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SOME ASPECTS OF ORGANISATIONAL
LIFE IN A SALVATION ARMY CORPS

by

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This thesis is submitted in
partial fulfilment of C.N.A.A.
requirements for the degree of PhD.

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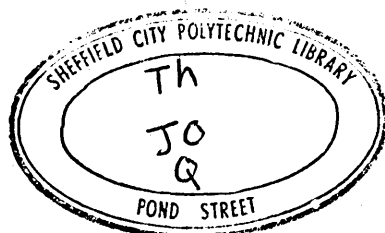
The thesis represents a contribution to an underdeveloped area of theory - that pertaining to religious organisations. Within the general field of organisational analysis and the sociology of religion, there has been little substantive or methodological interest in exploring the features of organisational life as oriented to and conveyed by members. Thus in addition to extending theory in terms of the range of organisations examined, the thesis makes a contribution to the understanding of the ways members of organisations shape up their lives.

The research is informed by an ethnomethodological approach to social inquiry, and utilising the methods of conversation analysis explores members' characterisation of organisational life and the practices through which this can be managed.

The examination of the formal stock of descriptors and preferences reveals the pervasive influence of the military metaphor; the ethos of the leaders; variations in the type, coverage and weight of the prescriptions and indicates potentialities for discretion and tension.

Members' verbal exchanges exhibit an amalgam of conceptions of membership, bearing the stamp of members practical concerns. In addition to explicating devices through which depictions of membership can be assembled, the practices through which the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster and the management of Testimony can be accomplished are also investigated. The management of these verbal practices shares many features in common with those exhibited by the pragmatic sense-making analyst depicted by Garfinkel.

The thesis concludes with a consideration of the issues raised by the research in relation to the theoretical analysis of organisational life and argues for a more open-ended approach to the study of religious organisations inviting the analyst to hold a specific concern with religious phenomena in abeyance.



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This thesis is concerned with an exploration of aspects of organisational life in a Salvation Army corps.* I was a practising Salvationist long before I developed a Sociological interest in the Army. This is not to say that I wasn't interested in reasoning and developing theories about Army life, but merely to note that I was unaware that a more formal explication of members' lives might have any wider theoretical import.

My interest in the Sociological analysis of Army life was first aroused by a course in the Sociology of Organisations which I followed whilst an undergraduate. The course was predominantly influenced by Silverman's social action approach (1970). What particularly appealed to me in Silverman's work was his attempt to develop an approach to organisational analysis which works out from the strategies, tactics, activities and understandings of members. That I should find such an approach appealing may reflect something of the influence of Protestant theology in my own upbringing and the affinity between that theology, with its emphasis on the individual and freedom of choice, and a Sociological interest in the problematic of the actor. Silverman's work then aroused my interest in the way in which people in organisations manage their lives and legitimate their activities and interests. How did members of religious organisations manage their lives? Did members of religious organisations exhibit a distinctive pattern of involvement in their activities? Did they have recourse to different strategies?

I could find no satisfactory answers to these questions in the literature. Indeed, despite the avowed intentions of professional students and organisations to develop a body of theory concerning a 'much wider range of subjects and settings than has previously been the case' (Pugh, Mansfield, Warner 1975), I found that most, with the comparatively recent exception of work by Hinings and Foster 1973 and Hinings, Ranson and Bryman 1976, had confined their interests to the analysis of manufacturing and service organisations and left the analysis of religious organisations to Sociologists of religion. It seemed to me, though at the time it was barely articulated, that the Sociological treatment of religious organisations, as exemplified by this academic division of labour, reflected an *a priori* commitment to, and pre-occupation with the exploration

* For a diagram outlining the formal organisation of The Salvation Army's activities and the position of the corps in relation to these, and an outline of Glossary of Salvation Army terms see Appendix 1. and 11.

of difference. My own experience of life in religious organisations suggested that the way in which members managed their lives, in terms of prosecuting and defending their interests, had much in common with the strategies and agencies adopted by members of other types of organisations.

The securing of a research studentship at Sheffield City Polytechnic allowed me to pursue this emerging and still rather loosely articulated interest in the way in which members of religious organisations managed their activities. But what aspects was I to focus on? And how was I to examine these? The answers to these questions were to change quite radically (albeit at times in a rather sluggish, disjointed and erratic way) as the research continued and I began to extend my stock of knowledge concerning the Sociological analysis of religious and other types of organisations and relate this to my own experience of membership of the Salvation Army.

Thus rather than present the reader with a much laundered report outlining the chosen research issue; locating its theoretical significance; evaluating alternative research strategies and reporting my findings; I have chosen to continue the biographical approach in order to reveal more of the artifice involved in the production of this research. For as the reader will already have appreciated, this process (which involved a number of perspectival changes) has significantly affected the way in which the research was formulated and what I came to regard as an appropriate way of approaching it. Though I have endeavoured to remain faithful to the events, I cannot claim that this report provides a literal description of how the research was done, for the very decision to write the report in this way itself betrays a perspectival preference (influencing the selection and ordering of materials) which was not present at the start of the research. As Atkinson (1977) argues

...all that can be offered is one of several possible versions of how the research was done, events of significance and so on, with each version being equally open to the charge of being no more than yet another piece of neatly restructured logic.

Early Research Focus

I began my quest for a more finely defined focus by re-reading the 'church-sect' literature. This collection of studies is concerned with

developing explanations which would account for the varied array of religious organisations in terms of a modal pattern of development. Whilst such a tradition seemed to offer much in the way of developing an understanding of the comparative pattern of organisational development of religious groups, this approach held little interest for me.

Roland Robertson (1967), in the only major Sociological account of the Salvation Army, had already provided a comprehensive account of the tensions which had punctuated the movement since its inception, and traced out its developmental path showing how the incipient movement gravitated from a denominational position as one evangelical movement amongst others to a modal form which Robertson characterises as an established or institutionalised sect.

I was not alone in having reservations concerning the pursuit of this line of inquiry for as I read more widely I found that the critique of the 'church-sect' approach constituted a considerable industry. Beckford (1973), in an extensive and stimulating review of the literature relating to religious organisations, called for a moratorium on the use of these terms because of (a) the extensively documented methodological, theological and historical criticisms of the original concepts and associated with this, (b) an increase in the conceptual refinement and contortion industry which he argues have conjointly had the consequence of diverting researchers away from the study of what members of religious organisations do, to the detriment of the subject.

Beckford's paper provided a number of possible paths for inquiry and more importantly at that time confirmed for me that here was a researchable topic, since Beckford avowed that 'nowhere in the published reports do religious organisations receive serious attention'.

What path of inquiry was I to follow? Beckford had suggested that the study of religious organisations would be enhanced by linking it to the general field of organisational studies and by adopting an Open-Systems perspective, a view echoed independently by Benson and Dorset (1971) and Scherer (1972). Notwithstanding its undoubted heuristic utility and ability to focus on and render accessible something of the complex network of inter-relationships that persist in organisations, the work of Silverman (1970) and Dawe (1970) demonstrated to me that the Open-Systems perspective with its reliance on and pre-occupation with the official aspects of organisational activities, derogation of the role

of member and assumptions of functional unity was unlikely to provide an adequate purchase on what members of religious organisations actually do.

Another possibility was to focus on some specific dimension of organisational life. Previously researchers had addressed aspects of the organisation-environment interface (e.g. Wood, J.R. 1972, Hawthorn 1956), the problem of securing and controlling resources (M. Zald and P. Denton, 1973), doctrinal instruction (Kokosalakis, 1971), recruitment of personnel (Carlton, 1965, Hall and Scheider, 1973), recruitment of members

(Kraemer), roles and statuses of religious functionaries (Paul, 1964, Towler, 1969, see also Towler and Coxon, 1979, Ranson, Bryman and Hinings, 1977), leadership and authority (Harrison, 1959, Scherer, 1965) as well as parish analyses (Young and Hughes, 1965).

Once again I was struck by the comparative lack of interest, substantive or methodological, in exploring what members of religious organisations do from the perspective of the actor. It seemed to me that some exploration of this aspect was likely to offer the prospect of a significant contribution to the understanding of religious organisations in particular and the theory of organisations in general. However I needed a more specific point of focus to undertake systematic research and to formulate a research proposal.

The stimulus needed to shape-up such a proposal was provided by two papers which I came across whilst researching the 'church-sect' material. These papers, one by K. Thompson (1973) and the other by C.R. Hinings and B. Foster (1973), were instrumental in providing a point of departure and served to reassure me that here was a site of intrinsic research interest.

The point which captured my attention in Thompson's paper (which included a valuable review of the ways in which the study of religious organisations could contribute to the development of organisational theory and vice versa) was his suggestion that the mode of rationality favoured by members of religious organisations differed in important respects from that predominating in other types of organisations.

In a discussion which owes much to T. Parsons' (1968) celebrated distinction between different criteria of logical action - logico-experimental and symbolic-appropriate - Thompson considers the problem of logically

evaluating the relationship between transcendental ends (e.g. Eternal Salvation, Holiness) and the means employed in religious organisations. He argues that the application of logico-experimental criteria for decision-making is rendered problematic in religious organisations since the ultimate ends of an intrinsic means-ends chain of reasoning must have an empirical location. Via a consideration of Parson's work, Thompson proceeds on a formal basis to argue for two solutions to the problem of evaluating members' activities (a) the setting of an intermediary goal (e.g. Booth's exhortation 'Go for souls and go for the worst') and (b) the application of 'a standard of the order of the relation of symbol and meaning' (Parsons 1968 pp. 257-8) (e.g. the extent to which say the model - for organisation of a religious group is in keeping with the image of the church revealed in the New Testament).

Thompson suggests then that the basic character of religious organisations (being primarily concerned with the logical evaluation of their activities in relation to the transcendental) causes them to favour the rationality of symbolic appropriateness. An investigation of the mode of rationality favoured in the Salvation Army seemed to offer much in the way of theoretical import.

Hinings and Foster in their paper 'The Organisation Structure of Churches' explore similar ground, albeit in a tradition far removed from that of Thompson. Drawing on the work of The Aston Studies ⁽¹⁾ Hinings and Foster explore by means of correlational analysis the relationship between structure and belief. The model which they derive from their research suggests that religious beliefs as evidenced by theology are in some way determinate of organisational structure. However what really struck me in reading their article was not the efficacy or otherwise of their model ⁽²⁾, but the efficacy of the example they use to illustrate the relationship they posit between belief and structure. They avow that given a theology of 'the priesthood of all believers' a hierarchical structure would be impossible. Yet those conversant with the structure and theology of the Salvation Army would realise that such a combination, far from being impossible was entirely viable, having perdured for over 100 years within the same organisation. From its inception the Army was and continues to be an autocracy. There is a multitude of rules and regulations covering all aspects of members' relations. At the same time the formal theology professes salvation through faith alone and declares that no priest shall come between man and God.

It seemed to me that this 'contradiction' between an organisational structure based on an explicitly expressed model of autocracy and a theology which emphasises personal responsibility and accountability afforded a topic of peculiar interest in terms of discovering the various ways in which this 'contradiction' manifested itself and the mechanisms and strategies that members used to cope with them. Moreover in pursuing a perfectly legitimate concern with correlational analysis Hinings and Foster, in common with much of the research on religious organisations, eschew any concern with the way in which members assess and manage their role performance, the way in which members manage the relationship between belief and practice in the course of their organisational lives. So it seemed that an examination of role performance in a Salvation Army corps not only offered the prospect of illuminating the way in which members of an organisation perform their roles whilst exposed to an environment which carries the contradiction of organisational machinery aimed at delineating status positions and ensuring correct role performance on the one hand, and a theology which attributes such functions to the workings of the 'Holy Spirit' motivating each member to live out their status and perform their role on the other, but also of developing a model of the relationship between belief and organisational structure which works out from the purposes of the members rather than one which undertakes no more than correlational analysis.

These ideas, together with the insights drawn from a reading of Thompson's paper, were incorporated in my original research proposal. The general aim of the original proposal was to investigate the relationship between the methods and modes of social control used in a particular organisational setting - Linden Salvation Army Corps - and the underpinning ideology of the organisation. The overall aim was to be achieved by a consideration of the following aspects:

(a) A developmental perspective.

An analysis of the development of a particular organisation.

(b) A cultural and political perspective.

Investigation of the procedures and processes for delineating status positions and ensuring correct role performance.

Determination of the basis from which members assess role performance to be correct and the strategies adopted by members to secure this.

Examination of the management of the inherent contradiction between an organisational ideology based on an explicitly expressed model of autocracy and a theology which accentuates personal responsibility,

The research programme's objectives were to be achieved by the following research approaches:

- (a) A qualitative approach involving participant observation, and
- (b) a qualitative approach involving a content analysis of historical documents, orders and regulations, doctrine, statistical and financial records.

Development of the Research

As I continued my investigation I became aware of a number of issues which made me begin to question the efficacy of this approach. These misgivings began to surface when I started to look for clues to the way in which members managed the contradiction between the rules and regulations, and the theology. That there was a contradiction seemed clear enough to me even though the thought had never occurred to me until I'd read Hining's and Foster's paper. Moreover searching through back issues of 'The Officer' ⁽³⁾⁽⁴⁾ I'd found evidence to suggest that some officers were aware of this. And yet search as I may I could not find evidence that members of Linden Corps were aware of such a contradiction or of the strategies that they used to manage it. Only gradually did it dawn on me that the fact that I could not find evidence of any public concern with this issue might indicate that the members of this corps did not regard the relationship between the rules and regulations, and the theology in this light and that I was in danger of imposing my own construction on members' lives and in so doing glossing over the way in which members managed the relationship between beliefs and rules.

Whilst there was no denying that the theology and rules were important aspects of members' lives, what I had failed to recognise was that the significance of these aspects depended on the way in which these were used and formulated by members. I had assumed that my formulation of this relationship, because it was grounded in official documents, was shared by all the members who were conversant with both the rules and theology. In the event I found to my chagrin that the belief that there was a contradiction between the theology and the rules and regulations only held if one assumed something about the very relationship I had avowed to explore, namely that members of religious organisations are predominantly concerned with the logical evaluation of their activities

in relation to the transcendental i.e. that members exhibit a pure and predominant concern with the symbolic appropriateness of their activities. Further that they judge the appropriateness of their activities in relation to the theological element concerning the priesthood of all believers.

Thus far from examining, as I had avowed, the way in which members deferred to and employed the rules and theology I was guilty of collusion in allowing a rather restricted consideration of the mode of rationality predominating in organisations to dominate my investigation.

This realisation came about in a rather haphazard way, fuelled by a re-reading of Garfinkel (1967), in particular his treatment of the Dana Colloquy and his discussion of the open-textured property of linguistic units. It was articulated in relation to three analytically distinct though empirically intertwined aspects of the research,

- a) a review of the literature pertaining to the relationship between religious symbols and models-for organisation,
- b) a consideration of epistemological and methodological issues in particular those concerning the nature of, and relationship between language, understanding and social action, and
- c) an examination of the history of the Salvation Army and Linden Corps.

A review of the literature exploring the relationship between religious beliefs/symbols and models-for organisation in particular the typologies offered by P.S. Minear (1961) and H.R. Niebuhr (1952) showed that it was possible to demonstrate an affinity between particular images of the church found in the New Testament, between particular images of Christ's mission found in the New Testament and models-for organisation. However at least one writer P. Rudge (1968) proposed a much stronger relationship in arguing that religious beliefs contain direct organisational blueprints. This seemed to me to be erroneous on a number of counts and it was this hunch that was instrumental in leading me to re-examine my original research submission. This view was strengthened by a growing interest in the field of Hermeneutics generated by the questions my wife, (a linguist and Salvationist) raised in connection with her first degree course in Language, Hermeneutics and the Bible.

- a) What is the status of the religious symbols found in the New Testament? Are they without alloy?

- b) To what extent do they provide exhaustive and unequivocal organisational blueprints?
- c) Do members defer to these symbols in a manner which is at all times and at all levels congruent with maintaining symbolic appropriateness?

Questions such as these led me to re-examine the relationship between symbols, beliefs, rules (what I choose to call prescriptions) and members' activities.

I now turn to the issues raised by these questions.

Biblical scholarship from Bultmann onwards shows that the images of the church found in the New Testament are not unalloyed in the sense of being derived without remainder from specifically Christian theology, but are inextricably bound up with the prevailing ideas concerning the appropriateness of particular organisational forms in that historical period. For as Schweizer (1961) and others have shown it is in the political and social history of the nation Israel that Christ becomes visible. The status of the images of the church as carriers of specifically Christian organisational blueprints would seem to be in doubt. The pluriformity of images contained in the New Testament poses additional problems for those wishing to derive uniform and faithful organisational blueprints. Ernst Kasemann (1969) for example demonstrates, different New Testament passages can be used to justify a variety of different "biblical" views of the church.

There is a related and equally important issue pertaining to the problem of deriving a faithful reading of any text, which A. Thistleton addresses in a critical assessment of hermeneutics as applied to the New Testament contained in his majestic book "The Two Horizons", (1980), namely that the interpreter, no less than the text, stands in a given historical context and tradition. Thus the problem is two-sided. On the one side stands the text replete with historically located meanings and on the other, located in a different historical period, stands the reader with his concerns.

In order to understand the relationship between religious symbols and models-for organisation one not only has to deal with the text

but also the way in which members of religious organisations approach the text, for the models-for organisation that members consider to be appropriate will reflect in part their own interests and assumptions.

In working through these issues I was reminded of Garfinkel's work on the way in which members defer to rules normative prescriptions and the like, and in particular his discussion concerning the essential incompleteness of all linguistic units.

In his classic treatment of the Dana Colloquy Garfinkel demonstrates that any set of instructions, whether they be loosely connected, open-ended religious beliefs or symbols, tightly codified prescriptions embedded in legal texts, judicial pronouncements or religious sermons are essentially incomplete, having around them an open fringe of meaning which must be filled-in by the sense-making work of individuals and without which a set of instructions has no meaning. In my original research proposal it was implicitly assumed that the issues which this demonstration raises regarding the explanatory status of the official rules and doctrines was much in line with those raised by Silverman in his book "The Theory of Organisations" (1970). These I imagined could be coped with by developing an understanding of the meanings these official prescriptions for role behaviour held for members and the way in which members used them, as though by merely adding-in the meanings of members to the official rules and doctrines I could in some way derive a more complete picture of the nature and pattern of social relationships persisting in the corps. I had assumed that my formulation of the relationship between the official rules and regulations on the one hand and doctrines on the other as a contradiction was shared by all members, that it had an independent status and that all that might vary (and thus all I had to take into account) was the meaning of this contradiction to the members - hence my original intention to examine how members manage the inherent contradiction between the organisational rules and the theology which underpins the movement to which the organisation belongs. What I had failed to grasp was the consequential nature of the link between prescriptions (whether they be theological or administrative), members' sense-making activities and the context in which they are invoked. Garfinkel's work demonstrates that these components ceaselessly inform one another and are not, as I had implicitly assumed, independent features; for rules, prescriptions, utterances, indeed all linguistic units

are embedded in and elaborate the features of the context in which they are invoked, which at the same time are implicated in and elaborate the significance of the rules, prescriptions and utterances.

I will try very briefly to illustrate some of the features pertaining to the way in which members make sense of linguistic units through reference to an instruction uttered in a meeting at Linden Corps.

"There'll be no open-air this afternoon."

Following Garfinkel the sense that members make of the above utterance is tied to the context in which it occurs and the resources which members have at their disposal to repair its "awesome indexicality", to fill in what's been left unsaid e.g. by treating the phrase as a "document of" or as referring to, an assumed pattern which is revealed through reference to the context.

So it is that the knowledge that the phrase was uttered by the Corps Sergeant Major from the platform of the Salvation Army Hall during the "Announcements" in a Salvation Army Holiness meeting may be used by members to fill-in much of the phrase's essential incompleteness. At the same time members may use the Corps Sergeant Major's utterance to confirm that this is indeed the "Announcements", for talk about "open-air" is usually a prominent feature of "Announcement" time. The following constitutes a possible interpretation of the utterance.

The Corps Sergeant Major is announcing that the evangelical meeting usually held out of doors on a Sunday afternoon and followed by a march from the chosen site to the hall where the indoor meeting is held will not now take place.

I am not arguing that everyone who heard the utterance would make the same sense as I do or even that all Salvationists would, though the elaboration is one that Salvationists would recognise as appropriate. However I have no doubt that if pushed, all competent members of society (competence here entails being "capable of managing everyday affairs without interference" Garfinkel 1967, p.57) could make some sense of it and more importantly would go about it in much the same way as Garfinkel suggests (e.g. using the documentary method, the retrospective-prospective sense of a present occurrence etc.) and in so doing shape the utterance in interactionally important ways.

In this respect it is important to bear in mind that even if the Corps Sergeant Major were to spell-out what he was saying in more

detail, say after the manner of my elaboration, then this still would not result in an understanding that was shared by all members, for in undertaking this elaboration the Corps Sergeant Major would be making available additional materials for making out what he was saying - this point reflects Garfinkel's proposition regarding the essential incompleteness of linguistic units.

Garfinkel's research directs our attention to the often⁽⁵⁾ unseen, taken-for-granted practices that we as members of society use to make sense of rules and prescriptions and in so doing make them available for others to see. Without such practices rules, prescriptions etc. have no meaning, no life at all. This does not rule out the possibility of rules, prescriptions etc. having a "hard kernel of meaning" which is relatively stable across situations (S. Ullman 1957) it questions only the autonomy of those formulations in the sense of being context-free. It does mean however that the status of this "hard kernel of meaning" can only be regarded as provisional, representing merely one point of entry from which we can begin to arrive at a meaning-in-context.

Change in Focus of Enquiry

These insights led me to reconsider and eventually change the focus of enquiry. My original aim remained the same: I wanted to develop an understanding of the features of life in a S.A. Corps and the way in which these are sustained. However I now had cause to re-examine my earlier assumptions concerning the role that the features I had hitherto focused on - the theology and the rules - played in the life of the organisation and the part that members play in the production of organisational life. This entailed (i) treating the Orders and Regulations, Handbook of Doctrine as (a) a resource from which members as well as social scientists can construct a "reading" of their lives (b) as indicating something of the ethos of those who formulated the accounts as well as (c) revealing possible sources of tension and potentialities for discretion (as opposed to according to accounts generated from such sources an independent and definitive explanatory status) and (ii) examining members' activities in order to reveal the ways in which the features or organisational life so produced may be accomplished (as opposed to treating members' accounts as a resource for developing an understanding of the strategies, tactics by which members manage the relationship between rules,

theology and practice).

The changes in the conception of the above features reflected a more fundamental point that Garfinkel and others had raised concerning the practice of social enquiry and the kinds of goals that sociology can achieve, arising out of his observation concerning the open-textured property of all linguistic units. Sinceas Garfinkel shows, all linguistic units are surrounded by an open fringe of meaning (i.e. they are not exhaustively descriptive) which has to be "filled-in" by those party to a setting, then it is impossible to arrive at a knowledge of some activity which is independent of the methods by which members make sense of that activity. This proposition would seem to preclude the possibility, as Heritage (1974) and others following Garfinkel have observed, of developing nomological statements regarding social life, of arriving at an account which would correctly and exhaustively depict life in this or any other organisation. Instead all that would seem to be feasible is to reveal some possible "readings" which are nevertheless grounded in members' accounts of their lives.

The open-textured property of linguistic units does not render sociological accounts arbitrary, for just as the conventions of western classical music do not permit any combination of harmonics with a given melody line so it is with the conventions of the sociologist. Convention demands minimally that the researcher furnishes warranty for his statement, that his statements be shown to be grounded in his data. The securing of this warranty may be facilitated by (a) the presentation of detailed data as it happened (e.g. the use of transcriptions of naturally occurring interaction);

(b) the explication of the link between the interpretation, analysis and data base, allowing the reader as far as possible to make an independent assessment of the adequacy of the analysis;

(c) deciding the plausibility of the reading by (i) checking it out with competent members and (ii) submitting the analysis to the scrutiny of the sociological community.

