'in the field'. This fieldwork challenge has been noted by other scholars who have pointed out that research participants may spend quite a lot of their time in the office, at home, or in other private spaces where they don't want to admit a researcher (Cearns, 2018; Pink, 2015). Additionally, anthropologist Jennifer Cearns points out that not only is it often impossible to live with one's participants, it can be difficult to even 'hang out' with them. She asks

> But what if your participants spend four to five hours a day, on their own, in traffic jams? What if the main thing connecting the participants in your sprawling and unbounded field-site is WhatsApp? How to conduct research in a place where you're doing well if you manage to talk to someone face-to-face for just a few hours a day? (Cearns, 2018)

Like Cearn's observations about WhatsApp, much of the work of a social justice activist in 2019 involved organizing events through digital technologies such as Skype, Zoom, Email, Facebook and so forth, rather than through face-to-face meetings. This meant finding physical, geographic sites to 'hang out' with my participants was a challenge in the beginning. As Erin, one of my participants, said when we were discussing how I would do my fieldwork; "I spend most of my time at the computer organizing events and raising awareness on social media. I don't think you really want to come and watch me at my computer". In the end though this is exactly what I did for parts of my fieldwork, hanging out with Erin and Davina before and after meetings and interviews, often as they worked away on their computers.

When I became aware of this dynamic, I tried to find a variety of ways in which to spend time with my participants. In the beginning a fair amount of my fieldwork involved attending events with them. The events usually revolved around protesting about a social justice issue, meetings about these protests, meetings on making submissions on government legislation, meetings to learn about (or teach on) a particular social justice issue, or church sermons and services. Some of the events involved practical physical labor such as pulling up gorse and the roots of blackberry bushes, and tree trimming. As I got to know my participants better, concentrated periods of 'deep hanging out' become longer, extending out to days at a time.

As a sensory ethnographer I wanted to join in with in the activities of my participants rather than just observe, however it took time to build up trust with my participants before this could happen. I had a major opportunity to participate more fully in the life of Diocese J halfway through my fieldwork time by becoming involved with a social justice 'gap year' program for young people called 'SJ', which I expand on below. I also spent time in digital spaces, which turned out to be more helpful for informational purposes, such as finding out about events and catching up on missed meetings. After fieldwork ended, I went over my fieldwork notes and drew out common themes, especially those relating to sensory, embodied experiences of both myself and my participants.

Hanging out in Diocese J

The research fieldwork took place in Anglican Diocese J in New Zealand from June 2018 till August 2019, although there were several recruitment and information meetings that took place before this time. Over this period, I attended 22 events/activities and conducted eight interviews. I also followed five specific social justice campaigns in person and through the Diocese's website and social media channels.

Diocese J is part of the world-wide Anglican 'Communion', as discussed in Chapter One, and covers a large geographical area of New Zealand, encompassing both rural areas, towns, and several cities. I had permission from Bishop Julia to work with any Anglican group or leader within this geographical area who consented to take part in my research. Most of my fieldwork took place in an urban area, particularly at the Diocese Office, which I will refer to as 'The Hub'. The Hub was in an old, historic building near the Diocese's main Cathedral. Many of my participants worked at The Hub, including Bishop Julia. I did nearly all my interviews in The Hub, as well as preliminary recruitment meetings.

Anglican Activists

Anglican Activists (AA) was a group within the Diocese that focused on political and social advocacy work. It was based at The Hub and I spent much of my 'hang out time' at events they organized. At the time of my research there were two employees, Erin and Davina, as well as a couple of volunteers. They networked widely with many different Anglican groups within the Diocese, as well as non-Anglicans. Anglican Activists began in 2016 when Bishop John created a paid position for someone to work on getting parishioners in the Diocese interested and involved in contemporary social justice issues. This person was Erin, a young woman in her late twenties who became my main research contact and was the participant who I spent the most time with. Erin's openness towards me and her welcoming acceptance, made much of my fieldwork possible. It is fair to say that without Erin's drive and passion for social justice AA wouldn't have had the outsized impact in Diocese J that I observed during my fieldwork. A while after Erin, Davina joined AA. The social justice issues AA had been asked to focus on by the Diocese Council were climate change/sustainability and the

lack of affordable and government funded housing in the geographic confines of Diocese J.

One of the first events I attended was a webcast meeting, through my computer, on protesting petroleum extraction put on by AA, and hosted by Erin. A meeting of petroleum producers was due to be held nearby, the meeting was to outline why Anglicans should oppose new oil and gas exploration in the light of climate change, and a discussion of suitable forms of protesting the conference. Since Diocese J is geographically large, the webcast method was used to allow people to attend digitally (see Chapter Five).

Another AA event was on the New Zealand government's 'Zero Carbon Act', which was seeking public submissions at the time on how to reduce New Zealand's carbon dioxide emissions. Held in a beautiful old Anglican church, I joined a medium sized crowd to hear four speakers, including Erin, explain the background of the proposed legislation and the submission process. Afterwards we dispersed to various 'creative stations' to make a submission to the government on the Zero Carbon Act (see Chapter Five). Throughout the time of my fieldwork the Zero Carbon Act was a reoccurring theme, with Erin and Davina organizing a special 'submission Sunday' to get parishioners to participate in the submission process. By the final closing date Diocese J had contributed just over 500 submissions calling for the passing of the Zero Carbon Act.

While AA had a strong focus on environmentalism, climate change, and sustainability, there were other issues that Erin and Davina also highlighted. For example, I attended a protest on the lack of social housing in New Zealand organized by AA, which involved a service of prayer and lament on Housing New Zealand (a government agency) vacant land (see Chapter Five). This event was held at three geographic locations around the Diocese on the same day. There was a campaign to push for more Māori representation on local city councils, and I participated with Davina in a large protest for Māori land rights (see Chapter Eight). Another event I attended with Erin was a Christian conference based on the topic of justice. This event lasted two days and was not located in Diocese J, but in another urban area in New Zealand. Erin and I travelled for quite a few hours in a car with a small group from Diocese J to get to the conference. At the conference we spent time learning about social justice through

talks and workshops which covered such topics as poverty in New Zealand, and climate change. We all stayed together in shared accommodation and it was valuable to spend a concentrated period with people from the Diocese, as well as others they introduced me to.

Anglican Missions and SJ

Anglican Missions (AM) was originally part of the Anglican Church, is now autonomous, but retains strong links with the Church and its particular type of Christianity. It sends New Zealand Christians from many different denominations to participate in partnership projects with Christians overseas. They had launched a 'social justice gap year experience', called 'SJ', for young people between the ages of 18 to 25. It consisted of ten months of learning about social justice through practical activities such as working with the poor in New Zealand and overseas, as well as formalized learning in a classroom setting. Diocese J had agreed to be the 'home base' for SJ, with the students being based at The Hub for the education and teaching portion of the program. Erin oversaw this as part of her work with AA. SJ was run for the first time in 2019 with a group of seven young woman.

Through my connection to Erin, I became involved with SJ and helped to write some of the curriculum for their classroom time, as well as teaching units on globalization, inequality, and privilege. I also put together material for an assessment on commodity chains for the SJ students to do. I attended the commissioning service for the students, spent two days with them during their orientation time at a contemporary monastery called 'Rio Puro', and a day with them working at a sustainable farm. On one of the days I gave lessons, I also accompanied the students to an organization that helped homeless people, to hear about their work. As well as teaching sessions myself, I also sat in on teaching from others on such topics as human trafficking, how to be an advocate, commodity chains, and labour rights for migrant fishermen

I had originally arranged to interview Jack and Abigail, a married couple who were helping to lead SJ. But despite several attempts to set a date and time for an interview, this did not take place due to their busy schedule and the arrival of a new baby. The students themselves knew that I was a PhD student doing fieldwork, but I did not interview them as this was not part of the permission agreement with Anglican

Missions. What I gained from being involved with parts of SJ was an understanding of the formation process Diocese J used to pass on concepts of social justice to the students.

Branching out of The Hub

Away from the urban center where The Hub was located, I journeyed to other events within the geographic confines of Diocese J. The second most common fieldwork site was in a smaller urban area where I attended a local Anglican Church on Sundays during my fieldwork period. Stephen, one of the leaders in this church, was a seasoned activist and I attended various protests and social justice activities that he led. There were peaceful vigils in the local town square over the treatment of migrants at the US Border (see Chapter Five), and the selling of military equipment at a 'Weapons Expo'. I attended three special church services: a service of 'hope and healing' before the Weapons Expo protests (see Chapter Seven), an interfaith service calling for peace and against war, and a memorial service for the Muslim victims of the Christchurch terrorist shootings in March 2019. Another event was a Diocese leaders training day, in particular a workshop on social justice for church leaders run by Stephen, followed by coffee with some participants afterwards. One of the last events I took part in was a two-day workshop series on the theology of social justice with a group of people studying for a Diploma in Anglican Studies, run by another participant, Derek.

I also attended two events, a peace festival and part of SJ's orientation week, at 'Rio Puro', a contemporary monastery with a neo-monastic intentional community. The community at Rio Puro was part of a wider group within Diocese J called 'Common Ground' (see Chapter Six). Rio Puro consisted of a series of houses, buildings and farmland located in a rural valley up against a mountain range, near a town in Diocese J. Community living at Rio Puro was based on a monastic 'rule' where daily life included meeting for prayer three times a day in a rustic, wooden chapel surrounded by bush and accompanied by the sounds of tuis and cicadas at certain times of the year.

Interviewing

Most interview participants, except the two that replied to Bishop Julia's email, were recruited through a direct approach of me contacting them through email, or a face-to-

face request. I usually found people to interview though meeting them at different events, which I then followed up with an email invitation. Other interview participants were recommended to me by others, the snowballing sampling method.

Semi-structured interviews with the eight participants, five men and three women, were conducted using a digital recording device (see Appendix Three for interview questions). When someone agreed to an interview, they were provided with an information sheet (see Appendix One) and signed a consent form before. These were in-depth interviews with most lasting around 90 minutes and the shortest being an hour long. I chose interview participants based on their involvement in or knowledge of Anglican social justice action, and their age (mostly millennial's). They were all Pākehā, six were born in New Zealand and two were from North America, but now lived permanently in New Zealand.

The interviews were conducted at various points throughout the fieldwork period. In the beginning I asked participants the same set of questions, however I soon began to customize them to take into consideration the specific role the interviewee had in the Diocese. This was because it became apparent that the visible activists where only one part of the social justice milieu of Diocese J. Derek, for example, was a priest and a theologian, not an activist, but he taught about social justice throughout the Diocese. I adjusted his questions to learn more about his theologically based understandings of social justice.

Interviews focused on how participants came to be interested in social justice, why they were participating in it in an Anglican sphere, how they understood the concept of social justice in relation to their Christian faith, and how they saw the future for millennials and the world in general. Emphasis was placed especially on the issue of climate change, as I observed it was a major social justice issue Diocese J was engaged with. These interviews were then transcribed by me.

Analysis of the interviews firstly involved going through all the transcripts and pulling out keywords that were consistently mentioned such as 'deep', 'ancient', 'community' and so forth, and putting these onto an Excel spreadsheet. Then, following LeCompte and Schensul (2013), I 'chunked' these keywords into larger categories to describe the

concept the keywords were referring to such as 'temporality', 'movement', 'Anglicanism'. Chunking can be understood as creating a number of "conceptual bins…into which to [categorise] various elements [keywords] of the database" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2013:82). I then combined the excel sheets containing the keywords and the 'chunked' concepts to draw out major themes present in the interviews. The interview spreadsheet was then combined with the events/ethnographic spreadsheet, mentioned earlier, to get an overall view of the main themes across all the different methods I'd used over my fieldwork period.

Interview Participants

Many of my interview participants have already appeared in this chapter but it is important to describe them at a deeper level. First was *Erin*, who was highly educated and very knowledgeable about many different social justice topics. As well as working for Diocese J on social justice issues, she was also the head of a local affordable Housing NGO, and a volunteer for a political party. Previously she had worked for a similar Anglican group in another Diocese and been involved in successful campaigns on waste recycling, and the labor rights of migrant fishermen. While Anglicanism had been Erin's first experience of Christianity, she had also spent time in youth groups of other denominations, such as the Apostolic Church, when she was younger. Erin was the one of the only participants who had become an Anglican at a young age.

Davina worked in close conjunction with Erin, through her role as the Diocese's 'environmental enabler'. This was a paid position, but Davina contributed many volunteer hours as well. Davina was also well educated, having a university degree in environmental sustainability and Christian theology. Before joining Diocese J, she had worked for a Catholic NGO, and lived in a Catholic Worker's community house. However, Davina wasn't Catholic, she had been brought up in North America as the daughter of a Methodist pastor. Becoming an employee of Diocese J had brought her into the Anglican sphere and she now considered herself Anglican. These types of ecumenical and cross-denominational links were common amongst my participants.

I met *Derek* at the SJ orientation at Rio Puro, where he was teaching on social justice from an Anglican viewpoint. Derek was an academic with a PhD, an ordained priest, theologian, and Bible teacher in Diocese J, specializing in theology of social justice. He

came from a varied Christian background that included Catholicism, Baptist, mega-church non-denominational, and Lutheran. Originally from North America, Derek found Anglicanism to be broad enough to contain his Lutheran theological seminary training and moved to New Zealand from the UK to take up a clerical position with an Anglican Church. Interviewing Derek gave me a good insight into the theology being taught in Diocese J on social justice.

Dan and Adele, a married couple, oversaw Diocese J's youth work. Dan was one of the first ones to response to Bishop Julia's original email about participating in my research, but due to his very busy work schedule it wasn't until over a year later that we finally got to meet and have our combined interview. Part of Dan and Adele's role was overseeing Intentional Community houses, where groups of young people lived together with a family such as Dan and Adele's. I had hoped to spend some time in one of the Youth Houses, as these intentional communities were common in various forms across the Diocese (see Chapter Six). This did not end up happening, but Dan and Adele were detailed in their interview in explaining how the community houses worked. Like many others I interviewed, Dan had been 'shoulder-tapped' by Bishop John to apply for the position of Head Youth Worker. Dan and Adele did not come from an Anglican background, having been brought up in Brethren and Baptist churches and then going to several other church denominations before ending up with the Anglicans.

I heard *Neo* speak at the Peace Festival at Rio Puro and immediately wanted to interview him. Neo and his wife had been members of Common Ground both before and after it had become part of the Anglican Church and Diocese J. Interviewing Neo, who was also an academic and worked in a university, gave me an angle I had missed in my research up to that point, which was how entering the Anglican Communion had changed this group of rather radical Christian social justice activists, as well as changing the Diocese itself.

Stephen was another important participant whom I attended events with and interviewed. He became an ordained priest during my fieldwork time and was passionate about social justice issues, often organizing and fronting protest marches, sit-ins, and other types of demonstrations. Of all my participants Stephen was the most involved in confrontational public actions of social justice. Having come from a

fundamentalist form of Charismatic Pentecostalism, Stephen had found freedom within the broadness of theology that is a hallmark of Anglicanism (see Chapter Eight) to pursue his passion of 'courageous compassion' for the marginalized and to confront the powerful as a witness to his Christian faith.

I had heard about *Pete* long before I met him, since Bishop Julia suggested I interview him at one of our first meetings. Pete was the pastor of a church called 'Matrix' which had formally been an independent emerging church, but had now become Anglican and was part of Diocese J. It was filled with millennial aged Christians. Pete had been heavily involved in working with youth for much of the past 12 years, firstly with a Charismatic Pentecostal church, then with an NGO, and now as a recently ordained Anglican priest. I met Pete firstly through Erin who introduced us at an event, however it was a year later before I got to interview him as he was very busy. Pete had written a book which I read; it was a helpful resource in understanding his journey. The church Pete led ran a weekly food distribution program and its members were often present at the different events I attended. Like the youth program, Pete's church ran intentional community houses.

As I mentioned in Chapter One, I came to do this research through meeting Bishop (then vicar) *Julia* at a conference. Originally, I had planned to interview Bishop Julia but somehow we never got around to an official interview. Besides Erin, Julia was the person with whom I spent most of my fieldwork time. Throughout the time of my research, especially during the fieldwork period, I kept her up to date with my research through official meetings, and informal chats at different events we would end up meeting at. Julia invited me to take part in a monthly discussion group consisting of women from Diocese J who are working in academic settings, which I accepted. These meetings were held in the evening and because they finished late, I stayed at Julia's house on these occasions. Bishop Julia lived in one of the Diocese's many intentional communities with her own family, plus a number of single young women. I would bunk down on the top floor of Julia's house in a little alcove, after attending the community night prayer. Morning would dawn to the sounds of birds outside the window and coffee percolating. I would then descend the stairs at 7.00 am to take part in morning prayer, all of us in our pajamas and still sleepy as Julia lit the candles and handed out

the prayer sheets. After breakfast I would walk down the hill to catch the bus back into town. Being an academic herself Julia and I would often discuss what types of theory would be helpful for my thesis and how the analysis was going. It is fair to say her incisive thoughts and contemplative spirit have seeped into this thesis. Julia could have kept me at a distance, instead she was warm, authentic, and welcoming towards me.

Written texts

I collected written texts, such as pamphlets, newsletters, church service sheets, official statements, posters and so forth, while attending events. These were helpful for examining and understanding which types of prayers and songs were used for specific occasions relating to social justice, and who was included in or quoted by the participants. After the Christchurch terrorist attack, official statements from local and global Anglican leaders gave interesting insights into how Muslims were framed and discussed.

'Netnography'…otherwise known as hanging out in Digital Space

As well as physical geographic locations, digital online space became part of my fieldwork 'site', particularly the social media sites of Diocese J and the groups associated with them. The ethnographic method of interacting with and observing research participants through Facebook, Twitter, and other social media has been referred to as 'netnography'. Netnography is most closely linked with marketing scholar Robert Kozinets and examines people's interactions on the internet (Kozinets, 2015). Kozinets (2015) argues that the fluidity of internet communication, especially using social media, requires tweaking traditional types of ethnographic methods, such as participant observation, since researchers may not study static, territory-based communities. 'Doing' netnography generally requires the researcher to participate in online communities and forums (Caliandro, 2014), and if possible combine online and offline participant observation, what may be called a 'hybrid' method of ethnography (Garcia, Standlee, Bechkoff, & Cui, 2009).

I was able to visually observe events and meetings through YouTube, webcasts, and podcasts. I originally took to using online material due to the limited time I could spend physically 'in the field', but it also helped to mitigate the large physical size of the Diocese, and the busyness of many of the participants, by allowing me to see what

events and activities they had attended that I couldn't get to or didn't know about prior to their occurrence. The main way I used digital media in my research was through following the website, Facebook, and Twitter accounts of the Anglican groups I was doing fieldwork with, 'liking' posts, and occasionally commenting on social media threads. My participants, particularly Erin, used digital and web-based platforms frequently to promote their events. Some of the events they ran were live streamed through webcasts so that people who were not physically able to attend could still ask questions and participate through a digital platform.

I also made some real-life contacts from interacting with the social media accounts of Diocese J. Social media helped me know when events were happening and gave links to relevant webcasts and YouTube clips. I spent hours watching sermons from the two Bishops of the Diocese, especially on the climate change initiative the Diocese undertook. All Diocese updates were available through their website, and they were very proactive in keeping their social media and website continually updated, which was a great help in giving me an overall view of all the different social justice activities that were going on.

Ethics

This research for this project was assessed as low risk by the Human Ethics Committee of Massey University in Palmerston North, New Zealand (Ethics Number: 4000018915). Participants had full agency in their decision to be involved or not. Before committing to an interview, they were provided with an information sheet and were encouraged to ask any questions they may have had. Participants and organizations were offered the option to use a pseudonym and remain anonymous if they desired, which all did. All efforts were made to avoid harm to any participant and to maintain trustful and courteous relationships. It was my intention that this research could also benefit my participants and the organizations that allowed me to do fieldwork with them. Teaching in the SJ programme was a way to do this as a type of 'giving back' to Diocese J, in gratitude for letting me into their world. This is what my discipline calls, 'offering fair return'. Additionally, I will send a report summarizing the findings to all participants, as well as inviting them to an in-person presentation at a location in

Diocese J. There is also the possibility that I will co-write academic material with some of my participants.

Limitations, unanticipated problems, and positionality

My main fieldwork limitations involved personal circumstances, particularly being a parent of three children, and having a long-term chronic health condition. One month after starting my PhD my husband unexpectedly became a stay-at-home dad, due to being made redundant from his job. While this was difficult for our family financially, it enabled me to spend a lot more time 'in the field' than I would have been able to otherwise. Just as I was finishing up my last interview, he got a job and went back to full-time work, meaning I had to take my children with me to one of my last fieldwork activities. This proved to be a difficult experience and looking back I have no idea how I would have done fieldwork if my husband had not been at home with our children over my fieldwork period. As Bishop Julia pointed out, my husband's redundancy ended up being a 'blessing in disguise'.

I have a health condition that causes breathlessness and fatigue. At times this was limiting while doing fieldwork, especially when events went over a few days such as the Justice conference, and two days I spent at Rio Puro with the SJ students. The days I travelled to The Hub involved a four-hour commute, which also took a physical toll. I got frustrated at continually being breathless during some of the more physical activities, such as pulling gorse and walking distances during protests. Eventually I had to tell my participants about this factor and some of them would walk with me at a slower pace when we went places, which I experienced as a form of care and belonging from them. The Hub was located at the top of a hill and finding ways to 'walk the hill' without getting breathless became an embodied experience of my fieldwork time and part of the sensory experience of my research.

It took longer than I anticipated to gain the trust and participation of people in Diocese J. This seemed to be due to a few factors. Many did not quite understand why I was 'hanging around' at the events; I was not a Diocese employee, volunteer, or even an Anglican! Because I continually came and went from The Hub but was not present daily, it took a while to form relationships. Due to the 'event' nature of the way social justice is propagated throughout the Diocese, it was harder to find times to just 'hang

out' with my participants outside of the events. I didn't live in the city where many of them lived, and they had their own lives outside of the social justice activities they took part with in as members of the Diocese.

Another challenge was the flexibility of my participants and the very fluid nature of the networks they inhabited, which meant sometimes there were a number of activities and events to participate in, and other times there was nothing. I took a risk that within the time that I did fieldwork I might not be have been able to get as much in-depth, 'thick', descriptions from the fieldwork site as I wanted. To mitigate this risk, I included the interviews, and web-based material from the social media sites of my participants, as discussed earlier. A minor risk was that some of the activities my participants were involved with included protesting, and in some cases confronting the police. I decided to participate in protests that were peaceful but did not take part in blockading and other more physically confronting forms of activism. As many of my participants led very full and active lives, another fieldwork challenge was getting them to commit to an interview. Several requests were either turned down or failed to eventuate due to people being too busy to be able to fit me in. Bishop John was particularly difficult to secure a meeting with, and I did not get to interview him despite several formal requests. To compensate for not interviewing him, I read a book written by him and his wife about the founding of Common Ground (not referenced so as to keep to anonymity agreement) and watched several hours of digital sermons which were available online.

Positionality / Reflexivity

As I come from a Christian background, I was aware that extra reflexive care needed to be taken to balance the relationships I obtained in 'the field' with my obligations as a researcher. Susan Wardell (2018) is a researcher who has also studied young Christians in New Zealand as an 'insider'. She notes that this type of positionality, especially regarding the study of religion, is one that is often viewed dubiously by other anthropologists. As I discussed in my Master's research (Rivera-Puddle, 2016), anthropology as a discipline has historically been antagonistic toward the study of Western Christians, especially if anthropologist studying them also identifies as Christian (Engelke, 2014; Fountain, 2013; Robbins, 2003). Susan Harding's (1991) now

famous argument that some anthropologists have viewed Christians living in western societies as "a repugnant cultural other" (p.191), with Christianity in non-western societies viewed differently, echoed in questions asked to me at conference presentations as to how could I *really* claim to be objective regarding the topic. These kinds of questions seem to be based on the assumption that Christianity, and Christians, are a homogeneous entity, which is far from true.

Having spent many years in Protestant Christian settings did help somewhat to place me as an 'insider' researcher. By this I mean that the practices and environment of many of the events I attended was somewhat familiar and allowed me to 'blend in' in many ways. However, there were enough differences within Anglicanism that made me an 'outsider'. I grew up in a Charismatic Pentecostal denomination and am used to a rather informal style of Christianity. Anglicans and their sacramental practices were much more formal. There were many aspects of Anglicanism that I found unfamiliar, such as the way of taking the Eucharist (with real wine!), liturgy, formal clothing, and complicated governing structures and hierarchies such as Archbishops, Bishops, Deacons, Vicars, vestries and so on. This led to some interesting conversations such as "what is the difference between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury?". At times during fieldwork, I drew funny looks when I didn't know or understand the protocol that was necessary, especially during church services. An example of this was one occasion where I was expected to offer a response to being given the Eucharist cup, but didn't know what the words were meant to be, and so just passed it on in silence. 'Say the words' said the deacon, 'I don't know them' I replied, 'I'm not Anglican', he seemed worried at that point.

As someone who is interested in social justice on many levels, the commitment of my participants to justice issues made me examine my own involvement and ideas, and I learnt much from them regarding how important community and relationships are for activist work. The hardest point of positionality was the personal negotiation I had to do between seeing my participants as friends and as research subjects. I enjoyed their company, admired their work, and found the practices of living in an intentional community personally alluring. I now turn to how my participants understood and framed the concept of social justice.

CHAPTER FIVE: BRINGING IN THE KINGDOM - SOCIAL JUSTICE ACTIVISM IN DIOCESE J

> *"We yearn for radical changes to systems that are destroying the world. We lend our bodies and minds to efforts that seek such changes…such projects are nourished in the textures of relational care for the radical ordinary"* – Coles and Hauerwas (2008:4)

The main point of this research was to get an insight into 'why's' and 'how's' of the process of Becoming for a group of young, Anglican activists in New Zealand. It turned out that the why's and the how's revolved around an important 'what', as in 'what is social justice?' In this chapter, I discuss what social justice entailed for my participants, how they went about doing it, and what they thought it was, both practically and, as Christians, theologically. I also examine two contextual elements as to why social justice was such a prominent concern for Diocese J, which was the Bishop they had, and the number of evangelical, Pentecostal 'imports' from non-Anglican churches.

When I started this research, I focused mainly on the protesting and activism activities of a small number of Diocese J members. It didn't take long to realize that there was a network of other people and factors that contributed to these activists being able to get to the point of being involved in protest actions. During fieldwork, I observed common activities that made up the social justice milieu of Diocese J; training, preparation and promotion, and actual protesting. These activities did not have hard and fast delineations and there were often several different activities present at the same event. I examine the social justice training, preparation and promotion, and protests by presenting vignettes from my fieldwork time. I also discuss how my participants defined social justice and what they thought it was.

It was evident that theological concepts were an important part of how social justice was understood and interacted with in Diocese J. I discuss the Kingdom of God, confronting unjust powers, and hope. Of equal importance was the fact that my participants were not traditional Anglicans in that many of them come from revivalist forms of Christianity such as Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, as well as Emergent and neo-monastic Christianity. The mixing and weaving of all these different

'Christianities' (Robbins, 2003) made for an interesting bricolage (de Certeau, 1984) of social justice activism.

Anglicans and Social Justice

Unlike the Catholic Church, Anglicans do not have a cohesive, formal, social justice theology (M. Brown, 2014b). Theologian Alan Suggate (2014) suggests that Anglican social theology is a lived tradition that is consistently being formed, rather than a set tradition. Rowlands (2014) notes that Anglicans have concentrated more on social justice praxis than finding official principals. That said, Catholic social teaching is a common source that Anglicans often draw on and borrow from to inform their understandings of social justice (Rowlands, 2014). Social justice is often linked to 'bringing in' the Kingdom of God and was a major theme consistently present throughout this entire research project.

Theology – Kingdom flourishing

As outlined in Chapter Two, social justice amongst Anglicans tends to be based in Christian theology that understands the Kingdom of God as a form of 'flourishing', with an immanent God who resides primarily in the world and not solely in heaven (Dormor et al., 2003; Randerson, 2015). Flourishing is not only for humans, but also for the earth, animals, and plants. Anglican theologians Pabst and Milbank argue that for Anglicans, flourishing extends to "nature, the neighbour, and society at large" (2014:3). The world is seen to be a gift from the creator, it is good, and as such, Anglicans should try to incarnate God in the world through acts of social justice. According to former Assistant Bishop of Auckland Richard Randerson (2015)

> theology [should have] a concern for the common good, for human dignity and fulfilment in work, for a living wage and economic justice, for co-operative rather than adversarial teamwork. (p.26)

As the Kingdom of God is here on earth, not just in heaven, God wants flourishing for all, right here and now. The flourishing of human relationships is the primary basis for why social justice is considered to be important (M. Brown, 2014a; Rowlands, 2014)

> Anglican Mission is understood as building up the life of the Kingdom on earth, and that involves beauty, good fellowship, and human flourishing as much as it involves a life of prayer, worship, and sacrifice. (Pabst & Milbank, 2014:5)

All humans should be able to flourish since they are *Imago Dei* (made in the image of God) (Suggate, 2014). They should have the means to participate in their communities with dignity (Rowlands, 2014:141); this is what social justice entails. The flourishing that occurs in God's kingdom is also framed using the term 'the common good'. The common good, or common life, is viewed as collective and not individualistic; where "each member's flourishing depended closely and strictly on the flourishing of every other" (Williams, 2012:28). It is also strongly related to loving one's neighbour. Loving one's neighbour and other practices of enacting communal flourishing that were present in Diocese J are examined further in Chapter Six.

There is a sense amongst Anglican theologians that a human-rights based approach to human flourishing is insufficient. Just because something can be freely chosen doesn't necessarily make it good or right (Dormor et al., 2003; Williams, 2012). If one's rights are gained at the expense of someone else's, then there cannot be long-lasting peace or freedom, the argument goes. Freedom needs to be subservient to human flourishing for everyone, including the unborn, the disabled, the insane, and others who do not have the autonomy to make their own decisions (Dormor et al., 2003). Randerson (2015) argues there needs to be 'ethics of mutuality', where the wellbeing of all is important.

Action and Activism

There is a long history of Christian involvement in social justice work and activism in New Zealand, from Anglicans and other denominations. Many of the most fervent social justice activists in the country's history acted from Christian beliefs. Examples include Methodist minister Ormond Burton who founded The Christian Pacifist Society in 1936 (Grant, 2017; Noakes-Duncan, 2018), Presbyterian minister Rutherford Waddell who campaigned against 'sweated labour' and the Boer War (Stenhouse, 2017), Anglican William Pember Reeves who agitated for Christian socialism (Stenhouse, 2016), and Baptist preacher JJ North who fought for the rights of conscientious objectors and the poor of Wellington (Tucker, 2016). One of the most

consistent groups involved in social justice efforts in New Zealand has been the Quakers, otherwise known as the Religious Society of Friends. Though small, they could be counted on to oppose war and figured prominently in conscientious objector's lists during both World Wars (Duke, 2018; Troughton & Fountain, 2018b). Most of the academic literature on Christian social justice action in New Zealand has been focused on peace-making and pacifism (Troughton, 2017; Troughton & Fountain, 2018).

During social upheavals in the 1970s and 1980s surrounding Māori rights, and the anti-apartheid and anti-nuclear movements, Christian activists were also at the fore. Anglican minister George Armstrong is particularly well known for his anti-nuclear activism and founding the Peace Squadron, a flotilla of boats which attempted to stop the US Navy submarine 'Haddo' from entering Auckland Harbour in 1979 (G. Armstrong, 2018). Anglican Archbishop Paul Reeves was another who spoke out on social issues during this time, being able to span both Māori and Pākehā worldviews (Matheson, 2018). John Murray, moderator of the Presbyterian Church was involved in anti-racism campaigns, and Anglican church 'St Matthews in the City' in Auckland declared themselves a nuclear-free zone (Matheson, 2018).

After a quiet period with not much protest in the 1990s, the 'Hikoi of Hope' march was organized in 1998, by Church leaders to highlight growing inequality and poverty in New Zealand (Beech, 2013; Ward, 2013). In the new millennium social justice action has continued to be prevalent, especially amongst mainline churches who persist in lobbing parliament on legislation pertaining to immigration, the refugee quota, the sale of state-owned enterprises, social housing, environmental issues, and more recently climate change (Beech, 2013).

Mainline denominations and The Salvation Army have been the most active Christians on social justice issues. The New Zealand Council of Christian Services, comprising the Salvation Army, Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist representatives meet regularly with government ministers to brief them on their work in the community (Lineham, 2014). Up until recently most PEC churches in New Zealand have appeared to be uninterested in social justice work but do participate in and run many charity-based programmes. These churches' political activism has

traditionally concentrated on issues related to personal morality such as abortion, prostitution, homosexuality, and recently euthanasia (Lineham, 2014; Matheson, 2018; Ward, 2013). However, younger evangelicals in New Zealand are becoming more interested in social justice issues, such as poverty and human trafficking (Rivera-Puddle, 2016).

Globally, contemporary social justice actions that Anglicans have engaged with include Living Wage campaigns, credit unions, food banks, interfaith workshops, raising awareness about human trafficking (Frazer, 2018), and supporting refugees. Environmentalism has taken hold in a number of Anglican parishes, with teaching on how to integrate worship into nature, theological lessons on how God sees creation, working towards lowering energy use in church buildings, and encouraging ride-sharing and bicycle programmes. In some Dioceses there is also use of trade-aid coffee and organic produce at church events, improving recycling and waste management, screening of films on environmental justice, and advocating for policy change for carbon offsetting (Harper & Kennely, 2009).

Diocese J and Social Justice

I chose to research social justice in Diocese J because it seemed that they were engaging with contemporary justice issues in a way that went beyond social service provision. I observed the way they trained and prepared their members for social justice activism, and how they took part in protests and other forms of democratic participation. My fieldwork revealed several factors in Diocese J which contributed to making it a hub for a unique assemblage of people, contexts, and connections which increased the visibility of social justice issues and attracted others from outside the Diocese, and indeed Anglicanism, to join them. A mashup of rhizomic influences was evident in the way Diocese J trained and prepared their members for social justice activism.

Training for Justice

Diocese J was proactive in providing a broad range of training opportunities for both their leadership and congregational members who wanted to learn about social justice. According to several participants I interviewed, Bishop John had purposefully recruited some staff members to lead this training because they were experienced and

knowledgeable in both the practice and theology of social justice. Financial and material resources were allocated to pay people, such as Erin and Davina, to facilitate social justice workshops on recycling, composting, and waste reduction. Stephen and Derek taught on social justice as part of their clergy role. I attended an afternoon workshop that Stephen ran, as well as a weekend of teaching on social justice organized by Derek. As discussed in Chapter Four, Diocese J hosted SJ, a training programme for Anglican young people from all over New Zealand, which I helped out with at various points. Diocese funding was made available for several business start-ups run by Diocese J members such as a local café and a coffee 'popup' shop. The aim of these businesses was to help people such as ex-prisoners and others who found it hard to gain employment by providing work-based training in the hospitality industry.

My ethnographic fieldwork involved me participating in and observing how social justice was understood and taught to the Anglicans in Diocese J. Participation was important to get an affective, sensory, and embodied understanding of the social justice training my participants were part of. Below I give a sense of what it was like to take part in some of these training sessions. The first vignette describes a social justice workshop I attended at one of the Diocese's training days for leaders, which were held in different towns around the Diocese two or three times a year. The second vignette took place at a 'block course' teaching weekend for Diocese members who were taking a tertiary course in Anglican Studies. The topic of the block course was understandings of social justice, and the students were expected to write an essay on what they had learnt after the weekend, I attended as a guest, not a student. The third set of vignettes describe three non-sequential days of teaching on social justice I attended for the SJ Programme. I was a teacher and participant on the first two days and an observer on the third day.

Social Justice Workshop

> …I arrive at the church where the Diocese J leadership training day is being held. Eventually, I find where Stephen is setting up for his workshop on social justice and put my stuff down on a chair. The room is small and filled with overstuffed furniture. A bell goes to move to the afternoon session and people start to come in and sit down; most are older or elderly, although there are a few younger ones. Stephen introduces himself and his 'team', a group of fellow activists. Some are Anglican, some are from other churches,

and some are from no church. Stephen includes me in his team introduction, 'this is Catherine who is a lecturer up at Massey'. I correct him, 'I'm a tutor Stephen'. 'Close enough' he laughs. Stephen introduces the concept of activism and why Christians should be involved in social justice work. He shows a traffic light and lists different types of activism people can take part in; green is signing an online petition, orange is holding a sign, red is blockading and confronting 'the power brokers', such as corporate CEOs. In the background, a video plays of the blockade that he was part of against military weapons last year, and of the Petroleum protests the month before. The police are pulling protesters roughly off the ground and arresting them. It is hard to tell what those in the room think of the video, but the idea of confronting the police makes me feel uncomfortable.

