Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

Together in the Light: An ethnographic exploration of the Palmerston North Quakers' sense of community and shared understandings

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

> Ian Keyes 2014

#### **Contents**

Abstract	V	
Acknowledgements	VII	
Chapter One – Introduction		
Introduction	9	
Overview of this chapter	11	
Context for the emergence of Quakerism George Fox	12 13	
A brief history of Quakers in New Zealand Quakers in Palmerston North	16 17	
Quaker types, frameworks and organisational 'structure' Quaker types Liberal/unprogrammed Quakerism Liberal/unprogrammed Quaker frameworks Inner Light Silence Testimonies Publications Quaker organisational 'structure' International level National level	18 18 19 19 19 20 21 21 22 22 23	
Religion and anthropology	24	
Anthropology of Christianity	25	
Studies among Quakers Quaker research in New Zealand	27 30	
Understanding community Quaker community elements: Ritual and Silence Ritual Silence	31 33 33 35	
Understanding Quakers through an anthropological 'lens'	36	
Conclusion	41	

# Chapter Two – Methodology

Introduction	43
Chapter outline	44
Fieldwork methods Participant observation Positionality as a non-Quaker Interviews Focus group Field notes Quaker publications	45 45 46 46 47 49 50
Beginning my research	51
The Palmerston North Quaker worship group An introduction to my research participants Huckleberry Percy Evelyn Thomas Alan & Rose Sarah Andria Michelle Julie Ryan & Denise	52 52 53 53 54 54 54 55 55
An introduction to my fieldwork locations The Palmerston North meeting house The Massey University 'meeting house' Other meeting houses visited	56 56 60 61
Palmerston North Quaker events  Meeting for worship  Post-meeting discussion  Monthly/Business meeting	62 65 65 65
Ethical issues	67
Challenges	68
Conclusion	69

# Chapter Three – Understanding the

# **Palmerston North Quakers**

Introduction	71
How to become a Quaker Birthright Quakers How to leave the Quakers	72 74 75
Quaker positions  Members and attenders  Pastoral committee  Clerks	75 75 78 78
My research participants' journey to becoming Quakers Coming 'home' Huckleberry Percy Andria Julie An alignment of values Evelyn Thomas Sarah Michelle Alan & Rose Ryan & Denise	79 80 80 81 81 82 82 82 84 84 85 86 87
The shared community values Tolerance Humility Openness	89 89 91 92
How a sense of community is engendered The meeting for worship Meeting house Other events	93 93 97 100
Conclusion	103

# Chapter Four – The shared understandings of the Palmerston North Quaker community

Introduction	106
The meeting for worship as an 'interaction ritual'	107
The <i>shared understandings</i> of the meeting for worship The valuing of silence A time to 'refresh' A time of possibility	109 111 113 115
The <i>shared understandings</i> of what distinguishes a Quaker Theological freedom Practice: Social & Theological Social Theological	119 119 122 123 125
The <i>shared understandings</i> of 'Quakerly' expectations Expectations of behaviour Expectations of behaviour to avoid	128 129 132
The source of the community's shared understandings	136
Conclusion	138
Chapter Five – Concluding chapter Reference list	141
	150
Appendices	
Appendix one	161
Appendix two	162
Appendix three	164

#### **Abstract**

The Religious Society of Friends is a Christian denomination whose emergence can be traced back to the teachings of George Fox in the 1640s in England. Since that time the denomination has splintered, from which four branches of Quakerism have emerged. One of these branches is liberal Quakerism, which is the only type of Quakerism found in New Zealand. Liberal Quakers do not have any centralised doctrine or authority figures, and they take the view that practice is more important that one's belief.

This research focuses on the Palmerston North Quakers and specifically answers two sets of questions. The first is whether they have a sense of community, and if so, what gives them that sense of community. The second set of questions centres on what the Quakers shared understanding are in the context of their community boundaries, and what enables these understandings.

As well as drawing on analysis from interviews with my research participants, this research also draws extensively on participant observation from Palmerston North and also from other groups in the North Island of New Zealand. All of which enables an understanding of the lived experience of being a Palmerston North Quaker.

Underpinning my research is a bricolage of theoretical work. These include community theory from John Bruhn, David Minar and Scott Greer, Patricia Felkins, Susan Love Brown as well as Victor and Edith Turner's concept of communitas, Randall Collin's interaction ritual theory and James Fernandez's work on consensus.

The most significant theme to emerge from analysis was the importance of the Quaker's silent meeting for worship. Whilst it may seem like an uneventful period of time to outsiders, its central importance to the community cannot be emphasised enough.

Keywords: Anthropology; Communitas; Community; Consensus;
Ethnography; Interaction ritual; Quakers; Religion; Religious Society of
Friends; Ritual; Solidarity.

#### **Acknowledgements**

This thesis is the culmination of two years of work. Whilst my name is on the cover, it is by no means an individual piece of work and it certainly would not have been possible without the help of numerous people. I would like to now acknowledge those who assisted me on this journey.

First of all I would like to thank my research participants, members of the Palmerston North Quaker community. Without your assistance and patience this research would not have got off the ground. Thank you for sharing your views, thoughts and interpretations. Personally this has been a great experience and certainly very rewarding. I hope this research will be of value to your community.

To the Quakers that I met around the country, thank you for the advice, support and knowledge that you gave me. You helped put it all in perspective.

To my supervisors Robyn Andrews and Juliana Mansvelt, I offer a warm thank you and a firm handshake. Your never ending patience and positive feedback have assisted me no end. Whether it was for ideas in terms of direction, assisting with my writing and editing or answering my endless questions, you were always there. Your (many) suggestions have no doubt strengthened this research. Cheers for that.

To my wife Tracy, thank you so much for the infinite support you give me on a daily basis. Your smile always keeps me going. Rock on.

Last but not least, thank you to all those who listened to me whilst I spoke about my project during numerous presentations, discussions and during informal chats at

lunch time in the common room. Your encouragement and interest was always appreciated, and will not be forgotten.