In respect of this thesis the status of my account of organisational life will depend upon its plausibility in respect of capturing some

of the assumptions, preferences , theories which inform the lives of members and the methods through which members produce, sustain and change the features of their lives. The object then is to allow what is already there in members' accounts to be "seen" by viewing it from an "appropriate angle of vision". I am following Bittner (1975) in using "appropriate" to refer to the relevance of the methods of enquiry to the object of enquiry. It is in relation to this objective (i.e. allowing what is already there to be seen) that my analysis is to be assessed.

Ethnomethodological Approaches

These insights regarding the conception of the part that rules and members' interpretations play in the production of organisational life and the goals that Sociological analysis can attain led to the re-orientation of my research along the lines of what might be broadly termed an ethnomethodological approach. The adoption of such an approach to social enquiry was not new. Indeed I discovered that the promise of this approach for organisational analysis and the sociology of religion in general had been the subject of several programmatic statements (Bittner 1965, Manning 1971, Silverman 1972, 1973; Robertson 1971, Robertson and Campbell 1972, Taylor 1976, Beckford 1978), though as far as I could discover, with the possible exception of Beckford's work on "Accounting for Conversion"⁽⁶⁾ (1978), no-one had examined religious organisations in terms of this approach.

The eagerness to develop critiques of what was termed conventional (more often than not used in a pejorative sense) organisational theory seemed rarely to have been matched by a willingness to engage the issues raised by Garfinkel, Bittner et al at an empirical level in the general field of organisational analysis.

There were however a number of more widely informed empirical studies of organisational life which acknowledged some debt to Garfinkel's and Bittner's work, e.g. S. Clegg's (1975) examination of the exercise of power in an empirical study of a building site which draws on the related work of linguistic philosophers such as Austin and Wittgenstein, also Silverman and Jones's (1976) study of a large public sector organisation which pursues a much wider brief than that advocated by Bittner and also Silverman (1972, 1973), leading them via Heidegger and Barthes to a consideration of exchange value as the standard

discourse within our society.

In addition to these more eclectic works there have been a number of studies which have used organisations as settings to address such issues as rule usage (e.g. D. Zimmerman 1971, Bittner 1967), the relationship between student performance and the assessment procedures that produce accounts of their abilities (e.g. A.V. Cicourel and Kitsuse 1963) and the production of police records (A.V. Cicourel 1968).

The interests of these writers however were somewhat removed from my own which were by now much more concerned with developing a more embracing approach to the analysis of organisational life within a particular organisation. I wanted to develop a comprehensive understanding of the features of life in a Salvation Army Corps and the ways in which these are created, sustained and changed. Such a concern owed more to Garfinkel's discussion of scenic practices, the practices through which members accomplish the "particularity of particular situations", the ways in which members manage status degradation, jurors practices, sexual identity and the like than Cicourel-informed discussions concerning the relationship between the prevailing modes of rationality and the "underlying" structures of domination and more general issues pertaining to rule usage, the production of official statistics etc.

Aims of Thesis

Accordingly the thrust of the research now came to be directed to discovering, clarifying and rendering accessible (i) the features of organisational life as apprehended by and conveyed to members of Linden Salvation Army Corps and,

(ii) the way (practices)

through which such features can be produced, sustained and changed.

Note I am restricting my interest to discovering the ways in which it is possible to produce the features of organisational life. It is not possible given the essential reflexivity of all accounts to arrive at a definitive and objective description of the devices that members use to accomplish whatever it is they do. Consequently I limit my interest to the devices that it is possible to find in members' accounts that would produce the features that are produced.

It was envisaged that the pursuit of these aims would contribute to (a) the further development of theoretical approaches to the study of organisational life which are adequate at the level of social interaction,

(b) the understanding of the features of organisational life in general and Salvation Army life in particular and

(c) the understanding of the way in which the features of organisational life are generated, sustained and changed.

The aims were to be achieved by consideration of the following aspects.

- (1) Members' characterisation of the features of organisational life. I distinguished two lines of analytical interest here⁽⁷⁾
 - (a) the stock of descriptors that members use in depicting the features of their lives and (b) the set of preferences that members develop with regard to the production and evaluation of their lives.
- (2) The practices discoverable in members' accounts generated in various arenas of situated activity through which verbal depictions of membership can be managed.

Selection of data

Two main criteria informed the selection of data for analysis. The first was that they should provide materials which commented on the features of organisational life. Two main sources were identified (a) the accounts of organisational life as displayed in the official documents and publications and (b) the accounts of organisational life generated in various arenas of naturally-occurring interaction as transcribed from audio recordings of meetings of Linden Salvation Army Corps.

In respect of the formal accounts of organisational life I restricted my investigation in the main to an analysis of what is acknowledged by the Army's leaders to be the "authoritative handbook of Salvationism". The Orders and Regulations for Soldiers.

As regards members' verbal depictions of membership I decided to focus on three distinct arenas of situated activity,⁽⁸⁾

- (i) An After-meeting Get-together
- (ii) A Census Meeting
- (iii) Testimony Time.

The accomplishment of these activities often involves members collectively in a sustained consideration and evaluation of their activities and so these represent an important source for developing an understanding of members' characterisation of their lives and the processes through which such work is achieved.

The second criterion informing the selection of data for analysis was that the materials should be amenable to some measure of independent checking.

The processes through which formal documents, letters, articles, and naturally-occurring interaction become data and become interpreted is a complex one and though I endeavour to make these processes public we are still left with a state of affairs in which those party to the action will view the data differently from those to whom it is the only document of that occasion. For it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate out the data presented from the remembered experience.

The independent assessment of the adequacy of the analysis of the formal documents, published letters and articles would seem to pose less of a problem than that of the analysis of members' verbal exchanges since the reader can gain access to these documents in their original setting thus affording some measure of independent checking - though the hermeneutical problem still remains.

In respect of the analysis of naturally-occurring interaction I have tried to redress something of the balance between what we as participants already knew and what the reader had access to (i.e. the transcription of members' verbal exchanges) by providing a brief description of the setting, its general features, the set of prescriptions pertaining to this form of activity, the way it fits into the fabric of members' lives and some biographical details.

The transcription of the tape recordings represents something less than a complete account of members' verbal exchanges. There is no doubt that in the transcription process some verbal material was lost, whilst the status of some materials remained opaque or equivocal. I did however check my transcription against the tape with my wife, a member of the corps and party to two of the settings analysed. The process of translation was further compounded by the judgemental

work involved in selecting "talk" for presentation as data.

The initial step in the selection of "talk" as data was to play through the tapes and select for transcription those passages which were audible and which seemed on first "hearing" to reflect a sustained discursive treatment or manifest orientation with features of membership. In so doing I was relying on my own competence as a Salvationist to identify these features. Beginning with the transcript of the "After-Meeting Get-together" I worked through the whole transcript and identified a number of themes which seemed to me to be of special relevance to participants and used these to formulate a set of parameters for the segmentation and selection of "talk" from the transcript to be worked through (e.g. consideration of the aetiology of incompetence). The decision on a particular transcript of testimony time, and a particular section from a census meeting followed much the same line of reasoning, though tempered also with a concern for economy and completeness.

The obtaining of research material presented little in the way of practical difficulties. As a senior local officer (Young People's Sergeant Major) for most of my stay at the corps I had unfettered access to most corps meetings and had already in my possession copies of the requisite rules and regulations and handbook of doctrine together with other publications. The access to additional materials (e.g. The Officer, Orders and Regulations for Field Officers) was eased through the considerable network of friends that I had established through soldiering at and visiting various corps in the British Territory and on the Continent and through family connections.

The Testimony sequence was taped quite openly using a Sony TC55A which was placed in full view of members of the band and those on the platform, on the floor next to my cornet case. The "After-Meeting Get-Together" and the Census Meeting were taped covertly using an Olympic Pearl Micro-Cassette Recorder which was placed in the inside pocket of my uniform jacket. The people and places referred to in the transcript have been changed in order to maintain anonymity.

As I enjoyed relatively free access to the research site and wanted to focus on naturally-occurring interaction I decided not to declare my newly acquired research interest, though some members were aware that I was writing a "book" on religious organisations. It may well

be that the reader may find a major ethical dilemma here. The relationship between social science, privacy and ethics is certainly a controversial one (see discussion of R. Homan's research and J.A. Barnes 1979). In relation to these issues, for my own part I can only say that the research nexus was but one of many strands that bound me to the corps and that when faced with having to reconcile these I made a series of choices for which I bear full responsibility.

Logic of Enquiry

The analysis begins in Chapter Two with an examination of the descriptors displayed in the official documents and publications (the officially constituted terminology) together with, though to a lesser extent, those displayed in the music, buildings and dress of members and considers the way in which these aspects are regarded by members as exemplified by the accounts displayed in the columns of "The War Cry" and "Musician". The objective here is to reveal something of the nature and coverage provided by the formal array of descriptors and members' discursive treatment of these aspects.

The formal array of descriptors provides members with a potential vocabulary from which to develop a characterisation of their experience. In the following chapters I move on to consider the set of preferences informing not only the characterisation but also the production of members' activities. Chapter Three begins by identifying the main sources for the transmission of preference and continues with an explication of the formal array of prescriptions as displayed in the O & R for soldiers.

Having revealed something of the ethos of the leaders who codified and documented the formal prescriptions and the possible sources of tension and potentialities for discretion, the thesis moves on to an examination of members' verbal depictions of membership. The examination of members' verbal exchanges allows some light to be cast not only on the set of preferences informing the production and interpretation of members' activities but also on the ways in which members can manage the description and evaluation of each others' activities in various arenas of situated activities. In examining the practices through which members' verbal depictions of membership can be accomplished the analysis also reveals something of the ways in which the various arenas of situated activity can

be managed, for the management of the evaluation of members' activities and the management of some situated activity are not separate practices. Indeed, in some encounters where members are especially orientated to evaluation, the description of the way in which members manage this and the description of the ways in which members manage the encounter itself amounts to the same thing.

It will become readily apparent that this form of analysis differs radically from some of the work carried out under the aegis of conversational analysis. I exercise an analyst's preference for what Graham Button⁽¹⁹⁷⁸⁾ terms an "ethnographic orientation" to conversational analysis, examining verbal exchanges for the cultural knowledge and organisational logic that members can selectively use to accomplish various interactional encounters. Such a concern is exemplified in Garfinkel's work on degradation practices (1956) and juror practices (1967).

In pursuing such concerns I eschew any interest in "fine-grained sequential analysis" (the kind of analysis that focuses on the internal structural arrangement of conversations and searches for a machinery that appears independently of specific conversations e.g. Sequencing Rules, Turn Taking 1974 "A Simplest Systematics for the Analysis of Turn Taking in Conversation" Language 50: 696-735- Sacks, H., Schlegoff, E. and Jefferson, G.).

I move away from an exclusive interest in verbal exchanges in their own right to what verbal exchanges might reveal about the nature of membership in this organisation and how such accounts can be assembled i.e. to a consideration of situationally-bound verbal practices.

Though I identify a number of distinct axes of interest, members' reasoning does not follow such a tidy formulation. A feature of this kind of analysis is its pre-occupation with naturally-occurring interaction. Thus in respect of the transcripts it should be noted that such talk was generated not by some pre-established hypothesis nor for some illustrative purpose but drawn from an actual occasion of social interaction as located in a particular context. Thus any particular verbal exchange generally focusing on membership may consider a number of issues ranging from what membership looks like to why incompetence prevails and how it might be rectified. In addition such analytically distinct accounts may be tied into members' theories

concerning the appropriate structuring of evangelical activities. In order to render a clear and faithful account of members' understandings of membership there is a need to consider their relation to both the immediate context in which they are embedded and the analytical framework which provides the impetus for discussion. Accordingly following an introductory note outlining the general features of the setting, the official prescriptions covering the activity and the biographical details of the participants I elicit my reading of members' accounts before going on to relate this in a more direct way to the analytical framework.

The After-Meeting Get-together is examined in chapters Four and Five the Census Meeting in chapter Six and the Testimony Time in chapter Seven.

The aim of this chapter is to provide some indication of the nature and coverage provided by the formal array of descriptors (i.e. the officially constituted array of terminology*) which are used to classify the features of organisational life and the way in which these are regarded by members as expressed in the columns of "The War Cry" and "The Musician". This will also include a brief consideration of the array of descriptors displayed in the music, architecture and dress of members.

These are aspects that members take very seriously at times. Most weeks there are letters or comments in "The Musician" from Salvationists concerning these topics, though it should be borne in mind that what for some are serious issues warranting correspondence are of little concern for others. By paying serious consideration to members' concern with these issues one risks the danger of over-emphasising the extent to which members are self-conscious in their use of language. Consider the following extract from a Soldier's prayer at Linden. "We are glad to be found this Sabbath day in this thy house". Some members would be surprised to learn that the celebration of the "Sabbath" is strictly speaking a Jewish festival and as such does not fall within the orbit of Christian worship⁽¹⁾. The point at issue here is not that Salvationists may at times display theological naivete, they may well do so, but that their use of language can be (in Ryle's sense of the word) unstudied, unreflective, related to the way things have always been said. With this caveat in full view I will proceed.

The Salvation Army, in common with other organisations which share a fundamental rhetorical nature, has exhibited a self-conscious interest in the use of language. The story of how "The Christian Mission" became "The Salvation Army" is instructive in this respect.

The title, as the authorised versions have it, was selected by Wm. Booth when scanning through the proofs of The Mission's Annual Report. The introduction read;

* For outline of Glossary of Salvation Army terms see Appendix 1.

"The Christian Mission
under the superintendence
of the Rev. Wm. Booth
is
A VOLUNTEER ARMY"

Booth, it is said, crossed out the word "VOLUNTEER" and replaced it by the word "SALVATION".

"No," objected Booth, "We are not volunteers
for we feel that we must do what we do."

The fact that this event has become embedded in the mythology of the movement, and is referred to from time to time in sermons and other exhortations to members points up this self-conscious concern. (The term "VOLUNTEER ARMY" was also associated at that time with a part-time military reserve named "The Volunteers" who were the butt of longstanding music-hall jokes like the Home Guard were in this century.)

The change in the title of the movement led to a full-scale re-categorisation of members, their activities and material environment in terms of a military register. Ministers became 'Officers' (-'Lieutenants', 'Captains', 'Majors' etc.) their residences became 'Quarters' and their holidays 'furloughs'; Mission stations - 'Corps'; Mission Members - 'soldiers'; Sunday School Superintendants - 'Young People's Sergeant Majors'; Prayer - 'Knee-drill'; paying weekly subscriptions - 'firing your cartridge' (ammunition to fight the Devil!) etc. The change in linguistic categories was accompanied by the adoption of other military insignia, the Army Flag, the Army Crest and Uniform, Brass Bands and Songster 'Brigades' (words and music stamped with military metaphor) and buildings and dress styled on the military model. --

The distinctive use of military insignia has secured for 'The Army' its own particular niche in British society. It is this visibility which allows 'artists' ranging from G.B. Shaw, Dmytro Runyon, Greenaway and Cook, The Goodies through to Mike Harding and Jake Thackery to trade on and make artistic capital out of 'The Army'. Artists' can rely on an audience to immediately recognise certain features as indexing the Salvation Army without saying in so many words.

Although the adoption of military insignia might seem anachronistic now it should be remembered that this was the age in which Britain's imperialistic pretensions were rising to their zenith with Palmerston at

the Foreign Office. 'The Times' and many of the provincial newspapers were full of accounts of the Crimean, Franco-Prussian and American Civil Wars, not to mention the various skirmishes at the fringe of the Empire. Military descriptors and dress were in vogue, and preachers frequently made use of such metaphors in their sermons. Many of the hymn writers reflected this martial theme in their words. "Onward Christian Soldiers", an Anglican hymn, stands as a leitmotif to the age. (Placed in this context Marx's phrase, "The Captains of Industry", which today seems strangely archaic, takes on a stronger and much more potent character). The Salvation Army was not a child of spontaneous generation but of its time.

Since that time the metaphor has been extended and has the potential to permeate and accentuate the full range of members' activities. By emphasising the word 'potential' I am alluding to a theory of language which differentiates between the passive vocabulary (the formal array of descriptors found for example in the Orders and Regulations) and the array of descriptors that members actually use. The formal array of descriptors deriving in large part from an extension of the root metaphor provides members with a set of resources. The manner in which members select and use such resources is a topic I will take up later in this thesis. My immediate concern is to give some indication of the nature and coverage provided by these formal descriptors and the way in which they are regarded by members.

The formal stock of descriptors provides a potential resource for the categorisation of members' activities and experience from the cradle to the grave. The child born into a Salvationist's home begins life on 'the cradle roll' and may progress by age through the 'primary' and 'juniors' stages, 'junior' and 'senior soldiership' to 'promotion to glory'. Progress along this path depends upon fulfilling the minimal conditions of competency, though the stock of descriptors also provides for those who fail to meet this requirement - these being categorised as 'backsliders' and/or 'sinners'. The array of descriptors also distinguishes between differences in the functional and supervisory responsibility of members. Thus members who welcome newcomers to the corps are termed "Welcome Sergeants" and members who sell the "War Cry" in pubs are called "Heralds". (These categories are usually restricted to those members who are officially charged with these duties).

The terminology further provides for the categorisation of members' corporate activities. So it is that Sundays move from the "Holiness Meeting", "Open Air"/"Sunday School" to afternoon "Sunday School", "Praise Meeting" and finally to the evening "Open Air" and "Salvation Meeting". The week may be punctuated by "Popular Meetings" (Mondays); "Songster Practice" and "Home League" (Tuesdays); "Band Practice" (Wednesdays); "Pub-Booming" (Thursdays); "Torchbearers" and "Pub-Booming" (Fridays); "Pub-Booming" (Saturday). In addition to these regular week-night activities there are from time to time "Y.P. Workers" and "Y.P. Census Board Meetings", "Senior Census Board Meetings", "Divisional Holiness Meetings", "Festivals" and "Sales of Work". The year moves from "Y.P. Annual", "Annual Appeal", "Corps Cadet Sunday", "Mothering Sunday", "Home League Weekend", "Easter", "Y.P. Anniversary", "Whit-Sing", "Y.P. Trip", "Band" and "Songster Weekend", "Sale of Work" through to "Christmas Carol Playing". This progression is also accentuated by Divisional events - "Soldiers' Rallies", "Annual Appeal In-Gathering", "Music School", "Youth Councils", "Christmas Carol Service" and various National events and conferences.

The formal stock of descriptors then offers a wide range of resources in terms of which members may categorise their activities.

The problems of communicating with the divine, the faithful and the world at large has made the formal stock of descriptors a continuing point of reference for the letters and articles that appear in Salvation Army publications⁽²⁾. Within recent years there has been a continuing debate concerning the language used in prayer and public testimony, (What is the proper way of addressing the Almighty? Are formulaic devices acceptable vehicles for devotion and testimony?), and the evangelical efficacy of Army terminology. Members have referred to the incomprehensibility of much of the imagery found in many of the songs and testimony (e.g. technical terms, Sin, Lamb, Blood and Fire, - phrases such as "Are you washed in the Blood of the Lamb?") and drawn upon sociological concepts like subculture as authority for arguing for a demystification of the Army's terminology in order to make its sense more widely available.

A more full blown, far-reaching and controversial expression of this point is to be found in a book written by Major Fred Brown whilst he was in command of Regent Hall Corps. In this book "Secular Evangelism" Brown argues for a radical change in the language used

to convey religious experience and calls for the adoption of a "new vocabulary of divine revelation". The leaders of the movement who retain sole copyright of the music and literature published by Officers would not own such radical criticism and refused to publish the book as it stood. Brown arranged for the book to be published by the S.C.M. press. As a result of publication Brown lost his post at Regent Hall and shortly afterwards, left the movement.

The variation in the way in which members regard their stock of descriptors offers some corrective to the view that "religious organisations are hermetic, homogeneous entities whose words in principle have the same meaning" for members, and who share to a large extent a common conception of reality (S.Wermlund p.136,7).

It is possible to identify three types of orientation to the Army's terminology. Firstly an "unstudied" orientation - members use the categories in an unreflective way, that it comes "pre-packed" is no cause for their concern, it is both obvious and natural to use these categories. Secondly some members exhibit a concern with the "packaging" - to these members the categories are more than just a "wrapper", they are an integral part of the "product", the Army's mission and terminology are inseparable. This view is shared by many of the leaders of the movement. The third orientation makes this very distinction. These members want to discard a "wrapper" which they now see as outmoded and obscure and to develop and establish a new vocabulary. This position may be viewed by those adopting the second orientation as bringing into question the fundamental identity of the movement and hence its *raison d'être* - "An Army raised by God". This would certainly seem to have been the case in respect of the Army's treatment of Brown's book "Secular Evangelism".

The commitment to the Army's traditional vocabulary resembles that demonstrated by nationalist groups like the Basques and the Welsh. F. Barth (1969) suggests that amongst such groups their language comes to function as a "badge", a "diacritica". He argues that in a society characterised by a high degree of interaction between heterogeneous groups, the groups over a period of time become structurally similar and remaining differences take on an added significance in that they become identified with the fundamental operation of those groups, the language becoming a symbol of identity, a "badge".

his emphasis on language as expressing both to its members and to others a distinctive identity rather than any fundamental theological discontinuity would seem to go a long way in accounting for the Army's survival as a separate entity in British Christianity. The strong allegiance to this identity may also account for the pressure amongst some officers and soldiers not to relax, as the Methodists have, the stringent rules with regard to smoking and drinking, and to "Keep Army meetings Army".

Music also features centrally in the Army's public face. Army Bands and Songster Brigades broadcast regularly in both specifically religious programmes such as "Banners and Bonnets" and more musically-oriented series like "Bandstand" and "Listen to the Band". The Army publishes its own music and controls the performance of its musical sections through the International Music Board. Members themselves distinguish between "Army" and "Non-Army" music - a distinction of some import judging by the volume and tone of letters to "The Musician" ⁽³⁾ and heated discussions at Army Festivals.

The avowed purpose of Army music is that it should be, to quote Wm. Booth, "Soul Saving Music" - "Soul Saving Music is the Music for me". However the presence of a definitive statement by the founder and a clear expression of purpose should not blind one into assuming that the fulfilment and expression of this function succeeds in an unambiguous and uncontested way. Just what is "Soul Saving Music" is a topic for some debate as the flow of letters to the Musician demonstrate (e.g. Musician 5.3.77, 17.3.79).

An analysis of the music published since the Army first began reveals a wide expansion in terms of the use of musical transformations and genres. Compositions as far apart in form and style as those of Stravinsky and Mozart in symphonic music have been accepted as fulfilling Wm. Booth's dictum, as being symbolically appropriate.

Illustrative in this respect is the change in rules regarding the playing of music published in the "Festival Series Journal" ⁽⁴⁾.

Previously the policy was to prohibit "the performance of this music, whether in whole or part in either Sunday morning or evening meetings, or in week-night spiritual meetings," allowing little opportunity for exercising discretion. This contrasts with the present formulation restricting performance to "musical festivals and other musical

services" permitting a wide range of discretion in complying with their policy.

A self-conscious concern with the appropriateness of different forms of musical expression was especially focussed during the early years of "The Joy Strings"⁽⁵⁾. It seems from the discussion in "The Officer" that this mode of expression meets Wm. Booth's dictum if the words are audible. This view is not accepted by all Salvationists and recently there have been letters to "The Musician" questioning the value of Rhythm Groups (Musician 5.8.78, 29.4.78, 5.11.77). On similar lines members call for Bands to play more of the Army classics and less of what they characterise as "music without a message" and "beyond the average listener".