We then move into the hall next door to do an exercise. A quadrant is set out with the words 'violent', 'non-violent', 'comfortable', and 'uncomfortable' on each side. Stephen reads out some activism scenarios and we are asked to place ourselves in the part of the quad that describes how we feel about being part of that scenario. Do we feel comfortable or uncomfortable? Do we consider that action violent or non-violent? People laugh and mill about, moving between the different sections of the quadrant as the scenarios get more and more radical. While everyone feels comfortable about refusing plastic bags in the supermarket, only three feel they could 'punch a neo-Nazi in the face' (they are all young men). I end up in the middle of the square, I'm definitely not comfortable with breaking the law. It seems I wouldn't make a particularly radical activist. We move back to the smaller room and Stephen discusses Martin Luther King Junior and his 'Letter from Birmingham Jail'. He points out that King wrote this letter as a challenge to white clergy who considered civil rights protests misguided. Stephen challenges those in the room to not be misguided like these white clergy, who now appear on 'the wrong side of history'. He then gets members of his team to tell the audience how they view activism. Several people get up and discuss their views. Those in the audience are quiet and just as question time begins a woman comes to the door and says the next session is starting soon and they need the room. Stephen quickly wraps up the session. I'm left with the feeling that Stephen's type of activism was a step too far for many in the room.

I move into the hall with Stephen's wife, Trinity. Stephen gets his team together and we leave the church and walk to a café around the corner. Tables are pushed together, and I get into a conversation with Jamie, he is 19 and a student. He identifies as politically conservative, "but I don't like Trump!" Jamie became interested in social justice through meeting Stephen

at church. He asks the other people at the table how should he and other young people get involved in social justice work, someone says “just do something; you need action rather than just talking”. He says he is worried about climate change; he wants to get married and have children, but will his future offspring have a world to grow up in? People of his generation feel worried about the future, ‘we can’t buy houses, and jobs are hard to get and to keep’. The other people at the table murmur in agreement…

Social Justice Block Course Weekend

…It’s a Friday evening as I drive up to the marae[20]. I arrive to find Derek moving his sleeping bag into the wharenui (meeting house). He greets me warmly and introduces me to some of the others who are taking part in this weekend workshop on social justice formation for Anglicans in Diocese J. The participants of the workshop are all students taking a Diploma in Anglican Studies, this weekend is to introduce them to a theological understanding of social justice, afterwards they will need to write an essay on the contents. Before the workshop, I had been sent a list of readings and videoclips we would be discussing, although as a guest I was not expected to write an essay.

At dinner I sit and chat with some people, after a scrumptious dessert we move next door to another room where we are seated at long tables for our first session. There are bowls of sweets for our consumption at each table, I wonder if these are meant to keep the sugar levels up through the many talks that are to come. The main speaker for the weekend is from the USA and is a seminary professor, he is a friend of Derek’s. However, tonight Derek is doing most of the teaching. He outlines how Bishop John has placed a high priority on social action for Diocese J, “We exist to advocate for others…and holiness equals social action”. Social justice actions are a return to the ‘radical roots’ of Christianity. Derek uses the example of Dietrich Bonhoeffer, a German pastor who was executed by the Nazis in World War II for resisting Hitler, Bonhoeffer was a true radical Christian. Hannah Arendt is also mentioned and her concept of ‘the banality of evil’. The session finishes for the evening and we move over the wharenui for evening prayer, once this is over people start to get ready to sleep.

The next morning, we start with prayer before moving back into the dining complex for our first session with Kelvin, the visiting speaker. Colonialism is discussed before moving on to a reading by Jewish philosopher Martin Buber on the role of ‘the other’. Kelvin draws on Buber to suggest that God is

[20] Marae = a group of buildings and land that belong to a particular Māori tribe and usually include a meeting house and a dining hall.

actively present in the world through human history and that God meets us through being in relationship with 'the other'. Following Christ takes place on earth, in a body, and in connection with other life forms; Kelvin contrasts this with Christian theologies that are 'other-worldly, inner focused, and only care about getting to heaven'. Justice is God's kingdom breaking through into *this* world.

After lunch, Stephen arrives for the guest speaker slot. He begins by picking apart capitalism, neoliberalism, and 'the military-industrial complex'. He contrasts the biblical concept of jubilee, which advocates for the forgiveness of debt and stewardship of the land, with sinful structures of oppression woven into systems that exists solely for profit-making. Stephen gives an example where theology has been put into the service of unjust systems, the theology of extraction. Social action involves pushing back against these unjust structural systems.

By now it is hot in the room and we have been listening to people talk for hours. I find it hard to concentrate and fiddle with my pen and paper. There are a couple of participants in the workshop who continually challenge the speakers, indicating that there are a variety of views on social justice in the room. Their constant interruptions are dragging out the sessions and, combined with sitting in a wooden chair for a long time, are making me irritable.

Kelvin returns to the front and draws on one of the assigned readings by Cornell West to discuss racism and learning about the 'racial geographies' of your town or city. We watch a video clip from an African American theologian on the topic. The point of all this is that Christians should be a challenge to 'the empire', they should inspire 'creative resistance' and be vessels of hope, rather than cogs in an economic machine of injustice. After the evening session, there is night prayer again. This time our table leads it, I am asked by the table members to choose a song to sing. After over a year of fieldwork, I now know quite a few songs from the Rio Puro songbook and choose my favorite one…

SJ Teaching days

…It's a foggy morning as I walk slowly up the hill towards the Hub. Tori, one of the SJ participants, is coming down the hill and greets me. It's good to see her and the other students again, the last time I'd seen them was a month ago at their orientation time at Rio Puro. Today is the first day of their training phase on social justice and I'm the first speaker they will get to hear. Entering the Hub Erin is there to greet me and takes me to the

teaching room to set up my laptop. It's a small room dominated by a big table.

The topic is globalization, what it is, and how it links to poverty and inequality. These sessions aim to critically challenge the students about their assumptions on a variety of social justice issues. The students seem engaged and ask questions, although I don't quite think they understand the music video I use about Central American asylum seekers trying to get into the USA. We have a short break and then we go into the second session, it was supposed to be on colonisation but the speaker from Rio Puro hasn't been able to come at the last minute, so Erin leads an impromptu session on the topic of 'when helping hurts', is it always good to try and 'rescue' people in need?...

… Today I am teaching on privilege, inequality and equity as Neo, the original teacher, has had to pull out due to sickness. The students are engaged, even though they are very tired, in fact at the morning check-in that is all they can talk about, how tired they are. Winter is finally here, and the lack of light and cold seems to be getting to everyone.

We have a short break and then Erin begins her session of teaching on 'what to do with your privilege'. She tells the students that if you have privileges then you are also responsible for how you use them, especially with 'the power-brokers'. She tells them to be good allies, which involves learning to listen, being teachable, and acknowledging you are not necessarily the expert; "don't talk too much" and "it's not all about you". She then moves on to the topic of advocacy with illustrations from her own past experiences of setting up recycling schemes and working for the rights of migrant workers. She lets the students know what kind of parliamentary processes can be used to make submissions on legislation, using the Zero Carbon Bill as an example that the Diocese had been engaged with. Erin winds up her session and we break for lunch.

When lunch is over the SJ students and staff meet again and prepare to leave for a visit to an organization that supports homeless people. The students go in the van but there isn't enough room for Erin and me, so we catch the bus downtown. Upon arrival William, one of the organization's staff members, meets us and takes us through a warren of halls to an office where we sit around a big table. William tells us about his background and where he is from. The students ask him questions about the homeless people who use the organization's services. It is interesting and eye-opening for all of us. It seems from the questions the students ask William that they have little

> experience with homeless people. Once the talk is over we leave by the back door where there are already clients starting to line up outside for afternoon appointments. The students are going to help at a food distribution ministry run by Matrix, one of Diocese J's churches. They leave on foot, I have another appointment with Bishop Julia, so I say goodbye and leave...
>
> …The teaching room at the Hub is being used when I arrive so Gretchen, the students and I all wait in the room outside. Davina pokes her head through the door, she and Erin have been organizing the last-minute submissions on the Zero Carbon Act in the room. We go inside and get ourselves comfortable around the table. Today one of Diocese staff is teaching on human trafficking. She is part of a government task force on the topic as a representative of the Anglican Church and is very knowledgeable. She says at the beginning she wants it to be an interactive session, but she does most of the talking. The Anglicans have been working with several others, including the US embassy and the Vatican, to try to push for relevant legislation in New Zealand that can prosecute human traffickers. These prosecutions are hard to get. The speaker points out that 'there are too many white, middle-aged people at these tables', more minorities need to be included so their voices are also heard. She tells the students that human trafficking is linked to poverty, climate change, and the global commodity chain network. They are encouraged to make submissions to the government on human trafficking legislation and try to get their churches involved as well. Some of the students ask questions and we finish…

At the events described above I took notes on who was being trained, who was providing the training, the material that was used to teach from, the topics spoken about, and what theology was attached to the topics. Those being trained were, of course, all Anglicans, and mostly those who had some position of responsibility in their local congregations. There were all ages, although the first two events leaned towards an older age group, while SJ's training was only for young people. There were noticeably more women than men, and the men who were there tended to be older; the SJ students comprised only of females. A large majority of the attendees were Pākehā, with few Māori or other ethnicities. Those providing the teaching included both clergy and activists. Stephen was both an activist and a priest, while Derek taught from his role as a theologian, but was not involved in activism himself. Many of those teaching the material were well educated, often having post-graduate university

degrees. Quite a few worked in higher education or the government sector. The SJ tutors, for example, were from a wide range of careers and roles, including university lecturers, activists, NGO workers, community workers, and clergy. Except for the Bible being quoted, I often felt like I was sitting in a university lecture.

My demographic observations are consistent with observations from Lineham (2017) and Guy (2011) that Anglicans in New Zealand are older, educated, and middle to upper class, although due to the inclusion of the SJ programme there were more young people present than would have been expected. Dodson and Papoutaski (2017) have noted that social justice activism in New Zealand amongst young people is skewed towards educated, middle-class Pākehā females, which is borne out by my research when looking at the SJ participants who mostly fitted this profile. There was a dizzying array of topics that I learnt about during the various training events. This included racism, colonialism, resource extraction, commodity chains, homelessness, (white) privilege, neoliberal capitalism, globalization, refugees and migrants, poverty and inequality, human trafficking, unjust social structures, militarism, allyship, advocacy, and a lot about climate change. The topics were taught about from a range of resources and materials, both Christian and non-Christian. Martin Luther King was a popular source material, as was Derek's favourite theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Philosophers were well represented, including the works of Hannah Arendt, Martin Buber, and Judith Butler. The Bible was, for obvious reasons, also a core teaching material.

Having a wide range of knowledge, including philosophical ideas, politics, and academic material, seemed to be an important component for getting the most out of the training provided on social justice. Much of the material from sources such as Bonhoeffer and Buber can be considered complementary to an Anglican view of human flourishing, as discussed earlier. I noticed at one event I attended, a social justice 'peace' festival (see Chapter Eight), that the academic style of teaching was not for everyone. When the speaker asked us to discuss the concept of '*Imago Dei*' with our neighbour, the woman next to me shrugged her shoulders, "I don't have a clue what he's talking about".

Much of the teaching I observed would fall into the 'left' side of the political spectrum. Those doing the teaching tended towards progressive politics and understandings of social justice. I noticed that the progressive slant on social justice did not necessarily appeal to all who attended the various training activities, and led to some interesting and vibrant debates, as mentioned earlier, at Derek's weekend block course. While my core group of participants were highly interested in climate change and racial equality, it seemed a number of the people sitting in the pews in Diocese J saw things differently from what was being taught from the front. It has been noted by Lineham (2017) and Guy (2011) that, despite having some radicals in their ranks, traditionally Anglicans in New Zealand have leaned towards more conservative politics, tending to be centre-right voters.

A theological understanding of social justice underpinned most discussions in teaching times. These included the biblical concepts of prophetic confrontation of unjust powers (see Chapter Six), advocating for the widows (the poor) and the orphans (the needy), debt forgiveness through a year of jubilee (Leviticus 25), and the sharing of wealth so that all may flourish. Being good stewards of God's creation as caretakers of the earth, rather than dominators, was a common grounding for climate change teaching. I come back to social justice theology later in this chapter.

Preparing for protest

Closely related to learning about social justice was preparing for actual activist action. Erin and Davina spent a lot of their time prepping for social justice events including holding meetings, and many emails. Preparation also involved making up art pieces and props for different events, organizing tech support, contacting speakers, booking venues, and roping in family and friends to help. Stephen often organized special ecumenical services before a protest took place. These services were a way to prepare spiritually for the confrontation ahead, as described in Chapter Seven. Good preparation was important in order to get people interested and committed to attending the protests themselves. This part of Diocese J's social justice activism often took place both digitally and face-to-face, due to the large geographic area the Diocese covered, as outlined below from my fieldwork notes.

Webcast to organize protest against petroleum extraction

…I'm sitting in my living room staring at my laptop. The image on the computer screen becomes sharper and I can see Erin on the other end of the webcast. Although I can only see her, shuffling and other noises indicate there more people in the room with her. After welcoming everyone, Erin begins outlining how petroleum is extracted in New Zealand and explains that there is a conference coming up where the main petroleum extractors will be present. This is the conference that will be protested, mainly by attempting to blockade the venue to prevent attendees getting inside. Erin refers to the Paris Agreement that New Zealand signed where it agreed to reduce its carbon output. Citing the 'global responsibilities' that New Zealand has she asks, "as Christians how should we respond to this?" A short history lesson ensues on the anti-nuclear protests and work of Anglican priest George Armstrong who founded the Peace Squadron which sent boats in front of US naval vessels entering Auckland Harbour in the 1980s. "This is our history, and climate change is the new issue of our time" Erin says. She reiterates that petroleum exploration links to the upcoming debate on the Zero Carbon Act that Diocese J will also be involved in.

On the side of my computer screen there are some scrolling comments and questions coming up on the webcast page. At the actual venue there are a lot of older people present, including a few who seem to be used to their opinions being heard. They have a lot of questions. The conversation starts to veer away from the protesting to perhaps focusing on lifestyle changes instead, such as using less plastic, recycling, and taking public transport because, as someone points out, "aren't we being a bit hypocritical, how many of us drove here in our cars?" Another audience member pipes up that he thinks a theological angle needs to be considered, "we are a church. What is distinctive about our church is that we have a theological base from which to address these issues".

Erin steers the conversation back to the planned protest. She explains that there will be an opening ceremony for the activists involved that will include many different interest groups, churches, unions, environmentalists, students. The ceremony is a way to claim public space for the right to protest since the conference is being held in a private venue which doesn't allow the general public to attend. However, Erin acknowledged that many people are not comfortable with confrontational protesting, so she has come up with the idea of providing a 'prayer and reflection' space "so passers-by can notice there is a church presence". She also introduces the idea of a confession booth, where people can hear Christians apologizing for the way institutional Christianity has had a role in environmental harm. The point is

to do something quirky and to have conversations with people, as well as to make people think about greed and over-consumption. This seems to go over well, although some would prefer more obvious prayer and 'churchy stuff', rather than any type of actual protesting. A young woman backs Erin's idea saying, "it's a humble action to take". With this, the meeting ends and the webcast goes black…

Regarding the protest against petroleum exploration discussed at the meeting above, Stephen later released a statement as to why he was participating in the protest. He referred to two Māori chiefs who used non-violent resistance against British troops during New Zealand's colonial period at the village of Parihaka in 1881, saying "we stand in this tradition". He also referenced Anglican missionary Henry Williams who "resisted corporate and government acquisition of land and exploitations of resources in Aotearoa New Zealand before, during and after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (The Treaty of Waitangi) in 1840" (personal correspondence, 2018). St Francis of Assisi was included as an influence to preserve the natural environment, and Anglicanism itself was linked to Stephen's reason for protesting against petroleum extraction since "one of the marks of Anglican mission is to strive to safeguard the integrity of creation and sustain and renew the life of the earth." (personal correspondence, 2018).

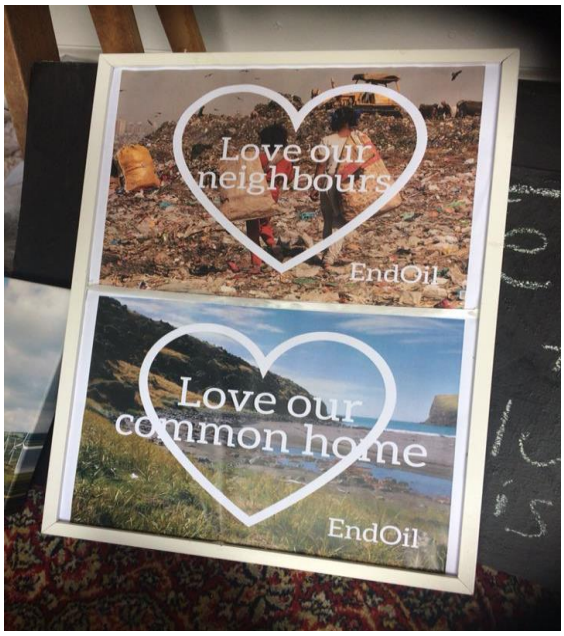


Image 2: Street Protest against Petroleum Exploration: From Participants Facebook page, used with permission

In the protest preparation phase what stood out to me were discussions and negotiations around what spaces protest should happen in and what were appropriate ways they, as Christians, should present themselves in these public spaces. Just as activism takes place 'somewhere', it also takes place through the assembling of real bodies. Judith Butler (2015) asks whose bodies is it that assembles in public spaces, for what reason is that space chosen, and who has the 'right to appear' to fight for social justice? She says, "who will be treated like a criminal…who will fail to be protected by the police…who will become the object of police violence?" (p.34). While many in Diocese J were interested in social justice, I had the impression that most wanted to avoid confrontation with authorities. They did not want to be treated like a criminal or be an object of police violence. This led to coming up with inventive ways in which to protest through occupying public space in a way that was meaningful, but also 'Christian'. Erin offered different alternatives for members of Diocese J to be involved in social justice activism, and most did not involve being arrested or chaining oneself to a fence. Participants could hold a sign, or take part in a public confessional booth, or engage in a peaceful sit-in; there were options.

Preparation for protest also involved deciding on which issues were important to the Diocese and warranted further attention, and which did not. One afternoon Erin and I were having a meeting when we heard a loud noise coming from outside. It sounded like church worship music. We left The Hub and followed the sound until we found a group of Christians who were having a protest of their own. The issue they had gathered about was that the prayer normally used to open Parliamentary proceedings in the New Zealand Chamber of Representatives had been amended to remove the words 'Jesus Christ' (Oxholm et al., 2021b; Patterson, 2017). A large crowd of Christians had gathered to pray, and play loud Christian songs, to proclaim that New Zealand was a Christian nation and that the name of Jesus needed to be reinstated (Oxholm et al., 2021b). Erin wondered aloud how they could gather so many Christians to protest about, what for her, was such a trivial issue as the removal of some words when she struggled to get even a modest number of Christians together to advocate for climate change legislation.

We returned to the Hub where I had an appointment with Bishop Julia. I told her what Erin and I had just witnessed and asked why they were not taking part. She said they were invited to participate in the protest but felt it was not a very important issue, they were more concerned with the structural issues of governance that caused poverty, inequality, and homelessness. Erin reiterated this view in a later interview

> *"[That] Christian viewpoint wants to talk about taking Jesus's name out of the prayer, abortion, the end-of-life bill, gay marriage. I think that conversation has taken huge amounts of energy, internal energy, that could have been spent on other things."*

The topic of the change to the Parliamentary prayer also came up when I interviewed Derek, "it's a secondary issue…Yeah, that's not a hill you want to die on".

Another noticeable concern that was missing from the official social justice agenda was that of abortion reform. At the same time Diocese J was gathering submissions on the Zero Carbon Act, which is discussed in more detail in the next section, the Government was asking for public submissions on legislation that would decriminalise abortion. This issue got major attention in the PEC orientated churches of the country, but it was not highlighted in Diocese J as a matter they had any major official interest in. Similarly, LGBTQ+ rights were a non-issue for most of my participants, with a number indicating that they approved of the decision by New Zealand's Anglican General Synod to allow for the blessing of same-sex unions.

Actions of Protest and Justice

Actual protesting by Diocese J activists took a variety of forms. There was participation in protest marches, solidarity vigils, sidewalk sit-ins, and signing of petitions. Throughout the time of my fieldwork there was an unusual amount of protest activity in New Zealand that had not been seen for many years on issues such as indigenous land rights, the worldwide 'Strike for Climate', immigration issues in the US, and the anti-racism Black Lives Matter protests of 2020 (McConnell, 2020). Vigils were particularly prominent during 2019 after the Christchurch Mosque Attacks. My participants took part in activism on all these issues, as well as long term social issues

such as homelessness and income inequality. The following vignettes describe some of these protests which I attended.

Service of Lament for unaffordable housing

> …It's a Sunday afternoon and I am standing on a vacant housing lot on a street corner. The sun is shining but the wind is chilly. A few people are milling about, and more are arriving every minute. Soon there about forty or so people on the empty lot standing in a semi-circle. Representatives are there from the Methodist church, the Tenants Union, and local politicians. A young Anglican vicar, with a guitar strung around his neck, steps forward and someone else starts handing round a paper with the 'order of service' for this service of lament. The Vicar explains that this site is Housing New Zealand[21] land where houses have been pulled down, but none rebuilt. Diocese J, particularly through the work and efforts of Erin, have organized this protest because they want to bring attention to the lack of social housing in New Zealand and pressure the government to build more. New Labour Party Leader Jacinda Arden will speak on this spot next week about her party's plans for social housing if they get into government and this lament is a way to 'prepare the land'. Services of Lament are taking place across the Diocese in three different locations over this weekend. Songs are sung in Te Reo and prayers prayed;
>
> *"We are here to lament the current housing crisis: that in our wealthy country anyone should be without an adequate home. We lament the lack of affordable housing…we lament the fact that keeping a roof over one's head is now such a source of stress…God, we lament that our society is failing to care for those in need. We pray for people on waiting lists and those who are homeless…The land where we stand was once housing, it could be housing again. It is waiting to nurture people who need somewhere to live…we stand to bear witness to the presence of God who gives us the capacity to imagine things differently, who calls us to deeper community, and who offers restoration and transformation."* (Service of Lament Prayer Sheet, 2017)
>
> I am thinking that it is probably only Christians that would consider lament to be a form of social justice and wonder if the non-Christians here understand what's going on. Bible verses are read out where God condemns those who oppress the poor; "this is the kind of fasting I want. I want you to stop people being oppressed" (Isaiah 58). The vicar then blesses the crowd,

[21] Housing New Zealand = The government agency in charge of providing public housing services for those on low incomes.

"May God bless you with a restless discomfort about easy answers…so that you may seek truth boldly…May God bless you with holy anger at injustice, oppression and exploitation of people, so that you may tirelessly work for justice, freedom, and peace among all people. May God bless you with enough foolishness to believe you can really make a difference in this world, so that you are able, with God's grace to do what others claim cannot be done". (Service of Lament Prayer Sheet, 2017)

Everyone is handed a pack of seeds and told to walk around and throw them on the ground as an act of hope that new life and housing would spring up in this place. Clutching our bags of seeds, the group spreads out over the lot, sprinkling and murmuring prayers as we go. This is the final act of the day; we wander off to our cars and leave.

Image 3: Service of Lament for unaffordable housing. Credit: Murray Wilson (2017)

Standing in solidarity with refugees and asylum seekers at the US Border

…It's nearly dark as I step out into the cold, biting air, well rugged up in my coat against the winter wind. I wait to cross the road in the rush hour traffic, and then walk up the path to where a group of people are gathering. Stephen, who has organized this protest, is helping some young people set up microphones and the speaker system. It's sunset, the cool blue sky is deepening into black, the horizon glows orange, and birds are squawking, lots and lots of them as they settle on the surrounding trees to roost for the night.

More people are arriving now. Young, old, people with children, a few teenagers. There is a man with a big camera taking photos. Stephen takes the microphone and calls everyone to attention; he welcomes us in Te Reo

and brings us greetings from local iwi[22] representatives. He talks about why we are there, which is to stand in solidarity with families at the US/Mexican border where children are being separated from their parents. There is a woman with bright pink hair who comes to the microphone to speak about why we should support families staying together. Then a woman from the Latino community and her daughter tells the gathered crowd what it is like to be a refugee. She switches between English and Spanish and thanks the Lord for the good people of New Zealand who welcomed her family here.

Stephen takes back the mic and says they have a basket of paper dolls up the front to represent the families being split up at the US border, he asks people to come up and take a paper doll and put it on the paper Mexican flag that has been set up in front of the mic area. A young man steps up to mic and starts to sing Dave Dobbyn's song 'Welcome Home' while people come forward and place the paper dolls on the flag. Stephen finishes the time with a prayer in Māori, he stumbles over the pronunciation but is trying his best. After this people drift off, back to their warm homes on a cold Friday night. The whole thing has only taken 20 minutes…

Protesting wasn't the only way used to engage people in Diocese J in social justice activism. Many of them were part of NGO's and community groups that were working within civil society for social change. This included exercising their democratic right to make submissions to the New Zealand government on issues of importance. The government allows for public submissions on legislation before it is voted on by politicians, and the Anglicans were well versed in using the public submission process to make their voice heard. The big issue that they were working on during my fieldwork period was climate change legislation, specifically the Zero Carbon Act, which was designed to lower New Zealand's carbon emissions. By mid-2019 Diocese J had collected close to 500 submissions calling for the Zero Carbon Act to be passed.

Creating submissions on the Zero Carbon Act

… I arrive at the church ready to make a submission on the Zero Carbon Act. The meeting has been organized by Erin, she is already here and greets me quickly, introducing me to her husband, Greg. They are setting up computers and other activities for the event. Davina and Gretchen are also here helping Erin.

[22] Iwi - Māori extended kinship group, tribe; "often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor" (Maori Dictionary Online, n.d.)

People congregate around a pot of soup and some bread for a light dinner, and then the signal is given for the meeting to start. I move towards the front pews and sit between Greg and Gretchen. It is a big old church with lots of stained glass, a rainbow LGBTQ flag, and big halo, UFO-like, lights. The lights are trippy and the pews wooden and traditional. There are about fifty people assembled now, Erin introduces herself and opens with a prayer. Then she invites the first speaker to the podium, who is a lecturer on the environment at the local university, and an Anglican. He gives a brief explanation of what Carbon dioxide is, how it is causing climate change, and legislation that has been introduced worldwide that is attempting to limit it, such as the Paris Agreement signed in 2015.

Greg, who works as a lawyer for a government department, then continues the presentations by giving an outline of the legislation in New Zealand, or lack of it, and the background of the introduction of the Zero Carbon Act. Erin returns to the stage and invites the university professor, Greg, and Davina to the stage to outline the types of things you can put in your submission. Erin thinks the government should aim for an ambitious target date to cut carbon by. The professor wants a focus on adaption to climate change strategies. Davina also says to aim for an ambitious target and Greg reminds people us of the inclusion of Treaty of Waitangi obligations and iwi consultations. Erin then introduces the different activities available to make a submission. There are blackboards to write a statement on and take a 'selfie' photo with, which will be sent to the government commission. There is a tree arrangement with paper leaves to write prayers on the concerning climate change. There is a big roll of paper with some newspaper articles on climate change and you can write your prayers and thoughts on the paper. At the art station there are photos and a piece of paper to do your submission on ('mindful colouring'). A prayer station is up the front for those who feel overwhelmed, anxiety, guilt, or fear, about climate change. Finally, there are three computers on which to make an immediate written submission.

I start at the tree and post my prayer on a leaf. Then I move onto the art station where a mosaic has been set up on the floor and paper at desks. I choose a photo of a coastal beach because it reminds me of where I grew up. The lady running this activity says these are 'soul drawings' and to be creative; but "please only use the pastels with a cloth so the colours don't get mixed up". There is a woman that I met at the Diocese training day the Saturday before. We talk as we colour in our masterpieces. Once I finish, I head off to the newspaper articles, and then to the chalkboards. I write on the boards but don't take a selfie.

Images 4-5: Submissions on the Zero Carbon Act. Credit: Participants Facebook page, used with permission

Like the vignette above, I noticed that nearly all the protest and activism events that were hosted or organized by Erin, Stephen, and others, involved some kind of materiality; that is the use of physical materials as representative symbols (D. Miller, 2005). Materiality is discussed further in Chapter Seven on spiritual practices. Here I will note that seeds, paper dolls and flags, and crafted trees allowed for sensory, embodied connection to the issues at hand. There was also symbolic movement involved in this form of materiality. The seeds were thrown onto land so that is would 'sprout' new houses, paper dolls were picked out of a blanket and reunited on a flag in family groups, the bare tree received paper leaves with prayers for the earth. The use of materials not only engaged the senses but also allowed for active participation from those gathered.

The material symbolism linked to theologies associated with social justice. The vigil for new government housing was to "prepare and bless this land" so that it would once again provide shelter for the poor. Having a house was important because allowed for the flourishing of "deeper community and relationships". Oppression and exploitation of the poor, both in New Zealand and at the US Border, was not conducive to bringing God's Kingdom to earth, indeed God was angry at such things, hence the need for protest action. The throwing of seeds had a biblical connotation and can be connected to the Parable of the Sower in Matthew 13 who throws seeds without knowing if they would grow but believed in faith that if the soil was prepared well a good harvest would follow. Steve Taylor (2019) notes that this parable can be seen as an invitation

to grow by creating a space between "what is immediately visible and the eschatological end" (p. 45), which in this case was justice for those with no homes. Theologies of social justice were an important part of understanding the underlying foundations for my participant's actions and were a major theme in my interviews.

Bringing in the Kingdom – Understandings of Social Justice

One of the themes woven throughout my fieldwork was the theological concept of the Kingdom of God. It is examined numerous times throughout this thesis because it was an underlying foundation of why social justice was important to my participants. Awareness of how my participants engaged with concepts of social justice came not only from attending events with them but also from interviews where I asked them to describe what social justice was. The themes that emerged linked the Kingdom of God with social justice through ideas around relationships, confronting the powerful, identifying with those living at the margins of society, and maintaining hope.

Justice through Relationship

God's Kingdom was based on relationships; between God and humans, between humans and God's creation (animals, the earth), and between people themselves. For my participants, bringing others into connection with God, his flourishing Kingdom, and each other, was the ultimate goal of social justice activism and took place through building strong relationships. Davina said

> *"Social justice is about relationships, about building relationships with everyone…it's about recognizing the humanness we all have and how we connect together. It's about advocating for the rights of people and wanting to see change for them".*

Relationships took place through listening to each other, listening had theological importance. Derek pointed out, "social justice is about the God who hears the cries of the poor. As a church we say, 'God has heard you'". Erin echoed the importance of justice involving being heard

> *"It [social justice] is a state of being where all people can flourish as God made and intended them to… social justice requires everyone's voices are heard and listened to by decision-makers".*

Because social justice should be based on relationships, offering charity was considered a suboptimal way to help the poor. Most participants conceded that charity work was necessary for the short-term but should not be considered a permanent strategy. Erin's opinion was "it's a first response, an immediate response but not a long-term transformation…if there is not a space for reciprocity, then it is a charity response". What Erin was alluding to is that charity is an 'easy way out', associated with individualism and being detached from having relationships with those in need. Without reciprocal listening and being together in relationship all that would be obtained was short-term relief. Davina made this point clearer, "I tend to lean away from charity work because of the distance there is in giving money to someone you may never meet…I don't feel charity is very relational".

Pete was the leader of Mosaic, a church in Diocese J that consisted mainly of young people. Mosaic ran a free food store out of a shipping container on the grounds of an inner-city Anglican church. I observed the store in action one night on my way to attend an event at the church. People lined up to get bread and hot soup. There were all types of people, some who looked homeless, a few people in business clothes, some students, and a couple of backpackers. Pete explained that Mosaic members went around local cafes and eateries who donated their left-over food, this was then handed out at the food store for free. On first encounter, the food store seemed to be a typical charity operation, but Pete did not view it that way. He was proud that they were the only establishment in the inner-city redistributing food with no strings attached, unlike most food banks which required a form from a welfare agency before they could help. People who used the store also volunteered at it as well. Pete explained how their focus on building long-term relationships made it different from charity work or social services such as the local City Mission

> *"The food is not actually the goal, it's about relationships and empowering people on the edge…it's high agency and I see people grow there…This is not just about feeding the body. We have a tradition now, every time there is a public holiday, we throw a big dinner because all the other food kitchens are closed. We had one last night, there would have been about 80 people there who use the*

store, they all cooked too and helped, and a bunch of our people. It's carnage, but it's beautiful".

For my participants building and maintaining relationships was an important part of social justice.

Confronting the powerful

Building a just society also meant confronting unjust social structures. For my activists, actions of social justice were inseparable from their faith and involved dealing with spiritual powers as well as earthly ones. This could be picked up in the use of the phrase 'powers and principalities', which refers to a verse from the Bible which says, "for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places" (Ephesians 6:12, King James Version). For Stephen, "I think that principalities and powers are literal institutions and people driving those institutions that are looking for self-gain". The application of Ephesians 6:12 used by Stephen differs from many PEC Christians who tend to view powers and principalities as literal spiritual beings, such as demons, who they wrestle against in prayer (K. Armstrong, 2000). Instead, for my participants standing up to 'spiritual wickedness' was linked to the Biblical Old Testament prophets who confronted corrupt kings. Derek said, "social justice is a prophetic stance against unjust social structures". As such, part of social justice activism involved opposing the powerful, who were perceived to exert control over the poor and marginalised, especially in the public sphere through the use of police and other institutionalised state forces.

Stephen strongly embodied this viewpoint and was the most confrontational of the activists I met in Diocese J. He was often found on the frontlines of protest marches, carrying placards or a megaphone, or linking arms with fellow protestors to form human blockades. He reflected, "I've loved being in this [protest] space because it's about confronting the powerful, represented by the police and capitalist profiteers. Power is denied to their victims". However, Stephen hadn't always been so radical. He had come from a Pentecostal version of Christianity that did not look kindly on social justice activism. It was through becoming an Anglican that his passion for protest had come to the fore

"I've always had a heart of compassion… but it wasn't until I became a pastor in an Anglican Church where there is a broader understanding of it [social justice]…clearly the church and the Diocese value supporting refugees, fair pay for nurses and teachers, and a whole bunch of socially engaged processes".

Davina had grown up in a Christian household in North America with a version of faith that did not consider confronting those in power as something Christians did. It was at university that she learnt about climate change and 'creation care'[23] ,"I had that 'ah-ha moment', of 'wow, this is important to God, this is what Jesus would have been making a ruckus about'". Living in New Zealand had exposed Davina to Christians who had a history of social justice activism, something she felt so aligned with her personal values that she eventually went to live in an intentional community that was part of the Catholic Worker movement. It was here that she met activists who had taken radical actions in the name of Christ

"*There was a guy that popped the Waihopi Spy Base dome…and I was like 'this guy is amazing'. I hadn't heard anything like that before, I hadn't heard of any other Christians that were trying to get in the face of the government and go insane for Jesus"*.

Eventually, Davina got a job with Diocese J as their creation care and environmental advocate, which involved trying to get parishes more involved in creation care through projects such as a low waste challenge and setting up recycling facilities in church kitchens. Davina was also involved with a secular youth-led environmental organization that was championing the Zero Carbon Act. Davina viewed her activism as following in the footsteps of Jesus himself, who was confrontational in the face of injustice

"Jesus would have been a hard-out activist! He is telling us to flip tables and protest against the government, we are supposed to be doing that…Jesus has become the Jesus of corporate America and not the Jesus of the people from the underside".

[23] Creation Care = A Christian theological model of environmentalism that teaches God wants humans to look after and care for the environment through a framework of stewardship.

Justice on the Margins

Another pervasive theme was my participants' understandings of social justice as involving spaces of marginality and being 'on the edge'. Regarding protesting, Stephen linked it to being like Jesus, who he viewed as a marginal person who confronted the rulers of his time, "Jesus was very much outside of the camp, or on the edges…and all the parables of Jesus predominantly are about those who are outside of the system". Stephen related to those on the margins because he had been marginalised himself when he decided to journey beyond PEC Christianity to a more progressive version of Christianity

> *"I found myself leaning more and more towards people who were on the fringe of the church. Or who were post-church but had a longing for spirituality, for mystery, and for faith. I had a massive shift in my understanding and interpretation of scripture regarding LGBTQ people. When I went public that I was supportive of gay people 80% of my church friendship base shifted, a whole bunch of people disassociated themselves from me".*

This identification with the margins was linked to the relationship theme mentioned earlier and led to Stephen offering a listening ear to many who had problems with institutional churches

> *"Wearing the [clerical] collar becomes a flashpoint and a magnet for conversation… initially I didn't want to be associated with the negative stereotypes, but I realize now that what they haven't had is someone who actually listens [to] them. I've been in that space and listened and for the most part, I absolutely agree. [I say] 'you are right in how angry you are that the church has supported and has invested their funds in coal mining or offshore oil exploration, or even weapons manufacturing' and there is a shock and a surprise that they have an ally".*

Both Stephen and Davina viewed social justice activism as a space to push back against those who sought to take up and control spaces for their own greedy activities that ruined the environment and put profit first. They had experienced anger at injustices that the powerful inflicted on others. Anger was a common issue for other activists

they worked with also and led to burnout. Stephen noted that, “they are carrying so much anger and frustration…burnout is such as issue amongst activists”, while Davina commented, “I find if I’m not feeding my spiritual health it just turns to anger and frustration”. This anger was alleviated to some extent by being present to the hope their faith provided them.

Hard-won Hope

Social justice action was associated with the Kingdom of God as being a space of hope, where God’s love for the poor and oppressed is incarnated and brought into real life. Erin and Davina reflected on the importance of hope when it came to the issue of climate change activism. For them, their faith gave them hope even if the future looked dark. Davina said

> *“In these activist spaces, there is a lot of passion…but often there isn’t that hope that…everyone will be living well in the future. I’m really glad I have hope beyond what humans can do because it [climate change] does feel quite hopeless and depressing”.*

For Erin, while she had hope, she didn’t think that God would save humans from the consequences of their actions, “we have hope that God will restore the earth. Not everyone has hope in the light of climate change…[but] we are not living in a way that the earth can sustain, the earth will live on, but we may not”. Coles and Hauerwas (2008) note that hope is essential to democratic participation and reimagining politics so that it can “resist the politics of death [and] inspire, nourish, and inform a dense wild imagination…we can be people of hope in a world too often devoid of it” (p.8). Hope is important because victory is never assured in struggles for justice, however, “hope…presses us to act without knowing what the future may hold” (Honig, 2017:32). Coles argues that activists need to witness to and build “lived pedagogies of hope” (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:3).

Erin, Gretchen, Mary (Bishop John’s wife) and I attended a weekend conference on Christian social justice during my fieldwork time and took part in a workshop on climate change where the theme of hope was raised by the workshop leader, Kristy. Kristy was a young American woman who was a climate change activist, she pointed out during the workshop that many people were very anxious about climate change.

According to Kristy, Christians could contribute to alleviating this anxiety by providing hope, courage, and teaching on how to deal with fear. It was evident throughout my fieldwork that hope was an ingredient that was required for social justice activists to continue long-term and not burnout.

Contextual Influences

As well as the training, preparation, and actioning of social justice, Diocese J had some contextual factors that influenced the outworking of its activism. One, which has already come out predominately in this chapter, is the background of many of the participants in PEC Christianity, as well as the further influence of Emergent neo-monasticism. This factor linked to the other main contextual influence, that of the neo-monastic Bishop of Diocese J. The influence and presence of PEC Christianity is discussed in other chapters as well, here I outline how it formed understandings and practices of social justice for my participants.

Evangelical Pentecostalism and Emergent Neo-monasticism

Many of the main activists and training staff in Diocese J were not 'cradle Anglicans' and came from PEC church backgrounds, including Bishop John, whom I discuss in more detail in the next section. Most of participants I interviewed had not come directly into Anglicanism from PEC churches but had detoured first through Emergent and neo-monastic forms of Christianity, such as Common Ground (which was originally independent and not Anglican), before ending up Anglican. My participants comparing of PEC Christianity with Anglican, and Emergent/neo-monastic understanding of social justice was a particularly noticeable theme in the interviews. Scholars have noted that regarding social justice, Emerging Christians are progressive and lean to the political left, except on abortion (Cox Hall, 2017; Markofski, 2015). Many view structural poverty, inequality, environmental degradation, and racism as sin (Markofski, 2015). The neo-monastic side of Emerging Christianity has a particularly strong focus on social and ecological justice (Cox Hall, 2017; Dancer, 2008; Markofski, 2015; Peters, 2014), as discussed in Chapter One.

For most of my participants, PEC Christianity came up short where social justice was concerned. Derek, for instance, noted that "Pentecostal and evangelical churches never really see social structures as strong-holds". Stephen discussed how PEC

theology that focused on the' end-times' and the return of Jesus to earth impeded wanting to bring about God's flourishing Kingdom in the present, "if you hold to biblical literalism regarding eschatology[24] you will dismiss, or even want to accelerate injustices because you think that what the world requires in order for Jesus to come back". For Derek, the seeking of personal spiritual experiences and the focus on getting individual souls to heaven was a factor why PEC Christians were less interested in challenging structural injustices, although it hadn't always been that way

> *"If you look at the whakapapa[25] of Pentecostalism and where they come from, back into the mid-19th century… they were really socially aware. But then you fast forward to the 21st century and it remains still tied to the revivalist tradition that focuses on ecstatic experiences and personal conversion…they have become unhinged from the deeply socially active aspects that are part of the tradition they come out of".*

What Derek was referring to was a widespread withdrawal from social justice work by fundamentalist Protestant Christians in the early 20th century due to concerns about a lack of focus on 'saving souls' (K. Armstrong, 2000). My participants were interested in social injustices, and many felt PEC churches did not allow for the type of protest and activism they were interested in, but Anglicanism did (see Chapter Eight).

Some participants did not totally discount PEC influences. Pete felt that that PEC Christianity's enthusiasm and experiential focus, especially when combined with the contemplative nature of neo-monasticism and Anglicanism, could be a potent, hybrid form of social activism that drew on the best of both worlds. He reflected that his church, Matrix, was an example of this, "we try to hold this matrix of Pentecostal spirituality, missional zeal, Anglican tradition and [intentional] community". Neo, however, had reservations about his former intentional community, Common Ground, becoming Anglican and moving away from its PEC and Emergent roots. He felt Anglicanism had blunted Common Ground's former social justice radicalism rather than enhancing it

[24] Eschatology = theological concept pertaining to what happens at the end of time
[25] Whakapapa = genealogy, lineage, descent

"The nature of social agitation has changed [in Common Ground]. In our pre-Anglican days… our members were getting arrested every second week for actions they were doing…Back then there was the emerging church stream and there was the incarnational missional scene, and we saw ourselves as within that last one… it was about social change, we did not start churches. Whereas nowadays, since becoming part of the Anglican Church, Common Ground's efforts have [become] about revitalizing the local church".

Both Taylor (2019) and Guest (2017) have observed the same phenomenon that Neo pointed out. Which is that when emergent and neo-monastic groups join mainline denominations, they often get diverted from doing social justice work, and end up reviving or starting churches instead. However, most of my participants did not seem to mind this factor, viewing the addition of Anglican support and theological frameworks as outweighing the burden of increased institutional requirements. And it helped to have someone at the top who came from the same background as themselves.

Bishop John

There was no getting around that Bishop John was right in the centre of the promotion and encouragement of social justice issues and activism in Diocese J. He came from an evangelical Baptist tradition and had become Anglican later in life. His background in neo-monastic/Emerging Christianity made him a rarity amongst Anglican Bishops, and his ordination had made media headlines in New Zealand due to his unconventional appearance and way of dressing.

Bishops in the Anglican Church have considerable power, and John was using his to resource funding and staff positions to encourage a stronger focus on climate change, poverty and inequality, and other justice issues. He was also able to restructure and tweak some aspects of institutional Anglicanism to allow for flexibility and room for innovative experimentation. This was important to young clergy like Pete whose church, Matrix, had become Anglican recently, "we have someone at the top who gets us…Bishop John held back the wall for us and created room so edge groups like ours could find our feet". This was attracting young people to Diocese J, which had a thriving youth ministry and pool of eager and willing people who were involved in

protests and getting submissions together for climate change action. Many participants felt that they were part of something unique and special, noting that Anglicans they knew in other Dioceses in New Zealand were not having the same experience when it came to the promotion of social justice. One participant had noticed this was not always appreciated by Anglican leaders outside Diocese J, "because people are attracted to this Diocese and not theirs. But that's just the nature of who John and Mary are…they attract committed and quality people".

Nearly all my interview participants mentioned Bishop John and his 'heart for justice', they saw him as a mentor and someone who 'walked the talk' by going on marches and protests himself. This was due to his experience of founding and living in the intentional community of Common Ground. His and Mary's years of practical experience was appreciated by Dan, "they have on the ground experience. He hasn't just gotten stuff from a whole lot of books". It was also mentioned that not only was Bishop John passionate about social justice, he was also well organized and intentional about making it a focus for the Diocese through enabling training and opportunities to take part in protests and activism.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of how social justice was understood and enacted in Diocese J. Although the training drew on progressive, more left-wing understandings of social justice, the participants attending the training mostly reflected the typical demographic makeup for both Anglicans and young social justice activists, as did the preparation events. The exception was the SJ programme, where both teachers and participants had more progressive and radical views on social justice issues and activism. SJ was aimed at people between the ages of 18-25, which meant it was not representative of the wider Diocese, but it did show that young people were given the opportunity to train and participate in social justice activism in a different way to those who were older.

Spatial aspects were present, with negotiations and compromises being made as to what activist spaces were appropriate for these Christians to be in, and what issues were important enough to become involved with. Within spaces of preparation and

protest the use of sensory materialism was noticeable, as bodies engaged symbolically with justice though the writing of prayers and the scattering of seeds.

All of this was underpinned by the theological concept of Kingdom flourishing, which was worked out practically through providing training and preparation to bring this Kingdom to bear on social ills through protesting and activism in public spaces. Understandings of the Kingdom were based not only in Anglicanism, but also influenced by Emergent, neo-monastic theologies of social justice as a form of embodied mission, or 'being missional'. Being missional is based in relationships and a way of 'becoming'. Indeed, this is how Kingdom justice manifested itself, through embodied participation in local communities. For it is in local communities that the marginal is encountered, and social justice is worked out in the everyday. As such I now move to examine how my participants 'confronted the empire' through living in intentional communities.

CHAPTER SIX: CONFRONTING THE EMPIRE - BECOMING THROUGH COMMUNITY

"Out here on the edge,
the empire is fading by the day.
In a world so weary of war,
maybe we'll find a new way" – 'Welcome Home', Dave Dobbyn (2005)

When I began this research, I was focused on democratic participation and how it was worked out through protest and activism. I did not expect my research would lead me to spend time in a monastery. The monastery of Rio Puro was one of Diocese J's 'Intentional Communities' (ICs). The notion of 'community' was a prevalent theme throughout my fieldwork, present both as a spatial and geographic entity, and an ideal. The spatial entities were the Intentional Communities themselves, and these communities were formed from a conceptual understanding of 'community' based in neo-monasticism and, to a lesser extent, Anglicanism. In this chapter, I discuss 'community', both the intentional ones many of my participants lived their daily lives in, and their ideas of what 'community' entailed. The ICs of Diocese J were an entity of Becoming that formed my participants by providing a place of belonging, 'rootedness' and grounding in a local community, a structured daily pattern of life, and emotional support, all which helped to sustain their social justice activism.

I introduce the ICs of Diocese J and explore their daily 'rhythm of life', including an ethnographic description of time I spent at Rio Puro. Then I examine the a theological concept that was mentioned in the previous chapter also, the Kingdom of God, and how it was an underlying basis for understanding what constituted flourishing community for Diocese J. In this case, the Kingdom was present through a framework of 'rooting and grounding' which embedded participants into local communities. Theologically, rooting and grounding relates to the 'incarnational' presence of Christ, described in emergent/neo-monastic language as 'being missional'. To be missional entailed 'doing life' together and being part of a community family.

Next, I consider how my participant viewed their ICs as a marginal space, one in which they saw themselves living 'on the edge'. Through living in these alternative

communities, they felt they were confronting the structural powers of 'empire' and challenging neoliberal consumerism and capitalism. Living in community was not only helpful for providing practical support for my participant's social justice activism but was also in and of itself a form of social justice. I link these aspects of Becoming with the anthropological concept of 'communitas', albeit a 'mashed up' version of it.

Making new worlds – Intentional Communities

Many of my participants lived in intentional communities (ICs). Intentional communities consist of groups of people who are not biologically related that live together in a shared physical space such as a house/s or on communal land (Meijering, Huigen, & Van Hoven, 2007; T. Miller, 2010). Intentional communities are usually based on shared religious/spiritual, economic, or ideological ideals, values and purposes (Lockyer, 2007; Lopez & Weaver, 2019; Paulson, 2017; Sargisson & Sargent, 2017). As well as sharing ideals they also share material things such as food, garden tools, or even partners (Kamau, 2002; T. Miller, 2010). Intentional communities come in many different forms and include monasteries, eco-villages, and hippy style communes. Religious ICs tend to last longer than secular ones due to structured internal disciplines such as prayer (Sargisson & Sargent, 2017).

These communities are intentional; that is they are a "purposeful creation" (Lopez & Weaver, 2019:197). Their members choose this way of life voluntarily (Lopez & Weaver, 2019; Sargisson & Sargent, 2017) and commit to following a formal agreement, rule, or way of living set down by the community (Sargisson & Sargent, 2017). Those who join ICs are usually discontented with the norms and values of the current social order (J. P. Lockyer, 2007; T. Miller, 2010). Living in an IC is an attempt to construct an alternative way of life, which is often anti-capitalistic (J. Lockyer et al., 2011; Lopez & Weaver, 2019). Sargisson et al (2017) point out that "all of these communities are experiments attempting to create what the founders and members believe to be a better life" (p.159).

Intentional communities are most prolific and experience the most growth during times of societal instability and uncertainty (S. L. Brown, 2002). As such, theoretically, ICs have been linked by some scholars to utopianism and communitarianism (T. Berry, 1999; S. L. Brown, 2002; Sargisson & Sargent, 2017) with anthropologist Susan Love

Brown (2002) noting the ties between religious millenarianism[26], mysticism and ICs. Academics who have studied ICs argue that one of the main drawcards for living in one is because they provide a sense of belonging (Lockyer et al., 2011; Lopez & Weaver, 2019). It can be a way of finding "fulfilling social relationships" (Lockyer et al., 2011:10) in contrast to the individualism, loneliness and social anomie of modern Western societies (Bellah et al., 1985; Etzioni, 2017). The demographic makeup of those who are most likely to look for belonging through joining an IC are white, middle class, liberal-leaning, well-educated people who want a move to 'simple living' (Lockyer et al., 2011).

Ethnographic studies of ICs have focused mainly on the Western world, especially in North America. Sargisson and Sargent's (2017) exploration of ICs in New Zealand, such as the Riverside Community, is particularly relevant for this thesis. Their research found that New Zealand has the highest number of ICs per capita in the world (ibid). They link this to colonialist views of New Zealand as a type of utopia which attracted people to the other side of the world; "for early colonisers, New Zealand was a land of opportunity and a perfect location in which to begin a new life" (Sargisson et al 2017:11). They also remark that New Zealand benefits from having two traditions of communalism from which to draw on for IC living, Māori and Pākehā. There have been few ethnographic studies done on ICs in New Zealand and the ones that have tended to concentrate on eco-communities (see Sargisson, 2003; Williams, 2017).

Anthropology and Intentional Communities

Much of what anthropologists have understood about ICs is similar to the general description above. Using ethnographic methods, anthropologists who study ICs usually focus on how the communities actually function (Brown, 2002; Lockyer et al., 2011). Rather than utopianism, anthropologists are more likely to theoretically link ICs with communitarianism (S. L. Brown, 2002; Etzioni, 2017), religious revitalization movements (Stein & Stein, 2017), or 'communitas' (Cox Hall, 2018; Kamau, 2002). Communitas theory is grounded in the works of sociologist Emil Durkheim and anthropologist Victor Turner and was understood by them as the community feelings

[26] Millenarianism = "belief in a coming ideal society" ("Millenarianism," 2020)

and bonding created by the emotional resonances of collective rituals (Kamau, 2002; V. Miller, 2015). For Durkheim, collective rituals helped to bind communities together and were thought to counteract the individuality of modern societies (V. Miller, 2015; Misztal, 2003). Ritualistic events were understood to create liminality, that is an 'in-between' space where the usual societal rules and hierarchies did not apply (V. Turner, 1969). Liminal conditions can include a rite of passage, a pilgrimage, or a boot camp (Kamau, 2002). Liminality and being 'on the margins' were a common theme I heard from my participants. I discuss communitas further in the last section of this chapter through examining how intentional rhythms of life, 'rootedness' and discourses of marginality formed a particular version of communitas in Diocese J.

Neo-monastic Intentional Communities

Intentional communities are a common feature of neo-monastic Christianity. The majority of the ICs in Diocese J were formed around neo-monastic ideals. Neo-monastics pattern their communities on those of medieval monastic orders such as the Benedictines and Franciscans (I. Adams & Mobsby, 2010), and draw from contemporary, but older, spiritual communities such as Iona in Scotland and Taizé in France. As mentioned in Chapter One, most neo-monastics are disaffected young evangelicals, as such the majority of those who join neo-monastic communities come from PEC backgrounds.

Well known neo-monastic communities include The Simple Way, founded by Shane Claiborne, in Philadelphia, USA, and Rutba House founded by Jonathan Wilson-Hartgrove in North Carolina, USA. Both Claiborne and Wilson-Hartgrove are well-known speakers and authors in Emerging Church circles. Claiborne's book 'The Irresistible Revolution' (2006), and Rutba Houses' 'The 12 Marks of Neo-Monasticism' (2005) are foundational texts of the neo-monastic movement. Neo-monastic communities often start independently, however many are now affiliated with, or are formally part of, mainline Christian denominations especially the Anglicans/Episcopalians (Taylor, 2019).

Neo-monastic communities structure themselves in different ways, however, there are some commonalities. There is often a novitiate[27] period before a new member intentionally commits to the community's 'rule' or covenant (Cox Hall 2017; Rutba House, 2005). The rule generally consists of a shared, communitarian 'rhythm of life' which structures each day and can include such activities as morning and evening prayer, practical work within the houses themselves and out in local communities, and shared meals (Bielo, 2011; Spellers et al., 2010).

Unlike monks who live in monasteries, those living in neo-monastic communities do not take vows of celibacy and families participate, their commitments are not for life, there are no special clothes, and members often hold secular jobs outside the community (Cox Hall, 2017; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). Neo-monastics have been referred to by some as 'the new friars' (I. Adams & Mobsby, 2010; Bessenecker, 2006) since they do not stay behind closed walls and desire to be fully integrated with their local communities.

Anglicanism and Intentional Communities

To a lesser extent, Anglicanism had a role to play in the ICs of Diocese J. When the Church of England was formed, its founder, King Henry VIII, banned monastic orders in England due to their association with Catholicism. However, from the middle of the 19th century, Anglicans began to revive religious orders of men and women who took monastic vows and lived according to a 'rule' of life (McCoy, 2020). Most Anglican monastic orders are based on doing works of mercy and helping the poor, and less on contemplative cloistering. Anglican religious orders can make up their own 'rule' or choose from Catholic monastic orders, such as the Rule of Benedict or St Francis.

As well as historical religious orders, the Anglican Communion also recognizes varying types of intentional communities. These include Third-order[28] 'dispersed' communities who live according to a rule but out in their local communities, contemporary ICs such as 'Common Ground', and the youth-focussed 'Community of St Anselm', based at Lambeth Palace in the UK (https://www.stanselm.org.uk/). The history of Anglican

[27] Novitiate = a period of training and reflection before being admitted to a religious order
[28] Third Order = people who follow a minor form of a monastic rule of life who are not initiated monks, priests, or nuns (Johnson, 2020)

monasticism has made it attractive to Emergent Christian neo-monastic communities, especially since the initiation of the 'Fresh Expressions' movement by former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams in the early 2000s (Guest, 2017; Taylor, 2019). Fresh Expressions came from the findings of the "Mission Shaped Church Report" in 2004 which acknowledged the continuing decline and marginalisation of Christian influence in British society (Brackett, 2010; Croft, Mobsby, & Spellers, 2010). The report recommended the innovation of new forms and types of Christian community (Jefferts Schori, 2010). Jefferts Schori (2010) describes Fresh Expressions as seeking to "recover many strands from the church's broad tradition – icons, labyrinths, body prayer, monastic community" (p.vii). Fresh Expressions was set up as an official organization under the umbrella of the Anglican Communion and provides resources and funding to innovative projects and groups who are trying to 'do a new thing', including those setting up neo-monastic communities. Ethnographic research by Steve Taylor (2019) found that the support provided by Fresh Expressions made these neo-monastic communities more sustainable and less likely to fail.

Intentional Communities in Diocese J

Diocese J had a number of intentional communities (ICs), with each IC consisting of a group of houses that form one community. There were slightly different arrangements of space for each IC, although all were made up of groups of people who lived together in shared housing. Each IC had different demographics, consisting of combinations of single people, couples, and families with children. These communities were 'intentional'; its members had made a conscious decision to join a particular IC and committed themselves for an extended period. Many of those whom I interviewed lived in an IC.

The Youth IC

Dan and Adele oversaw the Youth Ministry of Diocese J, including the running of a Youth IC that consisted of thirteen houses with around 60 young people between the ages of 18 to 25. The houses were spread across different suburbs in the city, and two in a town in another part of the Diocese. Dan and Adele lived with their two children (a third was on the way), and fifteen young people in the inner-city, spread across five connected houses. Before our interview they sat themselves down on the old, comfy

sofa opposite me as I tried to open one of the wooden-framed windows to let in some air into the sunny but stuffy room at The Hub. Having cut myself on the window lock, Dan disappeared to find a plaster for my finger, before settling back down next to his wife. According to Adele, any young person could join the Youth IC if they were 'teachable', "we don't have a thing of 'you make the cut'. It's like 'do you love Jesus? Are you passionate and teachable? Then sure, [you can] come live with us".

While 'anyone could join', like most of the ICs I observed in Diocese J, living in the Youth IC came with high participation expectations. Young people living in the houses had a busy daily life which included helping ('serving') their local churches and community through such activities as running youth groups and after-school clubs. One of their community houses had recently hosted a pancake breakfast for local youth. The houses maintained an 'open-door' policy to their communities. Dan said

> *"we always have people coming through. One of the houses in [suburb] are prime examples of that. Every day, from 3.30 pm onwards, they have people flowing in and out. Young guys and girls from what have been dubbed the toughest street in the city, coming in and out of their house. Twelve-year-old boys who are prospective gang members, all that kind of thing, they are always in our houses".*

Dan and Adele had been interested in the concept of intentional communities for quite a few years before moving into one. Adele told me that her and Dan's first date had been to hear Shane Claiborne, an advocate for ICs, speak. Before taking up the Youth Ministry position with Diocese J they had owned their own home and Dan had a well-paid job in the civil service. They weren't even Anglican at that point. Through a friend, Dan and Adele had meet Bishop John a few times at different events. One day Bishop John contacted him and asked if he wanted to "go out for a beer", Dan laughed as he recalled the outing, "Adele said, 'how did it go?' and I said 'that was the most intense beer I've ever had. It felt more like a job interview than a beer'. And it was!"

It was through this meeting that Dan became aware that Diocese J was looking to hire a full-time Youth Minister, he applied for the job and got it. Although they were both passionate about intentional community living it had meant sacrifices, including a large financial one as Diocese J could pay nowhere near the amount Dan had earned

previously. Selling their house and giving up their jobs had also cost them some friendships

> *"the things that are the most important for [those friends] is their house, their car and advancing their career. That has created a tension because we live in a way that confronts that strongly and as a result there are some friends that we don't see as much as we used to".*

The houses in the Youth IC were owned by Diocese J, meaning that although Dan and Adele were not paid much, they were assured of free housing in the inner city as long as they lived in the community.

Matrix's IC

Dan and Adele weren't the only Diocese J leaders running an IC. Pete was the leader of 'Matrix', a church full of millennial-aged and Gen Z people. Matrix had started as an independent, non-denominational Emerging Church but was now officially Anglican and a part of Diocese J. It had an IC consisting of approximately 30 people living in varying houses around the city, Pete and his wife lived in one of these houses with others from the church. To join this IC an applicant had to be a member of Matrix and commit to a minimum period of one year, after going through a 'discernment'[29] process. Unlike Dan and Adele's community, the people in Matrix's IC were older and many worked forty-hour weeks. It consisted primarily of single people and couples without children.

University IC

Another IC in Diocese J centred around the local university. It consisted of a few houses across one suburb. Bishop Julia lived in a house in this IC, along with her husband and children, and three single women. The other houses included many students, university staff and their families, and Diocese staff who worked with students in a chaplaincy role. Due to its student demographic, this IC was particularly well represented amongst my social justice activist participants. Davina, the Diocese environmental advocate, and Gretchen, one of the SJ leaders, had lived in this IC. I

[29] Discernment = "a structured process that helps [someone] consider God's call through a combination of reflection, prayer, conversation and learning" ("Period of Discernment," 2014)

spent some time ‘hanging out’ with this community and partook in their daily prayer rhythms when I was with them, as well as being a recipient of their generous hospitality through meals and giving me a room to stay in during portions of my fieldwork. Davina had moved on from the university IC to live in a house that was part of the largest IC in the Diocese, ‘Common Ground’.

Common Ground

Common Ground was a group of intentional communities founded by Bishop John and his wife Mary in the mid-1990s before they became Anglicans. Common Ground’s 14 communities were located predominantly in the geographic area where I did my fieldwork, but they were expanding to other parts of New Zealand. Rio Puro was considered the ‘mother house’ of Common Ground. Over 100 people lived in this IC from all ages and stages of life. Many of the original members of Common Ground had come from tough backgrounds, including homelessness, difficult family situations, and poverty. This was because Common Ground houses were intentionally situated in marginal, lower socio-economic areas.

Sitting in a wooden panelled office on a late winter’s afternoon Neo, a former member of the IC, explained that up till 12 years ago Common Ground had been independent with no official ties to any particular Christian denomination, although there were strong unofficial links to the Baptist Church and the Catholic Worker movement, “we saw Common Ground as our church”. He described how the long-term grind of working with the poor and marginalised often caused burnout for Common Ground members. This had led Common Ground’s leadership to search for a more holistic and ‘deep’ form of Christianity than the emotive PEC version they were used to. Common Ground already had relationships with many groups who engaged with contemplative versions of Christianity, which led them to explore monastic spiritual practices and ‘rhythms of life’. Neo reflected that, “increasingly Common Ground was starting to see itself as…a new kind of monastic order, where we took on covenantal vows”.

Around 2008 Common Ground members began to form relationships with the Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia and eventually became officially Anglican, designated as a contemporary monastic order. According to Neo, the association with the Anglicans came about for a variety of reasons including a match

with their contemplative spiritual practices and history of monastic orders, the connection to the Church of England's 'Fresh Expressions' movement discussed earlier, and John becoming ordained as Anglican clergy. When John became Bishop of the Diocese, the model of Common Ground intentional community living moved from being at the edges of Diocese life to the centre. The neo-monastic practices and material used and produced by Common Ground, such as prayer and songbooks, were used by the other ICs in Diocese J.

I spent time in two Common Ground communities, the contemporary monastery of Rio Puro and a smaller community based on a farm near a rural town, while doing fieldwork with the SJ students. The vignette below describes the sensorium (Connolly, 2011) experience I had of visiting Rio Puro.

Rio Puro

> … I indicate to turn off the main highway and am soon driving down winding country roads, past farms and groves of trees, heading into the mountains until there a sign appears announcing my destination; 'Rio Puro Monastery'. The CD I've been playing from Dave Dobbyn on the two-hour drive out here clicks over as I head down the gravel driveway; 'welcome home, I bid you welcome, from the bottom of my heart'. Surely that is a good sign. Driving slowly to avoid the potholes, my car descends the steep driveway into a valley surrounded by hills. It is quiet, the main sound is birds singing and heatwaves shimmer above fields of long, dry grass on this hot summer day. The hillside opposite is bare and messy with pine debris, the trees have just been harvested.
>
> After parking my car, I head down to the main building to find Jack and Abigail, the leaders of SJ who have invited me to spend a few days with their students as they have a week's orientation to their social justice programme. Jack comes out on the deck to greet me and I go inside to join the students, who are listening to a lesson on a theological, Anglican understanding of social justice, given by Derek, a young priest from Diocese J. Gretchen and Mark, who are also SJ leaders, are here as well.
>
> There are several main buildings which consist of a big hall and then a dining room. A large barn type building sits empty. Around the buildings and up the drive are small units and houses for the community of people who live here at Rio Puro. Many of them are surrounded by gardens full of various vegetables and flowers. There are sheds, farming implements, children's toys, chickens, and a family of doves in a cage. It's a hodgepodge of many

different elements, mostly old and run-down looking, but also cosy and comfortable. The kitchen is homely, dominated by a big wooden table. There are photos of the community members, work duty schedules, a big pantry and crockery cupboards. A section of the kitchen wall is taken up by a tall cabinet where teacups and saucers of all descriptions tumble over on another, waiting for the next tea party. Outside, if you listen closely, you can hear the river at the bottom of the property.

At midday we hear the clanging of a bell calling the community to midday prayer. As a group, we walk down a hill, across a wooden bridge, and up a gravel path to a small chapel. Inside the door there is a basket of prayer and songbooks, each person takes the books and descends the small steps to find a space to sit on benches around the sides of the chapel. The books contain original material written by members of Rio Puro, as well as prayers and songs sourced from other monastic communities such as Taizé in France and Iona in Scotland. Many songs are in English, but others are in Te Reo Māori, the indigenous language of New Zealand.

Quiet descends and one of the community members tells us to turn to page such-and-such in the songbook. The songs are sung acapella and are simple and repetitive, like a chant. Our voices echo off the concrete floor and descend to the wooden roof, held up by thick wooden poles made from old railway sleepers. A large window frames the fields and trees outside. There is a low wooden table in front of the window and on it is a long bowl full of rocks. The rocks are used to symbolize loved ones that members of the community are praying for. There are many candles on and near the table. Behind me, large French doors are open and let in a welcome breeze. In the late summer air, the cicadas are in full song, as are the tuis. In the silence between prayers, a feeling of sacredness is palpable.

Mid-afternoon I go to the kitchen to help prepare dinner with Georgia, a new community member who has only arrived a few weeks before. Georgia is in her early 20s and isn't quite sure how much food we should prepare for such a large group. We chat as we chop up vegetables and cook the pasta. Soon members of the community, plus guests and the SJ group start trickling into the dining room for dinner. There are some families with children, single people of all different ages. Guests from the surrounding neighbourhood have also turned up bearing dessert in the form of ice-cream. We sit around the big wooden table; others sit outside on the deck and at picnic tables. After dinner the community mills around in the evening twilight while assigned members clean up. Eventually, the bell in the chapel rings again and we head back down the gravel path for evening prayer, this time with lit

candles and the sun setting slowly behind the tall grass outside the main window.

It turns out that preparing dinner is the easy part of the community mahi[30].The next day, after breakfast and morning prayer, involves pulling up gorse and blackberry bushes from a very steep slope and moving it to the middle of the field, where it will be burnt off. Big green cicadas fly round, and one lands on someone's arm. It's huge. SJ participant Anke screams and pulls her hat down further over her ears, one had tried to fly into them earlier. It's very hot out in the open sun. I last 90 minutes on the steep hill before having to return to our cabin to pump my asthma inhaler, however, the SJ girls work hard all morning at their task before returning to the chapel for midday prayer and then lunch…

The objective of the community at Rio Puro was that life is better lived together and for others. Living in Common Ground's ICs formed its members through a specific type of becoming and, like the other ICs I've discussed, one of the main factors in this becoming was rhythm.

Intentional Rhythms

As noted earlier in this chapter, ICs are intentional entities. People have chosen to live in these communities and committed themselves to the communities' 'rule', way of life, and ideals and aspirations (Lockyer, 2007; Lopez & Weaver, 2019; Sargisson & Sargent, 2017). The main 'intention' of most communities in Diocese J was providing a space for belonging and spiritual formation through a 'rhythm' of daily life that included prayer, listening to teaching, mentoring, and service in the community. Dan pointed out

"we are very intentional in how we create and nurture and foster belonging…if we look at Christian tradition…or the early church, that's all Acts is, a bunch of intentional communities. There was a deliberate focus and intention behind why they were living together. I think that's where we differ from other [communities]".

[30] Mahi - Māori for 'work' or 'activity'

Like Dan, Davina made the distinction between communities that were intentional and those that are not when discussing the difference between the Catholic community she had lived in previously to her current Common Ground community

> *"It was quite similar in many ways…but it [Common Ground] is more structured. Like, 'this day we do girls group, this day we do boys group', whereas the Catholic community was like 'this protest has come up' or 'so-and-so met this person on the street today and they need a place to stay, can they stay here?'…it was pretty free-flowing".*

Being intentional meant honouring and sticking to commitments made to one's community. Those who joined the ICs of Diocese J did not dip in and out, this was life 24-hours, seven days a week. Dan said

> "*there is no off switch, this is our life. Some nights you get text messages at 10.45, 'hey can I come up and talk' and you end up a 19-year-old sitting at the end of your bed. People are like 'that's not healthy, you need boundaries'. We tried it and then we thought 'what the heck are we doing, we will just roll with it'".*

Intentionality was worked out practically in the ICs through their 'rhythm of life'.

Rhythms of life

Having a 'rhythm of life' was common to all the ICs in Diocese J, and I became intimately familiar with the term during my fieldwork time. I heard the word 'rhythm' over and over interviews, in sermons, and general discussion. The concept of rhythms was applied to communal living, to prayer, to periods of time, and embodied movements of the everyday and the sacred. Rhythm as it relates to spiritual practices is discussed further in Chapter Seven. Here I focus on the communal aspect of rhythm, which contributed to the participants becoming by providing a structured day, stability, and spatial grounding. Becoming in this way helped to build a foundation to go out and do social justice work.

Adele explained what a typical day would look like in their IC house

"*we eat together, and we have a rhythm of prayer. We do prayers at [name] church twice a day, at 8.15 am and 5.15 pm. Everyone is expected to be there providing you don't have work or university lectures. We share our resources, and we serve in the local parishes. We think that is a core part of doing life together".*

Matrix's IC also had a rhythm of life, which involved offering hospitality, daily and weekly prayers, and service to the community in the form of a free food service to anyone needing it. Pete pointed out that many of Matrix's members held down full-time jobs, which gave them a different rhythm of life to Dan and Adele's community

"It makes their lives very full but it's doable. There are Monday hospitality nights where we invite anyone around. There is Wednesday house night, and then another night they will be helping at [food distribution]. Then there is church on Sunday and every evening we gather for prayers. We expect people to make three or four of those evenings a week".

The University IC held to a similar rhythm of life as Mosaic, consisting of morning and evening prayer, rotating communal dinners, bible study and mentoring groups, and hosting student nights at the university chaplaincy building in their snug café.

Common Ground's rhythm of life at Rio Puro is described in the fieldwork vignette earlier. Davina described what living in her inner-city Common Ground community entailed

"The first three stages are called formation…You have meetings with your team for discipleship purposes but also bonding and getting to know each other. We have specific activities and community development outreach that we have in the week, they are specific to our team".

Dan explained that one of the advantages of having a daily rhythm was that it helped to stop burn out, "[It's] being intentional about things like Sabbath. I think when people think of Sabbath, they think about lounging around and watching Netflix and doing nothing. We teach our young ones it's not that, it's about doing what brings us life". Dan's comment about the Sabbath was referring to taking time to rest and refresh, this was incorporated into the community rhythm to alleviate the stresses of modern life. Members of The Crossing Community in Boston, USA explain that the

point of having a rhythm of life is to "make the same choices over and over again until they make us more like Jesus" (Spellers et al., 2010).