Music plays an increasingly more prominent role in the lives of most Salvation Army Corps. Ability in this sphere can be the source of high esteem especially amongst younger members. Band soloists have become household names - Adams, Cobb, Diffey, Kane. There is a legendary quality surrounding the accounts of their "discovery" and technical and artistic accomplishments. For the cognoscente, to have heard the "Staff" (International Staff Band) in the early sixties or Tottenham's (Tottenham Citadel Band) Pre-Canadian Tour Festival is equivalent with what having been at the 1966 World Cup Final means to fans of English football. The presence of "good" musical sections can be a crucial factor in deciding which corps to attend. This is an aspect of which members are aware and meets with some concern. Members have also drawn attention to the problems of integrating non-musical recruits into the life of the Corps. Indeed Commissioner Catherine Bramwell-Booth (R) (grand-daughter of the founder) in an interview with Michael Parkinson expressed the view that the Army musical sections have "missed their mark" becoming an end in themselves. This view is by no means orthodox. Whilst members often do hold strong views regarding this aspect of the movement's life one has to weigh against this the utterly mundane fact that members week in week out do play and sing the music without questioning its appropriateness.

The metaphor of militant evangelism is also expressed in the architecture of the movement. So we find that in Army Halls, instead of a "pulpit" or an "altar" we have a "platform", a feature which follows directly from Wm. Booth's concern that every person should have the "right

to exercise God's gifts". The Army "platform" was intended to fulfil a role similar to that of a political platform in allowing all members to have the opportunity to speak their mind, a material expression of the doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers". Similarly the provision of a "penitent form" or "mercy seat" is the material feature of a theology which stresses the making of a public decision to follow Christ and a public affirmation of faith.

Over the years there have been changes in the architectural classification of members' material environment and in material expression of the Army's mission. In the beginning Army Halls were termed "barracks" linking their function metaphorically with the activity of preparing for the coming offensive (drilling, training) as opposed to a term adopted subsequently which linked their function metaphorically with the establishment of a secure shelter from attack - citadel. The term "barracks" then emphasised that this was an Army that went out to fight, an Army on the offensive. This concept was reflected in the stylish architecture of the early days of the movement (e.g. the corps building of Sheffield IV, now Sheffield Citadel) with its characteristic spartan furnishings. This form was commensurate with the period of most rapid growth in the movement, one which most members would regard as its most militant phase. Since that time the architectural expression of the Army's mission has become much more diffuse. Often the only physical feature distinguishing an Army Hall from any other building is the name and crest on the front of the building (e.g. Nunhead). Some, mainly architects, associate these "non-expressive" buildings with the decline in militant evangelism and an increasing concern with the Army's mission of practical Christianity - hence the emphasis on developing multiple uses for the Halls.

The uniform is the most dramatic and visible expression of the military metaphor. It readily sets the Salvationist apart from his fellow-men, it locates him immediately within a specific and recognisable social framework. The "trimmings" also serve to mark out for the Salvationist the home and status of other Salvationists.

The adoption of military styled dress followed almost inevitably from the change in the title of the movement. When the Army started its uniforms were borrowed, hotch-potch affairs, a matter of convenience rather than design. In line with an Army at war its leaders did not at first exhibit a major concern with this aspect of membership.

However as the Army became more established, standardisation followed and now the requirements of uniform wearing are an important issue as can be seen from a recent editorial in "The Musician" (30.8.78)

"The requirements of uniform-wearing are clearly laid down in O & R, adherence to which should be part and parcel of a Salvationists' expected loyalty and dedication."

It continues...."S.A. rules are not ones of convenience, to be kept when it pleases."

Summary

The examination of the formal array of descriptors, including those displayed in the officially constituted array of terminology (the potential vocabulary), the music, buildings and dress revealed a number of distinctive features rooted in a marked preference for the expression of the military metaphor.

This metaphor has been extended since the organisation's inception and the array of categories covers the full range of members' activities, biography and social material environment. The self-conscious interest which the production of these categories (together with their counterparts in architecture, music and dress) offers some support for K. Thompson's (1973) suggestion (discussed in the introductory chapter) that members of religious organisations exhibit a concern with the symbolic appropriateness of the features of their lives. This orientation however is by no means universally shared. Thus in respect of members' treatment of the official terminology we find that some treat this in an unstudied kind of way using the categories as it were because they are there and that some are more concerned with the communicative efficacy as opposed to the symbolic appropriateness of the terminology in respect of evangelical matters.

It was suggested that in the absence of any fundamental theological discontinuity between the Salvation Army and the Protestant Free Church tradition the military metaphor has come to serve the function that F. Barth (1969) suggests that language plays among nationalist groups like the Basques and Welsh, as that of a "badge", a symbol of identity and that this "badge" has played an important part in ensuring the survival of the Army as a separate entity within British Christianity.

The above feature might help explain the continued efforts on the part of those in authority to resist any major dilution of the metaphor, for to question the efficacy of the metaphor is to call into question the fundamental identity of the movement. This implies that notions of symbolic appropriateness are tied up with different interests within the organisation - introducing a political dimension to the discussion.

The variation in the extent to which the Army's terminology etc. is regarded as appropriate and efficacious points to an important feature of organisational life, the operation of preference. It is to a consideration of this aspect that I now turn.

In the previous chapter I examined the formal array of descriptors. These categories provide members with a potential resource for characterising their activities and experience. The examination of members' discursive treatment of the array of descriptors indicates that their recourse and orientation to these categories are not uniform but are informed by differing views, understandings and axioms regarding the efficacy of the formal descriptors.

In this chapter I want to begin the task of explicating not only the set of preferences informing the characterisation of members' activities and experience, but also their management. I shall identify (1) the main sources for the transmission of preference and continue with (2) a more detailed explication of the formal array of prescriptions (the formal statement of preference) as displayed in the O & R for Soldiers.

1. Sources for the transmission of preferences

How do members come to know the set of preferences regarding the production and interpretation of activities?

The major source for Salvationist and Social Scientist alike is the accounts that Salvationists give to one another, written and spoken. Some of the accounts are formulated with the intent of laying down prescriptions, others may not be so intended though they may still reveal something of the set of preferences.

There are three main sources for the transmission of preference

- (a) Formal prescriptions
- (b) Members' common sense understandings
- (c) Focussed agencies for the transmission of preference (e.g. Sunday School)

1a. Formal Prescriptions

A conscious concern with prescription finds expression in the formal stock of prescriptors which have been codified and documented in the Orders and Regulations, Handbook of Doctrine and The Articles

of War. Together they represent the 'authoritative handbook on Salvationism'. So pervasive is the quality of these prescriptions that it is difficult to conceive of any activity that cannot be brought under their auspices at some time or other e.g. they contain prescriptions concerning 'Human Relationships - with Individuals,..... In the Home.....At Work.....With the Neighbours.....In the Community..... With Fellow Soldiers.....With Other Christians'.

Their statements vary from a very high level of generality such

as "Publicly declaring his submission to the True God it is fit and meet that the Salvation Soldier should give his first solemn promise at his enrolment by divine help to 'love, serve, worship and obey this glorious God through time and in eternity'"

p.10

to the specific

"A soldier may become or continue a bandsman on condition that he, (a).....(f)
(g) Does not use tobacco in any form."

Some indication of how important the doctrine and O & R are regarded by the leaders of the organisation is evidenced by the rules governing entry to soldiery. Before joining "every salvation soldier must consider, accept and then sign the document" (i.e. The Articles of War). This document contains (a) The Salvation Army's 11 Articles of Faith expressing its theology in a quasi-legal language (b) an undertaking to uphold the ethical standards as a 'good soldier of Jesus Christ' including abstaining from 'intoxicating liquor' and tobacco (c) a declaration of obedience to commanding officers and promise to fulfil to 'the utmost of my power all the orders and regulations of the Army.' Moreover, entry into the organisation is marked by a public ceremony in which recruits are 'sworn-in' under the flag signing the Articles of War before God and his Army. Salvationists are also urged to re-read these 'solemn undertakings' from time to time.

The crux is that these matters should, following the leaders' instructions as formulated in the O & R, be uppermost in the minds of Salvationists.

The doctrines of the Salvation Army are contained in 'The Articles of Faith' and Handbook of Doctrine. The emphasis is on a personal relationship with God, on the 'priesthood of all believers' - no

priestly intermediary between God and Man finds expression here. This feature locates the Army in direct descent from Calvinism, the Moravians through to the Methodists. This varied inheritance still finds expression in the Army's Song Books. It also gives rise to the peculiar paradox of an autocratic organisational structure and a democratic theology married in the same collectivity.

The Army does not however celebrate the institutions of Baptism or Eucharist and it is this factor that places the organisation out of the mainstream of Protestant theology⁽¹⁾. Apart from this distinction the Army is at pains to emphasise that it does not diverge 'from the churches in the great fundamental doctrines of Christianity'.. 'We keep ourselves with all heart to the three creeds.' The doctrines are further elaborated in 'The Handbook of Doctrine' and other publications such as John Coutt's 'We Believe'. Soldiers are encouraged to study Army publications especially 'The War Cry' 'for up-to-date information' as well as their 'own edification'.

The original O & R were based on a 'Soldier's Pocket Book' written by Sir Garnett Wolsley. It says something of Booth's zeal for the adoption of military strategy and methods that he felt able to take some direct quotes from this book. The O & R have been revised since that date principally in 1961 and 1977. 'Chosen to be a Soldier' is the title of the latest edition (1977) and it represents 'the authoritative handbook on Salvationism'.

As relates to this corps there are 4 separate sets of O & R:

- (i) 'Chosen to be a Soldier' O & R for Soldiers
- (ii) Regulations for Field Operations: incl. O & R for Local Officers, Senior Census Board, Work amongst Young People, Band and Songster Brigades etc.
- (iii) O & R for Officers of the S.A.
- (iv) O & R for Officers engaged in Corps Work.

All members are required as a condition of membership to be acquainted with (i) and all local officers are required to be conversant with the requisite O & R (ii). However (iii) and (iv) are available only to Officers and thus have restricted currency.

I have reproduced, where possible, (see Appendix) a copy of the contents page of each set of "Orders and Regulations" in order to give some indication of their scope and coherence, though from my experience and discussion with Salvationists from different corps I would suspect that even this cursory glance might place the reader at some advantage with regard to a knowledge of the character of these rules compared to many Salvationists.

The doctrines and O & R represent then the rules of right practice as authorised by the leaders of the organisation. These are supplemented by the Song Book (often an important resource for constructing accounts of members' experience as displayed in testimony and prayer), editorial comment in Army periodicals (especially "The War Cry" and "Musician") and books and pamphlets dealing with various aspects of the Salvationists life.

The Bible⁽²⁾ also provides an officially sanctioned guide. It differs from the other sources in that it both predates the formation of the organisation and prescribes a more general code of practice commonly associated with a more inclusive category of religious membership (i.e. Christian). Salvationists have and do exercise a particular and definite preference with regard to the selection of certain passages of scripture and preferred "hearings" - notably those in keeping with its emphasis on militant evangelism.

This notion of a preferred "hearing", or more generally a preferred way of organising activities points to an extremely important feature of life in this organisation. It refers to the interplay between the formal stock of prescriptors and the actual demonstration of competence i.e. the common-sense understandings, operating principles, strategies, cultural axioms, values and "recipes-for-action" that members develop with regard to deciding the relevance or appropriateness of official prescriptions to a particular situation and activities. They provide the backdrop, the seen but often unnoticed aspects of organisational life.

1b. Members' common-sense understandings

These cultural axioms are rarely written down and are mainly embedded in members' talk. Sometimes their formulation is explicit as for example when members discuss 'what's gone off up there' and sometimes it's more implicit in relation to the construction of members' testimonies, though of course members' conversations and testimonies etc. may at times contain either or both explicit and implicit elements⁽³⁾. It is through these accounts that members come to know what goes on at Linden. They provide members with a set of instructions with which to make sense of their lives in this organisation.

1c. Focussed agencies for the transmission of preference

In addition to the accounts available in the formal stocks of prescriptions and the common-sense understandings that members develop there are more focussed agencies for the transmission of preference. These agencies include sermons, Sunday School activities, Corps Cadets and recruitment classes. They each exhibit a more conscious concern with socialisation, their stated goals involving resocialisation (i.e. bringing about a change in sense of identity in which an individual becomes part of the organisation) and/or socialisation for future roles (i.e. preparing an individual for a dynamic role - career in the organisation) e.g. O & R for 'Work among Young people' includes the following statement of aims.

"The supreme purpose of the young people's work is to bring young people to Jesus Christ and to help them discover and use their talents as fighting soldiers in the ranks of the Salvation Army. All engaged in work among young people should therefore strive to:
a) Link them 'from their earliest years, by dedication under the flag, with the service of God in the Army
b) Lead them into a personal experience of salvation
c) Instruct them in scriptural knowledge and in Salvation Army principles and methods
d) Provide for their physical and mental development."

Supreme
purpose

This is not to suggest that members' conversations, testimonies, prayers and decision-making activities etc. cannot at times also become intentional agencies for formulating prescriptions of competent membership, but merely to point to the provision of these expressly

constituted agencies. Moreover one should not assume that the effects of these agencies are successful or even paramount in transmitting this particular view of the world. In terms of the Army's own criteria for evaluating the work of the Y.P. Corps (i.e. the number of Sunday School members who transfer to the Senior Corps) only two juniors from 'non-Army' homes have made a 'successful' (i.e. continuing as 'fighting soldiers in the ranks of the Salvation Army') transition to the senior corps at Linden during the last 15 years⁽⁴⁾. This has been seen as a source for some concern and worry by some members, a worry that is often located in relation to the failure of 'older comrades to set a good example' and to provide 'better fellowship' rather than in the inadequacy of Sunday School teachings. This suggests that members themselves place a higher premium on the more indirect interactional processes as carrying a heavier load with respect to conveying what kind of place this is. The contradiction between word and deed is a common theme which is elaborated endlessly in sermons, testimonies and conversations. Indeed this emphasis on actions as well as words has become a recognisable leit motif of Protestant theology. 'Jesus not only taught them he showed them'⁽⁵⁾. This finds expression in a doctrinal system which in general places a greater emphasis on good works and as regards the Army in particular is revealed in a preference for a 'practical theology'. The worry also suggests something about the role of families in providing and maintaining 'recruits' - a view echoed again and again in members' testimonies, e.g. 'I thank God that I had good Christian parents', 'If it wasn't for me mother, I wouldn't be here today'. And yet some members are critical of the role played by families in the life of the corps, they cite examples of 'strict upbringing' as reasons why 'so and so reacted' and left rather than 'why they're here today'.

The lack of knowledge and understanding of 'Christian teaching' is a theme espoused by officers and soldiers alike, the Army often being contrasted unfavourable with some other religious organisation. Such remarks take for example the form of 'There's one thing you can't fault the Jehovah's Witnesses on is their knowledge of the Bible, they put us to shame'. The 'shame' is made more poignant through the selection of 'what they would consider to be' a Non-Christian organisation as a contrastive device. Bible Study Quizzes held at the corps would seem to support such a view though the lack of answers may be merely indicative of a wish amongst those present not to 'play the game' or to 'show off'.

Members often refer to their experience in the Y.P. Corps in testimony. Again a number of common themes emerge through this recapitulation of the past which give lie to the portrayal of members of religious and other ideological institutions in the literature as passive victims of indoctrination. Many reasons now emerge for their involvement in Y.P. activities ranging from 'wanting to join the band or singing company' as activities in their own right rather than the proper manifestation of 'holy ambition', to providing an opportunity to 'see the boys from the Citadel'. Whilst we may observe that these accounts are

(i) ex post and

(ii) often accompanied in testimony by an inference that, now of course, such motives no longer apply, they do furnish evidence of a willingness, on the part of members if not theorists, to consider a range of reasons as to why people may continue to be involved in an organisation. Though sometimes these alternative modes of commitment may serve as an occasion for 'regret' incurring sympathy and pity as opposed to 'knowing-laughter'. Moreover such publically announced modes of involvement in the Senior Corps may not be treated so lightly - indeed such statements are likely to form part of a confession.

The crux of the matter, as Goffman (1961) so elegantly portrays in his study of 'Total Institutions', is that members do not always passively accept institutional definitions of the situation, but can on occasion use them to their own advantage.

Having identified the main sources for the transmission of preference I shall now explore the set of preferences displayed in the O & R for Soldiers.

2. Formal array of prescriptions

The formal stocks of prescriptors refer to the array of prescriptors selected by those in control and formulated variously as guidelines, procedures, orders and regulations to characterise the essential features of Salvationism. The analysis will be mainly restricted to those prescriptions which appear in the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers, a volume 'which should be studied by all who contemplate joining the Army and must govern the conduct of all its Soldiers..... (it) is to be regarded as the authoritative handbook of Salvationism.'

In will consider in turn

- a) the way in which the aims and activites of the organisation are depicted and what such characterisation work might achieve
- b) the form the prescriptors take
- c) the type of prescriptors
- d) the coverage provided.

The aim is to reveal something of the ethos of the leaders who formulated the code, possible sources of tension regarding the demands placed on members and the potentialities for discretion.

2a. The characterisation of the organisation's aims and activities

The O & R for Soldiers of the Salvation Army begins by setting out the 'Nature, Origin and Development of the Salvation Army'

1. The Salvation Soldier must clearly understand the basic nature of the Movement of which he is a member.

The Salvation Army is a fellowship of people who have accepted Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and Lord whose common aim is to induce others to subject themselves to the lordship of Christ.

page 1

Given that there are endless ways in which the writer could have described the activities of this social group I take it that the choice of these descriptors and others is significant, that such a description represents a preferred account of the Army's activities - a view which would seem to be warranted by the collocation of such an account with the statement that the 'Salvation soldier must clearly understand the basic nature of the Movement'. The collocation of this statement with a description of the Army's activities would seem to be more than fortuitous. I 'hear' the two sentences as tied together such that the second may be 'heard' as specifying just what is the basic nature of the movement. Assuming then the choice of descriptors is not fortuitous but is intended to achieve some project I want to consider what that might be; what the choice of such descriptors may be seen to achieve. Of necessity the analysis which follows represents one possible account since it does not concern itself with actual usage, an account which all the same seeks to demonstrate its faithfulness to the text.

The characterisation of the Army as a 'Movement' and not as an

'organisation' or 'church' may be treated as indexing a set of propositions, preferences concerning the features of a collectivity which the leaders may wish to highlight. Thus in opting to refer to the Army as a movement they are excluding as irrelevant to their concerns at this time, though they may become relevant at some later stages, those peculiar features of a collectivity that receive prominence in the typification 'church' or 'organisation'. I want briefly to consider what such a typification may achieve in relation to our understanding of membership.

The 'descriptor' 'movement' is usually heard as referring to a particular type of collectivity. It bespeaks an institutionalised concern with a highly specific and radical programme of change. In connection with this we may observe that an important requirement for membership is that members 'must clearly understand the 'movements' basic nature.' Whilst those in control of business enterprises and educational institutions may take as self-evident a "need" to understand the basic nature of those institutions, such a view is rarely formulated as an explicit formal requirement for most forms of membership. It may well be that in interviewing personnel for key policy posts such aspects may become formally required, but in the normal course of events such an 'understanding' is not required by the regulations.

The use of the phrase 'basic nature' presupposes that there is/are a characteristic/characteristics which is/are fundamental to the movement, a device which is suggestive of a unitary conception of social organisation, a reading which I wish to substantiate through reference to the text.

A unitary conception may be said to prevail where the collectivity and thus membership is presented in relation to a single source of authority and focus of loyalty (A. Fox 1966). The aim then is to show that such a 'reading' is feasible and thus available to members.

The descriptor 'movement' is suggestive of personal involvement and a commonality of interest as being characteristic of membership of this organisation. In a similar way the characterisation of the 'movement' as a 'fellowship of people' emphasises a fraternal dimension to, and equality of, relationship between members.

This tenor is amplified throughout the sentence,

'a fellowship of people who have accepted Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and Lord and where common aim is to induce others to subject themselves to the lordship of Christ.'

page 1

'Have accepted' indicates that 'people' joined of their own volition and share a 'common aim'. The emphasis on volition is again echoed throughout the O & R. The following example concerns the transfer of Junior soldiers to the Senior Corps.

'Especially in his case (i.e. the junior soldier) it will be necessary to emphasise.....that enrolment as a soldier is arranged as the result of his free-will decision. No one must be subject to undue pressure to become a salvation soldier. Parental, family traditions, the desire to join a musical section of the corps etc. are not legitimate motives for becoming a soldier. The salvation soldier must volunteer for service compelled only by the redemptive love of Christ.'

page 177

The statement that 'enrolment as a soldier' must be as a result of a 'free-will decision' is an unusual requirement for competent membership. Few industrial organisations or educational institutions would explicitly formulate this as a requirement prior to entry though there is no doubt the notion of freedom of choice might be invoked at some later stage. In our society decisions entered into freely are of a special kind. There are usually a set of rights and responsibilities attaching to decisions of this kind so that agreements not reached in this way may provide grounds for legal remedy. The fact that a decision is entered into freely robs the party of such complaint and further would seem to place a heavier onus of responsibility on the party to perform his duties as prescribed than might be otherwise. The Salvation Army is a voluntary movement and much is made of this by it's leaders in relation to criticisms of it's activities. thus it may be claimed (and indeed has been) that since membership is voluntary, members have the freedom to choose either to abide by it's guidelines or leave. This feature allows those in control to the point to the continued presence of members as signalling the acceptance and authorisation of their activities. A powerful resource for controlling competing claims for competence is established.

This unitary conception of social organisation is also explicitly expressed in the O & R for Soldiers. Thus every 'salvation soldier' is formally required to 'consider, accept (my emphasis) and sign the Articles of War in order, among other things, to

d) prevent many joining who are not in heart and head with us, and who consequently would be likely afterwards to create dissatisfaction and division' page 3

Competent membership then involves a total commitment of 'heart and head' to the 'doctrines, principles and practices'.

The emphasis on a unitary source of authority and focus of loyalty would seem to find explicit and dramatic exposition in the Articles of War (enrolment form).

"I do here declare that I will always obey the lawful orders of my officers, and that I will carry out to the utmost of my power all the orders and regulations of the Army; and further, that I will be an example of faithfulness to its principles, advance to the utmost of my ability its operations, and never allow, where I can prevent it, any injury to its interests, or hindrance to its success." page 3

These principles are further expressed in the O & R for Soldiers "Which strive to express in an up-to-date way how the Articles of War and the principles these embody must govern Salvationists....." ".....is to be regarded as the authoritative handbook of Salvationism." page 6

The signing of the Articles of War takes the form of a public ceremony in which the soldiers of the corps are called to witness the intending soldier's dedication before God under the flag of the Salvation Army. "No one is a full member of the Salvation Army who has not been enrolled and sworn in as a soldier of the corps" - p.70. The ceremony is often used by officers to remind those present of the "solemn undertakings" to which they have set their hand" and to invite them to "reaffirm their dedication to God" (p.6). The ceremony is usually conducted by an officer and is known as the "swearing in meeting". Swearing in denotes something special about the process of entry.

This term is usually located in a legal arena and dramatically indexes a change in the nature of the relationship between the parties involved. A swearing in ceremony focuses attention on the promisory and honorific aspect of the relationship. Whilst many organisations require their employees to be truthful and to act in good faith (bona fide) few would require of their employees a verbal or written undertaking let alone a public declaration.

It is emphasised throughout the O & R that the promises which members undertake are (a) freely entered into and (b) are not made between

man and man and thus temporal and finite but between man and God and thus extending beyond the bounds of time. So it is that the infringement of one rule may (and often is) interpreted (though not by all) as breaking the whole system of rules. Thus smoking is not only regarded as infringing the rule relating to the use of tobacco but as breaking a promise to God, an interpretation which fundamentally alters the significance of the act. (It should be emphasised that this 'reading' is not shared by all members. My experience of a number of corps in the U.K. and on the Continent suggests that these activities are by no means uncommon albeit covert features. Indeed members of Linden Corps (see page 67ff) refer to instances of these within the corps.)

Smoking (and drinking) then may not be discouraged simply because they are rule-breaking activities but in relation to the infringement of a promise to the ultimate source of authority, God. These rule-breaking activities so located take on a more serious complexion deserving of severe censure. So it is that members are reminded of the solemnity of their undertakings, an aspect which receives further accentuation from the quasi-legal nature of the language.

"And I do here and now call upon all present to
witness....."

page 6

There is a continual tying down of the Army's activities to the word of God facilitating the claim of its leaders for obedience and loyalty, since obedience and loyalty to the Army is obedience and loyalty to the will of God so mediated.

"Believing that the Salvation Army has been raised up
by God and is sustained and directed by Him, I do here
declare that I am thoroughly convinced of the truth
of the Army's teaching....."

The Articles of War (p.3)

The way in which the origin and development of the Army is portrayed in O & R for Soldiers provides an additional resource for a potential conferment of legitimacy on the movement and the activities of its leaders. Consider the following extract -

"William Booth, at that time 36 years of age, felt the
call of God to work for the salvation of the people
....." (page 1)

The use of the phrase "felt the call" directs attention away from Booth's personal agency suggesting a more powerful divine agency to which Booth responds. The sentence could have read "William Booth

concerned about the salvation of the urban poor decided to commence his work in the East End of London" attributing the role of initiator, rather than respondent to the person of Booth. There would seem to be a definite intention on the part of the writer to locate Booth's activities in the realm of divine agency. The writer continues ".....he soon found himself in charge....." again Booth's personal role is de-emphasised. No mention is made of any personal initiative on Booth's part, or his friends to gain or maintain control. Finding oneself in charge bespeaks some mysterious process which one is not aware of, some invisible hand guiding destiny. Such a characterisation permits one to point to the work of divine agency, a claim which may confer legitimacy on one's activities. This characterisation is a familiar device that can be found in many areas of religious discourse. It permits among other things the conferment of the status "sacred", a status which would seem to be extremely important for this organisation given the writer's concern elsewhere to demonstrate evidence of the continual presence of divine agency in its activities. The salvation soldier is called to

"reflect upon the significance of the fact that the Articles of War quoted below, are virtually identical with the original ones drawn up at the end of the nineteenth century." (page 3)

I would suggest that the "preferred" significance may be displayed as follows:-

- (i) God's spirit is eternal
 - (ii) The Articles of War have remained basically unchanged for nearly a hundred years
 - (iii) This provides evidence of their legitimacy and God's continued presence in the movement
- since the movement would not have lasted had not it been sustained by God.

Others may infer a different significance but I would argue that the above account is in keeping with the intention of the writer⁽⁶⁾ for elsewhere it is stated; -

"No person will wish to be enrolled as a soldier unless he has come to the conclusion that 'The Salvation Army has been raised up by God and is sustained and directed by Him'....."

page 117

There would seem then to be some effort on the part of the writer of the O & R for Soldiers to convey the idea that the Army is a sacred movement. The conferment of this status if successful may strengthen the leaders claim to legitimacy and thus the loyalty of the membership, for to fail to act in accord with the movement's principles is to infringe a sacred promise.

And yet the leaders would seem to be aware that not all its members will continue to subscribe and live their lives in relation to these principles.

"At times he is likely to be disappointed in the Army, since it is an association of human beings and therefore imperfect. But his duty is to the ideal Army, such as God wishes it to be....." (page 78)

The O & R call on members however to act in relation to the 'ideal' as the only standard of competence in attempting to ensure the purity of belief.

Although the first and main condition for soldiership involves the acceptance of Jesus Christ as one's personal saviour, this personal decision is not sufficient. A personal declaration of competence i.e. that Jesus is my personal saviour is by itself incomplete. Further evidence is required before someone is accepted as a full competent member. The O & R for Senior Census Boards refers to the process whereby a person becomes a full-member, a senior soldier, as "steps to soldiership". Steps imply a gradient, progression along which is dependent on the fulfilment of some externally set criteria by which someone's progress can be measured. The point I wish to emphasise here relates not to the nature of the steps themselves⁽⁷⁾ but to the presence of a set of empirical temporal standards in terms of which it is required that a specific membership category, senior census board members, should judge the competency of an individual for enrolment as a full member.

"2. The senior census board is empowered to accept new soldiers and must satisfy itself that recruits and junior soldiers are truly converted, that they have read Orders and Regulations and undertake to fulfil the duties of soldiership as set forth therein, and that they have read and signed the Articles of War and are prepared before their enrolment to affirm their adherence to the rules and promises as expressed in that document." page 71

An individual cannot become a full, competent member without being judged to have fulfilled the prescribed criteria and thus gain the official sanction of the senior census board.

Thus certain categories of membership are deemed competent by virtue of office to sit in judgement on the competence of others and are given an official sanction to enact their judgement. In this way the processing of claims for competency is brought under central control which stretches in a chain of command to the General.

I have endeavoured to substantiate from the text my claim that it is possible to provide for a unitary conception of social organisation where competence is presented in relation to a single source of authority and focus of loyalty; that such a "reading" is feasible and thus available to members. Following this particular "reading" only those claims for competence which are deemed by those officially in control to be in accordance with the official prescriptions may be considered acceptable.

The text, however, also provides for the possibility of claims for competence which are not so sanctioned being accepted - reflecting a more pluralistic conception of social organisation.

The task then is to substantiate the claim that an alternative "reading" of the text provides for the possibility that claims which do not arise in formally prescribed ways may be considered legitimate.

The Articles of War provides authority for the possibility of competing claims for competence in that the "privilege to be wholly sanctified" is deemed accessible to all believers and not restricted to the "elect". "Holiness" is not the prerogative of some specialised class of membership, all believers are judged to be equally competent in this respect. If all believers are seen to be equally spiritually competent then the possibility for competing claims arises unless one assumes a homogeneity of belief and practice extending throughout the Army. This assumption is flawed in two respects - substantive and analytical.

- (i) Substantively - the O & R themselves argue against the conception of spiritual development in terms of a homogeneous set pattern. The O & R affirm - "God acts in His own way." Further, "the fact that one's spiritual development fails fully to conform to a set pattern may in fact be an indication that the work of grace which is directed by the Spirit Himself, has been and is genuinely proceeding." (p. 9)

There arises then the possibility of more than one competent form of spiritual development. Spiritual competence is a personal matter between God and man with no human intermediary, conferred by God.

"3. It is enough to accept with heart and will two facts: (a) I am not what I ought to be; (b) God, who knows what I am, offers his pardon if I will receive Christ as my own Saviour. He who accepts this divine offer will be truly born afresh to newness of life as is the "trophy of grace". To both, in God's appointed time, will be given the testimony of the spirit attesting with their own spirit that they are children of God (Romans 8:16) saved from the guilt and dominion of sin and living the new, spiritual life.

(p.9. My emphasis)

Spiritually based competence is not dependent on a qualifying period of probation linked to empirically testable criteria, it is confirmed by God in his "appointed time". Moreover, competence once attained is not deemed secure and sufficient for all time. The ninth Article of Faith declares the possibility that all Salvationists may fall from faith.

"We believe that continuance in a state of salvation depends upon continued obedient faith in Christ."

The "falling away" of a Salvationist from God, is termed "backsliding", and may occur through "loss of faith" and for "disobedience". "Once saved, always saved" furnishes no remedy here, the possibility is ever present and doctrinally established that a competent member may fall from grace.

The salvation soldier is called to be obedient to the will of God as interpreted by other men but in addition to "the inward monitor his conscience" the ".....far more sensitive indicator which the Spirit filled Christian possesses: the peace of Christ which is to rule his heart and mind."

(p.16. My emphasis)

These features provide members with a set of resources for challenging the official conception of competent membership.

(ii) Analytically all beliefs which seek to impose a homogeneous interpretation of the world would seem frustrated in that they involve the synthesis of all practical conduct into a way of life. (See Bittner 1963 for a more detailed exposition of this point). Thus members are obliged to move from a highly formalised set of principles to actual occasions and are inevitably called upon to judge the appropriateness of such principles on the basis of situated contingencies. As

all prescriptions are flawed in this respect (i.e. they require interpretative work by members to link to actual scenes - Garfinkel) the possibility for negotiation, however minimal, remains.

The possibility of competing claims arising is thus established.

There would seem to be a discrepancy between two conceptions of competence between a view which sees it as a direct matter between every Salvationist and God with no human intermediary, and one involving obedience to the commands of God as interpreted by the leaders requiring of a soldier "self-forgetfulness for the sake of common success, and obedience to the commands of leaders (though not a blind obedience but a self-discipline which enters into every aspect of life) making combined action purposeful and effective."

Whilst conceptual systems are rarely free from contradiction it is significant that members of this organisation have located this discrepancy in relation to a particular theology - the theology of the priesthood of all believers.⁽⁸⁾ This theology allows no claims for an ontological discontinuity between officers and soldiers; neither officer nor soldier enjoys a special measure of grace, for every man is a priest.

The distinction between officer and soldier derives not from any a priori difference in spiritual competence but from the different tasks required of them. All are judged competent to expound God's word. Thus the location of the discrepancy in terms of a dogmatic theological system considered to be central to the tradition in which the Army stands provides a potential resource for challenging a unitary conception of competence. A letter in The Officer illustrates this point. The writer who heads his letter "Divinely Called - Divinely Appointed?" directly challenges the authority of the leaders when he queries ".....at what point or level does an administrative decision become the divinely directed one?"⁽⁹⁾ The theology of the priesthood of all believers provides for a legitimate questioning of the authority and accountability of the Army's leaders and a resource with which to challenge the notion of a Theology of Officership.⁽¹⁰⁾

There would seem then to be a tension between these two conceptions of competence. A tension of this kind is perhaps endemic to any form of social organisation which seeks to transmit a formalised,

homogeneous interpretation of the world.⁽¹¹⁾ The world is characteristically interpreted in terms of a practical contingent and thus heterogeneous scale of relevances related more often than not to the particular project at hand and generating a profusion of interpretations. The transformation of a characteristically heterogeneous mode into a homogeneous mode of interpretation almost by definition requires dogma and guardians of dogma. Orthodoxy presupposes heresy and thus defenders of the faith. (I am grateful to Antoine Lion for this point.) A group aiming at orthodoxy cannot therefore avoid exerting some control over its members. A view exemplified in O & R for Soldiers in respect of the 11 Articles of Faith (The Army's own confession of faith)

"One function of the Articles of Faith is to safeguard the Army against possible attempts to introduce unauthorised teaching on subjects of little importance to the glory of Christ, the salvation of souls and the sanctification of God's people....."

(p.21)

In order to continue as a distinct entity this type of group is almost obliged to entrust to specialists, in some manner or other, the development, codification and evaluation of its way of life. The fact that this specialist group, here officers, produces authorised meanings places them in a situation of advantage. And yet as we have seen there remains a peculiar paradox for that power is not unfettered since all members are potentially so authorised.

It is important to bear in mind that we are speaking in terms of a potential resource for challenging the official conceptions of competence. Furthermore the notion of a "priesthood of all believers" is, for the most part, restricted currency; few soldiers at Linden would be aware of such a doctrine. That is not to say that on empirical examination we could not find some members who subscribe to some variant of its basic message. This however is a matter for empirical investigation; here we are dealing mainly with possibilities.

2b. Form of Prescriptors

I want now to briefly consider the characteristic ways in which prescriptors are formulated. The mode varies from guidelines to orders and regulations. Two analytical dimensions would seem relevant here - specificity and weight. Specificity is used to refer to the

degree of tightness in definition, weight - to the degree of discretionary element in compliance and strength of negative sanction.

Basically one can identify three levels of specificity ranging from highly specific rules through to the more general rules and the highly diffuse notion of the "Army Spirit". My aim is to demonstrate that although all prescriptions, rules etc. have an "outer horizon" which requires "filling-in" by the interpretive and judgemental work of members to link to actual scenes, these vary in their plasticity. Additionally I want to give some indication of the negative sanction that might be invoked to deal with attributed non-compliance.

No person may become a soldier of the Salvation Army unless the senior census board is satisfied among other things that they have read the O & R for Soldiers and undertake to fulfil the duties of soldiery as set forth therein. However in addition to an acquaintance with the rules and regulations a soldier is called on to "understand and be possessed by the Army Spirit". Whilst 86 pages are devoted to an elaboration of the orders and regulations only 3 are devoted to this topic, an aspect of which the writers are aware. For the chapter "attempts an analysis of the significance of the expression without claiming to penetrate the whole subject" (My emphasis). This expression has been seen as "a way of indicating that certain qualities, convictions and principles have always been accepted as desirable and necessary." The formulation is extremely diffuse. Moreover its nature is authenticated and revealed not by human agency but by the "Holy Spirit of God".

"The Holy Spirit of God will reveal to true Salvationists how they can exhibit that practical, loving and self-denying attitude of the straying, sinning and suffering world for which Christ dies, which is the hallmark of the genuine Army spirit."

Though an expression of the "Army Spirit" is deemed more important than an acquaintance with rules and regulations, compliance with this "spirit" as compared to some of the rules (e.g. regarding alcohol and drugs) is, analytically, more open to interpretation because of the lack of specificity. Whilst non-compliance may, analytically, be more difficult to establish, the low level of specificity does make available a wide area for consideration should a commanding officer require a legitimating vocabulary e.g. a soldier may be

legitimately denied the possibility of local officership on the basis that he is lacking in "Army spirit". It also provides a potential remedy to a more literal interpretation of rules and regulations: a judicial analogue would be the concept of "equity" which a judge may use to distinguish judicial precedent or legislation.

A more specific mode of formulation is illustrated by the rule regarding the holding of one or more office e.g. "5. As far as possible each local office should be filled by a different person but where suitable people are scarce, a soldier may be appointed to more than one position. In no instance, however, may anyone simultaneously hold two positions involving membership of the corps census board or hold two finance officers." (p.9. O & R for L.O.'s)

In contrast to the statement regarding the Army Spirit this rule is clearly defined and its area of jurisdiction made apparent. There is however still quite a large area unspecified and open to discretion. Just what "as far as possible" amounts to and what a "suitable person" looks like requires a good deal of judgemental work and thus leaves open a wide horizon for distinguishing the particular case.

We do not find a similar degree of diffuseness and latitude in discretion in the formulation of all prescriptors; for example one of the conditions for local officership states;

"A soldier may become or continue to be a local officer only on condition that he; (a).....(g), (h) Abstains from using tobacco in any form."

(page 8. O & R for L.O.'s)

The formulation is precise and tight allowing a minimal use of discretion. The rule refers to an action the infringement of which is comparatively easy to demonstrate (i.e. it is a discrete, physical event). whereas what constitutes a "suitable person" for local officership involves such nebulous propositions as godliness, loyalty and devotion - much more diffuse though nonetheless required elements. Prescriptors then vary in their specificity. A useful analogue in this respect is the various physical states which elements assume. Thus some prescriptors are peculiarly resistant to shaping (e.g. solids) whilst others readily take on the form of the "vessel" in which they are situated. (e.g. "liquids".)

Prescriptors also vary in the type of negative sanction that follows

from their infringement. There are two main forms of negative sanction that follow from non-compliance with orders and regulations;

- (a) suspension from uniform wearing and public participation,
- (b) removal of names from soldiers' roll (expulsion).

The removal of names is permissible only by the Divisional Commander's authority and represents the ultimate sanction. Before the procedure can be put into effect some effort must be made to "restore an unsatisfactory soldier". This must include a personal visit or should this prove impossible an "appropriately worded letter.....from the census board under private cover and by recorded (registered) delivery post.....". The removal of names would seem to be a serious project. The procedures exhibit almost a judicial concern with accountability (e.g. appropriately worded letter, recorded (registered) delivery post). Again census boards are urged to take "great care in discussing with the unsatisfactory soldier the proposal to remove his name from the roll. Records of such conversations and copies of letters should be preserved, in case of a possible charge of defamation of character." The writers seem to be anticipating the legal consequences of their decisions - a feature of many work organisations but not one that would normally expect amongst a "fellowship of people".

In addition to listing "causes of removal of names by Divisional Commander" the O & R for Senior Census Boards also gives a list of reasons which are, "not of themselves sufficient for the removal of names from the rolls". These are:

- "(a) Disloyalty to the Commanding Officer
- (b) Failure to wear uniforms
- (c) Refusal to contribute to Army funds
- (d) Failure to participate in the normal activities of the corps, e.g. by irregular attendance at the meetings, or attendance at other corps or other places of worship."

(p.17. O & R for Senior Census Board)

So although any of the above courses of action are likely to invoke a charge of incompetence or unsuitability for local officership taken individually they cannot lead to the removal of names from the roll. Indeed a name can only be considered for removal for the following reasons:-

- "(a) Drinking alcoholic beverages, or using harmful drugs, except on a medical prescription, if persisted

- in after counsel has been given
- (b) Failing to make efforts to clear any dishonourable or serious debt of long standing, after reasonable proposals have been made to effect a settlement
 - (c) Persistently and mischievously circulating libellous statements, spreading unfounded rumours, or engaging in conduct injurious to the interests of the Army
 - (d) Being guilty of an immoral act or practice (see paragraphs 10 and 11)"

(p 18 O & R for Senior Census Board)

When a name is removed for "unsatisfactory conduct" as defined in the previous paragraph only the term "unsatisfactory"....."should be entered in the Minute Book". A right of appeal is available but the final decision is taken by the Territorial Commander or his appointed representative and even the possibility of reinstatement remains.

Prescriptors vary in the type and force of negative sanction that ensues from their infringement. Thus though a soldier promises loyalty to his commanding officer disloyalty as such does not lead to expulsion whilst persistent drinking of alcohol except on medical grounds can incur expulsion. There is then a gradient of sanctionable offences.

2c. Types of Prescriptors

Analytically it is possible to identify four distinct types of prescriptions though empirically they may be intertwined

(a) Theological - e.g. "A soldier may become or continue to be a local officer only on condition that (he) (j) Regards all his time, talents and possessions as gifts to be held in stewardship to God and therefore spends these gifts of mind, body, spirit and environment for His glory and for the advancement of Christ's Kingdom." (page 8)

(b) Moral - e.g. again relating to conditions for local officership "(iii) The acceptance of these principles should enable a local officer to renounce the spirit of the world and to set an example by not participating in activities which lower the moral tone of society." (page 9)

(c) Interactional - e.g. "The B.M. should in addition to the usual qualification for local officership possess (a) Power to lead and control men."

(d) Prescriptors relating to a specific functional area

2d. Coverage of Prescriptors

This refers to the class of membership reached and the domain of social life covered. The O & R for Soldiers are regarded, by those in control, as the "authoritative handbook of Salvationism". All classes of membership are bound by Orders and Regulations. There are in addition further regulations issued for specific classes of membership. The following O & R relate to the work of the corps:-

1. O & R for Corps Secretaries and Treasurers
2. O & R for Senior Census Boards (local decision making unit)
3. O & R for Governing a Corps Council
4. O & R for Bands and Songster Brigades (Senior Choir)
5. O & R for Work Among Young People (Sunday Schools etc)
6. O & R for Corps Cadets (Youth Bible Study)
7. 7. O & R for Scouters of Salvation Army Sponsored Groups
8. O & R for the Home League (Women's Fellowship)
9. O & R for Over-Sixty Clubs
10. O & R Governing the Torchbearer Youth Club Movement

There would seem to be an asymmetrical distribution in standards of competence required for specific positions. Whilst "all local officers must be godly, loyal and devoted salvationists" the Corps Sergeant Major in addition to "experience, good sense and reliability" also requires a "special measure of godliness, devotion and loyalty". The Corps Sergeant Major is the senior local officer for public work and unless other arrangements are made by the Divisional Commander is required to take command in the absence of the Corps Officer. This additional responsibility is reflected in a demand for a higher standard of competence. The doctrine of all souls competency is then further qualified in that some soldiers are officially recognised as possibly possessing a special measure of spiritual competence.

A similar asymmetry is revealed in the review of qualities required for Recruiting Sergeants and Helpers. "The Recruiting Sergeant needs to be a lover of souls, an out and out Salvationist and thoroughly sound in doctrine....." yet as regards his helpers they "should possess a reasonable measure of the same qualities". (My emphasis). Standards of competence then rise as you progress through the hierarchy.

The O & R circumscribe the totality of members' lives, no part of

of a member's life can be defined as lying outside their scope. There is an intensive concern for the purity of the believer. "The S.A. has the duty to urge a basic consistency between its principles and the daily work of Salvationism". The O & R deal explicitly with the following domains of social life; Worldly Ways and Christian Standards; Christian Standards of Sexual Morality; Human Relationship with Individuals, in the Home, at Work, with the Neighbours, in the Community, with Fellow Soldiers, with other Christians; Care of the Body; Improvement of Mind; Use of Leisure, etc.

A rigid boundary is counterpoised between the world and God's Kingdom. The frontispiece of the O & R has the following quotation from the Bible:

"Thou therefore endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. No man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier."

(2 Timothy 2:3,4)

The Articles of War call upon soldiers to make a declaration of uncompromising and final renunciation of "Worldliness".

Summary

In this chapter, following the identification of the main sources for the transmission of preference , I began the task of explicating the set of preferences informing the characterisation and production of members' activities. The analysis was mainly concerned with an examination of the way in which the aims and activities of the organisation are depicted in the O & R for Soldiers, and what such characterisation work might achieve.

This revealed a distinct preference for the characterisation of the Salvation Army as a "movement". The descriptor "movement" used in conjunction with that of "fellowship" emphasises involvement and commonality of interest as constituting an important dimension of the relationship between members. This characterisation, together with a number of other features is suggestive of a unitary conception of social organisation (Fox 1966), where competency is presented in relation to a single source of authority and focus for loyalty, namely the Army's teachings as espoused by the leadership. Following this "reading" of membership only those claims for competence which

are deemed by those in official control to be in accordance with the official prescriptions may be considered to be acceptable.

There are a number of resources for substantiating the claim that a unitary conception of membership in this organisation is feasible and thus available to members. Some are explicit, as in the case of the stipulations regarding the prevention of those from "joining who are not in heart and head with us, and who consequently would like to create dissatisfaction and division" and the demand that members agree to be bound by the Articles of War, obey the "lawful orders of my officers" and moreover sign this agreement in a Public Swearing-in Ceremony before God, the Army flag and the soldiers of the Corps.

Others are more contrived. Thus the fact that membership is "voluntary" and "freely entered into" may be seen to allow those officially in control to claim that the continued presence of members' signals an acceptance of the legitimacy of these activities. In addition the continual tying down of the Army's activities and teachings to the acts and words of God, facilitating the portrayal of the Army as a sacred movement, allows a stronger claim to obedience and loyalty since obedience and loyalty to the leaders become obedience and loyalty to the will of God so mediated. ("An Army raised by God"). This point is well illustrated in my explication of the account portrayed in the O & R of the origin and development of the Army.

The O & R also restricts the mandate to authorise the conferment of the official status of competence to a specific membership category, the senior census board, laying down "steps to soldiership" - a set of empirical/temporal standards against which competency should be judged. Thus a personal declaration of competence ("Saved, Happy and Free") is by itself incomplete for additionally the candidate must prove his acceptability to the senior census board.

Collectively these resources provide a powerful device for conferring legitimacy on the leadership and enabling them to maintain control over the settlement of claims for competency.