I noticed during the fieldwork that the rhythms of prayer gave structure to the day. In the beginning getting up at 7.00 AM and taking yourself to a cold chapel was uncomfortable and strange, but after a while became something the body expected to do when in a particular setting, like the monastery at Rio Puro. As will be discussed further in the next chapter, the combination of repetitive, ritualised spiritual practices with a structured and set daily routine was calming. This was because it took some of the anxiety out of every-day life because there was less choices to have to make. This links to the literature on ICs used earlier that noted the rise of ICs in chaotic and uncertain terms. In a chaotic world, stability can be a greater need than continual and unpredictable change. Neo-monastic rhythms of life can help to create this certainty, especially when linked to local community living.

The Incarnational Kingdom - Rooted in the local

Living in neo-monastic communities is closely linked to discourses of localism and being 'rooted' to one's neighbourhood (Bielo, 2011; Taylor, 2019; Wilson-Hartgrove, 2008). Locally rooted living is considered a 'mark' of neo-monasticism, according to '12 marks of Neo-Monasticism' (2006) from the Rutba House Community. Cox Hall (2017) points out that "neo-monasticism is an everyday program for utopic living that draws on themes of rootedness and stability" (p.461). Rootedness and attachment to a local community can involve buying local products and helping neighbours in practical ways such as tutoring, gardening, child-care, or just being hospitable (Cox Hall, 2018). Localism is tied to stability, another important value in neo-monasticism. 'Putting down roots' in neo-monastic communities provides stability that contrasts with the fast pace of contemporary life (Keenan, 2002). Stability can provide energy for being involved in the social justice work so common to members.

Anglicanism is also rooted in local communities, in geographic areas called parishes. Each parish has physical church buildings, Dormer et al (2003) have argued that this "territorial embeddedness" (p.13) means that parish vicars are often very aware of the challenges in their local communities and have "contextual, embodied and personal knowledge" (Dormer et al, 2003:50). Adams (2018) notes that parish life focuses on

the microscale of everyday life. In this way, the Anglican church has been a "polity of presence" (Dormer et al, 2003:45) in their local communities. Being locally embedded means Anglican parish churches often provide a base for social services and a point of contact for social justice initiatives. However, in New Zealand and elsewhere, this territorial embeddedness is changing due to the decline of members in Anglican churches. The physical church buildings are in peril and are increasingly being closed (Kilmister, 2020) or sold off. Many parish congregations are becoming a liminal entity in their communities (Collins, 2010).

Being missional

In Emerging Church language the concept of grounding oneself in a local community is called 'being missional' (Bielo, 2011; Taylor, 2019; J. Wilson, 1998). My participants frequently used the term 'missional', with Pete describing Mosaic's ICs as 'missional communities'. Being missional does not mean the same thing as traditional missionary work, which is often associated with colonialism and imperialism (McLaren, 2006; Rivera-Puddle, 2016). Bielo (2009) notes that "being missional means seriously cultivating personal relationships" (p. 226), it is seen to be the opposite of proselytising (Marti & Ganiel, 2014). Evangelizing through methods such as street preaching and handing out literature is viewed as short-term and inauthentic, because it is not based in a relationship; relationships prevail over verbal proclamations of the gospel (Bialecki & Bielo, 2016). Being missional is an all-of-life commitment rather than a one-off, fleeting event. Longevity, what theologian Eugene Paterson calls "a long obedience in the same direction" (in Spellers et al, 2010:150) is highly valued amongst people living in neo-monastic intentional communities.

Being missional is based on the theology of the Kingdom of God already outlined in Chapters Two and Five. Those who see themselves as missional locate the Kingdom of God as dwelling primarily on earth (Adams and Mobsby, 2010; Cox Hall, 2018). This differentiates them from PEC Christians who are more inclined to understand the Kingdom of God as being principally based in a transcendental space called heaven, a place where Christians go when they die (D Miller & Yanomori, 2007; Wright, 2008). To be missional is to have a "present-focused eschatology" (Markham, 2010:16) that is grounded in the here and now of everyday life (Tienou & Hiebert, 2006). Missional

Christians “find Jesus in their neighbours and such proximity enables greater insight to live fully in the world” (Butler Bass, 2012:187). Croft et al (2010) also state that being missional involves “walking alongside one's neighbours” (p.xiv). The ICs of Diocese J endeavoured to be grounded in their local communities and neighbourhoods. Dan pointed out that, “the vast majority of what we do concentrates on a local level. It’s the only thing we can really influence”.

For many of my participants finding Jesus in your neighbours was also based in the theological concept of incarnation, that is “invoking the biblical presence of Jesus on earth” (Bielo, 2011: ebook). Neo described the purpose of Common Ground as being incarnational, “it’s that incarnating impulse…we moved into neighbourhoods and our primary emphasis was getting to know people over cups of tea and being there day in and day out…we said to our neighbours ‘we are here for you”. Being incarnational involved the embodied, everyday dwelling of God in local communities and outside of church buildings. It involved being ‘deep’ and not shallow by putting down roots, immersing oneself, and being committed to those living in physical proximity. Stephen said, “I see it [community] as incarnational, its immersion…I immerse myself in that community and those people”. Being incarnational allowed one to put down roots in a local community and to belong to and become within a bounded, geographic space.

‘Doing Life Together’ – Familial Belonging

Another way that Diocese J’s ICs helped its members feel connected to ‘the local’ and rooted in place, was through providing a sense of belonging and being part of a family. As already mentioned, relationships and their formation and maintenance are one of the core values of neo-monastic living (I. Adams & Mobsby, 2010; Jones, 2008; Taylor, 2019). People joining these communities understand that they may not get always along with other members, and there will be tough times (Kamau, 2002). However, they covenant to work out their differences because the community is envisioned as a family (Taylor, 2019). Being part of a family is difficult work sometimes and working out differences “shapes and forms their character” (Cox Hall, 2017:458).

The ICs of Diocese J saw themselves as families and had all the challenges that come along with that, as Adele made clear

"we are trying to do family, it's not just that we are trying to live together [like flatmates]. It's even physically like family… like this morning the buggers left half the dirty dishes from last night and my kitchen is tiny, and I have to make lunches and I was like 'aargh'. But that's family, it's not because we live with a bunch of young people, it's just what they do".

Being a family was something that many in the Youth IC were looking for, according to Dan and Adele they wanted a place to belong

"we were created to be in relationship, to belong, and society tells you…the only thing you need to belong to is yourself. Community is the reflection of the spiritual truth that we are created to be relationship. One of our girls, she said 'when I came here, I didn't really have friends and now I have family, and I have a safe place where I can come home every day and know I'm supported. I'm not alone and I'm not lonely'".

Belonging to a community was linked to being safe, authentic, and able to explore difficult issues that young Christians often had questions about. Community was also referred to as a 'container' of belonging that allowed the young people to make a break from their biological families. Adele mused that

"the houses [are] a container for them to be able to ask hard questions, to unpack their faith, sit in the discomfort of 'this is not what I thought'…our girls can come and say, 'how far is too far with my boyfriend?' I'm not going to flip out. 'That's a good question, let's have a chat'. This is a safe environment for them to do that".

Pete noted that the speed of change in contemporary society gave young people in Matrix's communities anxiety about belonging and that lack of belonging amongst millennials had led to high rates of mental distress

"there seems to a sense of constant conflict in the world at the moment and a lot to care about… Choice anxiety is huge. Too many choices. What will I belong to? What will I give my energy too? …we have an epidemic in mental health, my guess is that most of our people have some form of anxiety [and there are] a lot of mental health disorders that are manifesting in young adulthood."

Belonging to a larger group of communities, not just their own, also helped those leading the varying ICs in hard times when burn-out and disappointment started to creep in. The term 'crew' was often used in this context, one's 'crew' provided accountability, support, belonging, and care. According to Adele, "you have a core crew around you to hold you accountable and love you through everything…when stuff got too hard and we were tired there is a safe place to say, 'we are struggling, help us'".

Being part of an IC encompassed a worldview that was communal and interdependent; individualism is associated with being lonely (Markofski, 2015), whereas "neo-monasticism is counter to individualism 'gone wild'" (Cox-Hall, 2017:456). Connected to Pete's earlier comments on anxiety choice, he also reflected that for the young people in his church

> *"they are so individualised and customised… their lack of consideration drives me nuts sometimes. That may be a hundred people in the room and it [the sermon] was never going to land perfectly for everyone. It wasn't just for you. It's like all of life is a podcast or Netflix episode you can curate".*

My participants repudiation of hyper-individualism is not only neo-monastic but also has a background in Anglican understandings of society and the 'common life'. Former Archbishop of Canterbury and academic Rowan Williams (2005) has called for a reinvigoration of community life and structures where individuals give up some of their rights so that others can 'be seen' and looked after. Communal flourishing will lead to individual flourishing (Beech, 2013). A communitarian approach that seeks a balance between "individual rights and social responsibilities" (Thomas, 2005:209) is proffered as a solution to loneliness. The individual can be enveloped by the community and afforded a life of dignity and justice (Dancer, 2008). As well as providing a stable space of belonging, community is also a place to practice an 'alternative body politics' (Yoder in Coles, 2002) of resistance to money and power.

Intentional Community as an alternative to Empire

Part of the process of Becoming in Diocese J involved living in an IC which not only provided a rhythm of life and a place to belong, but also an alternative framework

through which to live differently from 'the norm', which was perceived as being based in neoliberal captialism. Rutba House (2005) listed the another 'mark' of an intentional community as 'relocation to the abandoned spaces of empire'. Scholars studying neo-monastic Christians have noted the importance of this concept for their participants (Bielo, 2011; Markofski, 2015; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). As discussed in Chapter Five, for neo-monastics 'Empire' refers to the societal structures which favour the powerful who oppress the poor and leave the downtrodden to fend for themselves (Claiborne, 2006; Wilson-Hartgrove, 2008). Just as Jesus opposed the Roman Empire through non-violent action, neo-monastics should not 'get comfortable' in unjust systems of power (Keenan, 2002; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). Instead, they intend to undermine the empire through alternative forms of living. Stephen, for example, viewed 'empire' as something to be opposed, "the church is not meant to cooperate with the empire, we are called to subvert it".

Edges and margins

Part of being an alternative, anti-empire community was to live on the 'edge' or 'at the margins'. Most neo-monastic communities globally, especially the earlier ones, are in poor or run-down sections of large cities (Bielo, 2011; Marti & Ganiel, 2014). Cox Hall (2017) says "they [neo-monastic communities] are experiments in living through liminality" (p.695). Being 'at the margins' and liminal living is a strong theme noted in most academic literature on neo-monasticism (I. Adams & Mobsby, 2010; Cox Hall, 2017; Dancer, 2008; Johnston, 2011; Packard, 2012). Kamau (2002) points out that those drawn to ICs in general often see themselves as being marginal and 'living on the edge' of societies. Theologian Kevin Ward (2013) draws on Victor Turner's concept of liminality and thresholds to argue that it is in marginal spaces that God is most active in societies and communities.

Living on the margins encompassed several meanings and praxes for my participants. Firstly, some of the ICs, especially those in Common Ground, were in suburbs that were impoverished, marginalised, and somewhat chaotic. The people whom they were most interested in building relationships with were from marginalised groups. Secondly, living on the edge was to be precarious. Pete mused that the precariousness of living at the margins made one's faith deeper and the call to challenge empire

stronger, “there is something about being on the edge that makes prophetic voices sharper”. Neo had a similar observation, “identifying with the margins is being precarious, it can draw you a lot closer to Jesus”.

Thirdly, for those like Stephen who didn’t live in an IC, being at the margins applied to a community they decided to belong to. For Stephen this was an activist group who were frequently involved in protesting, marching, and blockading events, such as a petroleum conference, “Jesus was very much outside of the camp. He was on the edges. I found myself leaning more towards people who were on the fringes”.

Dan, Adele, Pete, Davina, and Neo all discussed the challenge of staying marginal and on the edge whilst being part of an institutional entity such as the Anglican Church, which tended to draw one away from the edge and into the ‘centre’. One way of alleviating this tension was that Bishop John had made use of the Fresh Expressions movement to categorize most of the ICs as a ‘Pioneer Mission Unit’, which meant they were not subject to all the institutional rules and regulations of the Anglican establishment. Even so, it was a struggle at times to maintain a balance, Dan said, “to be honest this is probably the most ‘centre’ thing we have ever done”, while Davina reflected that “it can be a real challenge to try to get somewhere now that we are at the centre”. Neo pointed out that for Common Ground the edge/centre dynamic was particularly fraught

> *“Common Ground hasn’t left those [marginal] communities. They still live there. But personally identifying as being on the margins, maybe that has changed a bit. Now they are at the center of this institution and occupying some very key leadership roles…I think being part of such an established, very privileged church like the Anglicans can take that sense of precariousness out of the equation”.*

As noted previously most of my participants could be categorized as middle to upper class. Cox Hall (2017) says that “moving to an ‘abandoned space of empire’ is something only the privileged can afford” (p.460). Erik Carter’s (2012) research on neo-monasticism left him wondering if “the rush of white people to the inner-city ghettos could be construed as do-goodism” (p.282). Living on the margins was a choice intentionally made by those living in the ICs, unlike many poorer people in the local

communities they were living in. I met people throughout my fieldwork who had previously lived in one of Diocese J's ICs but left, returning to their former well-paying careers. They had the option to leave the edge and return to the centre if they desired. This factor left me wondering how local communities themselves viewed these ICs, and how participants high social capital and connections with a well-off institution such as the Anglicans affected an ICs ability to truly live on 'the margins'.

Another angle to consider regarding marginality and being on the edge is that more and more Christians in Western nation-states view themselves as being marginalized and pushed to the edges of secular society (Oxholm et al., 2021b). PEC Christians in particular feel that their beliefs and views on such issues as LGBTQ+ rights and abortion are not considered valid by those in power and society in general (Noble, 2014). Being marginal seemed to be a conflicted subject for Anglicans in Diocese J. My mainly millennial participants were sure that Anglicanism was now marginal in New Zealand society, however the sense I got from many of the older Anglicans I encountered was that they thought the Anglican Church in New Zealand still had considerable political and civic leverage and influence. Neo reflected that "the Anglican voice presumes [it] ought to be shaping societal arrangements". The reality is that although Anglicanism used be the dominant expression of Christianity in New Zealand and Australia, it and other mainline denominations are now increasingly overshadowed by large, evangelical non-denominational mega-churches (Oslington, 2016). This is due to the older demographics of Anglicans, as Erin said, "Anglicans are aging and shrinking in numbers and resources…the average age is in the 70s and 80s".

For some of my participants leaving PEC churches and becoming Anglican was perceived as not only being on the edge of secular society but also to be marginal Christians as well. However, despite the numerical decline in Anglicanism, becoming Anglican had made it easier for the previously independent ICs of Matrix and Common Ground to live at the edge, due to the financial resources and empty buildings that were available. Pete pointed out, "the great thing for us is that the buildings and the resources are already sitting there empty, we just don't have the leadership. If we can train the leadership and disciple them, everything else is there for them, houses [and] buildings." In this way, paradoxically, the centre was an important node of the

assemblage for enabling the continued existence of marginal, 'edge' living in Diocese J's ICs.

Challenging consumerism and capitalism

For neo-monastics, part of subverting empire and bringing God's Kingdom to earth involves critiquing consumer capitalism (Marti & Ganiel, 2014). Cox Hall (2017) links this aspect of neo-monasticism to wider degrowth and anti-consumerism movements. An example can be seen in one of Bielo's (2011) Emergent research participants who "considered conspicuous consumption a sin" (eBook). The opposite of consumerism is simplicity; "neo-monastic communities articulate a desire to live more simply…they have minimal possessions" (Adams & Mobsby, 2010:25). Cox Hall (2017) draws on the work of Shane Claiborne to explore his 'theology of enough' where he urges people to live sustainably, not waste resources, live within their means, and value relationships over 'stuff'. For Marti and Ganiel (2014), "Claiborne radicalizes a critique of consumerism, corporate greed, and the pursuit of middle-to-upper class status and comfort" (p.150). Neoliberalism and its ensuing global reach are also part of 'empire' and are to be countered through what Packard and Sanders (2013) have called 'resisting corporatization'.

Neoliberal capitalism was seen to be a problem by many of my participants. For Davina, "capitalism is an issue. I've put a negative frame over capitalism in general…the whole system is stuffed up. It needs to be scrapped and reimagined in a way that is equitable and just", while Erin said, "there is growing inequality because of neoliberalism. The rich are getting richer, and the poor are getting poorer". Within the ICs there were many initiatives to try to counter gratuitous consumption and the ensuing environmental degradation. These included growing their food, using and constructing community gardens, buying clothes and furniture at second-hand stores, sharing machinery such as chainsaws, lots of home cooking, dumpster-diving[31], recycling, having beehives, sustainable waste bins, relocating old houses or building their own with ecologically sustainable materials, and installing composting toilets. All the official Diocese J cars were in the process of being converted to hybrid or electric

[31] Dumpster Diving = retrieving items and goods from large, commercial containers that have been thrown away by retailers and/or food outlets.

ones. When reading back through my fieldwork notes, becoming by 'living in simplicity' was a noticeable theme in the ICs. It was particularly obvious when visiting the second of the Common Ground communities I spent time in with the SJ participants, as I describe here.

Common Ground Rural Community

> …I drive down a gravel road to a collection of buildings set by a river, park next to a car in the long grass and put on my gumboots. Walking down the driveway I see large areas of garden on one side, and overgrown fruit trees on the riverside. There is an old house up ahead, but I don't know if that's where I'm supposed to go. I see there is another house further on and walk towards it. There is also an unfinished house in the process of being built opposite that one. Just at that moment, I see SJ leader Mark appear from the doorway of the first house and turn back.
>
> Mark greets me and introduces me to Paul, who has come from the house I was heading towards. I ask him about the house we are about to enter, this community has only been running for a few years, but the house looks very old. Paul tells me they brought it from an army base that was selling off old stock, they had it relocated on a truck. In its former life, it had been a schoolroom. Once inside I can see evidence of this in the old blackboard that was still attached to the wall. It is like stepping back in time. All the floors are wooden and there is an antique coal range (converted to a wood burner) in the kitchen. It's the same kind my Grandmother had. There is old furniture and some of the students are sitting there. I greet them and sit down on a cosy, ripped chair. Gretchen asks me if I want some tea and I say yes. The other students turn up, they have been out helping to milk the cows, which is done every morning the old-fashioned way, by hand.
>
> Paul comes in and leads a teaching session. It's on the journey of food; where it comes from, a history of agriculture and how we got to industrial farming. He illustrates this by having a parsnip and a block of chocolate in the middle of the floor and asking which we prefer. He discusses food deserts and gives the example of the suburb where he used to work, although it's more a 'food swamp' he says, since there was an overabundance of shops selling fried and fatty food. It's an interesting talk and holds the student's attention. When he finishes, we go outside to the shed to get gardening gloves. It's cold and cloudy as we head off across the fields to get to the blackberry plants we will be digging out. What is it with Common Ground communities and pulling up blackberries!?

At midday, we walk back across the fields for midday prayer at the house. I can see the loft upstairs where the SJ students are sleeping. We sit in silence as the prayer starts and looking out the window, I see swaying grass and trees, the sound of the river is calming, and the wind can be heard. It is very peaceful. I watch the sun play on the old wooden boards. The prayer is similar to Rio Puro, I know the songs. They don't use rocks. We reflect how we can be resilient like the blackberries. There is a poem by Mary Oliver about autumn.

When it is over, we go back to the kitchen to get ready for lunch. I try to help cutting up the home-baked bread but I'm not very good. One of the community members tries to show me how to cut it but my slices are still huge. Others have gone out to the gardens to pick lettuce and tomatoes. Lunch is the bread, homegrown vegetables and salad, cheese, and beetroot relish. There are also guavas that have been grown on the property, they are tarty and delicious.

After lunch, we move over to the shed to get ready for tree pruning. There are a lot of trees that were put in as shelter but have crowded out the apple trees there. One group are given saws, they chop off parts of the trees and the rest of us drag the pieces away. I spend most of the time dragging branches into piles. It starts to pour with rain, and we retreat to the shed. Two of the men are bent over a big barrel and stirring something. It looks like porridge, it's a mixture of paper, straw, and lime that is being mixed to make bricks for the new house they are building. I get talking to Tracy and she takes me down to see the new house. All the bricks are made on-site from sustainable, natural materials. They had an architect who specialises in earth-houses draw up the plans and show them how to build. This was the second house to be built this way. They didn't know who is going to live in it yet, but they are sure God will send the right family when he is ready…

One thing I learnt during my fieldwork was that living in a rural IC is literally hard work. I came home from both periods in the Common Ground communities with prickles, cuts, and aching muscles. Their attention to the land and wanting to be self-sufficient is a common feature of rural-based neo-monastic communities (Bielo, 2011), and is modelled on classic monasteries where work, like activism, is a framed as an everyday form of liturgy[32](Coles & Hauerwas, 2008). Hard physical labour was part of the daily 'rhythm of life' in the rural ICs, but not much in the urban ones. The self-sufficiency of

[32] Liturgy in this context stems from the original Greek word 'leitourgia', meaning the work of the people/public duties.

the rural ICs through growing food and having animals also meant that not as many of them worked in jobs outside of the community, while in the urban ICs most people went off to a 'normal' job every day. These differences indicate that material geographies influenced Becoming in the ICs of Diocese J and created contextual, rhizomic nodes and 'offshoots' in ways of living (Deleuze and Guatarri, 1987), even within the same IC group.

Marti and Ganiel (2014) noticed that many emergent and neo-monastic Christian's work in careers that seek to change the world for the better, especially in the social service sector, this was also true for many of my participants. Sargisson et al (2017) found in their research that contemporary ICs almost always need outside income to keep functioning. Despite trying hard to circumvent neoliberal capitalism, money was still required, and so most members of Diocese J's ICs were unable to totally avoid being part of the empire.

Social Justice Activism and ICs

Living in an IC was helpful for the social justice activism of my participants because it provided practical support and a sense of belonging. Davina found her ICs support vital for maintaining her activism work

> *"It's not just living together but sort of finding your people, the ones you share values with. Particularly in your work having a community is grounding and I think that is necessary for activism…that community is vital in keeping me going. Whether that is people that are going to be cheerleaders or people who say 'yes I want to do this with you', and people who are going to call me out and say 'maybe you should rethink that'".*

Neo agreed saying

> *"If you do that activity (activism) with lots of connections around you then burnout isn't an issue…You will have people who care for you enough to point out when you are doing it alone, or you are doing it in a way that is contrary to your values or well-being. It's common sense".*

I noticed that on a practical level living in an IC relieved some of the financial pressure that was common to millennials living in urban centres. This included not having to pay market rent or worry about rental precarity. Sharing common resources such as food through communal meals also assisted financially. For families with children living in an IC provided extra hands to share childcare duties (Sargisson & Sargent, 2017). All these aspects freed up community members to spend more time on social activism and volunteer work.

ICs as a type of social justice

Living an IC was seen in and of itself as a type of social justice activism that modelled a Kingdom alternative to the individualist, consumeristic lifestyle of their peers. Living in a community not only helped activists like Davina to keep going, they were an expression of social justice and seen as somewhat different from providing social services. Neo felt the missional embedded neighbourliness of the ICs challenged the traditional social service model that the Anglican Church normally used to interact with local communities, "rather than a service-driven model, which is doing things to a community from the outside, we do things with people and from within a community". The idea was that one should not 'helicopter' into poor communities to offer charity, instead it was better to be missional and incarnate Jesus by living among the poor and needy, and forming relationships.

This view of Christian community as an entity of justice in and of itself can be linked to the postliberal political theology I discussed in Chapter Two from theologians Hauerwas (2008) and Milbank (2006). In this version of political theology, the role of the Church is to extend the Kingdom of God out into the world by practising the Christian narrative of human flourishing through embodied community living, rather than being one of many civic society groups providing social services. Rather than having a social ethic, "the Church is in itself a social ethic" (Hauerwas in Long, 2015:103). Hauerwas was someone my participants were familiar with. I heard him quoted in sermons and discussions on church and community.

Communitas in Diocese J

Communitas is a lens through which to understand how the ICs I encountered helped my participants in their journeys of becoming social justice activists. However, I define

communitas as being formed through long-term efforts at liminal and alternative communal living, rather than through infrequent rituals. The Becoming that took place in the ICs of Diocese J can be construed as a type of 'communitas' that extends beyond Durkheim and Turner's version, based in large ritual events (Kamau, 2002; T. Miller, 2010; Misztal, 2003). Tim Ingold (1993) reflects that "looking back, we can see that Durkheim's error was to divorce the sphere of people's mutual involvement from that of their everyday practical activity in the world" (p. 160). Communitas in the ICs was formed from the everyday; intentional and structured rhythms of life, being rooted and grounded in a local community, and discourse of liminality and being on the margins. These aspects of living in an IC can also create the affective 'collective effervescences' (Durkheim, 1961) necessary for communitas to emerge.

Rhythms of life

The daily rhythm of life in the ICs of Diocese J was collective, every day, and embodied, with ritualistic overtones that moulded the members of the ICs into a hybrid neo-monastic/Anglican subject and enabled a long-term version of communitas. Roy Rappaport (1999) argued that structured communal rhythms are a form of communitas that binds groups together and that repetitive everyday repetitions and tempos, such as the daily rhythms of life in the ICs, impacts and forms the self as well as the community. Cox Hall agrees (2018), pointing to the daily patterned rhythms of life in neo-monastic communities which "fashioned selves and altered worlds" (p.689).

It was the daily 'mahi' and the communal prayers, day in and day out, that moved the bodies of those who lived in these communities together in unison and helped to form the communitas that was the 'bonding glue' that kept the community together (Ingold, 1993; V. Miller, 2015). Living in these ICs involved working together towards a particular way of being-in-the-world. This can be linked to the phenomenological embodiment I discussed in Chapter Three where the daily rhythms became ingrained in the body itself. These rhythms can create what Heidegger referred to as 'clearings' (Jackson, 2013); spaces in everyday life which bring forth incremental changes of the self that slowly (re)form someone over time. My participants were Becoming through continually being "under construction" (Biehl & Locke, 2017:4) as they chanted, sang, prayed, and pulled up blackberries.

Rooting and grounding

Communitas is hard to maintain and can often be short term (Kamau, 2002). The attempts by the ICs of Diocese J to provide stability through belonging to a community can be construed as a way to maintain communitas for the long term, albeit at a less 'ecstatic' level than Victor Turner envisioned. Being rooted in a local place for my participants can be viewed as a form of embodied living where "true religion is not doctrinal but lived practice" (Marti & Ganiel, 2014:134). Additionally, Kamau (2002) notes that the stability provided by ICs can allow for people living in them to 'demask', that is to be authentic about their struggles, "to be themselves" (p. 19).

From my fieldwork, I would argue that communitas in fluid, fast-changing western societies, as opposed to the tribal societies that Turner studied, needs to be viewed in light of how neoliberal economies and climate change have caused many to feel that their jobs, homes, relationships, and overall lives are precarious (Connolly, 2017b; Standing, 2011). This reality became starker in 2020 when the Covid-19 pandemic changed societies world-wide, including New Zealand's, in previously unimaginable ways. The sense I got from my participants was that living in an IC allowed for a chance to subvert the cutthroat, consumeristic, competitive and exhausting pace of the empire by 'rooting and grounding' in one geographic spot with a group of committed fellow sojourners, even if only for a few years. Kathryn Rountree (2014) notes a comparable phenomenon amongst (neo) Pagans, a group with similar demographics to neo-monastics

> arguably at least part of the impulse motivating some of these individuals and groups has to do with anxieties about identities – individual, cultural, national, transnational – amidst the 'unfixity', uncertainty and volatility of life engendered in what Bauman (2000) has called 'liquid modernity' (p.84).

The city where many of my participants lived was in the middle of a housing crisis, with property prices so high that owning one's own home was out of reach for most millennial-aged people. Rental housing was even worse, being very expensive and unstable as rental laws in New Zealand favour property owners. To be able to be 'missional' by living in a stable community, local or otherwise, was to enact and continually create communitas without having to contend with the threat of being

moved on suddenly from one's accommodation, especially as most of the IC houses were owned by the Diocese, or privately. The long term communitas in the ICs was also a buffer against the unexpectedness of life events such as ill-health, redundancy, or losing a contract in the 'gig' economy[33]. As Edith Turner (2012) points out "[some] benefits of communitas are…easy mutual help and long term ties with others" (p.3).

When considering how rooting and grounding links to wider theories of Becoming it can be argued that the resonances, speeds and intensities of societal change discussed by Connolly (2011), and Deleuze and Guattari (1987) (see Chapter Three), have accelerated to the point of becoming overwhelming for many. To live rooted and grounded is to construct an alternative life through intentional commitment, rather than being a floating transient. It is a way to slow down, a concept I discuss further in Chapter Seven.

Liminality and Margins

This chapter shows that my participants perceived themselves as living on the margins, as being 'edge people'. This is in keeping with the literature I discussed earlier, which shows that tropes of marginality and the edge are a common paradigm for those who live in both wider ICs and more specifically neo-monastic communities. One of the core components of creating communitas is that of liminality (Kamau, 2002; E. Turner, 2012; V. Turner, 1969). For Victor Turner, when one is in a liminal state exciting and unpredictable things could take place as people are in a state of transition (Kamau, 2002). He argued that communitas is created in spaces of the 'in-between' where people and groups can change and transform, and cross borders and interstices (Turner, 1969; Kamau, 2002).

For Edith Turner (2012) "communitas is thus a gift of liminality, the state of being betwixt and between" (p. 4). Likewise, Deleuze and Guattari's 'intermezzo', and Paul Stoller's (2009) 'threshold spaces', which I discussed in Chapter Three, outline the importance of the liminal and the in-between for creating alternative worlds. Michael Jackson's theoretical framework of the penumbral, a place where epiphanies and

[33] Gig economy = "In a gig economy, temporary, flexible jobs are commonplace, and companies tend toward hiring independent contractors and freelancers instead of full-time employees" (Investopedia, 2020)

breakthrough (2009:102) take place is also pertinent when considering the marginal discourse of those in my research. The sense was that they were trying to create new, fresh, alternative forms of living between the cracks of old and broken (post)modernism.

Both Victor and Edith Turner's understandings of the liminality necessary for communitas, suggest a connection to a group being inherently oppressed, or marginal. The privileged demographics of my participants shows they were not socially marginalised but had instead *intentionally chosen* to live at 'the edge'. Thus, part of their Becoming was moving away from the 'centre' towards the margins and attempting to stay there long-term. This required a continual negotiation with their personal circumstances, and the institutional part of Anglicanism, which did not see itself as being marginal in New Zealand society. The liminality of the communitas in Diocese J was not based primarily around semi-regular ritualistic events, instead it needed to be continually created and committed to. Liminality, in other words, was a long-term, incremental, everyday project.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined how living in an Intentional Community formed my participants through embodied experiences that took place daily by keeping a structured rhythm of life, being rooted and grounded in a local community, and subverting empire through living at the margins. Becoming through living in an IC revolved around bringing the incarnational Kingdom of God to earth through missional living and 'doing life together' with one's 'crew' and IC family. Discourses of interconnectedness contrasted communal living with the loneliness of individualistic and competitive neoliberal society, where capitalistic consumerism was ruining nature and relationships, and causing climate change and mental health issues.

One of the main themes that came out of this part of my research was the desire for stability and a place to belong. It was clear for the participants I interviewed and observed that this was a big issue for them, and they felt they had found belonging and acceptance by living in an IC. This acceptance and the security of being able to root and ground in a geographic place allowed for the headspace and relationships to pursue social justice activism and the issues they were passionate about. It created

communitas. In Diocese J, communitas can be construed as the part of the overall assemblage which combines a theological understanding of the marginal, alternative Kingdom of God with embodied rhythms of life, and criticisms of the 'empire's' neoliberal precarity and individualism. This desire for stability and an anchor to hold onto in a fast-paced society was also evident in the spiritual practices of my participants, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: RITUALISTIC SENSING - BECOMING THROUGH SPIRITUAL PRACTICES

> *"There's a woman with her hands trembling, haere mai.*
> *And she sings with a mountain's memory, haere mai"* – 'Welcome Home', Dave Dobbyn (2005)

An important factor that contributed to the Becoming of the social justice activists of Diocese J was the spiritual practices and rituals of their Christian, in particularly Anglican, faith. Spiritual practices, such as participating in morning and evening prayer and celebrating the Eucharist, happened not only on Sundays but also in the daily life of the intentional communities. This chapter will give insights into how my participants took part in and framed these spiritual practices, and how they related them to social justice activism. The spiritual practices had ritualistic elements which were often mediated through bodily senses. As such the theoretical lens I use to examine spiritual practices in Diocese J as a form of Becoming, are ritual theory and sensory anthropology.

Firstly, I introduce the types of spiritual practices I observed in Diocese J, including the use of liturgy, the taking of the Eucharist, and some other minor practices. The next section explores more in-depth what turned out to be the most impacting practice for Becoming amongst my participants, which was the use of liturgy. I examine liturgy as a type of movement, and a rhythm that grounds and stabilises. Liturgy was also linked to temporality. My participants felt that liturgy, as a practice and a tradition, connected them to temporal flows from the past and other parts of the world. This 'thinking in centuries' framework is discussed theoretically using the work of anthropologists Jon Bialecki and James Bielo (2016), who argue that neo-monastics have a unique orientation to time, which they refer to as 'Ancient-Future Temporality'.

Next, I consider how spiritual practices engaged bodily senses such as sight, hearing, smell, and in particular touch using tactical materials. This section includes a reflection on the use of clerical garments as a form of materiality that was related to formative spiritual practices. As discussed in other chapters, PEC Christianity made its way into

conversations on the value of Anglican spiritual practices through comparisons between the two, this is the topic of the following section. Lastly, I reflect on how spiritual practices were coupled with social justice activism, and how they made it more sustainable and developed a type of resilience in my participants.

As part of my methodological approach, I participated in many of the same spiritual practices as my participants during my fieldwork time, and my reflections and insights are included here. Through my engagement I gained insight into how a body can be formed and moulded by using repetitive, rhythmic movements and language. I found the structure and movements of these spiritual practices were calming, and the use of materials such as stones and candles provided a way to connect the body to the intangible mysteries of 'peace' and 'hope' that my activists often mentioned. They caused one to change and Become.

Spiritual Practices and Ritualistic Sensing

A way to understand the Becoming that takes place through religious spiritual practices is via the theoretical lens of 'ritual'. Indeed, it is difficult to separate rituals from religion, especially regarding how religions are practiced (Mauss, 2003; Wallace, 1966). Rituals help to sustain and pass on religious beliefs (Connolly, 2005), anthropologist Roy Rapport (1999) states that "religion is made and remade through ritual" (p.40). The ritualistic aspects of spiritual practices are closely linked to bodily senses such as sight, sound, touch, smell, and taste. How my participants experienced their senses, and how it formed them, emerged as an important theme.

The concept of 'ritual' is difficult to comprehensively define (C. Bell, 1997). It can consist of "sequences of formal acts and utterances" (Rappaport, 1999:24), and specific gestures and postures (Rappaport, 1999). Rituals can transform the status and roles of those who participate in them (Bielo, 2015; E. Turner, 1992; V. Turner, 1969). Rituals may seem eternal and unchanging but are often [re]formed by the place, time, and culture they exist within (C. Bell, 1997; Sahlins, 2005). Examples of rituals or ritual-like activities include sacraments, rites of passage, weddings, funerals, coronations, and presidential inaugurations. Formalised and more 'officially sanctioned' rituals usually require communal and often public participation (Ammerman, 2014; Rappaport, 1999). However, rituals can also be personal and individualised, such as a

rhythm of daily prayer or mediation. It could be argued that a morning routine of getting ready for work can be considered a type of ritual. For this thesis though the emphasis is on collective ritual. As explored in the previous chapter, rituals have a part in forming communitas within groups and societies. Ritual is also embodied, as it is bodies which perform rituals. Bodies not only take part in rituals but are also formed by them due to the habitual and repetitive bodily movements rituals often contain (C. Bell, 1997; Jackson, 2009). Rituals are "a medium through which embodied habits… are composed and consolidated" (Connolly, 2005:57).

Anthropological explanations of ritual have a long and varied history, including the functionalist explanations of Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski who saw ritual as a social phenomenon that regulated and organised societies (C.Bell, 1997). French anthropologist Arnold Van Gennep (1960) was influential through introducing a typology of rites where they either transformed, separated, or incorporated into a group those who took part in them (Stausberg, 2003). Van Gennep was a strong influence on Victor Turner and his understanding of ritual, communitas, and liminality. The symbolism school, led by Clifford Geertz, was more inclined to see rituals as symbolising unspoken societal values. They provided order and were a type of communication code that, like a text, could be 'read' and interpreted (Bloch, 1989; Geertz, 1980). Viewing ritual as a type of performance is also common (Asad, 1993; Grimes, 1992; Stein & Stein, 2017; V. Turner, 1986). Rappaport (1999) thought that "unless there is a performance, there is no ritual" (p.37).