Paradoxically, analysis reveals that the text provides for the possibility of claims which do not arise in formally prescribed ways may be considered legitimate. The work of Garfinkel in respect of his investigation

of the open-textured properties of language, and Bittner in respect of the difficulties involved in transforming a characteristically heterogeneous mode of existence (the world of everyday life) into a homogeneous mode of existence (in this case the Christian way of life) provides authority for the analytical basis of this claim. Summarily stated the analytical basis of the claim resides on the observation that since all prescriptions, no matter how exhaustively stated, always require judgemental work by individuals to link to specific circumstances, the possibilities for negotiation always remain.

In addition the O & R provide substantive authority for the possibility of claims for competence not arising in ways stipulated by the O & R being accepted as legitimate. A significant aspect of this pluralistic conception of membership is that it is located by some members (e.g. J. Coutts) in relation to a distinct conceptual system - the theology of the priesthood of all believers. This theology of priesthood allows no ontological distinction between officers (ministers) and soldiers (laity); all are judged competent to expound God's word. The location of the pluralistic conception of membership in relation to the theology of the priesthood of all believers provides a potential resource for questioning the authority and activities of the Army's leadership. Two illustrations were provided to show that such a usage is more than a possibility.

The explication of the text reveals then two "readings" of membership and points up the possibility of a tension arising between the two conceptions of membership; between the view which sees the life of a members as a matter of direct personal responsibility to God with no human intermediary and a view which requires of a member "discipline, involving obedience to the commands of leaders (of the Army)"

Following Bittner, it was suggested that a tension of this kind is perhaps endemic to any form of social organisation which seeks to transmit a homogenised interpretation of the world (Bittner 1963). The transformation of a characteristically heterogeneous mode into a homogeneous mode of interpretation almost by definition requires dogma and further as Antoine Lion (1978) has argued in the context of theology, guardians of dogma. The suggestion is then, that in order to continue as a distinct entity, this type of organisation is almost obliged to entrust to specialists the development, codification,

maintenance and evaluation of its way of life. The fact that this specialist group (in this case officers) produces authorised meanings places them in a situation of advantage. And yet, as we have seen, there remains a peculiar paradox, for that advantage is not unfettered, since all members are potentially so authorised.

The analysis also points up a number of ways in which the characterisation of membership found in the O & R differs from those found in business enterprises and educational institutions.

Thus the Army is referred to as a "movement", a "fellowship of people" whose members are required to gain "an understanding" of its "basic nature", to make a "free will decision" "compelled by the right motive" and to make that decision in a public swearing-in ceremony before God, the Army flag and soldiers of the Corps.

The minimum age for soldiership is 14⁽¹²⁾ so we find that the attributed competence to enact a decision is linked in the first instance to age, an age lower than the recognised legal age of consent. Thus in the Army a person can become a fully competent member⁽¹³⁾ with attendant rights and duties without having attained the full legal status of an adult. And moreover no cognisance is taken of differential rates of social, biological or spiritual maturation.

Not only must the decision to join the Army be "freely made" but it must also be "compelled" by the right motive. Though managers and politicians may speak with moral vigour of the problems of an "apathetic and indolent workforce" few would formally require as a primary condition for entry into their organisation possession of the "right motives". They may of course seek information as to, for example, the reliability and enthusiasm of a potential employee but this is normally of secondary consideration to technical skill.

The decision to join the Army and abide by its rules is regarded as involving a promise to God. Thus any infringement of a rule or command may (and often is) interpreted as breaking a promise to God.

The analysis of the prescriptions also revealed variations in formulation, in terms of both specificity (the tightness of definition) and weight (the degree of discretionary elements in compliance and the strength of negative sanction); in type - four analytically distinct forms being indentified namely theological, moral, interactional and technical; and in coverage (the class of member reached and the domain of social life covered).

Having revealed something of the ways in which the aims and activities of the organisation are depicted in the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers and identified possible sources of tension and potentialities for discretion, I shall now move on to an examination of members' verbal depictions of membership as generated in various arenas of naturally occurring interaction.

In the previous chapter I began the task of explicating the set of preferences informing the characterisation and production of members' activities by examining the formal array of prescriptors as displayed in the O & R for Soldiers. The focus of inquiry now switches to an explication of members' preferences as generated in naturally occurring interaction. The examination of members' verbal exchanges will facilitate the explication not only of the set of preferences informing the interpretation and production of members activities, but also of the ways in which members can manage the description and evaluation of their activities. In this chapter I focus on one particular arena of naturally occurring interaction, the After-meeting-get-together.

When members of the corps meet socially in each others' homes after the Sunday evening meeting the conversation usually turns to some aspect of corps life. Through such talk members come to know something of the kind of place this is and people they are. Conversation provides members with a set of resources for making sense of their lives. This is a resource of which the leaders of the Army would seem to be all too aware, judging by the strictures at one time placed on it. e.g. in the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers 1961 we find the following:

Chapter V - the Care of the Body. Section 7 - Sleep

1-4

- ⁱ5. Soldiers and especially the young should hasten to bed after meetings avoiding if only for health's sake, any needless gossip or hanging about.

Chapter X --Fighting. Section 9 - Evil Speaking

1. A Salvation Soldier must not speak evil of his comrades
2. To speak evil of a comrade means to talk to others about his faults - or what are thought to be his faults - when there is no necessity to do so, or when no good end will be served thereby. page 40

(N.B. The revised O & R 1977 does not specifically identify these strictures).

Conversation in After-meeting-get-togethers provides an arena in which the activities of corps members (usually those not party to the conversation) get evaluated and statuses such as competent/incompetent get allocated. An analysis of such conversations then may reveal much about members' characterisations and

preferences regarding the performance of corps activities and further reveal something of how such characterisation work may be achieved i.e. how it is possible for members to manage the description and evaluation of each others' activities in such context.

Before attending to the transcript I will provide a brief description of the general features of this type of situated activity and the biography of those involved.

a) The setting

The talk has been transcribed from an informal get-together at the Pepler's house after a Sunday night meeting in October 1978. These informal meetings had at one time been held quite regularly though at this time they were much more infrequent. Joan Pepler especially looked forward to these get-togethers and often commented that she wished they were held more often. The evenings were well known for their longevity, conversation drifting into the early hours of the morning.

This form of spending time together is a common feature of many Salvation Army corps. A general feature of these informal get-togethers is their exclusivity, whether intended or otherwise. To be invited to such gatherings can for some people be a source of considerable kudos, it being regarded not only as a mark of your acceptance amongst a particular group but also to some degree of your passing as a competent member. At times this perceived exclusivity has been formulated by those not party to such gatherings as the source for the development of "bad feeling" and "a cliquy atmosphere". Comments like these were especially prevalent amongst the younger members of corps that I attended though not so manifest at Linden even though during my stay attendance was limited to a small group.

It is very difficult to discover why certain members never attended. It may have been the case as with Tony Brewer that they preferred to spend the evening with their respective families. The "regulars" were relatively free of commitments of this nature. What was noticeable however was that very little was made of these gatherings by those not present. Indeed the word "gathering" seems to invest the occasion with more import than it seemed to carry for many members of the corps. The danger inherent in any kind of analysis is that by its

very nature it often endows everyday scenes with epic proportions which for members are merely an ever-present mundane feature of their landscape.

Although these gatherings were seldom arranged much in advance this particular occasion was so planned. Joan Pepler made the arrangements. Mr. & Mrs. Wilson were invited as were Mary Smith, Brian Edwards, Sheila Boot, Marilyn Wood (usually had supper with the Peplers after attending the Sunday meetings), the writer and his wife. Tony Brewer was also invited but declined saying he wanted to be with his "wife and kids".

b) Biographical details

The Peplers - John and Joan (early forties), Chris (17), Luke (13), Matthew (11) and Naomi (8). John works for an engineering firm in the Heat Treatment Dept. (His brother-in-law Ivor Smith, who is also member of the corps, works for the same company). Joan works part-time in a sub-post office, Chris is an engineering apprentice, Luke and Matthew attend comprehensive school and Naomi junior school.

John's mother and Aunt attend regularly. Joan's mother hardly ever comes though the family visit her every Sunday tea-time. Both their fathers are dead. John's father was at one time closely associated with the corps. His sister, Vi, married Ivor Smith and their family Mary (16), Bob (13) and Mandy (8) are regular members.

John Pepler was for a time Corps Sergeant Major. He is regarded by many of the members as rather an unusual character, a view of which John is not unaware. Though some members (e.g. Len Foot) are ambivalent in their view of him others exhibit a pronounced unfavourable (e.g. Eva Edwards) or favourable (e.g. Tony Brewer) attitude towards him.

Joan Pepler is the Assistant Home League Secretary and was for a time the Young People's Sergeant Major.

Both are members of the senior band as is Chris, Joan is in addition a Songster, Luke and Matthew are Y.P. Bandsmen and who, together with Naomi, attend Sunday School.

The Wilsons - George and Betty are both in their seventies and have been at Linden for most of their lives with the exception of a period at the Citadel and in the Pentecostal Movement: George makes it clear when you talk to him on such issues that if it wasn't for Betty "who loves the Army" he'd have left and joined the Pentecostals long ago.

Few members if any have anything unfavourable to say of either of them, they are held in considerable esteem by nearly all the members. Both their parents were actively involved in the corps. George has held a number of senior census board positions including Corps Treasurer. Betty is Y.P. Treasurer and has held that post for more than twenty years. She also collects the subscriptions for the Heating Fund and jumble for the Sale of Work. This aspect of her work provides a continuing source of reference for corps members (e.g. comments like "Hang on to yer purse. Here comes old money bags!")

Betty's sister Mable and brother-in-law Frank Bartlett held senior positions in the corps before leaving to become Auxillary officers.

Betty's niece (Frank and Mabel Bartlett's daughter) is the Home League Secretary Eva Edwards.

George and Betty have a son Trevor who used to be in the corps but left during his teens.

Brian Edwards - Brian (19) is the son of Home League Secretary and thus grandson to George and Betty Wilson. Brian plays in the senior band but is not a songster unlike his mother (Eva), father (Tom) and sister Debbie (16). Brian is an engineering apprentice and works for the

same firm as Chris Pepler.

Sheila Boot - Sheila (21) is engaged to Brian. Both her parents are actively involved in the corps and have been for many years. Her mother (Vera) sings in the Songsters and her father (Paul) although disabled is a Pub-Boomer. Sheila works as a clerk/typist.

Mary Smith - Mary (16) is the eldest daughter of Ivor and Vi Smith and is Joan and John Pepler's nieces. She has recently been commissioned a senior soldier and plays in the senior band. Mary attends the same school as her brother Bob (13) and her cousins Luke and Matthew Pepler.

Marilyn Wood- Marilyn has been in the corps for four or five years. She is a uniformed Salvationist though not a songster or bandswoman. She is training to be a midwife. Her family are Methodists and her parents were missionaries in China. Most of her "free time" is spent in North Town where her family, two boys and a girl, live with her parents.

The writer and his wife - At this stage Jenni and I had been in the corps nearly two years. Jenni had recently returned from a year abroad and I had been Y.P.S.M. for nearly five months. I play in the band but don't sing in the songsters. Jenni is not involved in any of these activities though she does participate in the Sunday School.

Members' consideration of membership first emerged in a discussion which I have labelled "the good old days". In working through this transcript I identified a number of themes which seemed to be of special relevance to the participants and these formed the basis for the segmentation and selection of talk as data, which is considered in the next chapter. The aim here is to describe and analyse the conversational depictions of membership and some of the procedures through which such work can be accomplished.

1. "The good old days" (Side A Section 1 1.1 - 54) -

in which a consideration of membership as a topic for conversation first emerges.

The topic is introduced by Brian Edwards and follows a discussion about Len Foot and David Davis' teeth, or rather lack of them. Brian begins whilst Mrs. Wilson and Joan Pepler are engaged in the "teeth" topic. Briefly stated, the story concerns two incidents involving Frank Bartlett (Brian's grandfather) which occurred about twenty years ago. In the first he chases another member of the corps outside the old hall in Finkel Street wielding a poker. The second concerns his suspension for playing rounders.

Transcript

Side A - Section 1

1 Mrs. Wilson Teeth do notice don't they
Jenni Jones Yes
Mrs. Wilson I think (inaudible)⁽¹⁾ =
(.....)
(INAUDIBLE)

5 Brian Edwards What do yer what do yer think though?⁽²⁾ =
Joan Pepler ⁽¹⁾ = (?) realise it, you've got to
Brian Edwards ⁽²⁾ = I don't know whether she'd been chasing David on
Friday night in this passage () me grandad^(a) found out⁽²⁾ =
(sigh (inaudible))

10 Mrs. Wilson
Brian Edwards ⁽²⁾ = and run 'im with a poker in hall at bottom of Finkel⁽²⁾ =
(Laughter)

Brian Edwards ⁽²⁾ = Street that!

Mrs. Wilson Oh didn't we have some good times

15 Brian Edwards An (yer)[?] got suspended yer know he^(b) got suspended for
going rounders, "Well it 'appens to all the best" he says "I
got the same" () He got put out for two weeks for it⁽²⁾ =
(Laughter)

Joan Pepler (Oh didn't we 'ave some good times in Finkel St)

20 Brian Edwards ⁽²⁾ = Were you there when he did that? (pause) =
(Laughter - Note John Pepler didn't laugh)

⁽²⁾ = Do you remember that?

John Pepler I'm not saying nowt!
(Laughter - inaudible

25 "Hit 'em with a poker" He said "go on Frank give 'em one)

Note: (a) Brian Edwards "grandad" is Frank Bartlett, brother-in-

law to Mrs. Wilson

(b) Lines 15, 16, 17 "he" refers to Brian Edwards "grandad"

Observations:

(i) Exophoric references - Brian Edwards' story contains many exophoric references (as do all the stories in this extract) that is to say they refer to places, people and events whose identity is neither established nor elaborated in their "talk". Such truncated accounts would seem to pose no observable problem for the participants. They have little trouble in registering their understanding in what seems to be an appropriate manner. The laughter coupled with Mrs. Wilson's remark (line 14) can be heard as indexing the fact that Brian's tale is being treated in a light-hearted manner - a treatment which Brian seems to regard as wholly appropriate, for he continues in the same vein. There is then some initial evidence to suggest that Brian's tale forms part of a shared experience.

(ii) Categorisation of members - The characters involved in Brian's tale are categorised in terms of their Christian name ("David" Line 7) and familial status (e.g. "me grandad" Line 8) rather than their Army status. The selection of categories to characterise events, actors etc. is an important issue for analytical consideration. The use of Christian names and familial statuses modified by possessive pronouns is I suggest significant. It suggest to me that here is a story about people who are assumed to be known in common, about consociates rather than contemporaries whose relationship has more in common with primary rather than secondary groups.

(iii) Formulating place - The place (i.e. physical location) in which the story is purported to have occurred would seem to be of some significance to the story-teller. The phrase "in hall at bottom of Finkel Street that" (Line 11) follows on immediately from the wielding of a poker (Line 11). Yet the wielding of a poker can of itself be an act, a story worth the telling.

This suggests that the location of the act may be of additional significance, a view supported by the emphasis with which Brian imparts the information. There would seem then to be some understanding that certain kinds of activity are not appropriate for members to

engage in or near the Salvation Army Hall. (This understanding finds further elaboration in subsequent stories - see Mrs. Wilson Line 45).

(iv) Members' treatment of accounts of impropriety - Members' accounts of acts of impropriety may in their telling occasion laughter and provide a basis for re-affirming that times were indeed good. (L 14 Mrs. Wilson, L 19 Joan Pepler). This is not to deny the possibility that events have occurred which are too shameful to relate or that events get neutralised in the telling but it does suggest that acts of impropriety do not in themselves necessarily occasion regret, shame or worry. Indeed such a priori degradating experience as suspension can be retold in a manner designed to upgrade the transgressor for it "'appens to all the best" (Line 16). The transgressor in this particular case, Brian's grandfather Frank Bartlett, went on to hold a senior position in the Army as an Auxillary Captain. Such a telling is remissive of the stories of successful "old boys" as told at speech days and regimental dinners. The telling is greeted with laughter and the comment (Line 19) "Oh didn't we have some goods" which would seem to endorse this statement.

This statement is not shared by all the participants for John comments (Line 23) "I'm not saying nowt." This initial response gives way to laughter, the comment marks a beginning of change in the tenor of the conversation. The occasion now becomes one for telling a different story.

26 John Pepler I can remember more about Linden Corps than people what/want what people will want to forget

Mrs. Wilson Thats right love

(Laughter.....Oh dear?)

30 John Pepler Pub-boomers that drink fighting and

Mrs. Wilson (Oh I know they/

John Pepler Thats why

people have never been interested in Linden

Mrs. Wilson (Remember when (?) they was laying the

35 pipes down do you remember that and the cigarettes

John Pepler (There's worse (?) This is why

people have never been interested in Linden Corps round Linden Corps - there's always been that much 'appening

Mrs. Wilson Yes I know

40 John Pepler And they'll always tell yer, yer know when you get that,
few you know they're wrong but its thats it () it still ⁽³⁾ =
Unidentified (Yeah)

Brian Edwards Its gone now but it happened you

John Pepler ⁽³⁾ = happens

45 Mr. Wilson You know I were once when Army were - er Army were in
Finkel Street I were once opposite er one of them 'ouses where
women were dying () on a Sunday night and there was a right row
outside the Army its () its a fact there were a right row.

Joan Pepler Do you know I think I seem to re - er remember that

50 Mr. Wilson Yeah what did they call er/
Chris Pepler Saw Ena today she sends her love ⁽⁴⁾ =
Mr. Wilson They call er Mrs/
Joan Pepler ⁽⁴⁾ = Oh I shall have to go and see her

54 (Inaudible)

Observations:

(i) The device "I can remember more.....than people will want to forget" (Line 26-27) can be used in a mildly chiding almost patronising way as for example when old friends or families meet and reminisce. This however would not seem to be the way in which it is treated here. Whilst the initial reaction is laughter the phrase marks a change in tenor.

As John begins to unfold his account it becomes apparent that he feels these improprieties to be matters for serious concern, matters that people should, will and rightly want to forget and moreover events that should never have happened.

This theme is taken up by Mrs. Wilson Line 34. The reference to cigarettes suggests that they were discovered when the pipes in the hall were laid down. I take the point of the story to lie in the knowledge, not explicitly referred to here, that members themselves were involved in this work. Thus the story can be heard as making available to those present the possibility that members had been smoking.

(ii) These accounts of impropriety furnish for John a resource for explicating why it is that "people have never been interested in Linden" Corps (Line 33 - and echoed in Line 37-38). Competence is seen not only to be a concern for members but also non-members (especially those "round Linden") since the incompetence of members' influences, so John Pepler argues, the interest of non-members.

These stories may be seen analytically (i.e. I as observer am imputing this interactional work) then as providing members with a resource - courts of appeal if you like, for prosecuting, or defending particular views of organisational life, and membership. This aspect (i.e. the way in which members use accounts) will provide a continuing source of reference.

(iii) It is difficult to make out the sense of "And they'll always tell yer, yer know when you get that few they're wrong but its thats it () it still.....happens" (Line 40-44), though John does make it abundantly clear that "it" (drinking, fighting) still occurs. It is significant in this respect that whilst John maintains these activities still occur he refrains from identifying contemporaneous examples. Indeed it would seem to be a feature of the accounts of impropriety reported in this section that the action is historical and the cast anonymous. Thus whilst Brian (Line 9) speaks of "me grandad" the story tellers here refer to "pub-boomers", "cigarettes" and "rows". The way in which members categorise one another is an important issue for consideration and one I would like to develop a little further.

(iv) Categorisation of members. There are a number of ways in which members may categorise other members. Members may be categorised by reference amongst other identities to their organisational status, familiar status, Christian name or surname. H. Sacks (H. Sacks 1974) refers to such collection of categories, of which this is but one example, as Membership Categorisation Devices (M.C.D.'s). A M.C.D. is a collection of categories which have some affinity initially in the sense that when a category from a particular device is employed (e.g. Bandsmen) it can be heard as excluding members from being characterised for the time being by some other category from the same device (e.g. Ted, Mr. Heath, Dad, Songster etc. representing some sub-set of the total set of identities that could be correctly applied to one individual). Sacks suggests then that members may be heard

as methodically selecting from such a device (i.e. group of related categories) a single category. Moreover the selection of some category x, and not y, or z, is understood to have important consequences viz a vis members understanding of the nature of the circumstances in which they are participating for they are seen as being constitutive of such occasions.

As we noted earlier in respect of Brian's tale of the poker and the suspension of his grandad, the selection and use of Christian names (i.e. 'David') and a familiar category modified by a pronoun ('me grandad') rather than the organisational categories of "bandsmen" de-emphasises the formal and organisational aspects highlighting the personal and intimate nature of such events. This permits the poker incident to be characterised as one flowing from a disagreement between friends rather than an infringement of some organisational rule, for their organisational statuses are not deemed relevant to the sense of the story; (compare with John Pepler (2a) L 135/6 "Our Salvation Soldiers fighting and all this" (2a) 155 "Bandmaster came out with right shiner".)

In this respect John's selection and use of a category from the M.C.D. pertaining to different classes of organisational membership is of particular interest. What seems significant from John's point of view is not only the topic of these stories, (which is such that people will want to forget them L. 27) but also the organisational identity of those involved. Thus we find that it is not Gerhardt, or Rosa, nor Mr. or Mrs. Muller, nor Bandsmen or Songster Muller, nor Brother or Sister Muller, all possible correct forms of appellation, but "Pub-Boomers who drink". Thus whilst a Pub-Boomer may be correctly identified by his Christian name etc. the category (Pub-Boomer) would seem to be of special importance here. It seems that although such an activity (i.e. drinking) may be seen by John as inappropriate for all classes of membership, it is especially inappropriate for Pub-Boomers. I would argue that John Pepler in selecting this category may be seen as orientating to a rule of consistency which is especially prevalent in this sphere of life. "Practice what you preach!!" So it is that a member who undertakes to sell papers in public houses incurs a special responsibility to uphold the rule regarding drinking. Thus a Pub-Boomer who drinks may incur more censure than a mere Bandsman. There is some suggestion then that a notion of hierarchy may pervade members' conception of incompetence, that a members'

organisational status may affect the way in which an act defined as inappropriate is interpreted. Thus the same act may invoke a differential response according to the organisational status of the actor.

There may be an additional factor at issue, for as we noted earlier, stories of what "people will want to forget" type are more anonymous in character than those of the "good times at Finkel Street" variety. Indeed Mrs. Wilson and Mr. Wilson identify the events without specifying any actors, ("the cigarettes" L. 35, "right row" L. 47). It is also noticeable that such accounts refer to the distant past even though John maintains it "still happens" (Line 41 and 44). There would seem to be an unwillingness on the part of the story-teller to fill out the biographical features of these tales. They remain almost as members' "ideal types" of courses of action and actors, robbed of their specificity and individuality, merely instances of these types.

This device of rendering accounts anonymous may be fundamental to a particular type of account, which, whilst seeking to depict inappropriate acts may not wish to invoke direct action for those concerned.

Members for a variety of reasons may not wish their accounts to occasion formal action but use them merely as instances of the kind of things that happen, alerting others to the nature of corps life as they see it rather than provide for a formal accusation. Of course it could just be that members regard such events as significant in themselves not requiring biographical details for as some will have it, events speak for themselves.

(v) As in Brian's tale of the poker, the location of an act would seem to influence its worthiness as a story in this context. The crux of Mr. Wilson's story would seem to flow more from the spatial-temporal location of the act than from the act itself. That is not to say that Mr. Wilson does not regard rows as inappropriate activities per se rather that rows on a specific occasion and in a specific place can be especially inappropriate (and thus a story worth the telling) activities for competent members to engage in.

(vi) In Line 51 Chris Pepler enters the conversation for the first time during the evening. The topic seems unrelated to what has taken

place hitherto which suggests that these stories are not necessarily equally significant for the participants. In this respect it may be worth recalling that John and Joan, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson and Brian Edwards have had the major share of the action, with D.J., J.J. and Marilyn playing more of a supportive role and Sheila, Mary and Chris remaining silent throughout.

Discussion

A feature of the management of this after-meeting-get-together would seem to be the telling of stories concerning episodes in members' lives. Such accounts furnish members with a resource for characterising the features of their organisational life. Thus in respect of the accounts generated in this setting, we may observe that:

- a) modes of conduct (wielding a poker, drinking, smoking, fighting, rowdiness) regarded by members as being improper have occurred, and according to some of the members still persist in the corps;
- b) members whose conduct is considered by some to be improper and in some cases in direct contravention of Orders and Regulations can continue in office without their official standing viz a vis competence being compromised;
- c) the age and official status of the attributed transgressor, the nature of the attributed transgression and the place and time of occurrence would appear to be significant dimensions on which the standing of an act may vary viz a vis competence.

Though members' accounts for the most part referred to shared past experiences, these experiences would appear to be shared in different ways. Whilst some members exhibit an initial concern to see these events as indexing a golden era, for John they are a synecdoche of the dark ages. There is then more than one reading of members activities. Thus acts which could be properly defined as improper can be treated in different ways - some in a light-hearted manner along the lines of a ripping yarn, others more seriously as cautionary tales or cases in point.

So it is that in telling a story relating to a particular episode members highlight some features and not others as being relevant to their concerns e.g. in relating instances of improper conduct participants at times pay particular deference to the attributed view of non-members. This deference is related to non-members not

merely as audience, but also as potential recruits. These stories then are used by members for developing amongst other things understanding of why it is that "people round Linden have never been interested in the corps". Other events may be recalled more for their entertainment value than for any specific illustrative purpose, though once recalled they may nonetheless be marshalled towards such a project (e.g. for re-affirming that times were good then) by the other participants and indeed the teller himself. Just what these stories may actually achieve then can only be seen in the telling and the way it is treated by the other participants, for stories become shaped interactively in important ways.

The variation in the treatment of the features of their lives is reflected in the different devices that members "use" (by "use" I mean that these devices are discoverable in members' accounts) to formulate their accounts.

Thus for example in the tale of the poker and the suspension of his grandfather Brian "uses" the following devices which I would argue de-emphasise the consequentiality and seriousness of the events.

- (i) The selection and use of Christian name ("David") and a familiar category modified by a possessive pronoun ("me grandad") rather than the organisational categories of bandsman de-emphasises the formal and organisational aspects and highlights the personal and intimate nature of such events. This permits the poker incident to be construed as one flowing from a disagreement between friends rather than as an infringement of some organisational rule for their organisational statuses are not deemed relevant to the story. (Compare John Pepler's later account of "Salvation Army Soldiers Fighting" my emphasis (2a L.135/6))
- (ii) Brian's use of an e.g. drawn from the childhood experience of his grandfather, and also a member known by those present to be a Salvation Army officer now.
- (iii) Brian also makes available the fact that his grandfather regards suspension as something that "'appens to all the best".

In the case of John's tale the preceeding of the accounts of impropriety with the announcement that "I can remember more about Linden Corps than people what/want what people will want to forget" together

with the use of official categories (Pub-Boomers) highlighting their organisational significance and the relating of instances of specific rule-infractions (drinking, i.e. drinking alcoholic beverages) and the linking of these misdemeanours to the lack of public interest in the corps in such a way as to suggest a causal relationship, facilitates the portrayal of these improprieties as a matter for serious concern.

A prominent focus of attention in this initial extract was that of members' acts of impropriety. Members returned to a sustained consideration of this topic on four subsequent occasions during the evening and I decided to take this opportunity to explicate a little more fully something of members' theories concerning the nature and aetiology of incompetence rather than continuing with a more finely focussed analysis of members' conversational practices.

In this chapter the emphasis is on explicating members' theories concerning the nature, incidence and aetiology of impropriety, ineffectiveness, incompetence. Members' consideration of this topic emerges from a discussion of a case reported in a newspaper concerning the dismissal of an envoy for poor time-keeping. (See extract (a) - Side A Section 2: 1-282). The case furnishes us with an example of incompetence as defined by those who have a mandate to define what is proper conduct i.e. it provides an instance of officially-defined incompetence. The analysis focuses not on the circumstances of this particular case but on the sense members make of it.

Members return to a sustained consideration of these and related issues on three subsequent occasions during the evening:

In extract (b) the conversation centres on the inappropriate structuring of activities (Side A Section 3 L 355-465);

in (c) members consider the reasons why members are reluctant to change their ways (Side B Section 5 L 1001-1065);

and in (d) members consider why they cannot pursue the courses of action which they regard as appropriate (Side B Section 6 L 1197-1275). The four extracts will be dealt with in turn.

(a) A case of officially defined incompetence

Transcript (Side A Section 2)

1 Mr. Wilson He's just come back in work aye in work now Yes he's been
reinstated

Mr. Wilson (?) paper int'it
(Inaudible)

5 Mrs. Wilson Aye that's a right case in paper now int'it our Trevors^(a)
been to see what its all about

Unidentified Whats?

John What

Mrs. Wilson That envoy

10 Mr. Wilson (That court case er/

Joan Oh aye I can't understand (?)

Mr. Wilson That envoy

DJ In Newcastle

Mr. Wilson Court case in Durham and er she couldn't get to make

15 Sunday morning meetings this is what paper said she couldn't

get to Sunday morning meeting on time because of buses

Joan Mm

Mr. Wilson So Army sacked her stopped her money straight away and er she she went to live with a Captain that live near there and there 'ave been a court do over it and er in in't⁽¹⁾ =

20 DJ (Yeah)

Mr. Wilson ⁽¹⁾ =paper other morning that er Salvation Army hadn't finishe all the proceedings for court case so judge whoever it was said well we can't wait for the Army if they've had plenty of time we've gotta on with the proceedings and they're sueing Army for this woman all the wages what she's lost six months wages and they've gotta give her her job back

25 DJ Yeah they've gotta,

30 Mrs. Wilson Army don't reckon to take out to court though

Mr. Wilson (Its not the Army its her)

Mrs. Wilson ⁽²⁾ =do they

DJ (Its Its not a court its an Industrial Tribunal for unfair dismissal thats not a court

Joan But I mean why - I mean do they think then that because she's an Envoy that she's got to be on time at a meeting

35 - Mary leaves -

Mr. Wilson Well she was (?) late see

Joan Anyway you don't know paper can get a lot wrong can't it?

40 Mr. Wilson Well official at court that's complained that she - she don't get there on time she can't because of buses

Joan Well I mean why didn't someone from the corps try and help her

45 JJ Yeah

Joan I mean sure to goodness there's somebody got a car

JJ (Yeah a lack of understanding

Mr. Wilson Its a different case isn't it

Mrs. Wilson I tell you our Trevor^(a) always watches Army come to blame

50 Joan Well they do don't they!

Mrs. Wilson ((He says "Whats the matter with this woman then that 'er gets all over the paper 'bout Army". Its ever so close watches them that don't,

55 It is I mean

Joan it's not just one person that's having
difficulty over like being sacked unfairly

Mr. Wilson Yeah

Joan It's the Army thats not

60 Mr. Wilson (Sally Army cross top yer see

Joan Yeah

Mrs. Wilson Everybody looks at that

Joan And I mean its wrong - I mean er religion shouldn't
come into anything. Their their particular religion
65 is their personal () property if you want to call it that,
you know its nothing to do with anyone else

Mrs. Wilson Yes

Mr. Wilson It has when that woman's got sack and er

Joan (For her yes!

70 Mr. wilson (?) wages (?) taken away yes

Joan For her

Mr. Wilson Yes

Joan But I mean - How can I put it?

Mr. Wilson (?)

75 Joan It's always the Army to blame. P'raps they are to
blame I admit that. But then they sort of make it
out as though the Army's always wrong and they/
Mr. Wilson No they don't⁽³⁾ =

Joan (Yeah they do

80 Mr. Wilson ⁽³⁾ = Its just this one case

Joan They do I mean look at that bloke at Tuffley.
The Army was wrong.

DJ Who was that?

Mrs Wilson That car

85 (Well he'd he'd

Joan (?) raffle and if it came up

John (When things happen like that
they are wrong aren't they in that sense=⁽⁴⁾
(Inaudible)

John ⁽⁴⁾ =Its bad for Army, bad publicity for Army whether you like
it or not when things happen then it's bad publicity

90 Joan You've only gotta get a minister who runs off with a
woman (?) Fair enough its wrong

John (Same with Alan Hurst I mean what happened when
Alan Hurst ran away with that woman. His photo were
on great big thick headlines "Hurst so and so" right/
95 Joan Yeah

John And what happened when he went back there were a little bit "Prodigal reunited returned and the only little bit about/

Mrs. Wilson Aye

John ar wi' going back to his wife

100 Joan ((But what I'm saying is/

John But basically what yer trying to say is what should be that because he'd gone there should be a little bit saying well he's left his wife and summat rejoicing becos he's gone back

105 Joan No I'm not saying that at all

John ((But people don't do that it wouldn't be news

Joan (What I'm saying is they should leave a person's religion out of the paper

110 John 'Cos they shouldn't

Unidentified Oh no

Joan Yeah

Mrs. Wilson If that persons Yeah if that persons done wrong/

John In other words you/

115 Joan He's done wrong. I mean its not that long ago that a minister ran off with somebody else's wife

Unidentified Yeah

A.N. Other Mm

Joan Now it was the church that was getting blamed not

120 that bloke - the church is gonna suffer

John ((Well it does do doesn't=(5)

(5)=we are the church

Joan ((We know () we know we are

John I am the church and if I go - if I run off with woman

125 next door then I'm letting, I'm letting everybody and I am the church

(LAUGHTER)

Mr. Wilson You've only need to let paper to get hold of anything like that and they make a mountain of it

John ((This is why I say when you first meet when we discuss(6)=

130 Mr. Wilson ((Its their job Its their job

John (6)=things and I've said I'm upset I could say well I couldn't care less bout things well I mean like Mr. Wilson I can remember all sorts that lots of things that happened. For years outside our Army. As you've

135 just said, fighting outside Finkel St. our Salvation Army soldiers fighting and all this. But its still me to blame as well because its my church and I'm I'm I am

the church and some people er⁽⁷⁾ =

Unidentified Mm

140 John (7) = and I've not got to be put in a cocoon and say well
thats the church so don't worry let, they can do wrong.
If they do if we do wrong then we've a right as anybody
else to be put up as much as er anybody else

Mr. Wilson Yes

145 JJ Mm

Mr. Wilson Lindens not only corps in Boothtown that's had
ructions be-because I've - I've been (?) Boothtown IV⁽⁸⁾ =
John (I'm not saying it is)

Mrs. Wilson (Oh yes

150 Mr. Wilson (8) = () having, having an open air and (?)
standing and having a free for all

Mrs. Wilson (?)

John Did you ever go to Milltown that time and there were
(?) Bandmaster and Bandmaster came out

155 with right shiner
(Laughter)

John I agree this is one of the things that I said to, you
know when Joan said you know as you've said, "Well
look go somewhere else" You'd see the same things⁽⁹⁾ =
Mrs. Wilson (Yer would

160 John (9) = probably in in anywhere else this is what I'm saying

Mrs. Wilson Yer would

John But what I'm saying is - that you can understand
what I mean when I say that people don't want to be
associated with, I'll talk about my own church with

165 Linden Corps. You can't go to somebody who listens
to Army and say "Look come and er, we'd like to
invite you to our our meetings tonight" And you know
pew - with what I see going on round er

Mrs. Wilson Oh I know

170 Mr. Wilson Yeah

John this is what I'm trying to say

Mr. Wilson Right that

Mrs. Wilson True that

John I'm not I'm not saying that we we're no worse than anybody
else p'raps but what I'm saying is at same time it's bad

175 Mr. Wilson er er ow

Joan (We do it behind everybody else's back. They just
do it in front of everybody (laughs)

Mr. Wilson I remember I remember Lloyd Town
 DJ Mm?

180 Mrs. Wilson Is that that?
 DJ Mm?

Mr. Wilson Coming to Citadel and they had a fight before in
 band room before Festival Saturday - Saturday night
 Festival er/

185 John Now when students once get involved with three
 ex-Y.P. bandsmen, two of them were them that come
 with Jim

Joan Tony

John With Tony weren't Jim, other one but there were two - them
 190 two other you know what students were like when they used
 to do pubs. You weren't here then at that time. You'd,
 they'd spend they'd go in a Pub at quarter to - well
 twenty past nine, they went in one, it were about
 ten to eleven when they came out. They they came back
 195 here surprised one night becos them band lads had said
 what yer know - they'd said like you know well I says
 we got talking 'we used to play in band like' and Ted
 said 'many a time I wish like I could still play in'
 Well you know of course Buddy and er Andre and them really
 200 got talking to them like and of course they did same thing
 'Did you know? Ah well so and so, and so and so does
 so and so' and er the the thing, thing was about it was
 that they was right in this sense. But at same time
 205 its something that - they'd been under somebody's charge

Mrs. Wilson Yes

John And yet something had been happening what had affected
 them

Mrs. Wilson Well our (?) one of them that pinched a cornet out
 210 of our hall

John (?) it had affected them

Mrs. Wilson Yeah

Mr. Wilson Like (?)

Mrs. Wilson I don't know but it were him that pinched a cornet

215 Joan But there again I mean if - if what what did happen
 whatever it was hadn't have happened they might be
 in Junior Band now

John Do you remember

Mrs. Wilson (No May says Barry^(b) won't come because he's seen something
 220 in our corps

John Do you remember going back a bit p'raps about 16 years Do you⁽¹⁰⁾
 Joan (I know what it is but its not my place to tell)
 John (10)=remember those kids coming into our corps one day
 225 and there were about 25 of them at that time? different people⁽¹⁰⁾
 Joan (When Mr. and Mrs. X used to come)
 John (10)=come in used to come in at back
 Do you remember?
 Mr. Wilson I - I remember that
 John Do you? I mean we had one period when all them
 230 youngsters came in. I was a Sergeant Major then and I
 had some right not arguments in nasty sense but really
 when they said yer know, where I was told that they
 should not be in there. I said they've every right
 to come in there
 235 DJ Of course they have
 John "Oh no they're spoiling it for, we want to be quiet
 and we want our meeting to enjoy and they shouldn't
 be in there" and I've said "they should be in there"
 and it were at same time just after them students
 240 come just after, do you remember? when he said
 that that sergeant said that he weren't in't corps
 sixteen year old, he went in just to just to bust
 drum and (?) saved do you remember?
 245 And that that summat well I says er well there's⁽¹¹⁾=
 Unidentified (Mm)
 John (11)=there's an instance where some of them might have
 (?) somebody says well look two of yer
 come and with with me and two go and sit there
 which we're not having them sit at side of us
 250 Joan Thats why to me that song that the songsters sang/
 John This is what I'm saying to you we've had this in
 Linden Corps for a long while over years and this is
 why, you think I'm wrong when I say I've hardened
 meself to saying well nothings gonna happen there
 255 because I've seen all this over years when they don't want⁽¹²⁾=
 JJ (Yeah mm)
 John (12)=anybody outside and er I thought a lot about that
 JJ Yes
 John This morning I was stood in open-air this morning I
 260 were miles away - 'cos there were plenty of people=⁽¹³⁾
 DJ Yeah

John (13) =round our open air and I thought to me and I weren't
getting at anybody taking open air, don't misunderstand= (13)

DJ (Yeah)

John (13) =me, or that particular open air. I weren't getting at
265 that but I thought we're having open-air here, they're
all watching there for half an hour. Its nice for them,
they're enjoying it - then we're gonna go and its finished

DJ Mm

John Nothing's happened

270 Mr. W. Well what can you do about it?

John Well I don't think I know (?) about it

Mr. W. What?

John But we're all going wrong way about it. Honestly
what do you think about this congress we're going
275 to have honestly seriously? I've said this to
Captain, I thought we were gonna get murdered 'cos
I said to Captain She asked me and I said what I
thought. Trouble is whether she was being nice to me
I don't know she agreed,= (14)

280 Mr. W. But er er

John (14) =I tell you now its a waste of time

Mr. W. Jenni said something to me last Sunday didn't yer?
And er it were right what you said but I can't think
of a way round it

285 DJ What was that?

JJ About the open airs (?) No people listening
shouting your head off and reading the bible and
nobody's listening

2. A case of officially defined incompetence

The topic is introduced by Mr. Wilson:

Mr. W. Court case in Durham and er she couldn't get to make
15 Sunday morning meeting this is what paper said she couldn't
get to Sunday morning meeting on time because of buses

Joan Mm

Mr. W. So Army scked her stopped her money straight away and er
she went to live with a Captain that live near there and
20 there 'ave been a court do over it and er in in't (1) =

DJ (Yeah)

Mr. W. (1) = paper other morning that er Salvation Army hadn't finished
all the proceedings for court case so judge whoever it was
said "well we can't wait for the Army if they've had plenty
25 of time we've gotta on with the proceedings", and they're
sueing the Army for this woman all the wages what she's
lost, six months wages and they've gotta give her her job
back

Before confining the
analysis to the ensuing discussion of this case I want to make one
or two brief points relating to the story. Mr. Wilson begins in
a matter of fact way relating the details of the case. In many
instances of reported action no reference is made to the actual
source of the story or the story-tellers relationship to it (e.g.
participant, observer or reporter). However this information would
seem to be of direct significance here, for Mr. Wilson volunteers
"this is what paper said" (L 15), a device I interpret as placing
a distance between the telling of the story and the source indicating
that this is not his story but one told elsewhere i.e. a newspaper.
Whether this is intended to add authority, cast doubt on its veracity
or merely emphasise the source of his report is difficult to say.
The fact that the story did appear in a newspaper would seem however
to be of some importance in itself. (L 22 "in't paper other morning").
Indeed it becomes for participants a matter of some debate.

Finally I regard the veracity of this account to be of little consequence
for it is not the intention here to extend our understanding as
to what activities bring forth what sanctions under what circumstances.
Rather my interest concerns the sense members make of such stories.

Observations from the transcript

(1) Consider Joan's comment L 34,

Joan Pepler But I mean why why - I mean do they think then that
35 because she's an Envoy that she's got to be on time
at a meeting

No questions are raised concerning the accuracy of the newspaper

report or Mr. Wilson's recollection of it. Joan would seem to be somewhat puzzled by the affair, hence the repetition of "why" which seems to emphasise this and also the phrase "I mean do they think" (L34) which bespeaks incredulity.

Joan's puzzlement seems to be grounded in an unexplicated belief that an Envoy's inability to get to a meeting on time through lack of adequate public transport should not warrant dismissal. However this puzzlement does not lead her to question the newspaper report, the "facts" of the case or the court's decision, but the role of the Army. (I interpret "they" (L34) as referring in some way to the Army, a reading which might be supported by Joan's comment L43 referring to the corps). This would seem to be an occasion where the ethos "my country right or wrong" does not apply. Joan exhibits a preference for developing a secondary elaboration of the events as opposed to questioning either their facticity (compare John Pepler Line 39 "Anyway you don't know paper can get a lot wrong can't it") or the court's decision.

An interesting feature of Joan's account (Line 43 "Well I mean why didn't some from the corps try and help her" Line 46 "I mean sure to goodness there's somebody got a car") is that even though Mr. Wilson makes available a set of resources for questioning the role of the Army's leaders (eg We are told that the Envoy "went to live with a Captain that live near there" (Line 19) which could be read as indexing some effort on the part of the Envoy to comply with the Army's ruling on timekeeping,) Joan limits her line of questioning to the level of corps members suggesting that they were in some way culpable. No attempt is made to question the conduct of the Army's High Command (eg the failure of the Divisional Commander to grant a change in the time of the meeting) or to question whether time-keeping was in fact the real reason for the dismissal, a possibility suggested to me by a comrade from another corps. Responsibility is placed firmly and squarely at the level of corps members, a view supported by J. Jones and formulated as a lack of understanding (Line 47 "Yeah a lack of understanding").

It is difficult to grasp the sense of Mr. Wilson's comment "It's a different case isn't it?" (L48) (it may be that this

is by way of a reply, a reply which might contest the view that this was a case of misunderstanding) for the topic changes and the conversation broadens out into a more general discussion of the way in which events of this kind are treated by the public.

(ii) Public interest in members' activities

This topic is introduced, or to be more precise re-introduced, by Mrs. Wilson (L49 "I tell you our Trevor always watches Army come to blame") for one can detect the nascence of this topic in the opening exchanges of this extract (L5 "Our Trevor's been to see what it's all about). It seems that Trevor's interest is of special significance over and above the facts of the case. That this was a case referred to by Trevor is a factor deserving of comment - a factor which derives its significance I would argue from the observation that Trevor is Mrs. Wilson's son and was a member of the corps until his teens. This understanding is supported by Mrs. Wilson's comment Line 53/4 "It's ever so close watches them that don't" (hearing don't as indexing "don't" belong to the Army any more) and Joan's comment L51 "Well they do don't they". There would seem then to be some understanding amongst members that those who leave the Army retain some interest in the Army, an interest which is seen to be specially oriented towards members' impropriety.

Joan extends this topic into the realm of public accounts of members' activities and in particular those published in newspapers. In so doing she develops a number of propositions regarding the press's orientation towards the conduct of church members in general and Salvationists in particular. The thrust of her argument seems to revolve around a members' variant of the analytic notion of Membership Categorisation Devices, especially those supposedly employed by newspaper reporters. Underlying her complaint there would seem to be some notion regarding an attributed orientation by reporters to a rule governing the selection of a single category from a group of categories (ie M.C.D.) for identifying people who happen to be Salvationists or Christians. I propose that the rule may be generally "heard" as follows; where a person undertakes some activity defined as being improper and amongst other categories may be correctly

identified as a Christian or Salvationist then select this category for identification in the newspaper.

The following comments provide evidence for this explication.

- 55 Joan It is I mean
it's not just one person that's having
difficulty over like being sacked unfairly
- Mr. W. Yeah
- Joan It's the Army that's not
- 60 Mr. W. (Sally Army cross top yer see
- Joan Yeah
- Mrs. W. Everybody looks at that
- Joan And I mean its wrong - I mean er religion shouldn't
come into anything. Their their particular religion
is their personal () property if you want to call it that
you know it's nothing to do with anyone else.

This attributed orientation of the press is not treated by all participants as a source for complaints (see John Pepler Line 86 ff). Yet for Joan, and seemingly Mrs. Wilson, a person's religion is a private matter, an individual's property and should not be available for public ownership or consumption. Further referring back to Line 56 ("it's not just one person that is having difficulty") it would appear that for Joan members of religious organisations are "men amongst men" and in this respect the fact of their membership is of no more significance to acts of impropriety than say membership of a Working Men's club may be held to be in commenting on a case of indecent exposure.

As regards the facts of this particular case Mr. Wilson does not agree L68 "It was when that woman's got sack and er

(?) wages (?) taken away yes

Nor does he confer with Joan's comment;

- 75 Joan It's always the Army to blame. P'raps they are to
blame I admit that. But then they sort of make it
out that as though the Army's always wrong and they/
- Mr. W. No they don't

Joan seeks to establish her case with an example from a nearby

corps - Tuffley (Line 81 ff). The case reported in the local press (N.B. not elaborated in the text) concerned the C.S.M. who won a car in a raffle. Orders and Regulations expressly forbid members from engaging in this form of activity - the Army removed him from office. It is not clear why Joan thinks the Army was wrong (Line 81/2 "They do I mean look at that bloke at Tuffley. The Army was wrong.")