The theory of ritual I used to analyse spiritual practices in Diocese J is called practice theory. Practice theory, when applied to ritual, considers how humans attempt to shape and create their world and are exemplified in Pierre Bourdieu's 'habitus' (1977) and Marshall Sahlins 'human agency' arguments (2005). Practice theorists recognize that historical and cultural contexts form and mould rituals. Practice theory "makes it possible to focus more directly on what people do and how they do it" (C. Bell, 1997:82) and asks how a particular group enacts rituals and why the rituals used are deemed to be necessary. For Catherine Bell (1997), ritual is primarily about the way bodies move and the spaces they inhabit. Regarding embodiment and ritual, she points out that "practice theories are explicitly concerned with what rituals *do*, not just what

they mean" (ibid:83). In this way, practice theory can be linked with phenomenology and affect theory (see Chapter Three).

I found Bell's (1997) typology of six categories that construct ritual-like activities helpful, as much of what I observed were ritual-like activities, although there were some formal rituals. In Bell's typology, the six categories are formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule-governance, sacral symbolism, and performance. I discuss and apply some of these components to the ritual-like spiritual practices of my participants throughout this chapter.

Senses are an important part of how ritual is experienced. What is considered a 'sense' usually includes the visual, smell, sound, taste, and textures (Howes & Classen, 2014). Some argue that senses also include the sentiments and emotions that senses can invoke, like love and beauty (Goody, 2018). Senses shape, and are shaped by, culture and upbringing (Howes & Classen, 2014). In Western cultures, for example, the most important sense is sight, as intellectual knowledge primarily came through words that are read in texts and books, or the visual appreciation of art (Goody, 2018; Howes & Classen, 2014). Hearing is also highly valued due to the importance of speech in learning, and music (Pink, 2003). Smell, touch, and taste are considered less important (Howes & Classen, 2014).

Senses cannot be examined by separating them into single entities, such as vision only; "sensations reinforce each other, play off each other, and at times contradict each other…they are part of an interactive web of experience" (Howes & Classen, 2014:5). Embodied sensing helps humans make sense of the world; "against the endless backdrop of a world in continual motion, [senses] crystallize experience and make it intelligible" (Le Breton, 2006:1). It is because senses are produced through bodies that social scientists often linked them to theories of phenomenology (Howes & Classen, 2014; Serres, 2016).

David Howes, Sarah Pink, Paul Stoller and David Le Breton have been leading figures in the field of Anthropology of the Senses. Indeed, anthropology and history were some of the first academic disciplines to engage with research on the sensorial (Howes et al, 2014). Sensory Anthropology is mainly concerned with how different cultures and

groups assign meanings to, and experience, sensory life (Howes et al, 2014). While culture does form and shape perceptions of sensory experience, there are ways in which individuals exercise agency in these processes (Le Breton, 2006).

Senses, especially smell, connect to experiential memory (Bielo, 2011). Anthropologist's use of ethnographic participant observation often gave them personal experience with the sensorial worlds of the people they are studying (Howes & Classen, 2014; Pink, 2015). Senses are powerful because "they are lived experiences, not intellectual abstractions" (Howes et al, 2014:7). For Le Breton (2006)

> an anthropology of the senses implies being immersed in the world, being within, not in front of it, and allowing sensuality to inform one's writing and analysis. (p.1)

In Diocese J the sensorial aspects of the spiritual practices that my participants used had an influential role in forming their social justice activism.

Spiritual Practices in Diocese J

As I was studying a religious community there were many opportunities to observe and participate in spiritual practices. The spiritual practice that I came to experience most was that of prayer, especially the liturgical[34] 'rhythms' of morning and evening prayer in the ICs and prayer in meetings such as church-services and social justice events. There are other descriptions of prayer that I took part in already in the preceding chapters, it was a common and important part of 'hanging out' in Diocese J. Many of the spiritual practices used liturgy, which are groups of set words, phrases, and actions used in Christian spiritual practices or rituals. Liturgy is often set down in an official book. In Diocese J this book was "A New Zealand Prayer Book: He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa" (Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989). Some of the liturgies were old and commonly used all over the world, such as the line used at the end of bible readings; "this is the word of the Lord". Others were more recent and New Zealand specific; "God of the southern sea and of these islands, of Māori, Pākehā and of all who dwell in our land, we give you thanks and praise for our country"

[34] Liturgical - In a Christian setting makes a practice fixed, set, and repetitive, eg, liturgical worship, liturgical prayer, liturgical calendar

(Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989:138). Liturgy was most often used to pray, with a leader reciting parts of the prayer, and the congregation joining in at certain points. We were often told to 'read the words in bold', to explain how to participate in the liturgy.

A more formal spiritual practice was taking the Eucharist, which is considered a sacrament in Anglicanism. The Eucharist was usually served in church settings on a Sunday. It was a formal ritual that had specific, liturgical words and only trained people could serve it. In Diocese J the Eucharist was 'open', which meant anyone could receive the Eucharist elements of a wafer and wine/juice, there was no need to have gone through a rite such as Catholicism's First Communion to be able to participate. However, it was assumed that those taking the Eucharist considered themselves Christian. As I come from a Christian background, I was allowed to take the Eucharist and did so when attending Anglican services. Eucharist required movement, with everyone lining up and moving to the front of the church to receive the sacramental elements. Anglican Eucharist required sipping from a communal cup, although small, individual cups were available for those who wanted it, usually the children.

Another ritual-like activity was the 'passing of the peace', which took place in churches on Sunday. It involved the leader reciting a couple of lines of the liturgy that reflected on the need for forgiveness and a short period of silence during which to forgive any fellow parishioners who had offended you. Then people moved around the church building shaking hands with each other and saying, 'peace be with you'. The sermon itself, called a homily, had ritualistic elements, including use of set Bible readings and the all-important use of liturgy.

Becoming through Liturgy

Scholars who study neo-monastics found they are attracted to monastic spiritual practices such as Lectio Divina, contemplative silence, silent retreats, and 'creedal recitation' (Adams & Mobsby, 2010; Bielo, 2011; Schnider, 2018), also known as liturgy. This is particularly true for millennial-aged neo-monastics (Bialecki and Bielo, 2016). Winfield Beven's (2019) research found that there is a 'liturgical turn' happening amongst young Christians, based on a search for holistic spirituality that contains a sense of mystery and beauty, historical authenticity, being countercultural,

and ‘anchored and rooted’. One of Cox Hall’s (2018) participants mused that “I have found so much beauty in the regular rhythms [of liturgy]” (p.688). Joining a mainline church like the Anglicans gives access to a wealth of historically based ‘ancient’ liturgy.

It became apparent throughout the interviews that liturgy had an integral part in the Becoming and formation of the social justice activists I researched. For my participants liturgy was not rote, dry words on a piece of paper that they repeated to fulfil some ritual requirement. The words were alive, embodied, sensorial, formative, and impactful. Le Breton (2006) notes that “sensory perceptions are intimately bound up with language” (p. 12-13). Liturgy used in sermons, prayers and the Eucharist were framed as something that grounded and rooted the participants through stabilising movements and linking them to historical temporal flows.

Embodied Formation - Liturgy as Movement

Some participants described liturgy as something that moved. Like water, liturgy flowed, filled, carried, and permeated. They experienced its (re)forming power through embodied practices such as praying, singing, and chanting. Davina described liturgy as something that that flowed like a stream, “creation care should…sort of flow in the liturgy in the way other things flow in it”. Stephen saw liturgy as something that filled up and carried people, “even if you are drained…don’t worry, you can be carried in the prayers of the liturgy”. Liturgy was also characterized by a sense of inward permeation. Liturgical words were taken into oneself in a slow way that penetrated over time, like savouring a good meal while appreciating a glass of fine wine. The following observation by Pete on how the youth in his church experienced the Eucharist gave this sense

> *“[Look at] your…homily at a traditional Anglican Church. [It} is full of density and richness and if it’s done well you feel like you have eaten a good meal at the end of it…you hear them belting the Eucharist out with tears running their faces. It’s alive to them. They’ll say that they hunger for it”.*

The way Stephen described permeation was closer to wood than food, “these spiritual rhythms [in the liturgy and Eucharist] are ingrained…and inform and shape our praxis”

Stephen's mention of liturgy as shaping praxes indicates that it can (re)form people as it flows and permeates. Pete said, "liturgy is God forming us". Formation took place because the liturgy was not just words alone, it was part of embodied rituals. One of the ways liturgy formed was by connecting people as they said the same phrases together in unison. Participating in the liturgy in a local church was perceived by some participants as binding people together into a community. Stephen compared taking the Eucharist with weaving a tapestry and said,

> *"that's the beauty of the Eucharist is that it is all of us together. Liturgy [means] the 'work of the people'… all this stuff is physical, you physically turn up to a prayer meeting, you move up to the front to take the Eucharist…these are high points where you can actually participate".*

Participation in the Eucharist entwined those who take part together to form the type of communitas that was discussed in Chapter Six. In the case of spiritual practices, liturgical utterances are part of communitas formation because they are repeated regularly, leading to a sense of belonging and stability that grounds.

Containers and Rhythm - Liturgy that Grounds

As liturgy moved, paradoxically, it became something that grounded and 'held' the participants in various ways. Adele said, "you can be held by the liturgy…if you are feeling too sad or tired to pray. You are still there in that space and can be held, it's a rhythm you get used to". For Dan there was "something deeply connecting and grounding and holding about it [liturgy]". Liturgy, as something that 'held', was compared to vessels such as a container that held sustenance, Adele described this by saying, "in liturgy, there is something freeing around not having to come up with the words. It's a container".

As well as holding, liturgy provided a sense of grounding through structured, rhythmic repetition and can be linked back to the daily rhythms of life in the intentional communities. Praying the same prayers at the same time provided an ordering of one's daily schedule, as Dan said, "it [evening and morning prayer] bookends your day". He further described how praying the liturgy twice a day was a repetitious rhythm that was stabilising

"I think that's the beauty of it [liturgical prayer], it creates a spiritual muscle memory where you are able to…draw on the words that you speak over yourself dozens and dozens of times…Instead of always having to have an adrenalin rush [or] a new fix, you just do this over and over".

Like Dan, Pete also alluded to the power of repetition saying, "liturgy is speaking the truth over and over".

I concur with Dan and Pete's comments that doing and saying the same thing over and over was formative and stabilising. As well as participating in the liturgy on Sundays and at events, I also had the Anglican New Zealand Prayer Book at home throughout my fieldwork so that I could keep the morning and evening prayer rhythm that many of my participants used. This was not easy and required discipline. However, in in my experience, liturgy was not necessarily formative because of a repetition of 'truth' as Pete described above, although this was clearly an important aspect for my participants. The stabilizing aspect of liturgy I experienced was more because the words were repeated in a rhythmic chant and were always the same, which made them easy to learn and remember during the rest of the day. I could recall the simple lines or songs and repeat them to myself. Starting and ending the day with a set spiritual practice did give a sense of control over my daily schedule, which helped me feel calmer and less anxious

> It is night after a long day.
> What has been done has been done
> what has not been done has not been done; let it be.
> (Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand and Polynesia, 1989:184)

The power of embodied rhythm and repetition in the liturgy is an example of what Bell (1997) refers to as *invariance*. Invariance is "a disciplined set of actions marked by precise repetition and physical control" (Bell, 1997:150). The rhythmic repetition of the ritual connects the past to the present and helps to form those who participate in them (ibid). Bell names the structures and routines of monasticism as a classic form of invariance, which links to the neo-monastic inclinations of many of my participants.

The invariance of the liturgy, and other spiritual practices, provided a predictable structure.

The repetitive nature of liturgy provided a structure for sermons and other ritual-like activities and meant these rituals could not be easily changed or individualised, something my communitarian-orientated participants appreciated. As Stephen said

> *"the liturgy, the prayer book; this is what we do because we find meaning and expression in it. There is such a longing for that in a sea of uncertainty, post-modernism says there is no over-arching story. [Liturgy] is a gift…[you have] to conform and submit to it".*

What Stephen meant by 'conform and submit' made more sense later in our interview where he explained that having to use liturgy made it harder for Anglican clergy to 'go rogue' and try to build up their own reputations

> *"[with liturgy] it's hard to be superstar, you can't do the latest, greatest thing because you aren't that flash… These words of the liturgy have always been meant to be taught in community and no one can say really that 'this is the down-loaded revelation that God has given to me'".*

Similarly, Pete mused that without the structuring provided by liturgy, spiritual practices can become unhinged and out of control. Coming back to the concept of 'holding', he said

> *"I was at Christian Youth Camp a couple of years ago…and the Holy Spirit was moving, and kids start barking like dogs and I was like 'that's not Jesus'. You can have Holy Spirit fire that has no form, it has nothing to hold it. If you had some theology and…some liturgy you would have something to hold the beauty of what the Holy Spirit is doing in a healthy way."*

Stephen and Pete's comments need to be understood in the light of their backgrounds in PEC Christianity, and I will come back to this point later in this chapter.

Bell's (1997) category of *formality* can be applied to how the structure of the liturgy makes is harder to deviate from tradition. The degree of formality a ritual has can make it more or less flexible and open to innovation. Bell (1997) notes that the more

formal speech is, the less it allows for use of emotional expressivity and it is harder to take license with the words used. Liturgy comes under the category of formalised language. That liturgy was difficult to change and personalise was seen as a good thing by Stephen and Pete because it kept personal egos at bay and religious experiences somewhat contained. This made spiritual practices stable and more predictable, thus grounding.

'I love it that we think in centuries' - Liturgy and Temporality

I have already alluded to how the rhythmic and repetitive aspects of liturgy structured time for the participants. Liturgy as movement and a type of grounding was inseparable from concepts of rhythmic temporality. Researchers have noticed that Emergent Christians and neo-monastics are drawn to spiritual practices that are perceived to be ancient (Bielo, 2009; Clawson, 2016; Taylor, 2019). Jon Bialecki and James Bielo (2016) have called this inclination 'Ancient-Future Temporality' (AFT). Bialecki and Bielo base AFT in Deleuze's argument that time is not necessarily linear, but multidimensional. Deleuze argued that varying plains of time (past, present, and imaginings of the future) are 'folded' into current life-worlds and influence how they form and Become (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987).

For neo-monastics, spiritual practices that come from the past are seen to be more authentically Christian than fake, 'thin', and inauthentic contemporary Christianity, which is soiled by individuality, capitalism and modernity (Bielo, 2009; Cox Hall, 2018). So ancient temporality is 'folded' into the present through the use of spiritual practices from the past. In AFT that which is ancient, like liturgy, is what is needed to construct a better future. Bialecki and Bielo (2016) argue that "for Emerging Christians at the present moment, time is broken" (p.74). Ancient-Future temporality is not interested in structuring life around the PEC eschatological telos of a future centred on apocalyptic rapture (Bialecki et al, 2016). Instead, the focus is on how the beauty and richness of ancient Christianity from the past can be used to create a more just and flourishing future.

In my research, the liturgy also connected participants to temporal flows and cycles. An example of this was the Anglican practice of following the liturgical calendar. The liturgical calendar was observed over the year and contained special 'seasons' such as

Lent, Advent, Epiphany, Pentecost, and celebrations of various saints. Each season had specific liturgy, garments, and practices. For some participants, the value of having a liturgical calendar was, again, the stability contained in the structuring of time provided by defined seasons that were the same every year. Pete explained how this was particularly valuable to millennial-aged members of Matrix

> "*in a world where everything is so temporal…many of the students are social media addicts and everything is so spontaneous. To be able to offer them rhythm and say, 'here is a season', like Lent, 'you can express grief in this season, we are going on this journey from here to here'. And when you get to the end of that season you can say 'I know you thought that was a bit of a write-off but don't worry, a new season is coming, let's start again'. There are points in the year that offer you that".*

Following the liturgical calendar performed another temporal action that had deeper connections with time itself, that of placing one within a community across time and space. One of the reasons why Anglican liturgy and spiritual practices appealed to many, if not most, of my participants was because it was perceived to be ancient, enduring, and connected to a wider plane of existence than the 21st century. Using liturgy placed one within a stream of time that had been going on for hundreds of years. Other Christians had also said these words and done these practices, in good times and bad, through plagues and wars. When saying the liturgy, they felt integrated into a host of fellow spiritual travellers journeying along a temporal river flowing across time and space. For Pete, liturgy connected him to people of faith from the past, and in other parts of the world

> *"some of the liturgy is from 200 AD, that's really cool…the average Anglican is a 22-year-old Sub-Saharan African woman and so when we do this liturgy we connect with her, and people all throughout space and all throughout time. They reckon that there has never been a time throughout the last 2000 years that the Eucharist has not been happening somewhere, so we pick up the baton from wherever and we pass it on".*

Because liturgy was perceived to be ancient and historical, this gave it authenticity. It had stood the test of time and that made it valuable. Pete described how he felt when Matrix first began to use liturgy and other Anglican spiritual practices, "it was like crawling around Grandma's attic and dusting off things. You open them up and say 'wow, this is incredible, it's exactly what we've been looking for'". Pete's words were mirrored almost exactly by Emergent Church participants in Steve Taylor's (2019) research, who said: "We felt like we were borrowing from a treasure chest of tradition" (p.195).

Temporality, Tradition, and Speed

It was hard to unweave the threads between liturgy as a spiritual practice, and liturgy as an Anglican tradition that had been going on for a long time. Anglican traditions were spoken of as unchanging due to the longevity of the Anglican Church. When considering how unstable society currently seemed, with looming climate change and other challenges, Pete said, "we shouldn't be anxious because we [Anglicans] have lived through societal change and upheaval".

Another way that the liturgy as ritual provided grounding and stability was as a mechanism that regulated temporal pace, as I have already mentioned regarding the use of the liturgical calendar. Liturgy and tradition regulated time through the lens of speed, specifically slowness. Bialecki and Bielo (2016) observe that "the purpose of religious ritual is to…slow [things] down" (p.77). Liturgy was understood as engaging with 'slow time'. Time that meandered, was unrushed, and consequently formed a spirituality that was 'deep'. Dan alluded to the value of slowness by comparing liturgy to a 'slow creeping vine'. As I discussed in Chapter Six, contemporary society was perceived as being fast and frenetic. The quick pace of change was destabilizing and bad for people's mental health. Pete said, "it's all changed so quickly and is changing so quickly…to be able to offer something that thinks in centuries, I really like that". Rather than a race to get to an end goal, slowness provided room for a journey. Journeying was a common metaphor used by my participants to describe living out their faith, and being part of activism work, at a steady pace. According to Dan, "the journey is discovering what that means for this time and this place". Journeying using liturgy was not only impacting because of its repetitive linguistic utterances. Just as

important was the way spiritual practices, including liturgy, engaged bodily senses of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch.

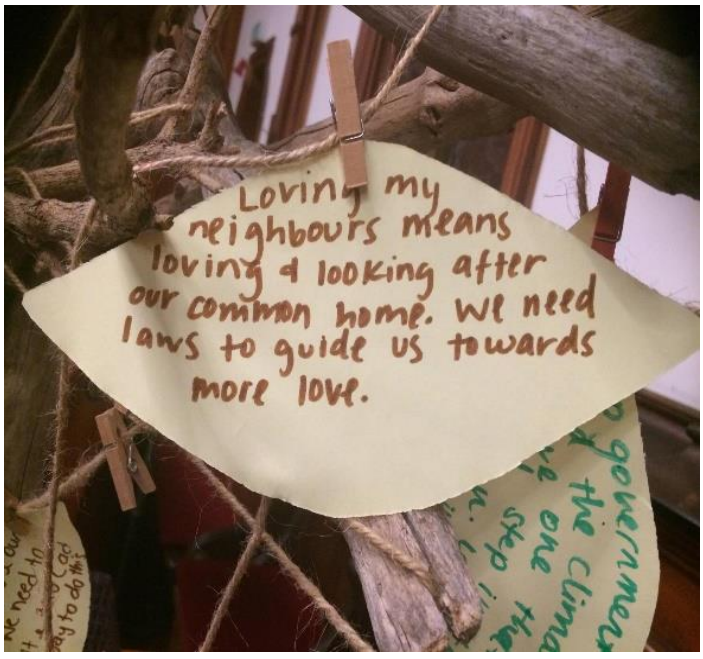
Hold the Stone: Sensorial materiality

Spiritual practices were not just made up of words, they were also sensorial. For neo-monastics, objects that engage the senses such as candles, incense, icons, and art are important (Bielo, 2011; Snider, 2011). Emergent Christians often employ digital technologies, such as iPads, to create sensory connections to the 'ancient' temporality discussed before (Bialecki & Bielo, 2016). Examples are slide shows of sacred art or icons projected on cathedral walls (Taylor, 2019), or surround-sound music experiences with Gregorian chants. Bielo (2011) argues that the use of certain types of objects by his emergent participants were an attempt to feel God's presence through their senses. Taylor (2019) notes the way 'Fresh Expressions' churches use Anglican traditions to engage the senses and create experiences which "keep alive mystery and beauty in the immanence of daily life" (p. 182). Bialecki and Bielo (2016), using the work of Charles Hirschkind (2009) on soundscapes, wonder if millennials appreciate sensory spiritual practices more than previous generations due to a pervasive, multisensory media culture that socializes their bodies to the experiential. A similar trend of a growing appreciation for the sensorial aspects of religious rituals and practices amongst millennials has also been noticed in Catholicism (Burton, 2020). As well as the visual and auditory centred liturgy I discussed in the previous section, another important sense I observed in my fieldwork was that of touch. Spiritual practices and social justice activism often contained the use of tactile materials and objects that could be touched or held.

Materiality

Most of the events I attended, both in churches and at social justice activities, involved some type of material object/s, such as candles, stones, seeds, artwork, and crafts. There was usually something to pick up, light, hold, move, scatter, or do something with. Some materials were given to us to use right there, and other times we were given materials to create something ourselves. Material items were often used to symbolise something else, such as peace, remembrance, and people who needed help and justice. Candles were lit to signal the beginning of prayer and blown out to end it.

Stones symbolised loved ones who needed help, the stone was held during morning prayer then placed in a long wooden bowl. Oil on the forehead bestowed blessing. Chains of paper dolls were children separated from their families at the US border. Paper leaves had prayers written on them about climate change. Seeds were scattered on land in the hope that new government housing would 'grow' there to help the marginalised (see Chapter Five). A bar of chocolate symbolised the sweet temptation of industrialised foods, in contrast with the organic turnip from the community garden.



Images 6 & 7: Materiality at protest against US Border separations and Zero Carbon Submission Event.

Credit: Participants Facebook, used with permission

Stephen explained the point of materiality in spiritual practices, "when we gather, we pray, we light a candle and use prayer stones. Reach out and hold the stone, let that be a tactile expression. Because actually it reinforces and helps your mind and your body engage in that spiritual space". As part of my sensory methodology, I invite the reader to experience a sense-scape in Diocese J through reading the vignette below and following the instructions.

A Service of Peace for a Weapons Expo [need: stone, candle, flower]

[light candle] …The church is mostly full as I slip into my seat and the opening song starts, "Lead us forward into freedom, from despair your world release, that redeemed from war and hatred, all may come and go in peace" (Kaan, 1968). This meeting was called a 'service of healing and hope' and is in response to an expo being held at a local venue where weapons dealers will display their products for sale, mostly to leaders of the armed forces. Stephen has organised this service, along with a group of local Quakers, to pray for peace that will counteract the violence that weapons used in war cause. Stephen is also part of group organising to protest and blockade the venue, as they had done at the petroleum expo a few months before. The day before I had attended an interfaith peace event in a public park which Stephen had also organized and consisted of music, prayers, and reflections from Christian, Jewish, and Muslim representatives on the theme of 'peace'.

This is an explicitly Christian service though, as well as singing the congregation is led in a prayer of repentance and a sermon from Stephen exhorting those present to be peacemakers *[Pick up stone. Go to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f51n-yb11dY and play].* Once the sermon is over, we are invited to take a stone and place it on a table set up in the middle of the church *[when song finishes place stone on table next to candle]*. Then we are asked to light a candle and lay a flower "as a sign of hope for the future" (Service of Hope and Healing Prayer sheet, 2018) *[lay flower next to stone and candle]*. As we walk up to the table to do this the choir sings a meditative Taizé[35] chant; "Oh Lord hear our prayer, Oh Lord hear our prayer, when we call answer us" (Berthier, 1982). I light a small tea candle and take a purple flower to lay on the large, colourful tabletop. The stone feels heavy and cool in my hand, I place it on the table as well. This is done slowly and reverently by those participating, then we file back to our seats. The last prayer is prayed and we rise to sing the final blessing; "Deep peace of the running wave to you; deep peace of the quiet air to you; deep

[35] Taizé is a Christian monastic community located in Burgundy, France and is well known for its ecumenical youth retreats and music.

peace of the gentle night to you" (Rutter, 1978) *[go to https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GAULvPUcQQI and play. When finished blow out candle].* The service ends.

As seen by this description, the spiritual practices and traditions of Anglicanism in the service engaged several senses including touch, hearing, and sight.

A rather different form of ritual-like materiality that was part of the spiritual practices and social justice activism in Diocese J was the use of clerical garments. Many of my millennial-aged participants who were ordained clergy wore their clerical collars and garments frequently, both at work and in public. Clerical garments were perceived to be aesthetically beautiful, even if they were not necessarily comfortable to wear. While they may have been wearing the 'team uniform', as Stephen described it, there was a range of innovations that allowed for discrete individualisation, including personalised stoles[36]. Stephen had received a special stole from his mentor to celebrate his ordination, it was made of fair-trade hessian and had a bible verse on it which referred to God's justice and mercy.

Regarding spiritual practices, clerical garments conveyed the temporality of the seasons and were a visual reminder of the Christian story through the use of specific colours and images

> *"for me, when I put the Alb on, that's the white robe, I am consciously remembering that this is not about me, I am putting on Christ and righteousness and faith. From that point on I'm serving people…When I put the stole on, that's the scarf, Jesus took a towel and wrapped it around him and so am I. The colours and seasons in the embroidery is a picture, it's a story" (Stephen).*

Stephen discussed what wearing the collar was like out in public spaces, and what it did

> *"by putting the collar on I'm immediately identified with [the Church]. And I've really enjoyed that. Initially, I didn't want to be associated with the negative stereotypes and the stigmas, but I realize now that Baby Boomers and some*

[36] Stole = a long scarf-like piece of cloth wore around the neck by clergy of some Christian denominations.

Generation Xers have animosity towards the church, but for the most part Generation Z and Millennials, the younger generation, they don't have the same baggage. They are so inquisitive [and ask] 'what is that?'".

As the most radical protestor amongst my participants, Stephen mused that wearing clerical garments during activist events sometimes afforded a type of protection from authorities such as the police, with less likelihood of arrest, and the authority to step into heated situations as a mediator, "here I am with my collar…something happens that triggered this guy [and] he just reacted, but I was able to come over and put a hand on his shoulder and say, 'it's ok bro, let's go for a walk', I had that relationship in that space".

In Bell's (1997) typology, the use of ancient 'costumes' comes under the category of *traditionalism* (p.145). Traditionalism is the attempt to connect a rite or ritual to long-standing and/or old traditions, thereby bestowing authenticity. Bell (1997) notes that "dramatically traditionalized patterns of dress establish a high-profile identity for those closely following the older ways" (p.145). Garment materiality can be construed as a way for my participants to publicly proclaim their counter-cultural clerical vocation and association to traditionalism, that is the Anglican Church. They were proud to be Anglican, and garment materiality differentiated them from their peers, despite the negative views many in New Zealand society have about organised religion. It started discussions and promoted interactions with strangers and helped carve out a unique role at social justice protests.

It can be argued that, for my participants, touch and the use of symbolic materials created a 'sensory palette', or sensorium (Connolly, 2011) that helped them with every-day stresses, and social justice activism. This palette also connected the users to some more intangible parts of sensoriality; silence, beauty, richness, and mystery.

Silence

While music is often an important part of religious practices that engages with the sensory aspect of sound, it was the absence of sound that was most notably important for my participants. Silence, as a communicative device, is used in varying ways in Christian settings, or sometimes not at all (Szuchewycz, 1997). Quakers, for example, use silence as an integral part of their spiritual practices, while Pentecostals rarely use

it (Maltz, 1985; Szuchewycz, 1997), as will be discussed later. For Anglicans, periods of silence in spiritual practices are common, and in a frenetic and chaotic world calming the senses through silence was valuable because, "everything is so loud now…we live in a loud, demanding, competitive and individualistic world" (Dan).

Silence was a counterpoint to busyness and rushing. Anglican spiritual practices had specific times for silent meditation within the daily prayer rhythms. Contemplative spirituality, linked to monasticism, has a historical precedent in the Anglican Church, which also offered longer periods of silence such as silent retreats for a weekend or more. Ancient-Future temporality was associated with silence by Pete, who said, "I love the old ancient thing that knows how to do silence. Solitude, silence, contemplation, all of that". Silence was also helpful for Davina in her spiritual formation, "there is real value in experiencing solitude and silence". Contemplation and mediation were common in the spiritual practices I observed and took part in and were usually done in silence. I found that holding a space for silence, like the repetition of liturgy and bodily movement, was calming. It also slowed down the brain and allowed one to hear the natural sounds of the environment around, such as a river or the murmuring of traffic. It was another way of connecting to 'the local' and of grounding and rooting oneself to the immanent present.

Deep, Rich Beauty

'Beauty' was another sensory word used often to describe how participants experienced aspects of the spiritual practices, traditions, and materials of Anglicanism. An example was the physical objects used in the sacraments. Pete described how Matrix had gone about the process of creating beautiful objects for their church

> *"we invited a couple of designers in our church to build our altar. We gave them the liturgy and said, 'see what speaks to you'. They loved the verse 'we who are many are one' so they got 200 blocks of wood that were separate and fused them all together…and then a friend turns up one day with chalice's he made for us and they are beautiful. One of them has Jesus looking up at you from inside the bowl, which is quite nice, it's really cool, and there is a scripture written around the outside".*

I can attest to experiencing the physical beauty of many Anglican buildings with their stained-glass windows, soaring vaulted ceilings, and intricately carved architecture, which inspired a sense of awe. Places like the monastery at Rio Puro offered a natural paradise for weary members of Diocese J to retreat to and be refreshed. They could then continue with their social justice work in locales where beauty, physical or spiritual, was hard to come by. The traditions and spiritual practices themselves were also perceived to be beautiful by some such as Dan, "the [passing of the] peace is this beautiful moment where you get to reconcile broken relationships". However, as a relative newcomer to Anglicanism, Dan felt that many Anglicans didn't understand how beautiful Anglicanism was, "the 'lifers', as it were, they have become used to it, to the beauty of the traditions".

Beauty was closely linked to another concept, that of 'richness'. 'Richness' was about something that provided growth, like good soil, and had connotations of going deep, rather than staying on the surface. The word 'rich' was usually linked with specific spiritual practices. Pete said, "prayer and liturgy are so rich". Neo noted that one of the reasons that the Common Ground community had become Anglican was because, compared to some other forms of Christianity, "Anglicans have a much richer tradition".

Beauty that was rich and deep was primarily experienced and did not necessarily need to be explained logically or rationally. Considering silence as a form of beauty, Szuchewycz (1997) argued the meaning and symbolism attached to silence exist on a continuum of depth; "Silences may be described as ranging from 'dead' to 'not real' to 'beautiful' and 'deep'" (p.244). Beauty and depth were also related to mystery, for Stephen, "what we [Anglicans] have to offer is that sense of mystery, in the sense that spirituality can't be locked into a particular doctrine…there is a longing for a sense of mysticism, and we provide that". The rich, deep beauty of the spiritual practices stabilized in a different way from liturgy. It was a more a form of holistic refreshment, on par with Japanese forest bathing or spending time in nature.

Spiritual Practices and PEC Christianity

As mentioned in previous chapters, the participant's PEC backgrounds in non-Anglican churches were a factor in how they framed the value of Anglican spiritual practices,

traditions, temporality, and sensorial materiality. To further complicate matters, there is a version of PEC Christianity that already exists in the Anglican Communion that has to be considered as affecting the spiritual practices of Diocese J. The Anglican Church is said to consist of three main 'streams'; 'high church' Anglo-Catholics, 'middle of the road' liberal-leaning Protestants, and 'low church' Evangelicals (Terry, 2013). The current Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, is from the evangelical stream of Anglicanism and much of the growth in Anglicanism is taking place through evangelical Anglicans. A well-known example of evangelical Anglicanism is the Holy Trinity Brompton (HTB) Church Plant movement[37] that originated in London, UK (Wolffe & Jackson, 2012), and is now present throughout the world, including New Zealand. In developing nations the evangelical stream is the most influential section of the Anglican Church (Hasset, 2007).

Anglicanism in New Zealand has tended towards the evangelical stream, with 'high church' Anglo-Catholics having little representation in the country (Lineham, 2017). However, PEC leaning, low-church Anglicanism was not much of a drawcard for most of my participants. They were more interested in 'high church' liturgical and sensorial spiritual practices than the evangelical HTB version. This factor, combined with their neo-monastic worldview, differentiated them from the evangelical stream already present in the Anglican Communion. Several of the participants were critical of aspects of PEC spiritual practices in both their former churches and in HTB-style Anglicanism.

Apostle Bob and thin spirituality

As discussed earlier, unaccountable celebrity-like pastors, and exuberant Pentecostal spirituality that could get out of hand, was a reason why Pete and Stephen valued the constraints and traditions of the liturgy. Stephen made this even more explicit when he said, "[in the past] people have handed me their business card with 'Apostle Bob' or whatever…like clear off you joker, you're in your own little world". Here Stephen was referring to a phenomenon in PEC Christianity where individuals decide that they are 'prophets' or 'apostles' with messages from God without any community or hierarchal accountability.

[37] A 'church plant' refers to starting a new church, usually from a 'parent' church which stays involved with the new church till it can become more independent.

The longevity and historical traditions of Anglicanism were compared by many participants with their previous PEC churches, which were perceived as modern and without ancient roots. They were described as consumeristic, shallow, 'thin' and having transient spiritual practices

> *"Pentecostal churches in most part don't go anywhere near church history and telling the story…Do you think you can do better than hundreds of years of faithful people who have been formed as a community shaped by these [liturgical] words? Do you think you are better than that?" (Stephen).*

Regarding silence and sensory materiality, Dan noted that the previous PEC churches he had been in were not slow or silent, but loud and noisy, "[liturgical] prayer is an act of worship, as opposed to the loud music, smoke machines and lights". For Pete, "Pentecostals can't do silence at all. It's all noise all the time".

Regarding the beauty of the liturgy and the physical beauty of Anglican buildings, Pete was not impressed with the way these elements were being side-lined by the evangelical stream of Anglicanism

> *"I went to Holy Trinity Brompton in London. I was really disappointed because… the alter had been pushed right to the back wall and the drum kit had been put in front of it. It's a beautiful Anglican space but they had blocked up all the windows to make it look like a concert venue. There was nothing at HTB, aside from a blessing at the end, that I could have known there was anything Anglican about it. There wasn't even the Eucharist. It's like if you are Baptist, be Baptist. If you're Anglican, then be Anglican".*

However, PEC Christianity did have redeemable elements if they were combined with liturgy and Anglican tradition. Pete referred to this as 'holding the tension', which meant a continual negotiation between his Pentecostal roots and appreciation of the embodied sacramental tradition of now being Anglican

> *"the Anglican traditions, they can sound like empty rituals [to some], so you are trying to hold the tensions…we talk about the form to hold the fire. The Pentecostal thing is the fire, but the Anglican tradition is the fireplace to make sure you don't burn down the whole house".*

Despite criticism of PEC Christianity, I noticed during my fieldwork that Diocese J had a strong evangelical feel to it. Modern worship music from popular megachurches was sung more than old hymns, and sermons frequently contained quotes and material from well-known evangelical pastors. Some of the youth services I observed were loud, noisy, and not very silent. Attending my local Anglican church on Sunday sometimes did not feel much different to the PEC churches I had attended in the past. The main difference was the use of liturgy and the Eucharist being conducted differently. I did hear from others that this particular Anglican Church was the most PEC-style church in the Diocese, so I attended a more traditional service at another time slot, which was quite different and more formal and traditional. For my participants, the spiritual practices of Anglicanism were considered better, and more effective, than the PEC version. This was important because it helped them to engage with social justice.

Social Justice and Spiritual Practices

It became clear during my fieldwork period that Becoming occurred through the spiritual practices and traditions of Anglicanism. This element contributed significantly to the formation of my participants into social justice activists. Cox Hall (2018) argues that for neo-monastics the use of ritualised prayer practices provides rhythms and structures that are a critical tool of self-transformation that aids social justice activism; "prayer provided the mechanism to bridge the ideal into political acts" (p.693). For some of my participants, formational practices like praying liturgy gave them resilience and strength to keep going. When asked about how (or if) Anglicanism contributed to her social justice activism, Davina replied, "the things that come to mind are the rhythms of prayer and the liturgy. They are like a well-spring. You need all of your pillars to be strong and I find for me if I'm not feeding my spiritual health, and often that is praying, I can't do the activism stuff".

The movement aspect of the liturgy that was discussed earlier was also used to describe the formation process of social justice activists. Some, like Derek, spoke of being 'filled up' by praying the liturgy and then 'emptied' through social justice activities, "the moral life is drawn forth…[through] self-emptying for others". The concept of permeation that was applied to the words of the liturgy was also applied to social justice by Stephen, "social justice is about bringing Kingdom dynamics and the

nature and character of God to permeate every sphere of society". The concepts of 'holding' and 'containers' made a reappearance when discussing how Bishop John had made a space for social justice activity in Diocese J. Stephen said, "he is willing to resource a container for those people with hearts for social justice".

The repetitive element of the liturgy was of itself something that aided social justice. Pete pointed out that the repetitive rhythm allowed for increased participation in the service for marginalised people who came to his church

> *"We do common prayer every weeknight and we have a lot of people from our food redistribution service come along. They have all sorts of barriers to being involved with things but to be able to go 'right, we are on page 111 and we say the bold bits together', they can do that… it repeats and so it's low barrier entry".*

He thought that being able to participate in the service encouraged equality and inclusion in a community, and as was discussed in Chapter Six, being in a relational community was understood to be in and of itself a type of social justice action.

Derek, coming from a theological angle, thought that those formed by Anglican spiritual practices and traditions could not help but be involved with social justice. He thought that social justice was part of the inherent makeup of Anglicanism, and indeed Christianity itself

> *"the church is where the gospel is proclaimed, where the sacraments are administered, AND when the church lives in material solidarity with the vulnerable. So, the church is the church only when it exists for others. I think there are certain aspects of…formation that are part of social justice action…someone who is formed within the Anglican Communion should be trying to bring down unjust social structures".*

Like living in an intentional community, spiritual practices formed social justice activists by providing a sense of being held, grounded, and stable through accessing a 'well' of inner resources to draw on for the often chaotic and messy process of protesting and holding the powerful to account.

Conclusion

The spiritual practices discussed in this chapter can be considered as a type of grounding and rooting that brought a sense of stability in an uncertain world. One of the themes that came out of this part of my research was that the use of liturgy was an important aspect of the spiritual practices for my participants because the liturgy was not just words that were recited as part of a ritual. Liturgy did things to bodies and the inner self. It moved people physically and internally, it grounded and stabilised. Its rhythm structured days and lives. When combined with Anglican tradition, liturgy connected those who used it with global and historical temporalities. Perceived as an unchanging treasure, liturgy and other Anglican spiritual practices were able to mediate time by integrating participants into an ancient tradition that could create a better, more just future.

What reinforced the power of liturgy was the sensorial and embodied experiences that surrounded the use of it. Holding stones and scattering seeds made bodies move, and ingrained sensory memories through the smell of burning candles, lilting strains of celestial music, and the weight of a cool pebble in the hand. The tactical and visual experience of wearing clerical garments reminded the wearers, and others, that they were different, marked by God to incarnate his Kingdom. Unlike PEC Christianity, the type of sensory and temporal experiences liturgy and Anglican tradition provided were perceived as not being loud or fast, but slow and deep.

The spiritual practices of my participants worked in a number of ways to enable social justice activism. Becoming through liturgy and sensory materiality formed them into people who had long term resilience because their days were rhythmic, structured, and their bodies conditioned to slow down. The repetitiveness of the liturgy encouraged its own type of justice and inclusivity as it was usually the same, which made it easier to participate in. It was also a way for God's Kingdom to come to earth, as it is in heaven, and encourage flourishing for all. How this communal flourishing functioned in a pluralistic society is what I examine next.

CHAPTER EIGHT: "THE TABLE IS BIG ENOUGH" - BECOMING THROUGH PLURALISM, ECUMENICALISM, AND BICULTURALISM

"There's a cloud the full length of these isles
Just playing chase with the sun
And it's black and it's white and it's wild
All colours are one" – 'Welcome Home', Dave Dobbyn (2005)

Throughout my fieldwork, I noticed that it was seldom just Anglicans who were present at the social justice events I attended. Non-Anglican religious groups included Quakers, Methodists, Presbyterians, Muslims, Hindus, Jews, and Catholics. This was different from the evangelical social justice participants in my Master's research, who nearly always worked only with fellow evangelicals (Rivera-Puddle, 2016). There are aspects of Anglicanism embedded in its history, theology, and praxes, which made it somewhat open to and accepting of pluralism and diversity in society. This acceptance of pluralism was attractive to my participants and provided networks, connections, and spaces for social justice activism. In this chapter, I examine the ecumenical[38] and interfaith[39] networks present in Diocese J, the bicultural elements specific to New Zealand which engaged with indigenous concepts and justice issues, and the Anglican concept of the 'broad table', which were all components that contributed to a unique social justice assemblage.

Firstly, I define and outline what pluralism is, especially using the work of political philosopher William Connolly, then how it has been engaged with and understood by Anglicans, primarily through ecumenicalism and the Interfaith movement. Theoretically, I link pluralism with Connolly and Gilles Deleuze's work on assemblages; that is the networks and elements that coalesced around social justice activism in Diocese J. I then go on to describe examples of pluralistic activity I observed during fieldwork. Much of this section is based around the reaction of my participants to the Christchurch Mosque Attacks in March 2019.

[38]Ecumenical = Where Christians from different denominations work/come together, usually over issues of mutual interest. Is sometimes applied to people from different religions working together.
[39] Interfaith = Where people from different religions work together on topics of mutual interest.

Next, I examine an aspect of pluralism that seems to be particular to New Zealand Anglicanism, that of biculturalism. The use of Māori language and values was an integral part of the Anglicanism of Diocese J. Māori justice issues such as land reparations and representation in local government were the focus of some of the social justice activism of my participants. I then discuss a factor that allowed for these ecumenical, interfaith, and bicultural interactions so noticeable in my fieldwork, what my participants termed the 'broad table' of Anglicanism. The 'broad table' was both a theological concept and a practice that engaged with the public square and social justice activism. The 'broad table' encouraged engagement with non-Anglicans on issues of common interest, such as climate change, sub-standard housing, poverty, and racism.

Finally, I apply the theoretical lens of 'receptive generosity', from Romand Coles, to argue that the overall construction of the social justice assemblage in Diocese J can be understood through the framework of giving and receiving. Receptive generosity made those in this assemblage more open to a diversity of thought and worldviews which enhanced their social justice activism.

Pluralism

An important notion in civil society theory is pluralism. Theories of pluralism examine how nation-states deal with the challenge of keeping a large group of racially, ethnically, and religiously diverse people together as a cohesive entity (Berlin, 2001; Connolly, 2005). Political pluralism acknowledges that many societies are made up of diverse groups that all deserve equal representation and the chance for their voices to be heard in the public sphere (Bretherton, 2010b). Pluralism is the understanding that

> different cultures or societies have not only diverse but incommensurable systems of value so that there is no way in which we could identify a single universal definition of the good life… the society worth working for is one in which diversity is tolerated - and therefore criticism is always possible. (Williams, 2012:114)

Dianne Eck (2006) argues that the main characteristics of pluralism are an engagement with diversity and not just a toleration of it, a disposition to understand and learn from

'the other', providing space for differences of opinion and belief, and a commitment to dialogue and listening. For societies to be civil, they require the acceptance of differing opinions and ways of living (Williams, 2012). Habermas (1996) perceives the public sphere as a place where people who differ from each other can talk about mutual concerns in "conditions of freedom and equality…the sphere of private people come together as a public" (p.219).

Embracing pluralism is particularly important for differing religious groups to be able to live harmoniously together in bounded geographic areas, such as nation states (Walton & Mahadev, 2019). Increasing religious diversity can lead to rising societal tensions, especially in countries with one historically dominant religion (Walton & Mahadev, 2019). Some political theologians who support pluralism argue that in doing so they are seeking the common good for all (Coles, 2002). Luke Bretherton (2010) points out regarding pluralism

> the politics of the common good occurs when no single tradition of belief and practice sets the terms and conditions of such shared action and common action is a negotiated, multilateral endeavour. (p.219)

Former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams (2012) argues that for civil society to be truly representative all voices need to be heard, including religious ones. According to Williams, the Christian tradition is affirming of diversity and pluralism in public life. However, a look at news media on any given day in the past few years would seem to contradict this. Substantial numbers of Christians in the USA supported limiting pluralism through their endorsement of former President Donald Trump's border wall and anti-immigration policies, and in the UK by voting for Brexit (Smith & Woodhead, 2018).

As with the concept of civil society, anthropologists don't tend to directly engage with pluralism as a political philosophy, although some such as Comaroff and Comaroff (1999) highlight the dynamics of who benefits from the power arrangements in so-called pluralist societies What anthropologists contribute to debates on pluralism is ethnographic research on how specific groups might engage, or not, with this concept in a particular place and time, as this thesis does. For political philosopher William

Connolly (2005) pluralism is something that is created and maintained by the cultivation of specific attitudes and values; it is something that becomes. Pluralism requires living with tension in the in-between of multiple ideas, beliefs, and ways of being; "it requires a tolerance of ambiguity" (Connolly, 2005:4). Ambiguity is messy, like Deleuze's rhizomes of multiplicity, pluralism can form unforeseen assemblages and veer off in surprising directions. A discussion of the rhizomatic network that made up a pluralist assemblage in Diocese J forms the last section of this chapter. The messiness and unfinishedness of pluralism make it difficult for those who prefer clearly defined categories of who is 'in' or 'out' to value it, yet without respect for pluralism democracy can give way to fascism or violent forms of populism (Connolly, 2017a).

Connolly reflects that valuing pluralism and diversity can signal a love for the immanent, complex and "abundance of life" in the world (2005:46). He argues that love for a pluralistic world is created, in part, through everyday actions such as going to a café, communal meals, or joining a yoga or dance group. These types of activities make connections with others and often requires adjustment to one's stereotypes in order to do so. According to Connolly (2005), "a pluralism of the everyday feeds into the larger politics of public pluralism" (p.66).

Anglican Pluralism

Christians engage with pluralism in varying ways. For Anglicans, this is often through ecumenicalism and the Interfaith movement. Ecumenicalism is the practice of working together with Christians from other denominations on matters of mutual interest. The Interfaith Movement has a similar goal but consists of people from different religions coming together, for example Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, and Jews. Compared with some other Christian denominations, the Anglican Church is quite open to ecumenical and interfaith learning (N. Adams, 2018; Davie, 2017; Randerson, 2015).

This openness can be traced to several factors, including its historical ties with the British State and monarchy. While the Anglican Communion is a global church, its mother is The Church of England (COE). Therefore, the COE, and its relationship with the British state, has had an outsized impact on the larger Communion. The Church of England's status the established church of that country came into being under King Henry VIII in the 16th century when he broke from Papal authority. As the state

religion, Anglicanism needed to bring together and unite varying classes of citizens. This herculean task that was given to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time, Thomas Cranmer. My participant Derek told me that Cranmer's stroke of genius was to base unity and identity in the Church of England around shared texts and practices, rather than agreement to doctrinal creeds. It can be argued that this historical precedent of valuing communal unity over correct dogma is one of the reasons for the 'broad table' (Doe, 2013), which is discussed later on in this chapter.

In the latter half of the 20th century the head of the COE, Queen Elizabeth II, had a vital role to play in encouraging ecumenicalism and interfaith activities (Loss, 2018). The Queen was proactive after World War II in pushing the COE to host interfaith events to bring together a growing multicultural society and represent the breadth of religions present in the reformed Commonwealth of Nations (Loss, 2018). The COE, in its role as the established state church of the United Kingdom, now sees itself as the defender of all religions, not just Christianity, in its interactions with the British State (Loss, 2018). Rowan Williams (2012) points out that in a multicultural society

> we are already neighbours and fellow citizens, what we need is neither the ghetto nor the reassertion of a fictionally unified past, but ordinary intelligence, sympathy, and curiosity in the face of difference. (p.112)

This institutional support has led to Anglicans often engaging with multicultural and religious diversity within the public spaces of civil society. The Anglican 'middle-axiom' is a centrist approach endorsed by such thinkers as William Temple and Rowan Williams, and based on bringing together thinkers from many different spheres to solve social problems, not just Christians (M. Brown, 2014a; Hughes, 2014). When Christians respond to public policy issues it should be as one group amongst many, "collaborative, interdisciplinary, and preferably ecumenical" (Boston, 1994:27). Not all Anglicans embrace ecumenical and interfaith connections, particularly the evangelical section of the church (Loss, 2018).

Anglican Pluralism in New Zealand

While biculturalism has been growing, as will be discussed later in this chapter, multicultural pluralism is something Anglicans in New Zealand have struggled with

(Butcher, 2017; Kemp, 2018). There are Chinese Anglican congregations, for example, and the current Bishop of Nelson, Stephen Mwangi, is from Kenya, however ethnic diversity in New Zealand Anglican churches is considerably lower than amongst other Christian denominations such as the Catholics, and Pentecostals (Butcher, 2017). Paul Spoonley (2015) suggests this may be because of the 'Britishness' still present in New Zealand Anglicanism that may make it unattractive to new migrants. As already noted, New Zealand Anglicanism in many parishes is still very European and middle to upper class (Butcher, 2017; Lineham, 2017). Despite their lack of internal multiculturalism, Anglicans in New Zealand have had significant participation in various interfaith groups (Haggar, 2017; Honore, 2013; Pratt, 2016). These interfaith links have been important in recent years, especially after the Christchurch Mosque Attacks in 2019. This historical background of cultivating ecumenical and interfaith religious pluralism was evident in Diocese J.

Ecumenicalism and Interfaith in Diocese J

The social justice assemblage in Diocese J consisted of many ecumenical and interfaith nodes. The Catholic Church was the most frequent non-Anglican religious group that my participants worked with. Erin and Davina were especially close to a group of young people who were involved in the Catholic Worker movement. They had both attended training events on activism and social justice put on by this group, and when Davina and I attended a march on indigenous land rights it was in conjunction with this group of young Catholic activists. Bishop John also had a strong relationship with a Catholic Worker's intentional community, and Diocese J had historically maintained a cordial relationship with the Catholic Bishops of the area. A local Catholic retreat centre was sometimes used by leaders in Diocese J for silent retreats when they were not held at Rio Puro. The participants regularly used Catholic prayer resources and theological material; it was common to hear Catholic monks and saints such as Thomas Merton and Julian of Norwich quoted. A popular speaker at Diocese events had been the Archbishop of Canterbury's Representative to the Holy See (the Vatican) in Rome, where he had worked closely with Pope Francis on an ecumenical project to raise awareness of modern slavery and human trafficking.

Another religious group that commonly joined the protests and vigils I attended was the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called the Quakers. With their pacifist beliefs and history of conscientious objection to war, they were a natural partner for my activist participants. The Service for Peace, which was held in conjunction with protests against a Weapons Expo, was co-hosted by the Quakers and a church in Diocese J. A vigil connected to the same event, held in a public square, consisted of prayers and texts read out by Quakers, Hindus, Muslims, Jews, and Anglicans.

A pivotal happening

The event that gave me the most insight into how Anglican ecumenicalism and interfaith pluralism works in 'real-life' happened on 15th March 2019 and came unexpectedly. On that day I was looking forward to attending a 'Peace Festival' Erin had helped organize that was being held over the weekend at Rio Puro, with a theme of 'welcoming thy refugee neighbour'. People from all over the Diocese and further afield would be attending. However, that Friday New Zealand experienced a terrorist attack where a white-nationalist gunman killed 51 people worshipping at two Muslim mosques in the city of Christchurch. This shocking and terrible event set into motion a whole chain of events that upended my fieldwork plans for that weekend, and which echoed through the rest of my research thereafter.

Despite what had happened the previous day, I decided to go ahead with my fieldwork plans and arrived at Rio Puro with Stephen, only to have to leave a few hours later when he was called back by his vicar to arrange a commemoration service for the next day. Since I had come with Stephen in his car, I had to return with him as I had no other form of transport. I did get to spend a few hours at the Festival that were highly significant as I got to see the response to the shootings and spend some time in much-needed mourning, lament, and reflection.

Peace festival

> …I'm sitting in a tent on hay bales in a soggy field, watching small spiders spin within the hay. Everything smells like damp grass and mud. People clomp into the tent in their gumboots, looking sleepy and blurry eyed. I'm guessing they didn't get much sleep last night, what with the shock of the shootings and trying to sleep in tents in the rain. I spot some of Rio Puro's residents I met on my last visit, one of them recognizes me and comes and sits down to

chat. Davina arrives, she hadn't been able to get her tent up last night and had ended up sleeping in a cabin instead. There are lots of kids running around, harassed looking parents, and young people. It doesn't help that the coffee machine has broken. Erin is busy setting up the sound-system and checking off her long list of 'to-do's'.

The mood is subdued as a band from the Catholic intentional community down the road gets up to lead the worship. I have met some of them before at the protest for indigenous land rights I attended with Davina a few weeks before. The music is beautiful and calming, lifting some of the heavy feelings of communal grief that sits within all of us this strange morning; it is good to be together with others.

The speaker for the first season is Colin whose topic is 'Imago Dei' – how all humans are made in the image of God. According to Colin, Imago Dei is the theological grounding for human dignity and a strong biblical theme from Genesis onwards. Imago Dei is relational, inherent, and facilities human rights by arguing for protection of the marginalised and vulnerable. The political implications of this for Christians is that they should advocate for refugee policy through the lens of refugees being Imago Dei; made in the image of God. As his talk finishes, he mentions that tomorrow he will discuss Judith Butler's understanding of the precarious life. 'Darn' I think, as I won't be here tomorrow. The question time after Colin's talk shows there is a wide range of academics and complex thinkers in the audience. The discussion circles round to transhumanism; what are our responsibilities to creatures that are not human? How does Imago Dei apply to animals and the environment? I get the nod from Stephen that it's time to go. His wife has called to say their Muslim neighbours have come over because they are scared and don't want to be alone in their house.

Back in the office the next week, I email Colin, who kindly provides me with his notes and power-point from his second talk in which he discussed the agency held in bodies to encounter 'the other'. Using the work of Butler, Colin draws on her concept of 'shared precariousness'; "As bodies in relation, we are always open to others in ways we can't anticipate and fully control" he says. Bodies are open to the world and to others, all others, not just those from our own ethnic or religious group. This can be good for helping refugees but taken advantage of by those with power, vulnerability can be abused. The reaction to that can be to close oneself off to the 'other', Colin mentions the election of Donald Trump as the US President as an example of this. To counter nationalistic fearmongering Colin advocates for a politics of solidarity and interdependence; political and public alliances built on a pubic and shared pluralism…

I found Colin's material prophetically apt considering what has just taken place in Christchurch. It was easy to see how Christians with a theology of Imago Dei would want to support refugees and other citizens from religious groups different from themselves. Acceptance of pluralism and diversity, combined with interfaith connections, helped my participants to engage with a religious community different from themselves as equals in a shocked and traumatised national community.

Solidarity with Muslims

Stephen had a particularly good relationship with the Muslim community in his town, including with the local Imam and other Muslim leaders. After the Christchurch Mosque Attacks, he coordinated a service of commemoration and grieving at his church where Muslims and Christians from all denominations came together, with speakers from both religions praying from the front. Having a Muslim leader speak from a church pulpit is unusual within the Christian community and evidenced by Stephen's remark to me on the way back from Rio Puro that even though they wanted to use a bigger church venue for the event, as it was a multi-denominational event, other churches were not prepared to let a Muslim leader speak from their pulpits.

Stephen also attended Friday prayers at the mosque and was part of a human chain that was formed around the building to protect Muslims coming for Friday prayer in the weeks after the attack. Efforts to reach out were appreciated by Muslim leaders in Stephen's community, a few weeks later some joined in an Easter march put on by local churches as a form of solidarity and appreciation for the support that had been offered. Stephen's siding with his Muslim friends, which also included speaking at a rally in support of Palestinian rights, earned him the ire of some of his fellow Christians. A few weeks after the commemoration service a man put leaflets on vehicles in the church carpark with anti-Islamic rhetoric and Bible verses. The leaflet also accused Anglicans of being heretics for supporting 'God's enemies'.

Image 8: Interfaith service in Anglican Church after Christchurch Mosque Attacks. Credit: Participants Facebook page, used with permission.

The wider Diocese response to the shootings had many ecumenical, interfaith, and public-facing elements. Some churches opened to the public for extra services and during the day for people to write in commemoration books, or just to come in and reflect. Like Stephen, many clergy visited local mosques and were part of the human chains at Friday prayers. After the initial shock wore off one church organized a street party in a neighbourhood with many refugees and migrants with the intention of bringing the local community together. The Diocese Bishops released a statement calling on Christians to grieve with their 'Muslim brothers and sisters' and Bishop Julia represented the Anglican Church at several government and community commemoration functions.

The solidarity Diocese J showed towards their 'Muslim brother and sisters' was in contrast to some other Christian churches who reacted negatively to the broadcasting of the Muslim 'Call to Prayer' at the official commemoration event and in Parliament (Rivera, Oxholm, & Hoverd, Submitted for Publication). Further research I conducted with colleagues on the responses of religious communities to the Christchurch Mosque Attacks showed that amongst Christians only mainline churches such as the Anglicans used the term 'Muslim brothers and sisters' and 'neighbours' to talk about the victims. PEC churches preferred to use terms such as 'fellow humans' and 'those people' but did not refer to the Muslim identity of those shot (Rivera et al, Submitted for Publication). The Christchurch Mosque Attacks showed that whilst those in Diocese J were supportive of religious pluralism, there are differing levels of support and acceptance amongst Christians in New Zealand on this issue.

Bicultural Weavings

Religious pluralism in New Zealand needs to be understood within the framework of the country's official commitment to bicultural partnership, enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi of 1840. Many Anglicans I encountered viewed early colonial encounters between their denomination and Māori as being generally positive. An example being that the first European Anglicans to the Kapiti region, Henry Williams and Octavius Hadfield, warned Māori about the unscrupulous intentions of The New Zealand Company, which was trying to take over Māori land (Butt, 1992; Lineham, 2011). A lot of the first missionaries Māori encountered in New Zealand were other Māori who had been trained by European Christians, well known examples being Minarapa Rangihatuake and Taumata-ā-Kura.

Attention to New Zealand's bicultural identity within Anglicanism has been more pronounced since the early 1980s and can be seen in the revision of the Anglican constitution, 'Te Pouhere', in 1992. As discussed in Chapter One, Te Pouhere established the Three Tikanga model of governance, assigning Māori, Pākehā (all non-Māori), and Pasifika their own Archbishops (Kemp, 2018; Lineham, 2017) and equal power in decision making at General Synod/Te Hinota Whanui. The prayer book used by Anglicans in New Zealand, 'He Karakia Mininare o Aotearoa' is bilingual, with most liturgy, prayers, and many songs/hymns including sections in Te Reo Māori (Māori language) (see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IvGL-iXYAiM).

My fieldwork took place almost exclusively within the Tikanga Pākehā of New Zealand Anglicanism, I only encountered Tikanga Māori Anglicans once due to an impromptu encounter at an event with Bishop Julia. There were some Māori present throughout my fieldwork, but all my official participants were Pākehā. This lack of diversity amongst my participants was because the majority of the social justice activists I encountered in the Diocese were also Pākehā. It is probable that Anglican Māori activists were working within the Tikanga Māori stream of the denomination, but as I did not have any substantial contact with that part of the church I cannot say for sure.

Use of Māori language and Values

The lack of Māori participants did not seem to affect the amount of Te Reo Māori used in the Diocese, which was present in nearly all events and settings I encountered. From

the Bishops downwards, all clergy used Te Reo at some point during Sunday services, indeed it couldn't be avoided because much of the liturgy used by Anglicans in New Zealand includes sentences of Te Reo that must be read out aloud. This led to some 'interesting' pronunciation at times, and the younger clergy were generally better at this than the older ones. Anglican congregations were often made up of quite elderly people, who also seemed to have trouble pronouncing parts of the liturgy in Te Reo, although the repetition of liturgy meant they knew the lines and could quote them by heart. An example was the 'dismissal', which was prayed at the end of every service

> Go now to love and serve the Lord. Go in peace.
> Haere i runga i te rangimārie i runga i te aroha me te ngākau
> hihiko ki te mahi ki te Ariki.
>
> Amen. We go in the name of Christ.
> Āmine. Ka haere mātou i runga i te ingoa o te Karaiti.
>
> (New Zealand Prayer Book / He Karakia Mihinare o Aotearoa, 1989)

Opening welcome speeches in Te Reo were a common feature, as was an acknowledgment of the tribe and iwi[40] on whose land the event was taking place and/or an official welcome from a Māori person affiliated with that place. Many songs sung at the events I attended included Te Reo, with the Rio Puro songbook being a common source for some of these beautiful waiata (songs). When New Zealand went into a nationwide lockdown in 2020 due to the Covid-19 virus, the Diocese online service always included a sung version of the Lord's Prayer in Māori. Te Reo phrases were also commonly used in everyday settings through the Diocese, such as Rio Puro where we partook in the community mahi (work), and at many of the protests and activism activities.

Māori values and concepts were also often referenced when discussing justice issues. Lack of affordable housing was said to violate the provision of Tūrangawaewae (a place to stand) and Kaitiakitanga (guardianship). The separation of families at the US Border was linked to a lack of Manaakitanga (offering hospitality). In my interview with Dan

[40] Iwi = Extended kinship group

and Adele about their intentional community, they often used Māori words and concepts to describe values that were important to them

> *We are living in the whakapapa of a very old tradition.*
>
> *One of our kids said, 'we really appreciate our kaupapa[41]'*
>
> *In Māori culture they have manaakitanga…they do it beautifully and we can try to learn from that…there is a lot of truth and depth in manaakitanga that has been missed [in New Zealand] for generations*.

My participants respected Māori values and language and used them frequently and often fluently.

Honouring the Treaty

The historical background of New Zealand's biculturalism was discussed and taught at various points throughout my fieldwork. One such occasion was the opening of the SJ social justice gap year programme, which began on Waitangi Day[42] (6th February) with a special service that acknowledged the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi/ Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Those present were given the charge that as Christians they needed to honour the Treaty as a covenant that bound two peoples together, and to be attentive to the perceived wishes of the first CMS missionaries for an equal and just partnership between Māori and the Crown, a role now played mainly by the government of New Zealand. There was the acknowledgment that British colonisation and subsequent colonialist attitudes had been destructive, however, most felt that there was a desire to honour the Treaty partnership within the Anglican Church in New Zealand. This theme was also present in several interviews. Erin said, "I think the idea of the three Tikanga model came with the intention to honour the Treaty…it is the honouring of the indigenous group, an attempt to really co-govern. That intention is amazing". Stephen felt that the bicultural identity of Anglicanism in New Zealand was a unique gift, and noted that it was not the same elsewhere in the Anglican Communion

[41] Kaupapa = a specific set of values and principals

[42] Waitangi Day = official public holiday on 6th February that remembers the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty is an agreement made between Māori chiefs and the British Crown in 1840 regarding sovereignty and governance rights.

"what we have in the Anglican Church in New Zealand is a high regard for the Treaty…I went to an Anglican meeting in Australia last year and what stood out to me was that there was no powhiri (welcome) or cultural recognition of their indigenous people…I was so upset".

Both Stephen and Derek pointed out the recent interference in New Zealand Anglicanism from the GAFCON Diocese of Sydney in Australia, which I discuss later in this chapter, was unfortunate as they did not understand the importance of the Three Tikanga or honour the Treaty.

Acknowledgment of New Zealand's bicultural identity was noticeable in several of the social justice issues that were important to my activists. These included Māori land issues and the inclusion of Māori wards to increase the representation of Māori on local councils (O'Connell Rapira, 2018). During the time of my fieldwork, a local city council tried to introduce a Māori 'ward'[43] to boost Māori representation on the council. This initiative was contested by some residents who put forward a petition asking for the decision to be put to a binding public referendum, which the council agreed to. In the lead up to the referendum, Anglican churches around Diocese J campaigned for a 'Yes' tick to allow for Māori wards through appealing to honouring the Treaty, and justice. It was argued by the activists of Diocese J that blocking Māori wards was unjust because it is only the creation of Māori wards that can be put to a public referendum; other types of wards such as rural wards, cannot. A leaflet created by Erin, Stephen, and others set out why Māori wards was a justice issue Christians should be concerned about:

We believe Christians have a particular stake in ensuring that Te Tiriti o Waitangi[44] is honoured and that the Treaty partnership is strong. The Christian church has been involved in the sacred covenant of Te Tiriti o Waitangi since the beginning, similarly to how the church is involved in marriage covenants. Christian missionaries helped prepare the partners—the Crown and Māori—for the Treaty; we helped write the text, and we attended and blessed the signing.

[43] Māori ward = a governance entity within a local council area that is made of Māori voters only, who can elect their own representative to the council.
[44] Te Tiriti o Waitangi = The Treaty of Waitangi

Although through the years we have not always upheld our responsibility to honour Te Tiriti well, it remains a part of the mission of the church to help the Treaty partners keep their promises and to flourish as partners.

Despite the best efforts of my participants, the public vote went against Māori wards.

Another bicultural issue during my fieldwork period was a large protest movement that consolidated around contested claims to a section of land called Ihumātao, located near Auckland International Airport. This issue was prominent in the New Zealand media and led to protest action and occupation of the land by Māori activists to stop a private company building a housing development project on it ("Ihumātao Explained," 2019). Some of Diocese J's activists travelled to Ihumātao to support the protesters, while others, like Davina (and myself) joined protest marches happening in other cities.

Ihumātao Protest March

… My interview is over and I'm catching up with some of my participants in the office next door at the Hub. Davina leans over the desk, "hey I'm off to a protest march, want to come?" "Sure," I say, "what's it about?" As we set off through the city towards the assembling point Davina explains about the contested piece of Māori land that the protests are about. A group of indigenous land rights activists has marched the length of the country to present a petition to Parliament to stop housing development on their ancestral land. This protest is the final leg of that journey. As we stride down the pavement the protest crowd is assembling up ahead; people of all ages waving flags, greeting each other with shrieks, hugs, and backslaps. Davina spots a group she knows, and we head over to them, she introduces me, and they smile back. They are young and part of the Catholic Worker movement that Davina used to work for. All are holding various signs and direct us to a lamppost that has a bunch of cardboard signs where we can write our own slogan.

We are called to attention by the protest leaders and given some instructions including that this is a non-violent march in the *kaupapa* of Martin Luther King. A group with a banner moves to the front and we line up behind them. We raise our placards, a drum starts to beat out a rhythm, a shout goes up and we move off down the street. Bemused tourists take photos and parents with strollers try not to run over our toes. There are a lot of camera people from different media outlets. There are many young people, Māori and Pākehā both, chanting and waving signs. We wind our

way down the main road, stopping traffic and bringing lunchtime diners to the curbside for a look.

Image 9: Protest March for Indigenous land rights. Credit: Author (Catherine Rivera)

I keep losing Davina amongst the jostling crowd as we get pressed closer together as the road narrows. It is hot, loud, and very noisy, and yet there is a feeling of unity and excited participation. I realize this is actually the first protest march I've ever taken part in, and I can see how the sense of oneness felt with strangers around an issue of common passion can make you feel that you belong to something bigger than yourself, even if only for a few hours. We reach our destination and the crowd disperses slightly as we come into a bigger space, a sound system is set up and the speeches begin…

Other events which discussed honouring the Treaty were protests against petroleum exploration and the Zero Carbon Act Submission evening. Regarding the petroleum protests, Stephen linked the kaupapa of the protest to Māori activists from the past, claiming "we stand in the tradition of the people of Parihaka and chiefs Te Whiti-o-Rongomai and Tohu Kākahi".

What my fieldwork brought out was that bicultural issues were important to the participants because they perceived that Māori were subject to injustices that non-Māori New Zealanders were not. From an anthropological angle, Pākehā activists fighting for justice for Māori could be associated with 'post-colonial logic' as described by Kowal (2008). Post-colonial logic is a form of knowledge used by white people who are committed to combatting racism, sympathetic to self-determination for indigenous peoples, and see the State as responsible for rectifying past (and present) injustices (Kowal, 2008). In Kowal's (2008) research with white Australians who worked with Aboriginal communities, she notes that many of these workers used a post-colonial

logic that was a 'positive' form of othering akin to concepts of the noble savage and Orientalism (Said, 1978), which views indigenous peoples and their lives through a lens of romanticised exoticism. While there were shades of post-colonial logic present in my research, the concept of post-colonial logic was complicated by my participants theological interpretations of divine justice, and a specific New Zealand-based colonial history between Māori and Pākehā regarding Christianity, especially Anglicanism.

The activists in Diocese J wanted to see God's flourishing Kingdom come to earth and ensuring that covenants, like the Treaty of Waitangi, were kept and honoured was an important part of this flourishing. Their comments on honouring the Treaty and the statement put out during the campaign for Māori wards also show links to a widely held view within Pākehā Christian circles that early colonial Christianity in New Zealand, specifically regarding the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), was somewhat benevolent. Moon (2019) highlights commentary from prominent New Zealanders in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that Christianity was considered a positive influence due to its 'civilizing influences'. In the early 21st century discourses of civilizing had been replaced with that of humanitarianism. It has been argued by McKenzie (2010) and Newman (2014) that the CMS took an more humanitarian approach towards New Zealand's indigenous people than had occurred in other British colonies, especially Australia. McKenzie (2010) states

> The often brutal encounters with the indigenous peoples in both countries [The USA and Australia] were regarded later in England as deplorable. By the time New Zealand was first colonised, attitudes towards indigenous peoples had significantly changed and to a large extent the rise of the missionary movement was responsible [for this]. (pg 24)

This narrative of early CMS missionaries as benevolent helpers has been challenged extensively in the later part of the 20th century by scholars such as Judith Binney (2005) and Ranganui Walker (2016). For Walker "the Anglican missionaries who arrived in New Zealand in 1814 were the advance party of cultural invasion" (2016:20).

I was unable to get first-hand accounts from Māori Anglicans on how they understand the role of the early European CMS missionaries and what they thought of Pākehā

Anglicans use of Te Reo and activism on Māori issues. These voices could have added nuance and indigenous insights to the statement earlier in this chapter that "it remains a part of the mission of the church to help the Treaty partners keep their promises and to flourish as partners". However, a recently released book by Māori Anglican and academic Hiniri Kaa (2020) shows that that the colonial history of Anglicanism, and the way Māori remade and reformed Christianity into their own, are complex and are worth a whole thesis in itself. From my fieldwork I suggest that the three Tikanga, while being good in intention, has had limited practical application when it comes to actually working together 'on the ground' for justice issues. This was evident in that there was few or no Māori Anglicans who joined with my participants to protest together.

Climate Change and other justice issues

As well advocacy for Muslims and engaging with indigenous issues, a number of my participants were involved in other activist campaigns, such as climate change and housing scarcity. As already discussed in other chapters, climate change activism included petitioning the government on the Zero Carbon Act and protesting against petroleum exploration. Many people in Diocese J took part in the youth-led 'School Strike for Climate' marches that took place in New Zealand throughout 2019, including Erin, Davina, Stephen, and the SJ participants. Much of this protest was in conjunction with secular activist groups. In New Zealand there is a historical precedent of Anglicans joining with non-Anglicans to fight for social justice, as discussed in Chapter Five. Some of the participants drew on this background and saw what they were doing as a continuation of that lineage. Erin said

> *"there was a lady in my role a while back who had a major organizing role in the Hikoi for Hope…That [activism] is within the church's history and this Diocese. Also, there was the nuclear-free movement [with] an Anglican priest who led the Peace Squadron".*

Davina had no problem with joining non-Anglicans to fight for climate justice. The idea of gathering submissions in Diocese J on the Zero Carbon Act had come from her and Erin's involvement with a climate change activism group called Generation Zero. When I asked her if her Christian faith was an issue amongst this group of young, secular

activists, she indicated it wasn't, "I've been pleasantly surprised by Generation Zero, they don't bat an eye that there are Christians as allies and as part of the team. They are just like 'of course you are here, we all have a role to play'".