Joan formulates another example (Line 90 "You've only gotta get a minister who runs off with a woman (?) fair enough its wrong"), but is interrupted by John who seems to be re-writing Joan's exemplar formulating it as one instance of a general principle, which I propose calling,

"Bad news is good news: good news is no news."

Thus John seems to infer, despite Joan's disavowal (Line 100 "But what I'm saying is," Line 105 "No I'm not saying that at all"), that Joan is arguing against this kind of reasoning in favour of a policy of what might be more generally called

"There should be more rejoicing over the return of a prodigal than his leaving" variant

101 John

But basically

What yer trying to say is what should
be that because he'd gone there should be a little
bit saying well he's left his wife and summat rejoicing
becos he's gone back

Joan persists with the prosecution of her case (Line 107) "What I'm saying is they should leave a person's religion out of the paper". As intimated earlier her concern would seem to derive from a worry, a worry which she illustrates with the example of a minister's adultery, that since the adulterer is identified in the media as a member of the church then the "blame" he rightly incurs as a result of his individual action may be transferred, unfairly in Joan's view, to others who may be correctly identified by the M.C.D. church member - a prospect which John recognises (Line 121 "Well it does do dunnit") but seems to accept as a necessary feature of members for "We are the church" (Line 122 ff).

John continues with the delineation (L 129 ff) of his theory of collective responsibility (as instanced earlier on, L 122 "We are the church", L 125 "I'm letting everybody and I am the church"). An interesting feature of this account is that it marks a re-orientation

of the discussion from the church to things that happened at Linden. John links his theory to the earlier discussion of impropriety in the corps and in particular Mr. Wilson's account of the rows outside the old hall in Finkel St. (L 132 "Well I mean like Mr. Wilson I can remember all sorts.....L 135 fighting outside Finkel Street our Salvation Army soldier fighting and all this"), though Mr. Wilson's "row" (L 47, p 68 has now become a "fight" (L 135).

Even though John distances himself from any involvement in these acts he nonetheless holds himself responsible for their occurrence (i.e. blameworthy):

136 But its still me
to blame as well because its my church and I'm I'm I am
the church and some people

But its still me

to blame as well because its my church and I'm I'm I am
the church and some people

140 and I've not got to be put in a cocoon and say well
thats the church so don't worry let, they can do no wrong.
If they do if we do wrong then we've a right as anybody
else to be put up as much as er anybody else

and I've not got to be put in a cocoon and say well

thats the church so don't worry let, they can do no wrong.

If they do if we do wrong then we've a right as anybody else to be put up as much as er anybody else

Thus it seems to be the case for John that we "own" each others actions, ("because its my church" L 137) membership entailing a collective responsibility for each others individual actions. Some indication of the strength with which their view is held may be gained from considering the following,

143 If they do if we* do wrong then we've a right. (* My emphasis)
I would suggest that "if we do" can be heard as correcting "if they do" and thus indicative of a concern to employ a specific grammatical formulation which emphasises a collective responsibility. The use of qualifying devices like these may be heard as indexing an intention on the part of the speaker to speak with care implying that this is a matter worthy of studied consideration and deliberation.

If they do if we* do wrong then we've a right. (* My emphasis)

I would suggest that "if we do" can be heard as correcting "if they do" and thus indicative of a concern to employ a specific grammatical formulation which emphasises a collective responsibility. The use of qualifying devices like these may be heard as indexing an intention on the part of the speaker to speak with care implying that this is a matter worthy of studied consideration and deliberation.

(iii) Incompetence and impropriety as a pervasive feature of organisational life

The conversation continues with the consideration of a theory proposed by Mr. Wilson that impropriety and incompetence can be found in other corps.

146 Linden's not the only corps in Boottown that's had
ructions.

Linden's not the only corps in Boottown that's had
ructions.

John and Mr. Wilson cite a number of examples of "ructions" at different corps in the division, from "having a free for all" (L 151) in the open-air at Boothtown IV (Referred to elsewhere as "The Citadel") to the Bandmaster who "came out with a right shiner" (L 154) at Milltown.

John's theory that "You'd see same things probably in in anywhere else" (L 158 FF) seems to carry some weight with the participants implying that going "somewhere else" will provide no remedy, for incompetence and impropriety are understood to be a pervasive feature, though just what "anywhere else" looks like remains unpacked - does it refer to all Army corps, the general body of the church or all forms of social organisation? What is made abundantly clear though is that members of this corps are willing to entertain the theory that "ructions" probably occur everywhere, are not infrequent, nor to be unexpected. Thus we find that members are willing to consider a view of corps life which contrasts dramatically with that displayed in Orders and Regulations as being

"a Fellowship of people who have accepted Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and Lord and whose common aim is to induce others to subject themselves to the lordship of Christ."

(iv) Why "people don't want to be associated.....with Linden Corps"

The theory that incompetence and impropriety are pervasive features found probably anywhere also provides John with an understanding as to why it is "that people don't want to be associated" with Linden Corps.

162 But what I'm saying is - that you can understand what I mean when I say that people don't want to be associated with, I'll talk about my own church with Linden corps

Moreover he suggests that these features not only affect the general public who witness them but also affects those carrying out evangelical work:

165 You can't go to somebody who listens to Army and say "Look come and er, we'd like to invite you to our meetings tonight" And you know phew - with what I see going on round er

The explanation of the lack of recruitment is thus extended,

since now it appears that not only may impropriety and incompetence through being made public dissuade others from joining but also members willingness to contact potential recruits may be influenced by these features, irrespective of whether or not the general public is aware of them, a view supported by Mr. and Mrs. Wilson (L 169,170,172,173).

The discussion continues with Mr. Wilson furnishing another instance of "ructions" - this time concerning a visiting band (i.e. Lloyd Town L 178) at the Citadel (L 182 - Boothtown IV) and John's recollections of an incident that occurred just prior to our arrival at the corps (L 185 ff).

Once again John uses the incident to cast more light on why it is "people don't want to be associated.....(with).....Linden Corps". I will not dwell too long on the details.

The stay (L 185 ff) refers to a meeting that took place between some university students who were attending the corps during term time and a number of ex Y.P. Bandmembers. The students who had been selling "War Crys" in the Pubs happened by chance on a group of ex Y.P. Bandmembers and a long conversation ensued. It seems that Ted (one of the ex Y.P. Bandmembers) made reference to some regret ("many a time I wish I could still play" L 198) about leaving. What follows appears to be a report of the explanation the ex Y.P. Bandmembers gave as to why they left. The main reason made available by John would seem to relate to a catalogue of other members' acts of impropriety.

201 Did you know? Ah well so and so, and so and so does
 so and so

The account is difficult to match for its anonymity yet still seems to be worth the telling since it is seen as demonstrating I would argue that "something had been happening" L 207 and more significantly "something" John makes available as having "affected them" (L 207/8) such that they are no longer members of the corps.

The fact made available by Mrs. Wilson (L 209), and not contested, that one of them had "pinched a cornet" in no way mitigates for John (L 211....."it had affected them") or Joan the significance of "something having happened" for Joan maintains;

whatever it was hadn't have happened they might

be in Junior Band now

The notion of "things having happened" influencing the decision of people to join or members to remain is developed by Mrs. Wilson,

219

Mrs. May says Barry won't come because he's seen something in our corps

(Barry Tucker is Mrs. May's son-in-law and whilst his wife quite regularly attends he only brings and collects her). Mrs. Wilson does not unpack what Barry has seen though its not clear whether she knows or not. Joan's comment "I know what it is but its not my place to tell" (L 123) seems to indicate that she understands Mrs. Wilson's failure to elicit the facts of the case as indexing ignorance rather than reluctance to make the details publically available.

Further, it seems that authority to speak is a feature of competence for Joan observes "its not my place to tell" (L 123). It would appear then that there are a class of accounts which may not be freely made available to others, but are dependent on some form of authorisation from the source and/or author of those accounts. Thus whilst members may be in possession of an account they may incur some obligation not to make it available to others. This a feature which is granted official sanction vis a vis accounts of census meetings. In respect of this particular example the knowledge would appear to relate to an incidence of impropriety.

John continues with an account of an incident that took place when he was C.S.M. (L 222 ff - "going back a bit p'raps about 16 years"), an incident which Joan (L 226) and Mr. Wilson (L 228) would seem to remember. It appears that a number of children (L 225 "about 25") attended the meetings at Linden for a while and that this occasioned some dispute (L 230 I had some right not arguments in nasty sense but.....). The protagonists, with the exception of John, are not identified individually. The account gives the impression that the dispute is between John and the rest. The dispute (as recalled by John) appears to be grounded in a difference of opinion as to whether the "kids" should attend the meetings.

(John "I said they've every right to come in there"

AN. Other "Oh no they're spoiling it^v for, we want to be quiet.")

In the telling of this account John makes available another incident, an account of a story related at this time concerning a C.S.M. who as a young lad (sixteen years old (L 243)) entered a corps with the intent to "just burst the drum" (L 243/4) and in the event was "saved".

The fact that this story of the drum was told at the time of the dispute over the kids would seem to be of some significance to John. I would suggest that the significance of this story lies not only in the fact that it provides a resource and authority for sustaining a polemic that noisy kids should be allowed in meetings, since noisy kids can and have been saved but also that this was a story that was recounted at the time of the dispute, that was available to all in the corps, if only they could or would see. As John says,

245 And that that summat where some of them might have

·
·

there's an instance where some of them might have

(?) somebody says well look two of yer

come and with with me and two go and sit there

which we're not having them sit at side of us

Once again John formulates for the participants the point of his story L 251 ff "This is what I'm saying to you -

.....nothings gonna happen

because I've seen all this over the years

when they don't want anybody outside"

I hear this formulation as re-emphasising John's theory that impropriety and incompetence still persists and will continue to persist. Another explanation emerges as to why it is "people don't want to be associated.....with.....Linden Corps" "members don't want anybody (from) outside" (L 255/7). John continues to develop his consideration of why people are not interested in the corps through a discussion of the mornings open-air meeting.

259 This morning I was stood in open-air this morning

I were miles away - 'cos there were plenty of people

·
·

round our open-air and I thought to me and I weren't

getting at anybody taking open-air, don't misunderstand

265

me, or that particular open-air. I weren't getting
at that but I thought we're having open-air here, they're
all watching there for half-an-hour. It's nice for them,
they're enjoying it - then we're gonna go and its finished
nothing's happened.

This is the first occasion where John relates his theory to contemporary events. Unlike previous accounts of the inappropriate structuring of activities this example does not refer to an infringement of Orders and Regulations, Christian doctrine, or moral code. Instead it refers to the structuring of evangelical activities which John deems to be ineffective in contacting the general public.

No attempt is made to relate the attributed inefficiency of the open-air to an explanatory framework or to allocate responsibility. Indeed John is at great pains not to be seen to as apportioning blame (L 262/4). Mr. Wilson seems to feel very little can be done to rectify this (L 270 "Well what can you do about it").

(The issue of why it is that officially designated competent members might not be able to pursue courses of action they consider to be appropriate and/or put an end to impropriety, incompetence or change ineffective activities is considered later)

The extract continues with a consideration of a number of different ideas for improving the effectiveness (ie in terms of closing the "gap") of open-airs and sermons. The data is voluminous and I have chosen not to consider this particular aspect (ie members' consideration of the technology of evangelism).

- (v) I do however want to make a brief comment regarding John's observations concerning the International Congress

275 John I've said this to
Captain, I thought you were gonna get murdered 'cos
I said to Captain she asked me and I said what I
thought. Trouble is whether she was being nice to me

What is of particular interest is John's comment regarding telling the Captain what he thinks. John's initial expectation is that his belief that the Congress is a "waste of time" is not one that will meet with the Captain's approval. There would seem then to be some range of comments which soldiers may entertain that may be expected to be met with disapproval should they be made available to officers. However when such an expected manifestation of disapproval does not arise John does not accept this at face value but entertains the secondary elaboration that the Captain may have been (though was not necessarily) "being nice".

So it appears to be part of John's understanding of membership that members in this case a particular class of members (ie an officer) may publically register agreement with another member's view for the sake of "being nice".

This feature of "being nice" is encountered in many social situations but is more generally associated with a particular form of social relationship ie, one more characteristic of secondary rather than primary associations. Thus it is generally held that close friends and family do not have to agree or defer to each other for the sake of "being nice", "being nice" being more commonly associated with a polite but distant, supposedly inauthentic form of sociality. It is not a notion one would normally expect to find in a "fellowship of people" where relationships are supposedly grounded in such values as openness and trust.

2b The inappropriate structuring of activities

I want now to move on in the transcript to where the conversation returns to a consideration of the inappropriate structuring of activities.

Transcript (SIDE A - SECTION 3)

John Probably not but I'm not bothered

(Laughter)

355 John You know what I said to you a I gave Sergeant Major

up over one of them ideas when you disagreed with me
'cos I used to put feelers out. I'm I gotta I gotta
service lined up in a pub. I'd got backyard open-air
sorted out - and I put feelers out 'cos I asked you what
360 look what do you think "Oh it's wrong" and I got to
finishing to where I had to do that or nothing at all
and everybody said I were wrong so I thought well that's
it I can't just carry on er.

DJ Mm

365 John I could have carried on doing open-airst and er various
things but it doesn't mean no good no satisfaction to
me I got to to progress on or not bother and everybody
were against me and so I 'ad to pack up

Mrs. W. Ah (?) laughter Ah

370 Mr. W. Laughs

Mrs. W. (?) for him (?) did pack up

John (Even then

I'd realised that there had to be some
contact and I thought well if we can get it, we used
375 to have them in backyard not in street in their
backyard, probably only 5,6 or 8 but you're getting
to them people in backyard. "Oh we can't do that
people will be upset - people will be" You see
everything that I were trying to think about that
380 yer know 'cos we losing contact yer know its daft
that I says well look we can go in a pub, a service on
a Sunday night "We can't have a service in a pub"
"How can you have a service in a pub"

DJ (Army started in a pub Army started in a pub
(Inaudible)

385 Joan I mean its like this Dave I mean you, we, John's
told you tonight about lots of young people that
came into our corps and we haven't got any now.

DJ No

Joan So how can the songsters or anybody for that matter
390 in our er corps sing that song that we the songsters
sang tonight about "they come from the East and the West"

DJ Well

Joan We can't I mean/

John Joan, Joan said something I don't know whether it
395 sounded right or not p'raps Jenni p'raps thinks
she shouldn't have said it but she said something that
Jenni had enjoyed certain things happening last year

what we haven't had this year so I said to Joan
 Well I says there's been two people I mean I'm sorry
 400 but you being Y.P.S.M. Robert has been doing Sergeant
 Major's. Now Rob used to come with us and he used
 to say he enjoyed em so you've been two thats had
 summer to be able to put that into practice what we
 did last year but no nothing has ever been. Well
 405 Rob could have said "Look well look I'm gonna, we'll
 have Saturday afternoons yer know anyway you like"
 Joan I mean I know I'm only talking personally but I don't
 think Rob is a leader I don't think that he can/
 John Well er don't argue about that now. The point is
 410 thats what I'm saying about that is that they said
 they enjoyed it. Rob said he used to enjoy it last
 summer when we used to go out on estate with skipping
 ropes and thats well he's been in the position this
 year. Dave's been in that position we can say "We
 415 could have done that once a month" and I'm sure they'd
 have got, had one or two to support them if they'd
 wanted to".
 DJ But
 JJ ((It's not just a case of doing extra things because
 420 we like doing them and we think they're useful.
 Its a case of rethinking the whole programme of
 what we do and cutting out the things/
 John Yes well nobody wants to rethink it they want er
 Monday night meetings, Monday practices Tuesday, Wednesday.
 425 DJ (You see))
 JJ (Yes Exactly
 DJ (Monday night meeting
 is a waste of time
 John Because I can take yer now to a load of blokes
 430 that comes out of Linden Men's Working Clubs
 and they've put as much effort into that as we
 are putting into Army. They've got the Secretaries
 they've got the Treasurers and they're enjoying that
 like and its great for them and they're putting in
 435 a lot of hard work into that. We or most people are
 enjoying Monday night meetings, the practice
 Tuesday, Wednesday and the Sunday service and they're
 putting a lot of hard work into and they're enjoying

that and even I I believe that in a lot of ways they're
 440 no different.
 Joan Oh I enjoyed it last week
 John They're no different
 JJ What do you mean they're no different
 John Well you said well lets rethink our programme but not
 445 all want to rethink it they're just they're just they're they don't=
 DJ (Yeah but not all)
 John =want to rethink it
 JJ Why because they're enjoying it
 Joan (?)
 450 John (I can remember a songster leader once deciding
 that we're gonna do summat once a month. But
 songsters nearly fell through they started not
 coming to practice and all sorts and that were
 Bill just afore he went. He decided that he
 455 were gonna do summat once a month
 Mr. W. We should have er and er I think it is er
 in regulations. We should have a spiritual
 meeting once a month
 DJ Should be once a month
 460 JJ Yes
 Mr. W. When have we had one?
 John I will say that (?) I will say that I'm not talking about
 anybody in particular, but there so many people doing jobs
 that aren't doing them. Thats the top and bottom
 465 of it. This is why I say.....
 Side A TAPE ENDS

2b Observations

Consider the following:

John Probably not but I'm not bothered
 (Laughter)
 355 John You know what I said to you^(a) I gave Sergeant Major
 up over one of them ideas when you disagreed with me
 'cos I used to put feelers out I'm I gotta I gotta
 service lined up in a pub I'd got backyard open-air
 sorted out - and I put feelers out cos I asked you what
 360 look what do you think "Oh its wrong" and I got to
 finishing to where I had to do that or nothing at all
 and everybody said I were wrong so I thought well that's
 (a) referring to Mr. Wilson

it. I can't just carry on er.

DJ Mm

365 John I could have carried on doing open-air and er various things but it doesn't mean no good no satisfaction to me I got to to progress on or not bother and everybody were against me and so I 'ad to pack up

(i) The first factor to emerge is that John "gave up" the position of Corps Sergeant Major over a disagreement. Although the disagreement seems to have arisen with Mr. Wilson it eventually transpires that "everybody were against" (L 367/8) him and at this point he felt he "'ad to to pack up" (L 368).

The disagreement seems to have arisen over a conflicting view as to what constitutes an appropriate structuring of activities. As John continues it becomes apparent that although

Mr. Wilson he was under no external pressure to resign his commission he felt he could no longer continue for he was no longer in a position to progress as he wished (L 365 ff). That is, the issue as formulated by John became one of either employing his ideas (eg "backyard open-air" and "services in pubs" L 358 see also L 373-83) and so progressing or just carrying on "doing open-air and er various things" (L 385). Thus although John was the C.S.M. and so specifically responsible for open-air ministry ie. having the capacity (ie. officially sanctioned authority) to enact this role, he felt unable to perform it to his satisfaction.

In relating this difficulty John makes no distinction amongst those who disagreed with him "everybody said I were wrong" (L 363). No deference is paid to the views of the officer or members of the senior census board, or any other class or group of members; John formulates this as an "Either-or" issue admitting no compromise and further intimating that the other members were unwilling to consider new ways of contacting people and thus progressing.

(ii) Consistency in belief and practice as an element of competence. Joan offers an observation which casts a question mark over the standing of members.

385 I mean its like this Dave I mean you, we, John's told you tonight about lots of young people that come into our corps and we haven't got any now

so how can the songsters or anybody for that matter
in our er corps sing that song that we the songsters
sang tonight about "they come from the East and the West"

We can't I mean/

She asks how can the "songsters or anybody else for that matter"
sing words alluding to the saving ministry of Christ through his
disciples ("they come from the East and the West" from the musical
"Spirit") when as she herself intimates (alluding to the incident
reported by John earlier) their impropriety or incompetence has
resulted in young people leaving the corps.

I "hear" the above account as indexing a belief that the relationship
between word and deed should be consistent. This feature of competence
would appear to be of some import to John for it seems likely that
this was the burden of an earlier comment. ("That's why to me that
song the songsters sang" (L 250) made in reference to John's account
(222-49) of the dispute over the "kids" coming to the meeting).

(iii) John continues in a somewhat abstruse, circumlocutory manner,
a manner which I interpret as being related to the burden of his
speech i.e. the criticism of Robert and the writer for not re-enacting
a particular form of evangelical outreach undertaken the previous
summer (see also L 399/400 "I mean I'm sorry but you (the writer)
being Y.P.S.M." would indicate a similar reluctance).

Consider the following:

394 John Joan Joan said something I don't know whether it
sounded right or not p'raps Jenni p'raps thinks
she shouldn't have said it but she said something that
Jenni had enjoyed certain things happening last year
what we haven't had this year so I said to Joan
Well I says there's been two people I'm sorry
400 but you being Y.P.S.M. Robert had been doing Sergeant
Major's. Now Rob used to come with us and he used
to say he enjoyed em so you've been two thats had
summer to be able to put that into practice what we
did last year but no nothing has ever been. Well
405 Rob could have said "Look well look I'm gonna, we'll
have Saturday afternoons yer know anyway you like"

The main point of John's remark would seem to be that the "things happening" last year were not re-enacted. It is not until L 401 that John begins to make available to the participants just what "certain things happening" (L 397) entails. I assume (and assumed at the time) that John is referring to one Saturday afternoon in the Summer of 1977 when Joan and John, Rob Davies and his family, Jenni and the writer held a children's open-air. Much of this information is gleaned from vague comments (eg "Rob used to come with us" (L 401) "had summer to be able to put into practice" (L 403) "we'll have Saturday afternoons" (L 406) though some are clearer e.g. 411ff:

"Rob said he used to enjoy last summer when we used
to go out on estate with skipping ropes"

The main burden of John's criticism then is the non-occasioning of one form of evangelical activity. This is for John the matter of some regret, made more poignant by the absence of what he considers to be a legitimate reason.

Thus John makes available to the participants that both Rob as Assistant Sergeant Major "doing Sergeant Majors" (L 401) job and the writer as the Y.P.S.M. were in the position (L 413/414) (ie having the official capacity) to arrange and enact such activities. Moreover that these were activities that Rob and the writer had enjoyed (L 411) and could reasonably expect support for (L 416). In making this information available John can be seen as excluding from consideration a number of what might be seen as reasonable excuses for the non-occasioning of this activity, for Rob and the writer are presented as being both favourably pre-disposed to the activity and further in a position, both officially (ie with respect to the "rules of the game") and as relates to this particular set of circumstances (ie. with respect to the relative position of the pieces on the board) assured of some local support, to enact it. Thus John not only provides another example of incompetence but also some understanding as to what constitutes an acceptable (ie, acceptable to him) excuse.

(iv) A more fundamental evaluation of corps activities is proposed by Jenni:

"Its not just a case of doing extra things because
we like doing them and and we think they're useful.
Its a case of rethinking the whole programme of
what we do and cutting out the things,"

John however feels that nobody in the corps will want to consider this:

"Yes well nobody wants to rethink it they want er
Monday night meetings, Monday practices, Tuesday, Wednesday"

Once again John eschews from distinguishing different interest groups or families or differentiating between different classes of membership (eg officer, local officer, soldier): distinctions such as these are all subsumed under monolithic categories like - "nobody" (L 423). No allowance is made for the possibility of variation in views despite the critical nature of the proceeding discussion where being "in a position" seemed to be of some importance to his evaluation.

Furthermore it transpires that John sees membership of a Salvation Army as having many features in common with a Working Men's Club:

John Because I can take yer now to a load of blokes
430 that comes out of Linden Men's Working Clubs
 and they've put as much effort into that as we
 are putting into Army. They've got the Secretaries
 they've got the Treasurers and they're enjoying that
 like and its great for them and they're putting in
435 a lot of hard work into that. We or most people are
 enjoying Monday night meetings, the practice
 Tuesday, Wednesday and the Sunday service and they're
 putting a lot of hard work into and they're enjoying
 that and even I I believe that in a lot of ways they're
 no different.