Erin not only worked for Diocese J but was also part of a group fighting for the rights of housing tenants in rental accommodation and those in government-funded housing ('social housing'). She indicated that while she was glad that her church community was involved in these issues if they hadn't been, she would have just taken her passion for justice further into the secular world

> *"if I hadn't got this job with the church, I would do some type of campaigning or advocacy work for a different organization…That happens all the time, Christians take their God-given passions for justice elsewhere if the Church isn't able to provide a container to action it".*

For Stephen, most of his activism took place outside of the church, and in conjunction with a group of local activists from all walks of life. What attracted him to this pluralistic group was their passion for issues that were close to his heart, "there are people who are passionate about anti-militarisation, climate change, a whole bunch of stuff…when I met others who were like 'we are going to protest the weapons expo' I just went along…Those folks end up becoming my biggest cheerleaders". Something Stephen had come to realise regarding social justice activism was that not all Christians were able to function in pluralistic spaces

> *"I don't insist that other churchy people step into that space. I made the mistake of doing that and I've seen the people get really rattled and shell shocked to the point that they are not only entering that space but actually that they are outspoken against it, 'that's not where we should be'".*

It can be deduced from the above quotes that Davina, Erin, and Stephen were comfortable working for social justice in pluralistic and secular spaces. They were content to contribute their skills and passion as part of a group that did not agree with their beliefs but had the same longing for justice. For my participants being accepting of both secular and religious pluralism, as well as biculturalism, was partly because of the Anglican concept of the 'broad table'.

The Broad Table - Keeping Unity through Accepting Difference

Another theme that emerged regarding Anglicanism, pluralism, and social justice formation was the influence of a particular theological idea. Anglicanism is often referred to as a 'broad church' (N. Adams, 2018; Rayner, 2003), or as my participants called it, having a 'broad table'. The broad table is both a theological concept and a praxis. It is essentially about maintaining unity amid doctrinal or theological differences by allowing for a variety of opinions to be voiced and listened to in Anglican decision-making spaces (for example, the General Synod). At the broad table, allowances are made for "competing ideas and incompatible ontologies" (Adams, 2018:189), with all who lay claim to being Anglican allowed a 'seat at the table'. Rayner (2003) points out that being able to balance and hold competing tensions for the sake of a wider unity is a feature of broad-church Anglicanism; "Anglicanism has traditionally been reluctant to excommunicate its radicals" (p. 59).

Decisions on societal issues, church praxis, and theology have historically been decided upon based on a commitment to the Anglican 'three-legged stool' of 'scripture, tradition, and reason' (Dormor, McDonald, & Caddick, 2003:192). Suggate (2004) refers to the inclusion of reason as a "commitment to natural morality…[and] enables dialogue with others for a more human social order" (p.165). Divisive issues are engaged with through discussion and questioning, not through claims to exclusivity (M. Brown, 2014b; Dormor et al., 2003; Suggate, 2004). The Anglican Communion allows for regional and local autonomy, which Dormor et al (2003) argue can be messy in practicality but is necessary to allow for diversity at the global table.

Brown (2014) states that Anglican unity is based more on shared praxis, such as using the liturgy from the Common Book of Prayer and taking the Eucharist, than conformity to specific doctrine and viewpoints. Anglican broadness affirms a wide range of people, practices, and theologies, including types of social justice activism that some other Christian denominations reject. It became evident during interviews that the acceptance proffered by the 'broad table' nature of Anglicanism was something that had attracted many of my participants to the church. Pete said, "the Anglican Church has a broad table that beautiful and big, and you can be part of that…a broad table which actually looks like the church [should]". Stephen reflected that, "there is a broad

spectrum of practices, they allow for…including activism in social justice. The dogma isn't entrenched, there are opportunities to challenge, question, and think bigger…they made space for me". Neo noted that the Common Ground Community was able to join the Anglicans because, "it wasn't questioned that we would be acceptable. Anglicans accept anyone, so of course, they accepted us". For theologian Derek, Anglican broadness was important since it allowed for his background of training in a Lutheran seminary to be used and valued in an Anglican context, "I can say 'this is how I do my theology'…and there is a place for me at the table. Really the goal of the table isn't to bring everyone together to the centre but rather to honour everyone in the seats as they are".

The type of pluralism represented by the broad table can be alluring for Emergent and neo-monastic Christians who often have parts of their identities (for example, being gay, or left-wing politically) that are just as important to them as being Christian (Moody & Reed, 2017). Marti (2015) argues that Emerging Christians are religious cosmopolitans who value pluralism and are reflective. This cosmopolitanism is likely aided by the highly educated status of many emergent Christians (Ganiel & Marti, 2015). The broad table probably also appealed to my participants due to being millennials. Research on millennials has shown them to be more accepting of pluralism and diversity than Baby Boomers or Gen X (Brunell, 2013; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Reysen & Katzarska-Miller, 2013). Millennials are particularly prone to reject institutions who are not pluralistic and promote only one way of being

> Some are resentful or afraid of a body [the Church] they perceive as unwilling to enter into dialogue and are still interested in stridently asserting its own version of the facts about the universe and the true interpretation of these facts. (Dormor et al., 2003:2)

While many of my participants were just discovering the delights of Anglican pluralism, they had been disconcerted to discover fellow Anglicans who were trying to block access to the table.

Broad Table under threat – Gender and LGBTQ+ issues

The 'broad table' way of keeping unity within the diversity of Anglicanism has generally worked well. However, it is currently being challenged by conservative, evangelical Anglicans, and bolstered by growing numbers of conservative Anglicans in the global south. The issues causing ruptures at the broad global table include the acceptance of same-sex marriage/homosexuality, and the ordination of women priests (Hasset, 2007; Percy, 2018). A group has formed its own network within the Anglican Communion called the 'Global Anglican Future Conference' (GAFCON). Some Anglican churches who oppose LGBTQ+ rights, and/or the ordination of women in the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand have split off from their geographic Dioceses and come under the authority of GAFCON affiliated Bishops from places like Uganda and Rwanda (Hasset, 2007).

Anglicans who want more LGBTQ+ people and women clergy at the broad table are often from the liberal stream of Anglicanism in Western countries. Some who oppose their GAFCON brothers and sisters in the global south have been accused of being colonialist and trying to tell those from their former colonies how to think (Hasset, 2007). English Bishop Martyn Percy (2013) has succulently noted

> cool, calm religion—that beloved export of Europe for so many centuries—is giving way to hot and sultry expressions of faith that despise moderation and temperateness…ecclesiastical global warming has arrived". (p. 157)

Anglicanism in New Zealand has been affected by a GAFCON split over the blessing of same-sex marriage. When the General Synod approved the blessing of same-sex marriages (with caveats) in 2018, a group of conservative, evangelical Anglicans splintered from The Anglican Church of Aotearoa, New Zealand, and Polynesia to form their own Anglican Diocese, The Church of Confessing Anglicans (CCANZ) (McKenzie, 2020). CCANZ has appointed its own Bishop and is influenced, and partly funded by the conservative Anglican Diocese of Sydney in Australia (McKenzie, 2020). This has led to fractious cross-Tasman Anglican relations.

The splitting off of some New Zealand Anglicans to join GAFCON was seen by Derek as a sad and worrying development that was affecting the broad table by trying to make

it more exclusive, “how do you navigate when you want the table to be open for everyone and they want a table that’s just for them? The most important thing isn’t theological hegemony but community”. I got the sense that GAFCON was particularly distressing for some of my participants because of their PEC backgrounds. One of the reasons they had been attracted to Anglicanism was *because* of its pluralistic nature, which contrasted to the exclusiveness of PEC Christianity. To see that even Anglicans are fighting about pluralism was disappointing. However, this pushback seemed to make them more determined to ‘lean into’ the ecumenical and interfaith connections and networks they had.

The downside of the broad table

Not everything about ‘broad church’ was necessarily seen as positive by my participants. Pete pointed out that having so many voices meant it took a long time to make decisions, “sometimes it’s death by committee!” Neo was one of the only participants who felt there were inherent tensions in being broad, such as the potential to ‘water down’ the Christian message, “anyone can turn up and belong and be part of that thing. Which is great on one level, but it doesn’t always invoke a sense of higher calling or discipleship where we are intentional about following Jesus and the way of Jesus”.

Neo also thought that Common Ground had been more ecumenical before it joined Diocese J and that becoming Anglican had narrowed down the number of interactions the group had with other Christians in particular

> *“I think we lost our ecumenical nature. When we [joined] the Anglican church people were attending all kinds of different denominations. Increasingly over half of our people were attending Anglican churches, but five years previously no one was. So, our ecumenical network, which was quite important to us and gave us a voice to speak into a lot of different churches, now I think that has largely been lost”.*

It could be argued that, from Neo’s viewpoint, the table had been broader for Common Ground before they had joined the Anglican Church. By becoming Anglican, their way of being social justice activists had changed, and this was experienced as

frustrating. Other scholars have also noticed the same as Neo in their research. That is when emergent and neo-monastic movements join a mainline church it can limit their ecumenical contacts (Taylor, 2019; Guest, 2017). Despite this, most of my participants were positive about the high levels of engagement with pluralism, ecumenicalism, and interfaith in Diocese J.

Pluralistic Assemblages

The plethora of opportunities to engage with pluralism and biculturalism in Diocese J can be examined through assemblage theory. Assemblage theory in this case is based in Deleuze and Guattari's work, as mentioned in Chapter Three. Assemblages are constantly changing, rhizomatic networks and elements that consolidate for a period of time in a particular place, before breaking up or reforming as these networks morph and shift (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Escobar & Osterweil, 2009). Assemblages are always 'under construction' (Biehl & Locke, 2017a), they are always Becoming. Assemblages affect individuals who are part of them by forming them into a particular type of person (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; D. J. Marshall & Staeheli, 2015), such as a social justice activist. The aim of examining an assemblage is not just to prove that it exists, "we must [also] pay attention to the ways that they are constantly constructed, undone, and redone by the desires and becomings of actual people" (Biehl & Locke, 2017b:81).

My fieldwork showed that the social justice assemblage in Diocese J consisted of a network of ecumenical, interfaith, and bicultural connections. This included Catholics, neo-monastic and emergent Christians, Quakers, Muslims, environmentalists, academics, and activists. As well as people, the assemblage included more nebulous entities such as Imago Dei, the Three Tikanga, Māori values, a desire to honour the Treaty, and the broad table. This inclusion of non-human actors in assemblages is acknowledged by scholars such as Bruno Latour (2005) and Marshall and Staeheli (2015), who write about assemblages as "an account of the way human and non-human entities within a network "hang together'" (p. 58).

Receptive Generosity

The assemblage in Diocese J created space that allowed for pluralistic encounters with non-Anglicans and can be linked to the concept of receptive generosity (Coles, 1997).

According to Coles (1997), receptive generosity is a stance or orientation that is open to both giving and receiving from others, especially those that may have a different view. It involves encountering, listening, and vulnerability. Coles (1997) frames this through the term 'Caritas', which refers to the love of God for humans, and vis versa. Caritas is giving that is reciprocal. A generosity that only wants to give, but not receive can lead to the establishment of unequal power structures and is not true generosity (Coles, 1997). Coles gives the example of Spanish conquistadors who, like some of the British colonisers who came to New Zealand, tried to 'gift' Christianity to the indigenous people of the New World but did not see anything in indigenous religions that were worthy for them to learn from; "when generosity becomes separated from receptivity it tends toward imperialism and theft" (Coles, 1997: vii). Christians can have problems with receptive generosity, especially receiving wisdom or input from groups who are "outside the Christian story" (Coles, 1997:3). However, Coles argues that there is a theological argument for extending receptive generosity to 'the other' because that is what Jesus did; "since Jesus [was] a stranger, this must mean sitting receptively and generously at the tables of those of other traditions when invited" (Coles and Hauerwas, 2008:227).

There is a case to be made that Diocese J's social justice assemblage was held together by a framework of networked relationships based in a type of receptive generosity. These relationships opened them up to engaging, working with, listening to, and learning from a wide variety of people from different denominations, religions, and ethnic groups, as well as those of no religion. Receptive generosity was evidenced in protesting alongside Catholics, Muslims praying from the front of an Anglican church after the Christchurch Mosque attacks, the use of Te Reo and desire to honour Te Tiriti, and working with Generation Zero to tackle climate change. The broad table concept that seemed to be the foundation for the acceptance and engagement with pluralism, has an ethos of receptive generosity enfolded into it. All may come and sit at this table, 'there was space for me' (Stephen).

However, while Diocese J was practising receptive generosity, there were others in the wider Anglican world who wanted to restrict access to the table. This highlights

another aspect of receptive generosity; that it is often difficult to actually do. Coles (1997) notes that

> efforts to build coalitions of diverse groups are often fundamentally threatening because many of the perspectives and practices that you take to be unquestionable aspects of your identity are challenged by others. (p.191)

The presence of GAFCON Anglicanism, which rejects receiving from LGBTQ+ people and women leaders, shows that Anglicanism itself was not enough to explain why Diocese J was receptively generous. It needed other threads woven into it to make it so.

Receptive Threads in the Assemblage

I noticed three main threads that made up the assemblage in Diocese J which contributed to enhancing pluralism and biculturalism and influenced the social justice activism taking place. One of these threads was the emergent and neo-monastic forms of Christianity brought into the Diocese by Common Ground when John became Bishop. This intersected with the Fresh Expressions movement already present in the Diocese to attract younger, more cosmopolitan members who were accepting of pluralism, diversity, and biculturalism because of their age and education. Unlike some of the older Anglicans in the Diocese, my millennial-aged participants have never lived in a time when Christianity was dominant in society (Welliver, 2017). They did not expect to be the dominant religious group in the public sphere and were content to be one party amongst others gifting their skills and talents so all can flourish.

Another thread of millennial, cosmopolitan pluralism in Diocese's J social justice assemblage was being receptive to indigenous worldviews. This can be seen in the desire to honour the bicultural partnership of Māori and Pākehā present in the Treaty, and the use of Te Reo and concepts such as 'kaupapa'. As Stephen pointed out earlier when discussing his encounter with some Australian Anglicans, this bicultural Māori/ Pākehā thread is unique to New Zealand Anglicanism. However, while Anglicans in other Dioceses in New Zealand also use the Tikanga model, they generally do not have the number of millennials that Diocese J did. It can be argued that in Diocese J the addition of millennials with neo-monastic tendencies who valued biculturalism has

converged with the already present Tikanga governance to form a rhizomatic offshoot that enhances bicultural awareness.

An additional thread that made up this assemblage is the historical Anglican praxis of the broad table. This theological component created a space for neo-monastic Christians to sit down at the Anglican table. However, because neo-monastics are often cosmopolitan and liberal-leaning, they tend to view pluralism differently than GAFCON Anglicans. Rather than wanting to exclude groups from the table, neo-monastics are more likely to align with 'middle-way' Anglicans and see broadness as integral for social justice work. The broad table gives neo-monastic Anglicans a theological license to engage in receptive generosity with 'the other' in a way that allows for listening and working together, rather than trying to evangelise and convert (Taylor, 2019) as was the case in the PEC churches they had left. Another factor in the broad table thread is that in order to come to decisions, debate and discussion are common and the broad table is open to other forms of knowledge besides sacred texts, such as science and academic literature (Suggate, 2004). This encourages learning from a plurality of sources and regular interaction with others who think differently to yourself. This factor enhanced the interactions with networks from outside of Anglicanism, and Christianity in general.

Conclusion

An integral part of belonging to and forming a 'civil' society is the ability to get on with others who have different views and beliefs. This involves an acceptance of pluralism and diversity and is thought to contribute to increased democratic participation. What my research found was that there was an assemblage of ecumenical and intercultural networks, bicultural weavings, and a practical theology of the broad table which undergirded a form of Becoming which accepted and engaged with pluralism in Diocese J. This assemblage made it easier to join with Muslims, Māori, and many others to get on with the 'mahi' of social justice work.

Anglicans in New Zealand have a track record of ecumenical and interfaith engagement and have often used these networks to come together for both social service and social justice work. However, who and what made up the social justice assemblage in Diocese J between 2017 and 2020 had differences from the past. The influx of neo-

monastics with PEC 'megachurch' backgrounds, and the influence of the Fresh Expressions movement from the United Kingdom are examples of these changes. New Zealand's growing religious diversity since the early 1990s has led to increased interfaith connections in the assemblage, which were 'supercharged' by the horror of the Christchurch Mosque attacks. This event reinforced already existing nodes within the assemblage and created new ones, while at the same time weakening links to Christian groups who are feeling threatened by increasing religious diversity.

Bicultural awareness through engagement with colonial histories and use of Māori language and concepts is another thread that wove itself into this assemblage. The Three Tikanga has been present in New Zealand Anglicanism for a while but is now becoming more relevant as my Pākehā millennial-aged participants grapple with what it means to be a New Zealander in the 21st century. The presence of the Three Tikanga indicated to them that institutional Anglicanism was willing to walk this path and make space for the bicultural partnership that was promised in the Treaty of Waitangi all those years ago.

The theology and praxis of the broad table is another part of the assemblage which has historically strengthened pluralistic interactions. In the past the concept of the broad table allowed Anglicans of differing opinions and beliefs to gather around shared practices, rather than set-in-stone doctrines. This part of the wider Anglican assemblage has become increasingly frayed and is starting to unravel under the pressure of 'ungenerous orthodoxies', as Derek called them. However, within the assemblage of Diocese J, the broad table is still in use and attracting those who are leaving Christian groups which have become fearful of pluralism.

The makeup of the assemblage in Diocese J suggests that some ecumenical ties may be weakening, but interfaith links are strengthening. The networks, nodes and threads in the social justice assemblage are being weaved together by commitments to justice for minority groups in a spirit of receptive generosity, rather than coalescing around similar beliefs or doctrines. My participants' actions and teachings regarding other Christians and religions, and their stance towards the indigenous people and their culture, suggests the social justice assemblage in Diocese J is unique in global Anglicanism and New Zealand civil society.

CHAPTER NINE: A PUB AT THE CROSSROADS – FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

> *"I want to suggest that the ability to sustain a local politics, whether it be Christian or radically democratic, requires an orientation…that grounds humility – the humility necessary to engage in the slow and painful work of sustaining a community capable of resisting the allure of significance that is the breeding ground of violence"* – Coles and Hauerwas (2008:24)

The goal of this research was to get an in-depth understanding of how and why a group of young Anglican social justice activists in New Zealand were engaged in civil society through the medium of activism and protest. The research question I began with intended to explore how the Christian, Anglican based, lifeworld of my participants formed and shaped the activists themselves and influenced how they enacted social justice. I wanted to know what gave these particular young people the capacity for the social justice work they did, and what sustained them. In essence, I wanted to know how my participants *became*, and are continually *becoming*, social justice activists. I also wanted to know what role Anglicanism had in their social justice activism, and what other factors were contributing to the abundance of activity coming from this particular Diocese, which appeared to be different from other Anglican Dioceses in New Zealand, and even worldwide.

Using a theoretical lens of being and becoming based in the philosophical work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987), I conclude that becoming for my participants occurred through interactions and engagement with a unique 'mashed-up' assemblage consisting of spaces and places which contained particular theologies, ideologies, movements, people, histories, and demographics. The varying entities in the assemblage formed nodes and offshoots which weaved a dense but flexible relational network that contributed to a journey of becoming for my participants. What emerged from my fieldwork was that this particular assemblage provided a sense of stability and the ability to 'root and ground' in a local community. The findings highlighted the importance of creating and maintaining spaces of pluralistic encounter and belonging, and embodied temporal rhythms and movements. All these factors enhanced and

helped to create the resilience and support necessary to sustain long-term social justice activism amongst my participants.

In this chapter, I sum up the important themes from Chapters Five to Eight and consider how the assemblage in Diocese J interacts with ideas about democratic participation and radical democracy I outlined in Chapter Two. Specifically, I engage with Romand Cole's concept of the ecotone as a space of crossover and consider how Diocese J can be considered as an ecotone entity. Space is also linked to the ICs as an attempt to live in a stable environment through what I have termed being 'rooted and grounded': this is the second theme I consider. In the next section, I pivot back to my original research question to reflect on how the assemblage in Diocese J engaged with and created space for democratic participation to flourish. Radically democratic ideas of the importance of everyday aspect of politics, relationships, and the construction of spaces for listening from the margins are considered. Lastly, I reflect on the sensory methods I used and how they shaped this research and discuss how I navigated my insider/outsider positionality using these methods. I then sum up the main findings of this thesis.

Spaces and Places

Looking back over the intentional communities, spiritual practices, and pluralistic engagement that make up the assemblage of Diocese J, several main threads have woven themselves through my research. The brightest hued and thickest thread is that of space and place. Spaces of encounter, spaces that create, spaces that are open for 'the other', spaces for cleaving and belonging to a local place. The presence of these spaces contributed to the abundance of social justice initiatives in Diocese J. Several minor strands made up this thick thread of space and place, which was the marginal edges of the in-between, and the importance of rooting and grounding.

Crossings and Margins – Spaces of the In-between

In Chapter Three I discussed Romand Coles's concept of the 'ecotone'. The ecotone is a space where ecological communities cross and intersect (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008). Coles applies the concept of the ecotone not to animals or plants but to zones and spaces where various political and activist ideas and practices intermingle. The ecotone occurs at the edges and marginal spaces of the 'normal', it "calls our attention to the

life-engendering character of the ambiguous tension-laden dwelling…of edges" (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:14). I linked the concept of the ecotone with that of spaces of the 'in-between' using Deleuze and Guattari's 'intermezzo' and Van Gennep and Turner's 'liminality', and added to the theoretical mix Paul Stoller and Michael Jackson's musings on 'threshold spaces' and the indeterminate shadow zone of the penumbral. I suggest that the assemblage I observed and experienced in Diocese J existed as a space of the in-between. It was a type of 'ecotone'; a fecund, sometimes chaotic and messy, crossing point of people, movements, practices, ideas, and theologies that interacted, mingled, and created rhizomatic offshoots.

Assemblages contain many different entities and components. In keeping with the sensorial and experiential methodologies I have used so far, I invite the reader to consider the ecotone-style assemblage in Diocese J in the form of an allegory;

> Imagine a crossing point where three paths converge on a lonely, rocky plain away from the surrounding villages. The ground is muddy and roughed up from the feet of the many who travel these tracks. Three road-signs point off into the distance. Most passing through the crossing are on their way to somewhere else, head down and faces set towards their final destinations. There is a pub right in the middle of the crossing. It used to be grand and well-known, but over the years it's lost its appeal. Not many stop here now, they know there is a modern microbrewery with a loud band and smoke-machines in the next town.
>
> But there are those who are tired or curious who step off the road and through the large oak door. Inside they find a roaring fire and candles flickering through the gloom. There is a bar tucked away in the corner, but most of the room is taken up by a large wooden table. Unmatched chairs are set around it and seated at them are a range of disparate folk. The traveller who stumbles into this scene is hesitant, there doesn't seem to be any seats, but someone calls out, "friend, come sit at the table, there is room for everyone here". The traveller slides into a seat and nurses their drink while observing those seated around.
>
> At one end is a well-dressed young man holding forth on the joys of community living
>
> > "well, you know society these days is so lonely and individualised. People just want to live for themselves, but I think humans were made to be in relationship with one another. Yeah, it's quite hard

> living in community, there are ups and downs. But that's how we can challenge the empire, by living on the margins and with those on the edges of society. Being missional, that's what I'm about. Living life with others rather than providing charity, charity is not relational. Being relational is what real social justice is all about. I mean, I know you're used to providing social services George, but that's not really helpful in the long term."

George is an affluent-looking older man dressed in clerical garments, with a white-collar just visible around his neck. He laughs and swirls the amber whisky in his glass

> "Ah yes Mike, I admire your youthful enthusiasm. That's such a gift you bring here to the table. You know, when I invited you to pull up a seat, I wasn't sure you'd fit in. But with our dwindling numbers it's a risk I was willing to take. I get your point about providing social services, but our people have a long history of social justice activism as well, speaking truth to power and all that. It used to be easier when we were working for the King of course, he was really helpful and often gave us space to do our work. These days he's not interested in us really, except to help keep the poor and marginalised satiated just enough that they don't riot again. No matter, when national crises strike, we're there for those who need us. And we are happy to make room at this table for almost anyone, aye Imago".

Imago, a thin elderly woman, smiles at Mike. She carefully moves the folds of her blue silk dress and settles back in her chair

> "Well of course George. God is present in us all, and everyone is made in the image of God. We honour inherent human dignity by offering space at this table. I'd add that it not just humans who have dignity, even Bingo over there can have a seat if he wants".

The traveller turns to see a dog in the corner, who perks up at the mention of its name. Imago continues

> "I guess the thing that perturbs me is the growing number of people who don't want to stop and sit at this table with us anymore. Or will only sit here if we push out those they disagree with. I feel like we used to be more open to different opinions and ways-of-being. Mike, I think you can explain more about that".

Mike stroked his beard and leaned backwards, letting his eyes roam the smoky dark ceiling.

"Yeah, it's true that I wasn't interested in this place when I was younger. It looked so run down and I thought all you did in here was talk and burn candles. I always headed straight to 'Mega', the microbrewery in town. It was always heaving with people, the music was great, and they often had cool comedians who really got the crowd going. But then I got sick and a bit burnt out from my work, I couldn't stand the loud music anymore. God, it was so noisy, and they always sang the same thing. I also began to notice that the people at Mega were really similar, they agreed with each other on just about everything. I tried to suggest they bring in a new, quieter band but that didn't go down well. Maybe that partly answers your question Imago, it's easier to hang out together when dissent is discouraged.

I was passing through the crossing one day and it started to pour with rain. I came in the door and was invited by George to sit at the table and I haven't left really. I can be myself here, space is made for everyone, including me. I value that. Also, it's quiet and peaceful!! I don't miss Mega, although there are good things I took away from there. However, lately they've got more exclusionary and fearful that the King is out to get them. I've told my friends from Mega about this place, more of them are getting interested".

A new figure moved forward into the light and tapped her finger on the table

"It helped though that I was already at the table to welcome you".

Mike smiled at the earnest young woman with long brown hair

"Yes Clare, that is entirely true".

Clare cleared her throat and directed her remarks to the traveller who had just joined them

"I've been visiting this pub ever since I was a kid. I came first with my parents and then as an adult. It was quite fun to be here as a child, but when I came as an adult I noticed how run-down it had gotten. I suggested to George that there was a lot of treasures here, things that could help fellow travellers who were hurrying by outside. He suggested we make some changes, so we spruced up the pub and got a bigger table. The whole thing got a refresh. Sure, it wasn't quite as structured as before, and sometimes things get chaotic and messy. George called us a bunch of barbarians once! But that's ok, that messiness has allowed us to be creative and try new things. The

> change is good, it's attracted people like Mike who hadn't considered coming into the pub before. I'm sure that the combination of George's traditions and Mike's energy will mean even more people will join us soon".
>
> The traveller nodded and smiled, he was starting to feel sleepy now and slipped away from to table to a chair by the fire for a short nap before continuing his journey. As his eyes grew heavy he noticed Imago come and cover him with a blanket before he fell asleep.

In the allegory, I have portrayed elements of the assemblage through the use of characters. George represents the Anglican establishment, Mike is a neo-monastic, Imago is the theology of Imago Dei, and Clare is the Fresh Expressions movement. They were all sitting at the open, pluralistic table of ecumenical, interfaith, and no-faith encounters. Crossings and tables were important spaces of the 'in-between' in the assemblage of Diocese J. An example was the ICs, which created structured spaces of belonging and a bulwark from the stresses of 'empire' capitalism where people from different walks of life encountered each other and learned to live together. Through intentional living, an alternative way of life was formed.

Another example was the way that 'table pluralism' allowed for the social justice activists in Diocese J to join with non-Anglicans, non-Christians, and New Zealand's indigenous people in liminal protest spaces to agitate for change. The table can be seen as a space of receptive generosity (Coles, 1997) that encouraged listening and the giving and receiving of gifts from each other, rather than 'non-relational charity'. The theology and praxis of the broad table created space for listening and engaging with others through the lens of Imago Dei. Imago Dei space is imminent, expansive and tends to encourage interconnections between those of difference (Connolly, 2011). It locates the divine in this world, rather than primarily in transcendent space 'out there'.

The presence of the ICs and the Anglican concept of the broad table in Diocese J, suggests that the incorporation of a neo-monastic group (Common Ground), an emerging church (Mosaic), and an already present institutional initiative for change (Fresh Expressions), helped to enlarge and create spaces for encounter, messiness and taking risks at the edges and margins of Anglicanism. However, there was an unexpected turn of events with John becoming Bishop; the marginal ended up making

their way to the centre. Although many of my participants now occupy a space that would suggest they have some form of power and are no longer marginal, they are still in many ways 'intermezzo' (Deleuze and Guattari, 1997). This is because negotiation is continually needed between different parts of the assemblage to keep open engagement with the 'other', whether that is secular social justice colleagues or Anglicans who prefer the old ways and see themselves as the centre of society and not at the margins.

The Ecotone and Social Justice

It can be argued that the ecotone quality of Diocese J's assemblage was a factor in creating pluralist, rhizomatic 'fresh-shoot' (Taylor, 2019) collaborations with non-Anglicans which enhanced their social justice activism. In this place of ecotone crossings, institutional Anglicanism has sat down at the table with neo-monastic ex-evangelicals, the Fresh Expressions movement, New Zealand's bicultural identity, existing and emerging theologies of flourishing, and already formed ecumenical and interfaith relationships. These crossings and intertwinings have created a new 'node' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) that differentiates Diocese J from other Anglican Dioceses in New Zealand. In turn, this has redirected them towards new possibilities and ways of being and becoming (Biehl & Locke, 2017b; Connolly, 2011), both as Anglicans and as activists.

As I discussed in Chapter Eight, Anglicans have had a broad table for a long time but currently are in a period of renegotiation and contention over who gets to stay seated and who can be invited to join. It seems that Diocese J had opted to make the space at their section of the table more open to groups like Common Ground, and less exclusive than some other parts of the Anglican Communion. This had subsequently increased the alliances and relationships with non-Anglicans on social justice issues of mutual interest, including activist groups like the young Catholic Workers and Generation Zero.

This rhizomatic tendril is not 'set-in-stone' and will continue to change because "a rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987:5). As with all assemblages, the ecotone crossover space created by

the current entities will morph and remake itself in the future and alter social justice activism in Diocese J once again.

Rooting and Grounding – Spaces, Places and Rhythms of Stability

Another persistent theme in this research, across the community and spiritual practices chapters particularly, was the importance of stability. I framed the quest I noticed for stability in Diocese J as being 'rooted and grounded'. This concept was another ecotone crossing where rooting and grounding involved committing oneself to the physical space of a local community and neighbourhood, as well as to a structured, daily rhythm of life and ritual-like, sensorial spiritual practices. Being part of an IC rooted one to what I have termed 'the local', while spiritual practices and Anglican traditions connected the participants to temporal historical 'flows'. These ways of creating stability were undergirded by theological understandings of the Kingdom of God and the importance of relationships.

The most obvious way that participants sought grounding and stability was through engagement with 'the local'. This meant being part of a geographically based neighbourhood and community. The local intersected with several theological ideas, including immanence, mentioned in the previous section, and incarnation; God with us. To be local was to be 'missional', to intentionally embody and incarnate God's vision of human flourishing by being a good neighbour through acts of service and being in relationship with those who lived close. It also meant trying to source daily needs through local businesses and people and contributing to the physical wellbeing of the area through activities like community gardening, cleaning up rubbish, or hosting community events. Being part of an IC in Diocese J was to be 'local' by bringing the Kingdom of God to a neighbourhood as embodied incarnations of Christ; the local was a sacred space where God dwelled.

The neighbour was not someone to be evangelised and converted, they were someone who could experience God through interacting with those who lived in the ICs in the 'radical ordinary' (Coles & Hauerwas, 2008) of everyday life. Developing missional relationships with one's neighbours takes time and requires being rooted and grounded, and not continually having to move. To be rooted and grounded provided stability and was what allowed relationship, and consequently, a sense of community

to develop. The value of being able to 'stay put' in a local community was reflected in my participants concerns about affordable housing, and it was one of the social justice issues they protested about.

Being rooted and grounded in the local also enabled many of my participants to develop a sense of acceptance. The ICs of Diocese J were experienced as a space of belonging in an individualised and competitive society and some, such as Pete and Dan, felt these spaces of belonging were becoming increasingly rare and that lack of belonging affected the mental health of the young people they knew. However, belonging to an IC was not necessarily easy, as it required giving up individual rights for the sake of the community and spiritual growth. As I noted in Chapter Six, the belonging in the ICs appeared to hinge upon being able to adhere to rather high participatory requirements, which led me to wonder what happened to those who were not able to 'keep up', and how 'unbelonging' was experienced by those who left the ICs. Despite this factor, those activists who lived in an IC saw them as a space of belonging, and this belonging was experienced as a type of support that gave them resilience to do social justice work.

The space of the local, the ideals of being missional, and belonging through living in an IC were able to provide stability in no small part due to their links with institutional Anglicanism. This entity of the assemblage provided material and financial resources which limited some of the economic precarity which many young people are subjected to in 21st century New Zealand. It is a lot easier to concentrate on being a good neighbour and social justice activism when you know your rent is not going to rise next week, or the landlord is going to sell. When thinking about the importance of rooting and grounding in Diocese J it is necessary to consider neoliberal precarity as part of the assemblage, which interacted with neo-monastic understandings of 'empire', and the role of the historically powerful Anglican Church in New Zealand society.

Precarity makes it difficult to build community, as jobs and income are unstable and insecure. Neo-monastics are attempting to subvert this unjust economic system through intentional community living. But even their middle-class income and status is often not enough to keep these communities going long term. This is where an alliance with Anglicanism can be helpful, as the institutional apparatus of the denomination in

many Western countries still has considerable material resources and capital, but declining numbers of actual people. Combining neo-monastics with Anglican resources, such as vacant church buildings and houses, made for a more durable local presence.

In the beginning, it seemed a paradox to me that the proxy state church of New Zealand was the entity that was helping activists fight 'empire' until I realized the marginal status of the Anglican Church in contemporary society, and New Zealand Christianity. A constant theme I heard throughout this research, and in literature written by Anglicans, was a concern with the increasing 'edge' status of Anglicanism in public and government spaces. Once a stalwart of the nation and an influential voice in the public square, many Anglicans are now aware that they are one voice among many. It seems to have made them more receptive to neo-monastic groups like Common Ground who bring with them energetic young people who are curious about ancient Christianity and the historical 'treasures' of Anglican tradition and spiritual practices. These traditions and spiritual practices contained another part of the assemblage that helped with grounding and rooting, that of rhythm.

Rhythms were another component of the social justice assemblage in Diocese J which helped with rooting and grounding. Like the previous themes in this chapter, it was a crossover space that combined rhythms of daily life with rhythms of temporal-based spiritual practices to mediate the internal stability of the participants. Rhythms helped to form a spiritual 'container' as bodies moved in an ordered manner through the daily routines in the ICs which centred around service projects, hospitality, eating together, discipleship, and spiritual practices such as morning and evening prayer. Even participants who did not live in ICs often had a personal rhythm of prayer that they did at home. The rhythms of life in the ICs attempted to mimic aspects of monastic life and I observed that it provided a sense of structure that produced feelings of calm.

The daily rhythm pertained not only to structured days but also to the ritual-like spiritual practise of morning and evening prayer that 'bookended' (Dan) life in the ICs. In this case, the temporal aspect of rhythm that helped rooting and grounding pertained to how daily prayers connected participants to an Ancient-Future temporality. In Chapter Seven I discussed how formalism, traditionalism, and

invariance of the liturgy used in these prayers linked to the 'ancient'. The repetitive cycles of the Anglican year, such as Lent and Advent, offered longer periods of temporal rhythm; some participants felt that by partaking in these sacred seasons they were a part of a continual flow of people who had also observed these traditions in times past. As such, daily rhythms of life were a crossover space where Anglican traditions and liturgy met millennial neo-monastic 'ancient-future' temporality (Bialecki and Bielo, 2016) to create a narrative that stabilised and ordered time. One was not a lone, individualised speck in an unstable universe, but was instead a participant in a universal and continually repeated stream of ritualized words and practices that flowed across time and space.

As already alluded to, the daily rhythms and spiritual practices helped to ground bodily senses by producing a feeling of calmness. One of the main ways I observed that feelings of calmness, and thus stability, were created was thorough engaging the senses, particularly that of touch. The use of symbolic materials such as stones and seeds made what they represented (loved ones, hope for housing) more tangible. These materials intersected with various spaces such as worship and taking the Eucharist, social justice protest events, and services of lament and grieving after the Christchurch Mosque Attacks. It can be argued that the affective act of holding a stone or lighting a candle helps to ground emotions and events within a body. Participants often experienced this type of sensory engagement as being beautiful, deep, and rich, which revitalized and refreshed them, and made social justice activism less wearying.

An Assemblage of Stability

What the discussion above on space and place indicates was that the assemblage in Diocese J created spaces and places that allowed my participants to feel stable. This stability was experienced physically, as a grounded body in a local community, and through sensory rhythms of life and prayer which enhanced calmness and silence, and thus resilience. One of the main reasons why stability appeared to be so important to my participants was because, unlike their Baby Boomer grandparents, many aspects of the society they lived in were not experienced as being solid or secure, and the future did not seem bright.

This is apparent in the discussions of 'empire' in Chapter Six and the attention given to creating an alternative to the hyper-individualism and precarity inherent in the neoliberal economic (and cultural) system that empire runs on. In a precarious economy people, like some of my participants, were often on short-term contracts or having to 'hustle' for the next 'gig' job. This required always being available to clients and employers through their cell-phones and having to maintain a digital presence that needs constant attention and updating. The precarity of contemporary employment and life in general lessened the likelihood of having structured days, months, and years. It seemed this unpredictability made many of my participants long for less noise and more stability in their lives. The monastic-like spiritual practices in the ICs and at Anglican services contributed to lessening the chaotic and loud demands from a fast-moving society.

A sense of instability was also apparent throughout my fieldwork in ever-present discourses on climate change and the future as being uncertain. Climate change was the number one social justice issue my participants were concerned about and took action on through engaging with climate change legislation and protesting about environmental issues such as petroleum exploration. Even those participants who were less involved in front-line protesting felt that the existential threat of climate change was a factor in the dismal mental health of many of the young people they worked with. Living in an IC with its structured rhythms in daily life, and the temporal rhythms of Anglicanism created stable ground from which to push back against the empire's economic and social precarity and the hopelessness of climate change.

My research shows that the stability my participants experienced from the various assemblage elements was a major underlying factor in the active social justice milieu present in Diocese J. Living in and belonging to a stable community meant less time trying to 'survive' and more time for social justice activism. The continual relational support available from those one 'did life with' alleviated loneliness and provided a social network for when times were tough. The daily rhythms of life and prayer were also helpful for activism because they were repetitive. Doing the same things, and praying the same prayers, over and over made for a deep 'well' (Davina) to draw on for the hard work of protesting. As the activist was emptied through protest and

confrontation, so they were filled up and permeated again in a repetitious pattern of morning and evening connections to God. Feeling calm and internally centred from Anglican spiritual practices helped to create the emotional energy needed to engage with hard and seemingly hopeless issues like climate change.

It can be argued that providing the young people in Diocese J with a local community to belong to relieved some of the economic burdens and loneliness inherent to present-day society. As such space and place were a significant part of the assemblage which created the type of social justice activism that was taking place in Diocese J. The assemblage was unique in the components that formed it, its temporality, and its cultural context in bicultural New Zealand. These factors would make this assemblage difficult to replicate elsewhere. However, there are still implications that can be drawn on for what the assemblage in Diocese J can mean for civil society and democratic participation.

A Civil Society Assemblage that enhances Democratic Participation

In the literature review, I considered a number of arguments regarding the importance of civil society associations for engaged democratic participation. Here I review some of this literature and discuss how my research findings differed from or confirmed what other scholars have found. In particular, I examine to what extent did this civic association help participants engage in civil society, whether being a millennial was a contributing factor to the type of democratic participation they engaged with, and how radical democratic theories intersected with the political theologies present in Diocese J's assemblage.

Diocese J as a civic association

Diocese J was made up of a classic civic association, churches. Scholars such as Putnam and Campbell (2010) and Ammerman (1997) argue that being part of a church helps to form some of the skills and values necessary for civil society engagement. An important way this is thought to occur is through the myriad of volunteering opportunities that are present in churches. It is said that volunteering can teach participation skills and how to get on with people from different classes and groups (Ward, 2013). Church volunteering, especially in mainline churches like the Anglicans, enables the church to function and also helps those outside the church through the

provision of social services like food banks and homeless shelters (Davie, 2017; Greeley, 1997).

What became apparent during my fieldwork was that, in general, the Anglican Church in New Zealand is becoming less likely to be a place where civic skills are learnt through volunteering, due to the rapid aging and declining numbers of most congregations. This became even more noticeable when the Covid-19 pandemic struck in 2020 and elderly volunteers were forced to stay at home, leading some church groups having to curtail their community work (Oxholm et al., 2021a). An older man I met at an inter-Diocese event bemoaned that in his Diocese many churches now consisted of 20 people or less, "in 15 years all those churches will be gone" he said sadly. Social service programmes in Anglican Dioceses were often headed and run by a team of aging volunteers from several Christian denominations, as most mainline churches in New Zealand now cannot supply enough people to make up denominally based social service ministries.

However, Diocese J was an exception in this regard, with social service ministries and programmes that were growing. In part, this was possible because they had millennial-aged people in their congregations and were experiencing numerical growth, unlike many other Anglican Dioceses in New Zealand. They had also changed their model of social service provision to include ways of helping others that seemed to be more appealing to millennials, such as the ethical business start-ups discussed in Chapter Five. Bishop John, having experience in setting up social enterprises, had been an integral part of getting these types of initiatives started. They were often run by young people of the Diocese, while the older members tended to stick to more traditional social service programmes.

It also seemed that the social service programmes that were present had been coupled with a more contemporary social justice focus. This is not to say this focus wasn't there before, as was evident by the Hikoi for Hope and anti-nuclear protests of past Anglicans. However, having millennials involved in the social service arm of the Diocese had brought more contemporary issues to the fore and changed the way some of these programmes were run, such as sustainability training for volunteers and the provision of recycling and green waste bins at foodbanks. As Neo noted in Chapter

Five, millennials are more interested in social justice than in programmes that don't challenge societal structures. In Diocese J these two focuses were combined which made it more attractive for young people by being sensitive to contemporary needs and issues important to millennials. They could also draw on the historical strengths and financial resources available in traditional Anglican social service provision programmes.

Another point to consider regarding Christians and civic associations is that social service type programmes are increasingly being offered by non-denominational evangelical churches which have tended to keep away from these types of activities in the past (Elisha, 2011). At the inter-denominational Justice Conference I attended with my participants there was a presentation by VisionWest, a social service provider and community trust run by a large evangelical church. VisionWest had become one of the largest organizations of its kind in Auckland, New Zealand's largest city, and now receives funding from Government departments such as the Ministry of Social Development as a 'third sector' provider of social services ("VisionWest Parnerships," n.d.). Pacific Island churches, which tend towards Evangelicalism and Pentecostalism, have also become a major provider of social services, although usually more so for their own people (Lineham & Piggin, 2014). Many of the neo-monastic and emerging groups that had become incorporated into Diocese J were made up of people who used to go to churches like the one where VisionWest was based. They still had connections to these circles, and it was likely that these links added an extra layer of relational and institutional connections to Diocese J's assemblage.

As noted by Romand Coles in Chapter Eight, non-denominational evangelical Christians are not as open to pluralism, diversity, or interfaith and ecumenical reciprocity as mainline denominations. This can lead to discrimination in providing social services to groups or sectors of society which some Christians disagree with. This factor has been noted in the USA regarding the second Bush Administration's Faith-Based Community Initiative Scheme which gave government funding to faith-based communities to deliver social services. Marcia McCormick (2017) found that some fundamentalist Christian groups funded by this government initiative were allowed to refuse to provide social services for the LGBTQ+ community based on arguments of religious

freedom. Barbara Arneil (2006) and others were right then to highlight the importance of how those in civic associations see 'the other' and how this can have a knock-on effect on social service provision and thus social justice. A question for ongoing research is if increasing evangelical engagement, such as that of Vision West, with third sector government initiatives is different from mainline church social service provision and what, if any, consequences this will have for civil society in New Zealand.

From my research findings, it can be argued that the skills required to participate in civil society are cultivated in churches through volunteering, but that a change is taking place where this will not continue in the same way. As traditional denominations like the Anglicans lose influence in civil society because of declining numbers, they will be much less able to contribute volunteers or run social service programmes. The culture of civic participation and being an "egalitarian imparter of civic skills" (Ammerman, 1997:212) that has been cultivated in mainline churches will be much diminished in the future. It is likely the mainline church social service programmes which survive will function differently from the past, especially if there are continuing efforts to create spaces for innovation and links between social service and social justice work, as was present in Diocese J. Traditional denominations may be replaced by other types of churches or religious groups who will likely view social service provision in a different, possibly less pluralistic, manner.

Millennials and Democratic Participation

An increasing number of scholars have argued that democratic participation is changing from being representative-based and passive, to being more participatory and 'hands-on' (Beausoleil, 2017; Cohen & Fung, 2004; Tormey, 2015). Amnå & Ekman (2014) contended this was particularly the case for millennials, and that traditional forms of participating in democracy, such as voting, are waning amongst this generational cohort. Instead, it was thought that alternative forms of democratic participation such as protesting, activism, and community volunteering were more attractive to millennials. 'Pre-political' (Ekman & Amnå, 2012) activities such as recycling and taking public transport were included as an alternative to formalized engagement with the democratic process.

What my research found was that my millennial-aged participants were involved in both traditional and alternative forms of democratic participation. It was particularly helpful that there were general elections near the beginning (2017) and the end (2020) of my research period which allowed me to see how my participants engaged with this more formal aspect of democracy. While Norris (2003) and Stolle and Hooghe (2011) found millennials to not be interested in voting or joining political parties, many of my participants were active members of a variety of political parties and highly interested where individual candidates and parties stood on issues of social justice. Outside of the election cycle, Erin and Davina were active in getting Diocese J involved with submissions to government committees on climate change legislation such as the Zero Carbon Act. This is formal engagement with democracy, rather than alternative.

I contend that being Anglican was a factor in the level of formal democratic engagement present amongst my millennial participants. The Anglican Church in New Zealand has a history of engagement with the New Zealand State and are used to having their voices heard in Parliament (Lineham, 2017). Unlike many PEC Christians, Anglicans tend to trust the State as they have often been part of the governing apparatus as Members of Parliament and heads of government departments. A recent example of this is Dr Ashley Bloomfield who is heading up the current Labour Government's Covid-19 response and is an active Anglican. Anglicans are also often demographically inclined to formal processes of democratic participation by being well-educated and middle to upper-class which enhances the skillset and social capital needed to engage with government consultations and feedback processes. These are also skills that the neo-monastic inclined young people who joined Diocese J possessed. For them becoming Anglican opened up spaces and resources for formal political engagement that incorporated their Christian identity, and which were not necessarily available or encouraged in the PEC churches they came from.

As such, there is a gap in the literature since young people do, often enthusiastically, engage with formal democratic processes if there are factors that encourage, facilitate and make space for this engagement. I suggest that this gap is probably temporal, as there are signs that formal engagement with political parties and voting increased considerably amongst millennials and Gen Zers during the Trump Presidency and after

the Brexit vote (Deal, 2019). This increased engagement is evident in the surge of young people standing for positions of governance in many western countries, including the multicultural left-wing 'squad' led by Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the USA and Green Party MPs such as Chloe Swarbrick and Golriz Ghahraman in New Zealand.

My participants were also very involved in alternative and pre-political forms of democratic participation. Indeed, it can be claimed that living in an Intentional Community is itself a form of civic participation through participants missional grassroots engagement with their local community. The time I spent in Rio Puro and the other rural IC highlighted pre-political attempts to help civil society flourish through building eco-friendly houses, community farms, and growing organic produce. In the urban areas of Diocese J, other participants rode bicycles, took public transport, brought electric cars, recycled, and brought second-hand items. Protesting and activism are also considered an alternative form of democratic participation (Amnå & Ekman, 2014) and, as has been outlined throughout this thesis, was abundantly present in Diocese J. Fortuitously during my fieldwork time there was much to protest about in New Zealand, and this led me to partake in my first ever public protest march alongside my participants.

Alternative and pre-political democratic participation was assisted in Diocese J by several factors. One was having Bishops who believed in the importance of it and released financial and material resources such as buildings and funding for the ICs to flourish. Bishop John also had experience as an activist and valued it as an activity that enhanced social justice, so he created spaces and paid positions to encourage activism. Another factor, mentioned previously, was the historical background of activism and community work already present in New Zealand Anglicanism from times past and the pre-existing relationships with Catholic worker activists and interfaith groups from which to draw on.

My findings suggest that democratic participation, both formal and alternative amongst millennials can be increased through the encouragement and resourcing of these activities by institutional entities such as the Anglican Church. However, this is often dependent on sympathetic leaders who have the power and resources to support change. Some of my participants made this clear when they pointed out that

other Dioceses in New Zealand did not have ICs or encourage the type of activism they took part in because the powers that be in those Dioceses were not particularly interested in doing so. In the case of Diocese J, it may not always support the forms of democratic participation that it currently does if Bishop John moves on or is replaced. It also appears that both formal and alternative democratic participation amongst millennials (and Gen Zers) is currently increasing, not decreasing. This was evident in the amount of young people 'striking for climate', marching for Māori land rights, and filling in submissions to encourage the government to adopt the Zero Climate Act that I observed over the last three years.

Radical Democracy and Diocese J

Part of the hypothesis I began with regarding democratic participation in Diocese J was that there were likely to be links and crossover points with radical democratic theory and ideas. I was interested to know if it was what Coles and Hauerwas (2008) termed a "radical ecclesia" (p. back cover). From my fieldwork, I conclude that Diocese J did display many characteristics of being a radical ecclesia, especially regarding an emphasis on the everyday, and cultivating practises of listening and relationships.

Scholars such as Coles (2008) and Connolly (2005) argue that political changes are often gained through activism and protest movements which are built on grassroots 'politics of the everyday'. By this, they mean that these movements, such as those who fought for civil rights in 1960s USA, were successful because of relational connections cultivated through daily, seemingly inconsequential activities such as eating together, helping out one's neighbour, or "sitting around on front porches with no plan of action" (Charles Marsh in Coles & Hauerwas, 2008:43). It can be difficult to maintain activist movements which are based on sporadic, one-off events, it is thought that relationships helped to sustain activism long-term.

This aspect was certainly evident in the ICs of Diocese J. The ICs strengthened relationships considerably because it was here that people engaged with and learnt to interact and live with each other daily, rather than only on Sundays in a local congregation. Another element of the everyday present in the ICs was adhering to a daily rhythm of life. Having a daily rhythm of work, activity, and prayer had a stabilising effect on the participants physical and mental wellbeing and seemed to aid in building

resilience. These practices were associated with being rooted and grounded, slowing down and not rushing, thus they can be connected to Coles's (2008) observation that radical democratic politics is a "politics that takes time" (p.3), and Christian spiritual practices as a way to do this.

Relationships built through daily interactions can enhance listening skills. While some radical democratic theorists like Laclau and Mouffe (1985) advocate for antagonist interactions and living with discord and tension, Coles (2008) and others such as Cornell West (2011) and Emily Beausoleil (2015) are more interested in developing the 'art of listening'. During my research, I observed concerted efforts by my participants to construct spaces and tables at which to listen to each other, and others outside of the Church. In Chapter Eight, I pointed out how Muslims and Māori are groups Diocese J were attempting to listen to and learn from.

Listening was augmented by several factors. I contend that one of the aspects which encouraged listening in Diocese J was the decline in numbers and societal influence experienced by Anglicans in New Zealand. Coles and Hauerwas (2008) point out that part of learning to listen requires being vulnerable and many Anglicans I met were certainly feeling vulnerable as they stared down a tunnel of future oblivion for many of their churches. Becoming vulnerable seems to have opened up space for listening to groups like Common Ground and Matrix, which resulted in these groups eventually joined with Diocese J and bringing with them listening skills gained from being marginal neo-monastic/emerging Christians.

The emphasis on marginality inherent in neo-monasticism, and now being experienced by Anglicans, is also evident in radial democratic attempts to build inclusive publics and can be linked to my participant's identification with living on the edge. It can be surmised that identifying with marginality has led Diocese J to a more overt emphasis on missionally 'being with' rather than only 'providing for' the poor and needy. Thus, becoming and embracing marginality has changed the way that this civic association listens to and engages with others.

Reflections – Fieldwork and Methodology

Civil society and democratic political participation not the type of topic anthropologists generally engage with. Yet at the beginning of this project, I thought that the ethnographic methodologies inherent to the discipline had the potential to understand this subject differently from political studies scholars. I wanted to gain an embodied and affective understanding of democratic participation, rather than relying solely on the spoken words of interviews and philosophical imaginings. For this reason, I used phenomenological, sensory ethnographic methods that sought to experience the spaces and places of Diocese J in a similar way to my participants. This led to aching muscles from pulling up blackberries, sweating in hot protest marches, shivering in solidarity vigils, calming silence during mediative prayer, and the impression of hard cold stones in the palm of my hand. It is fair to say that my research was a full-bodied sensory experience.

What using sensory methodologies contributed to this research was to highlight the importance of affective senses such as touch and repetitive kinaesthetic movements for creating lifeworlds (Jackson, 2009) that can aid in becoming a social justice activist. Using sensory ethnography gave me a sense of how social justice activism, and the forms of becoming that sustain it, gets under the skin and infuses the body. Additionally, I found the spiritual practices and IC living of my participants to be personally helpful for negotiating my own feelings of precarity and sense of an unstable world. Words also turned out to be an important factor as well, especially regarding liturgy. The words of the liturgy did things, they connected those who used them to past temporalities, religious traditions, and the context of New Zealand through the use of Te Reo. These connections had the effect of making the words sensory as they were not so much used to pass on knowledge or information, but more to weave together communities and invoke memory and stability. As Robert MacFarlane (2015) noted in his work on the importance of place to belonging, “language does not just register experience, it produces it” (p.25). It was my experience that using sensory methodologies did indeed help with understanding “how sensory ways of experiencing and knowing are integral to the lives of people who participate in our research” (Pink, 2015:xi).

Using sensory methods was not always easy, especially pertaining to my positionality as a researcher. While I am not Anglican, I am a Christian (of a sort), and as such my participants usually expected that I would participate in prayer, take the Eucharist, and other spiritual practices. This insider positionality made it difficult at times to 'stand outside' the experience and observe, especially during the fieldwork phase. This factor lessened somewhat once I ended my formalised fieldwork, but I still saw my participants and interacted regularly with many of them afterwards. Drawing on sensory methodologies led to me accepting that participation, especially when 'deep hanging out', was important and 'doable' as long as I maintained a reflective stance to my role in the different activities I was involved with.

The radical democratic literature I read, especially from Coles and Hauerwas (2008), was instrumental in helping to negotiate this 'insider' positionality. Coles's argument that true listening requires vulnerability was of particular importance. His views on caritas and that giving had to be reciprocal or it was just another form of colonialism were impactful. Researchers can end up playing a role similar to being a colonizer if they are not careful to examine the power they have vis a vis those they research. Throughout this research process, I was open to being vulnerable with my participants and to receiving from them rather than rejecting the gifts of caritas they had to offer. This led to being prayed for, given prophetic 'words of knowledge', and accepting hospitality. I was able to give back through such things as providing teaching for the SJ programme and contributing to a women's study group led by Bishop Julia.

Paul Stoller (2009) has noted that sensory methods involve "lending your body to the world" (p.34), and this is what I endeavoured to do. As I studied and interacted with the ways of becoming that (re)formed my participants, I also was (re)fashioned through the experience. Throughout this process, I have encountered the 'messy' boundaries of the in-between and ecotone crossings as my academic and personal lives have meshed and interweaved with each other. This research journey has changed me and made me more open to the vulnerable 'not-knowing' (Pink, 2015) which is one of the inherent marks of using a sensory methodological and theoretical lens.

In Conclusion…

This PhD research started with the question "how and what are young Anglican social justice activists contributing to civil society and democratic participation in Aotearoa New Zealand in the early 21st century?". The answer to that part of the question is 'quite a lot'. Young Anglicans in Diocese J were protesting, marching, training others for activism, advocating for climate-change and housing legislation, helping out in their local communities, recycling, setting up community gardens, and providing hospitality and a place of belonging to young people who needed it. In the end though what became more relevant was the second part of my research question, which was "how is the religious worldview of my research participants forming them, and what gave these young people the capacity for the social justice work they do?" It turned out it was not just a worldview that was forming them, but a whole array of factors. Using assemblage theory, I have argued that specific elements have coalesced in Diocese J at this point in time to create interconnected spaces and places for social justice activism to emerge, and for my participants to become activists.

An important component in the assemblage was neo-monastic and emergent Christian groups which had developed since the mid-1990s. These emergent groups grew out of some evangelical's disillusionment with capitalist-style mega-churches and swings towards a 'hard' form of right-wing, culture-war evangelical fundamentalism that began in the USA and has since been exported to many Western countries. In time, emergent Christians found being outside of an established Christian denomination to be lonely and difficult to maintain long-term. In their search for a different type of Christianity, they had drawn on elements of communitarian-focused monasticism such as living in intentional communities and contemplative spiritual practices to counteract the individualism of modern society. This focus led many of these communities to join with mainline churches like the Anglicans who still retained these traditions and practices and fitted with the ancient-future temporality they were seeking.

The growth of neo-monasticism has come at an opportune time for the shrinking and aging Anglican Church in Western countries, including New Zealand. This factor is another part of the assemblage. It is likely that in the past there would have been less room at the table for this radical and sometimes messy form of Christianity. But with

degrowth and the growing irrelevance to New Zealand society, it seems those with power in Diocese J became willing to take chances on new and unproven strategies, such as admitting a bunch of evangelically inclined social justice activists. It also helped that the Church of England had recognized the need for reformation in the Anglican Communion and instituted the Fresh Expressions movement in the UK. The pivotal result regarding the inclusion of emergent Christian groups in Diocese J was that one of them became Bishop. This brought a marginal Christian group from the edges of Anglicanism right to the heart of the Diocese. Steve Taylor asked in his research of 'first expression' groups in the early 2000s what Anglicanism would look like once the leaders of these movements became bishops, this research can provide one answer to that question.

With John becoming the bishop, a vision for social justice began to be enacted which drew on neo-monastic values of missional community and already present Anglican political theologies of human flourishing. These theologies leaned towards working for justice in an immanent God-filled world where justice should rain down for those made in *Imago Dei*. There was a refocusing in Diocese J on working for justice, and not just providing social services. This reorientation led to an increase in the funding and resources available to establish and maintain both new and existing intentional communities. The types of people who joined these ICs were seriously committed to each other and daily rhythms of life and prayer. As they joined local Anglican congregations, they challenged the civic, default-state style of Anglicanism by (re)centring spiritual practices such as the Eucharist as a treasure rather than an obligation. This (re)centring was helped along by many of these new young Anglicans quickly moving through the institutional church hierarchy of leadership to become deacons and vicars. It is likely that the injection of these millennial neo-monastics will change how Diocese J does social service work in the future, especially as older members age and can no longer contribute as they have the past. In other Dioceses with no young or new congregants, Anglican social service programmes will most likely disappear altogether.

Another aspect of the assemblage is the biculturalism of New Zealand which was already present in the Anglicanism of this country through the Three Tikanga structure

but did not appear to have much practical implication in many Pākehā Anglican spaces. The increase of millennials in Diocese J has challenged this, as many of those who joined Diocese J are highly educated, liberal-leaning, and value diversity and equality. These millennials were given space and encouragement to connect with Māori culture and language in services, spiritual practices, and issues of social justice. The Anglican history of the broad table has a part to play in helping build these connections and also facilitating pluralistic interactions with Muslims and other interfaith groups. This historical commitment to pluralism is being challenged in sectors of the wider Anglican Communion but is still intact in Diocese J.

All these aspects of the assemblage present in Diocese J have woven together to create a space and entity which enhances democratic participation. My results suggest that religious institutions can bolster and strengthen civil society not only through instilling certain values and habits, but also through providing practical support to alleviate some of the uncertainty and precarity of contemporary neoliberal modernity. It also highlights the importance of individuals who have the power to keep these spaces open and functioning well, in this case Bishops John and Julia. The decline of Anglicanism in New Zealand has inadvertently increased the chances for individuals like John and other neo-monastic and emergent Christians, such as my participants, to access Anglican traditions, spiritual practices, and resources. One of the contributions of this research is to bring to academic attention how new religious movements can reform, change, and remake an established denomination and its ways of functioning in civil society.

For Further Research

The caveat needs to be made that what this research found regarding Anglican social justice activism amongst and by millennials was place centric to New Zealand and Diocese J in the early(ish) 21st century. Remarks by my participants and academic literature suggest that my findings would be difficult to replicate in other Anglican Dioceses in New Zealand, or outside of New Zealand. It is also unlikely these results would be found amongst other Christian groups within New Zealand in the same way, although there would be crossover points. This would suggest that further research on

religion and politics is needed that goes beyond broad categories such as 'Christian' or even 'Anglican' to understand other religiously/Christian based assemblages.

I suggest there is a need within academic circles for further attention as to how intersections of religion and politics can be understood through the use of ethnographic research methods. This is because ethnography can consider knowledge which is embodied and sensory-based and how it forms particular lifeworlds and the people who inhabit them. It is important to ask which elements and components are present in *this* place and *this* time, and who is present at the ecotone pub in the middle of the crossing. This type of research is becoming increasingly important as some previously apolitical Christian groups have become more involved with varying forms of democratic (and not so democratic) participation.

While it has been thought by some scholars that appreciation of diversity was something taught in churches, it become apparent over the course of my research that this literature has relied too much on studying mainline and traditional denominations. It was evident after the Christchurch Mosque Attacks in 2019, for example, that some evangelical and Pentecostal sectors of Christianity in New Zealand are increasingly antagonistic towards pluralism and religious diversity, especially regarding Islam. This is an area where further research is needed to ascertain what kinds of assemblages these Christian movements are part of, and the specifics of these assemblages in a New Zealand context.

Final Thoughts

I began this research on a sunny day at the beginning of November in 2017. At the time the world was grappling with the first year of the Trump Presidency and Brexit negotiations, but here in New Zealand it still felt we could ignore that instability and get on with life in our safe corner of the Pacific. As I write these words in 2021 that is no longer the case. Over the last three years, New Zealand experienced one of the worst far-right terrorist attacks in the Western world, been roiled by global issues such as Black Lives Matter and climate change protests, and spent months locked down due to a global pandemic. The world seems much less stable than in 2017. And yet the time I spent with my participants taught me how to handle this 'ungrounding' better by teaching me daily, embodied spiritual practices which helped to alleviate the stress

and anxiety of this unusual period of history. This may be one of the main ways that Diocese J is contributing in the long-term to civil society in New Zealand, by forming those in it into people who are resilient and have hope. Those who then go out to fight injustice in the knowledge that, at its heart, social justice activism is inherently a spiritual practice.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One: Information Sheet for Participants

Researcher Introduction

My name is Catherine Rivera and I am currently a PhD Candidate at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand and have been awarded a Massey Vice Chancellors Doctoral Scholarship towards my studies. I hold an MA with Distinction (Social Anthropology) and BA Social Anthropology (Hons) from Massey University. My MA thesis researched how young evangelical Christians understand the concept of social justice, especially with regard to Human Trafficking. As well as being a PhD student, I tutor distance (online) students on a second year BA core paper, Tū Rangaranga – Global Encounters.

Project Description

The aim of my research is to explore the topic of 21st century citizenship formation, more specifically to analyse the role of religious faith and practice in shaping the values, ethos, and activities of 'millennial' aged Christians (aged between 17-35) involved in social justice work.

The context for my research is that in the last decade in the Western world there has been growing amounts of civic activism with regard to increasing poverty and inequality, and a rise in global issues such as increasing refugee numbers and human trafficking. In the last three years in particular activism has increased greatly amongst young people over issues such as climate change, and gender issues (such as the 'Me Too' movement). With growing civic and political unrest, there is a need for those who are social justice activists to be able to maintain a long-term resilience to continue to do the work that they do. As such, much can be learnt from those who are already involved in social justice work in local communities, such as churches and faith-based groups.

Inaction and 'a-politics' have been associated with the 'youth of today' who have shied away from traditional forms of civic and collective action, as well as failing to show up at the voting booth. Yet I found when I did research for my MA thesis that many young Christians are engaged and interested in civic issues, especially those based around the concept of social justice. Many millennial Christians are experimenting with different forms of social action including protesting, advocacy, activism, and community organizing to name a few.

The questions I want to explore revolve around why these kinds of practices of social justice are able to occur with such regularity in a particular Christian group, that of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular I am interested in how Anglicanism has managed to 'hold' a wide variety of social justice based work, how it forms its young people into socially active citizens, and what types of spiritual practices do young Anglican social justice workers find helpful.

Invitation

I want to interview and observe millennial aged Anglicans (and some who are slightly older) who are interested in social justice issues, particularly those who participate in public activism. If this describes you, I would be most grateful if you would consider being interviewed for this research project. You will also need to be 17 years old or older.

Fieldwork Procedures

As a participant you can be asked to participate in the following ways

- By taking part in a recorded interview with me on why you are interested in social justice, how your faith influences your practices in this area, how/what Anglicanism has contributed to your social justice practices etc.
- By checking a transcript of your interview for accuracy

Participant's Rights

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Remain anonymous (no real names will used in the thesis write up)
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study (within the first six months)
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;

Data Management

The data supplied by participants in the form of recorded interviews will be transcribed and used to help write my PhD dissertation. My findings and conclusions will be written up and handed into the Department of Social Anthropology at Massey University. It is also possible that the material will be presented at conferences or published in academic journals.

The recorded interviews and transcripts will be stored on a computer which will be password protected, as will data on a portable hard drive. People who will have access to this data will be myself and my supervisors, Dr. Robyn Andrews and Associate Professor Juliana Mansvelt. Each participant will be sent a summary of the final research project if they want to receive it. Each participant will be interviewed and identified in the dissertation under a made-up name to protect their identity, although real names can be used if the participant wants that. All attempts will be made to guard the anonymity of the organizations and participants involved that prefer to be anonymous, however participants should be aware this can never be 100% guaranteed**.**

Ethical Review

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.
If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with

someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Project Contacts

Catherine Rivera, Ph. 021 1306032, C.Rivera@massey.ac.nz or Dr. Robyn Andrews, (06) 356 9099 ext. 83653, R.Andrews@massey.ac.nz Please contact either myself (Catherine) or my Supervisor (Dr. Robyn Andrews) if you have questions regarding this research project.

Appendix Two: Information Sheet for Participant Organizations

Researcher Introduction

My name is Catherine Rivera and I am currently a PhD Candidate at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand and have been awarded a Massey Vice Chancellors Doctoral Scholarship towards my studies. I hold an MA with Distinction (Social Anthropology) and BA Social Anthropology (Hons) from Massey University. My MA thesis researched how young evangelical Christians understand the concept of social justice, especially with regard to Human Trafficking. As well as being a PhD student I tutor distance (online) students on a second year BA core paper, Tū Rangaranga; Global Encounters.

Project Description

The aim of my research is to explore the topic of 21st century civic formation, more specifically to analyse the role of religious faith and practice in shaping the values, ethos, and activities of 'millennial' aged Christians (aged 17-35) involved in social justice work.

The context for my research is that in the last decade there has been growing discontent, particularly in the Western world, with the liberal democratic political system that is perceived by many to be somehow broken. This discontent has led to the election of businessman Donald Trump to the Presidency of the United States, the exit of Britain from the European Union, and the rise of ultranationalist political parties in various European states, amongst other things.

In response to growing ideological divisions, and a resurgence of the 'us vs them' mentality in civic life, there has been a revival of civil society based activism in many Western countries. In the last three years in particular, activism has increased greatly amongst young people over issues such as climate change, and gender concerns (such as the 'Me Too' movement). With growing civic and political unrest there is a need for those who are social justice activists to be able to maintain a long term resilience to continue to do the work that they do. As such, much can be learnt from those who have already been involved in social justice work in local communities for sustained periods of time, such as churches and faith based groups.

Inaction and 'a-politics' have been associated with the 'youth of today' who have shied away from traditional forms of civic and collective action, as well as failing to show up at the voting booth. Yet I found when I did research for my MA thesis that many young Christians are engaged and interested in civic issues, especially those based around the concept of social justice. Many millennial aged Christians are experimenting with different forms of social action including protesting, advocacy, activism, and community organizing to name a few. There is a gap in relevant research on this topic, especially in a NEW ZEALAND context.

The questions I want to explore revolve around why these kinds of practices of social justice are able to occur with such regularity in a particular Christian group, that of the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand. In particular I am interested in how Anglicanism has managed to 'hold' a wide variety of social justice based work, how it forms its young people into socially active citizens, and what types of spiritual practices do young Anglican social justice workers find helpful.

Methodology

My proposed methodologies include interviews, and action participation. This is where one not only observes, but also participates bodily in the daily practices of one's participants in an attempt to enter their world (Jackson, 2013). It is important to me that views and voices of my participants are kept to the fore of my research and that they are also producers of knowledge and not merely suppliers of 'data'. I concur with the words of anthropologist Hilary Foye who writes, "research [should be] underpinned by the conviction that ethnographic inquiry should neither entail 'a hostile gaze', nor an insensitive rummaging through other people's lives" (Foye, 2011). My goal is that both the participants and the researcher gain from the experience of researching.

Research Fieldwork

As a participant organization, you are asked to participate in the following ways:

- By giving me permission to approach people working for, or associated with, your organization for interviews if they are willing. These interviews will be recorded and later transcribed.
- By allowing me to attend and observe events and activities related to social justice that your organization runs or oversees. In anthropology this is called 'participant observation', and involves 'hanging out' with some of those in your organization who are engaged in in social justice activities.
- By giving me some lessons or training in the spiritual practices your organization or staff/members use. This is consistent with my methodological approach of acquiring embodied knowledge (knowledge that is gained using bodily practice, not just cerebral thinking!)

Participant Organization's Rights

Your organization is under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Remain anonymous, the name of the organization will not be used in the thesis;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study (within the first six months)
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Data Management

The data supplied by the participants in the form of recorded interviews will be transcribed and used to help write my PhD dissertation. My findings and conclusions will be written up and handed into the Department of Social Anthropology at Massey University. It is also possible that the material will be presented at conferences or published in academic journals.

The recorded interviews and transcripts will be stored on a computer which will be password protected, as will data on a portable hard drive. People who will have access to this data will

be myself and my supervisors, Dr. Robyn Andrews and Associate Professor Juliana Mansvelt. Each participant and your organization will be sent a summary of the final research project if they want to receive it. Each participant will be interviewed and identified in the dissertation under a made-up name to protect their identity. The organization has the choice if they want to named or use an anonymous name. All attempts will be made to guard the anonymity of the organizations and participants involved that prefer to be anonymous, however participants should be aware this can never be 100% guaranteed**.**

Ethical Review

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher named in this document are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.
If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you want to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Dr Brian Finch, Director (Research Ethics), email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Project Contacts

Catherine Rivera, Ph. 021 1306032, C.Rivera@massey.ac.nz or Dr. Robyn Andrews, (06) 356 9099 ext. 83653, R.Andrews@massey.ac.nz . Please contact either myself (Catherine) or my Supervisor (Dr. Robyn Andrews) if you have questions regarding this research project.

Appendix Three: Interview Questions

1) Tell me what type of social justice work you are involved with or have been involved with in the past.
2) How did you get interested in social justice issues?
3) Describe what social justice is/means to you
4) How does your faith inform your worldview regarding social justice?
5) Why are you working for social justice within an Anglican context as opposed to some other church denomination or group?
6) Do you think there is any particular strengths within Anglicanism that contribute to the social justice work you do? e.g spiritual practices, institutional structuring, particular theology
    a. Weaknesses?
7) What are your thoughts on the current issues the western world is facing with climate change and increasingly polarising politics, related to your interest in social justice issues?
8) What you think young Anglican social justice activists can contribute to the future of civil society, both in NZ and globally?