Following John's theory then, those officially designated as competent members of a Salvation Army Corps can be seen as having many features in common with their counterpart in Working Men's clubs. John does not fully explain just in what ways "they're no different" (L 139/412) though we are given reason to believe there are more than a few similarities (L 139/40 "in a lot of ways").

Jenni asks John to unpack these similarities (L 423). John replies:

"Well you said lets rethink our programme not
all want to rethink if they're just they're just they're they don't
,
.
want to rethink it"

The tendency not to want to rethink the corps programme would seem to be a feature of institutions (eg Working Men's Clubs) whose members work hard and enjoy their work but no more. In this respect Linden Salvation Army Corps is deemed not to differ. I hear the formulated reluctance to consider broader issues as being linked to John's theory that "they work hard and enjoy it" by an implicit rider that that is

all they do and moreover are interested in doing. Thus I interpret the burden of John's comparison to rest not on some attributed lack of effort but on the reluctance of members to consider in some overall sense what they are doing. This however is not formulated as a preferred situation, for being a competent member of a Salvation Army corps should involve more than hard work and enjoyment, it should involve amongst other things - rethinking the programme.

John's formulation of what this overall sense looks like is rather vague, however I want to try and repair this using the text and my background knowledge.

In respect of this comparison John can be seen to be making the following observations:

(a) ".....they've put as much effort into that as we are putting into Army (L 431/2)

Members of this corps (subsumed under a monolithic category "we") work no harder than members of a Working Man's club.

(b) ".....They've got the Secretaries they've got the Treasurers and they're enjoying that like and its great for them and they're putting in a lot of hard work into that" (L 432/5)

Members of Working Men's clubs had different status positions and this of itself can be a source of some gratification. By extension he implies that for members of this corps, holding a commission can of itself be a gratifying experience irregardless of whether some divine calling is being fulfilled.

(c) ".....We er most people are enjoying Monday meetings, the practice Tuesday, Wednesday and the Sunday service and they're putting in a lot of hard work into and they're enjoying that even I I believe that in a lot of ways they're no different" (L 435-440)

Most members of the corps work hard and enjoy the programme in a way that appears not to differ much from those in Working Men's clubs.

The selection of Working Men's clubs as a contrastive device would appear to members to be the height of irony since this type of institution is often referred to as being antithetical to the interest of the Christian as Salvationist, an institution from which men are to be saved, and yet John maintains that the effort and enjoyment (ie mode of involvement) characteristic of such an institution differs very little from that of most corps members. No reference is made

to any theological or moral dimensions on which the mode of involvement could be said to differ. Little if any deference is paid to the differing legitimating vocabularies, modes of compliance or goals of the organisations.

(v) Consider the following:

450 John I can remember a songster leader once deciding that we're gonna do summat once a month. But songsters nearly fell through they started not coming to practice and all sorts and that were Bill just afore he went. He decided that he were gonna do summat once a month

I hear the phrase "summat once amonth" (L 451) as referring to the introduction of a monthly spiritual meeting during songster practice. In many Salvation Army corps (and Linden is no exception) these spiritual meetings, when they occur, are often confined to a perfunctory five minute "closing" at the end of practice. Thus the introduction of what might be considered by some to be a formal spiritual meeting as opposed to a "closing" (usually involving a bible-reading, song and prayer) might occasion comment. The fact that Bill entered into the full-time work of the Army shortly after this event took place encourages such a "reading". (I seek further corroboration from Mr. Wilson's comment regarding spiritual meetings "We should have er and I er I think it is er in regulations. We should have a spiritual meeting once a month" (L 456-8) - this follows John's account and I hear the two as being connected).

Thus I take the crux of John's illustration not only to lie in the fact that members resisted change but they resisted a particular kind of change ie the introduction of a monthly spiritual meeting. If we recast this illustration in term's of John's theory we find here members (ie. songsters) who though working hard and enjoying their practices are seen as being unwilling to consider or rethink their activities in terms of a spiritual dimension. This seems to be the dimension that John considers vital to membership for without it, being a member of a corps is no different from being a member of a Working Men's Club.

John continues (L 463) (though unfortunately the tape runs out at this point), "I will say that (?) I will say that, I'm not talking

about anybody in particular, but there so many people doing jobs that aren't doing them. That's the top and bottom of it. This is why I see".

Again there is an unwillingness to name names and pin down responsibilities to a personal level. The message however is abundantly clear -- there are many officially competent members "doing jobs" who are seen by John to be incompetent.

2c Resistance to change

In the next passage the members consider more fully the aetiology of incompetence, in particular the reasons why corps activities are not carried out to their satisfaction.

Transcript (SIDE B - SECTION 5)

1000 DJ What you does affect other people because we are human
John But there's a point here. I mean It's same with
politics, it's same there's a cliché that's used in=
DJ (Yeah)
John =all sorts of walks of life "well look if you want
1005 summat changing you get involved and change it".
DJ Yes
John But you can't do that if if people are honest
DJ Mm?
John You can't do that. You can get involved but you
1010 still can't change nothing. And that is more
frustrating that not doing it at all. This is
what I'm trying to get through. This is what
I feel.
JJ (I know that, that's what we feel!
1015 DJ But we feel like that
John Yer see it's all right saying "Be involved and change"=
JJ (Mm)
John =if that's possible then then to to me it would be great
escape. Yer know to say that well I mean sometimes I am
1020 to blame because I I I think p'raps I'm asking too much
'cos I should like to see people yer know great fellow-
ship that we can go, and out, and people will be brought
in and saved and see that p'raps its me that's wanting
too much.
1025 Mrs. W. Oh you are John them days are gone.

Joan Ar but they shouldn't have.
 John (But but it, they haven't gone
 Mrs. W. (?) changing world.
 John No. No they haven't gone
 1030 Joan As far as a Christian's concerned it hasn't.
 John It's us that's at wrong that's why they've gone.
 It's not because/
 Mrs. W. (world 'as changed
 John (the world's changed
 1035 The world's no different now to when it was made
 Mr. W. Definitely.
 John I mean when when he slung Sodom and Gomorrah down=
 Mr. W. (Oh no)
 (No)
 Joan
 1040 John =He did all that so I mean don't tell me that they're
 living any better than we are because they weren't.
 Why did he write why did he?
 DJ No I'm not saying it's a better world but it has
 changed a lot I mean/
 1045 John It's not changed in a lot of ways/
 DJ Well, I mean well let's say look it's different from/
 John Us who's changed
 DJ Yeah we are people in the world.
 John We accept too much.
 1050 DJ And we () well maybe
 Unidentified Er (?)
 John ((There were a prayer, there were a prayer said like
 that, this morning in open-air. When we change we
 say look we'll accept that and we'll let that creep
 1055 in and we'll let that creep in and we'll accept that.
 Mr. W. It's trueyer
 John And this is what's brought us down. This is what's
 making us frustrated. This is what's changed us because
 we're trying to compromise with the people that should
 1060 be brought and saved for Jesus. We want to be nice
 to 'em we don't want to upset 'em and we want to be
 nice to 'em and we want to compromise. And through
 us giving way and wanting to compromise they more or
 less laughed at us in us face and said the church is
 1065 not for me. We we've spoilt ourselves.

"Wanting too much" is in a way a curious formulation. The Orders and Regulations refer to fellowship and the saved being set to work for the salvation of others. There are Salvation meetings every

Sunday and regular "appeals" are made to "sinners". The features that John characterises as "wanting too much" comprise a significant part of the official vocabulary of the movement, its goals and legitimate vocabularies of motive, in essence its *raison d'être*.

And yet John is not alone in thinking that he is "wanting too much" for Mrs. Wilson comments, "Oh you are John them days are gone" (L 1025). The view that the days of great fellowship and people being saved are things of the past is again at variance with the continuing evangelical rhetoric of the movement.

John does not accept the proposal that these days (days of fellowship and seeing people being saved) are over or that the world has changed. (L 1028/32 Mrs. Wilson). He maintains that it is "us (ie Christians) that's at wrong that's why they've gone" (L 1031) and who are responsible for the lack of fellowship and people being saved.

John now locates the source of his frustration at not being able to change in the compromise which Christians accept rather than as previously grounding it in his own idealisations ie it has now become a case of Christians wanting too little (compromising) rather than wanting too much:

John "And this is what's brought us down. this is what's making us frustrated. This is what's changed us because we're trying to compromise with the people that should be brought and saved for Jesus. We want to be nice to 'em we don't want to upset 'em and we want to be nice to 'em and we want to compromise. And through us giving way and wanting to compromise they more or less laughed at us in us face and said the church is not for me. We we've spoilt ourselves!"

The passing of the days of salvation and fellowship is attributed by John to the compromise that Christians accept between their faith and the world. It is not a case of the world changing but of the lack of spiritual competence.

2d Resistance to change

In this passage the members continue their consideration of why it is they cannot pursue the courses of action they deem to be appropriate and efficacious.

Mr. W. (But you can have all the ideas that you that you like,=(1)
 JJ (But (?))
 Mr. W. (1)=all the different ideas that you like but you can't
 1200 put them in to practice because you've got officers
 in charge of corps (?) in't that right?
 John You can (?) if you (?) you
 Mr. W. Right (?) How do you mean
 John (? ?)
 1205 Mr. W. Well that's what I said/
 John Er no way/
 Mr. W. That's right, well
 that's what I said. How can an individual/
 John individual, can
 1210 if they take a responsibility
 Mr. W. You've got no responsibility/
 John People have/
 Mr. W. Officers are
 responsible for Corps
 1215 John (No no locals should be responsible for Corps
 DJ Well should be or is?/
 Mr. W. They're not
 John Should be
 DJ Yeh but who is responsible for the Corps?
 1220 Mr. W. Officers
 DJ Officers
 John Only for spiritual well-being
 (Yeh but there I mean)
 (INAUDIBLE)
 (They're a hindrance)
 John Yeh but they'll accept as far as I'm concerned
 DJ (In
 1225 Orders and Regulations they're responsible
 John (Yeh but they'll
 also accept that, yer yer get a proper officer they'll
 also accept that if they've a local what they believe
 is doing that job then they won't interfere with them.
 1230 Mr. W. (I - I doubt that
 ("What they consider to be a good job")
 (INAUDIBLE "personality")

Joan It's true () It's true what John just said= (2)
 JJ (Pardon)
 Joan (2) = 'cos wh I were made YPSM Captain what were his name?
 JJ Salt
 Joan Yeah thank you, he made my YPSM. Now he in a sense
 1235 interfered with my job. He. I helped him to do my job
 in that sense now when Brian Blessed came it was a shock
 to me that I had to do it on my own 'cos I was that
 used to the officer doing it with me/
 Mr. W. But I'm not mean/
 1240 Joan But when Brian Blessed came he had
 nothing to do with me he was just in Sunday School and
 I had to do the job on me own.
 Mr. W. But I'm not really meaning that. If if anybody's got
 different ideas, like John has, he's got different
 1245 ideas that don't coincide with our general attitude
 of open-airs, now John can't carry them out
 if its anything extraordinary because because he's got
 an officer over him.
 John No, she'll not stop me/
 1250 Mr. W. And he's got to do what that/
 John Nothing'll stop me once I/
 Mr. W. That officer if that
 officer doesn't agree then what John's doing he's
 had it/
 1255 John I mean it might not work but I'm going
 to get two open-airs going when I 'ave it yer see
 she'll not be able to do nowt about it - she can shout
 perhaps if she wants but I don't think she will
 Mr. W. (No but I'm talking about anything extraordinary
 1260 Joan Well this is extraordinary actually what you've got in
 mind (laughing voice)
 John But there again. If more in Corps wanted to do something
 extraordinary Officer in some aspects as long as within
 reason I don't think they'd bother and as long as some-
 1265 body else were doing it
 Mr. W. (still depend on officer don't it?
 John I suppose so in a sense
 DJ But they have the power to tell us what to do. I mean they
 they're responsible for everything that goes on within
 1270 the Corps. In fact not even them, the the DC ^a is yer
 see

Unident.

Mm

Mr. W. But they are responsible for/ to DC.

DJ Yes/

1275 Mr. W. Just like we're responsible to Officer. And
if er DC responsible to/

DJ

DC say

John

Well/

2d Resistance to change - Observations

Consider the following:

Mr. W. But you can have all the ideas that you that you like, ⁽¹⁾ =

JJ (But (?))

Mr. W. ⁽¹⁾ = all the different ideas that you like but you can't

1200 put them in to practice because you've got officers
in charge of Corps (?) in't that right?

Mr. Wilson locates the problem of not being able to pursue courses of action considered to be appropriate in the hierarchical distribution of authority ("you can't put them (ideas) in to practice because you've got officers in charge of Corps") demonstrating a preference for a structuralist as opposed to a voluntarist explanation. He focuses on the prior allocation of responsibility as imposing a limiting factor on the ability of members to pursue various courses of action.

The lack of fellowship and people being saved is for Mr. Wilson not wholly a matter of individual competence but may be affected by the reluctance of officers to accept different ideas, ideas aimed at improving the effectiveness of the structuring of activities.

John disagrees (L 1209 "individual can if they take a responsibility) maintaining an essentially voluntaristic perspective - the features of which are made apparent through the negotiation of the debate with Mr. Wilson. Thus in response to Mr. Wilson's continual denial that individuals are responsible for enacting change and affirmation that the officers are responsible for the corps (L 1213/4), John claims that "locals should be responsible" (L 1215). The view that the officers are responsible is not contested here (though it is qualified later, their responsibility being linked by John to "spiritual well-being" (L 1222) rather than a specific class of member (ie, local officers) is charged with carrying a heavier burden of responsibility

than other classes (ie. soldiers). Whilst the view that the officers are responsible for the corps according to the Orders and Regulations, he maintains that a "proper officer" (L 1127) who believes a local officer to be "doing (the) job" (L 1129) (ie is competent) will not interfere with them. (L 1129)

Thus the sphere of autonomy of any office is understood by John to be affected by the standing of the office-holder vis-a-vis competency i.e. whether the officer is a "proper officer" and/or whether the local officer is one the officer believes is "doing that job". There is an understanding then that the actual ability to undertake some activity is limited by the perceived competency of the office holder (as perceived by the Captain) Mr. Wilson does not accept this (L 1230) (NB John's account itself provides a resource for questioning John's theory - for it is officers who do the "accepting" - if they believe L 1128).

John furnishes an illustration that can be seen as supporting John's theory:

Joan It's true () it's true what John just said
 .
 .
 'cos when I were made Y.P.S.M. Captain what were his name?
 .
1235 Yeah thank you, he made me Y.P.S.M. Now he in a sense
 interfered with my job. He, I helped him to do my job
 in that sense now when Brian Blessed came it was a shock
 to me that I had to do it on my own 'cos I was that
 used to the officer doing it with me.

The illustration stems from Joan's experience as a Y.P.S.M. serving under two different officers, one who is said to have "in a sense interfered" with her job and one who afforded her much more autonomy. The fact that the officer who "interfered" is formulated as having commissioned Joan as Y.P.S.M. and that Brian Blessed who afforded Joan more autonomy is formulated as having followed later could be read as implying that as Joan developed her competence so more autonomy was granted. (Joan's account makes it clear that it is the officers who do the "granting" - the scope of interference varying according to the will of the officer and not upon Joan's initiative - for this was something that happened to her not that she had occasioned

"it was a shock to me that I had (my emphasis) to do it on my own" (L 1236) see also 1240 ff).

It appears however that Mr. Wilson had a different situation in mind ("But I'm not really meaning that" L 1243), a situation in which competing views of competence arise, specifically where an individual has ideas that "don't coincide with our general attitude of open-airs" (L 1244/56):

Mr. W. But I'm not really meaning that. If if anybody's got different ideas, like John has, he's got different
1245 ideas that don't coincide with our general attitude of open-airs. Now John can't carry them out if its anything extraordinary because because he's got an officer over him

John No she'll not stop me/

Whilst Mr. Wilson agrees that members may gain official sanction to enact a course of action where it coincides with "our general attitude" (L 1245) he feels that where ideas are not seen as coinciding with the "general attitude" then a member would be unable to carry them out "because he's got an officer over him" (L 1247/8).

John's reply "No she'll not stop me" (L 1249) may be seen to introduce an element of actuality to this until now relatively abstract discussion of possibilities. I hear "she" as referring to the present officer Captain Armstrong. It transpires that John has a number of ideas for the structuring of open-airs which he feels the Captain will be able "to do nowt about" (L 1255 ff). I have chosen not to explore this aspect.

John proceeds to identify a number of strategic contingencies as limiting a members ability to pursue a course of action (i) the number of (officially defined) competent members supporting the action (L 1262/3 "If more in corps wanted to do something extraordinary") (ii) The reasonableness of the course of action ("as long as within reason" L 1263/4), (iii) the uniqueness of the event (" as long as somebody else were doing it" L 1264/5).

Mr. Wilson persists it still depends on the officer which John accepts up to a point (L 1267 "I suppose so in a sense").

The discussion continues with a delineation of the distribution of hierarchy.

The analysis of conversational exchanges in this chapter reveals something of members' orientation regarding (a) the nature and incidence of incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness; (b) the reasons why they persist and the responsibility that each member incurs in respect of their occurrence; (c) the effects that these have on organisational life and (d) the ways in which these are regarded by non-members and members. I will consider each in turn.

(a) The nature and incidence of incompetence, inpropriety and ineffectiveness

Incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness are attributed as persistent features of organisational life. Cases cited with reference to Linden and other corps include:

- fighting, "ructions", "free for alls"
- the non-occasioning of a particular evangelical activity
- the willingness of members to reconsider their activities in relation to some unspecified (though implicitly "spiritual") "overall sense"
- members working hard and enjoying the programme of corps activities in a way that is depicted as differing little from that of members of Working Men's Clubs - holding a commission in the manner that members of Working Men's clubs hold positions i.e. members are depicted as lacking in "holy ambition" as being too willing to compromise with this world
- a member being prevented from undertaking what he considers to be an effective course of action even though charged with an official mandate for that activity.

(b) Why incompetence, inpropriety and ineffectiveness persist

John suggests that one of the reasons why the work of the corps is not carried out as it should be is that people are reluctant to change, specifically that people are unwilling to reconsider their activities in terms of a spiritual dimension. His account is developed in terms of a theological causal texture locating the source of the corps' troubles in the compromise that members accept between their faith and the world and thus reflecting on members spiritual standing, as opposed to relating this to say members' organisational

ability to develop an efficacious programme of evangelical work or the Army's policy and programmes. John argues that this is a state of affairs for which all members of the corps share responsibility - "we've spoilt ourselves".

Two responses emerge in respect of members' views regarding the related issue of why it is that members may not be able to pursue a course of action they consider to be appropriate. John's account focusses on the competence of the individual in office and the de facto relationship of the parties involved that relationship is seen as varying according to a number of strategic contingencies

- (i) the number of officially designated competent members supporting a particular course of action
- (ii) its reasonableness, and
- (iii) its uniqueness.

In contrast, Mr. Wilson's account locates the problem of not being able to pursue courses of action considered to be appropriate in the hierarchical distribution of authority ("you can't put them (ideas) into practice because you've got officers in charge of corps"), demonstrating a preference for a structuralist as opposed to a voluntarist explanation. He identifies the prior allocation of responsibility as imposing a limiting factor on the ability of members to pursue various courses of action.

The lack of fellowship and people being saved is for Mr. Wilson not wholly a matter of individual competence but may be affected by the reluctance of officers to accept different ideas, ideas aimed at improving the effectiveness of members' activities.

(c) The effects of members' incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness

The theory that incompetence and impropriety are pervasive features of corps life provides John with an understanding as to why it is that "people don't want to be associated" with Linden corps. The view that the interactional work of members plays a primary role in influencing members' decisions to stay in or leave the corps is further reflected in John's formulation of the encounter between the students and the ex-Y.P. Band members. The departure of the Y.P. Band members is depicted by John as being regarded by at least one member as regrettable, and as being occasioned by what appears to be a list of members' improprieties. The possibility that they

may have left for other reasons (eg. it is claimed later that one of the ex-Y.P. Band members had stolen a cornet - a claim uncontested by John), such as no longer accepting the beliefs of the movement or its modus vivendi, is not considered. The acts of impropriety are also depicted by John as having had a debilitating effect upon those carrying out evangelical work, influencing their willingness to introduce new recruits to the corps.

Two other elements emerge, in addition to infringements of Army doctrine, rules and other moral codes, as contributing to the level of manpower wastage and lack of recruitment! (i) Members are attributed as not wanting to recruit new members, (ii) The structuring of evangelical activities, specifically open-air, is deemed to be ineffective.

(d) The ways in which members' activities are regarded by non-members

There is some understanding that those who leave the Army retain an interest in its activities. This interest is regarded as being particularly sensitive to accounts of members' incompetence, an interest which is supposedly shared by members of the press.

This orientation is a source for complaint for some members, for others it is a fact of life, an inevitable feature of membership of this type of organisation.

The concern would seem to derive from a worry that where a transgressor is identified as a member of a church then the blame he may rightly incur as a result of his individual action may be transferred unfairly to others who may be correctly identified by the same M.C.D. (ie. Church member). The complaint is grounded in a preference for regarding a person's religion as a private matter, an individual's property and thus not available for offer to the public for their consumption. Members of a religious organisation are "men amongst men" and in this respect the fact of their membership is held not to be pertinent to their evaluation of their actions.

This view is contested, responsibility for the acts of individual members being accepted as a necessary feature of membership of this type of organisation, for "we are the church" and thus "own" each other's actions. A preference is registered for a principle of collective responsibility.

Members' conversational exchanges reveal a view of organisational life which contrast with that found in the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers;

"a fellowship of people who have accepted Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and Lord and whose common aim is to induce others to subject themselves to the Lordship of Christ."

It would be wrong to suggest however that those who formulated the Orders and Regulations were blind to the possibility that not all corps members will live up to the Army principles. On page 78 of the Orders and Regulations it is suggested of the members that:

"At times he is likely to be disappointed in the Army, since it is an association of human beings and therefore imperfect. But his duty is to the ideal Army, such as God wishes it to be....." (p 78)

Their account however does imply that the imperfections, whilst inevitable, are likely to be intermittent, and moreover the fact that disappointments are likely to arise is more a comment on the general fallibility of human beings than a reflection on the state of the Army. Neither is there any attempt to explore the nature of these disappointments, specific causes, or ways of coping with them. Rather members are called upon to perform their duties in relation to the ideal model of the Army.

In addition to revealing something of members' conventional orientations regarding incompetence, inpropriety and ineffectiveness, members' accounts also reveal something of their views regarding the membership class competent behaviour.

The conception of the membership class competent behaviour is a contested one. This is reflected in the disagreement as to whether being a member of the corps involves one in being responsible for the individual acts of other members, and in the conflict of preference regarding the issue of whether noisy kids should be allowed to remain in the meeting.

Members considered consistency in belief and practice to be an important feature of competence. It was suggested however that not all those who were officially deemed to be competent fulfilled this criterion.

Another important feature of competence is that it should, in addition to hard work and gratification, involve a consideration of the programme of the corps in terms of a spiritual dimension.

It is part of members' understanding that members incur an obligation in relation to the transmission of accounts and that honouring this obligation is an important feature of competent membership. To be in possession of an account does not then automatically confer the right to dispose of it as one pleases, for there is some evidence in this organisations to suggest that for some range of accounts a relationship of ownership obtains between author and account. Thus a similar relationship (i.e. ownership) may be said to hold for some discrete unit of knowledge (eg. what Barry has "seen" in the corps) and an individual or set of individuals (i.e. Barry, Barry's Mother-in-law, Joan) as between a corpus of knowledge (eg. Salvation Army doctrine) and a collectivity (eg. The Salvation Army). (For a discussion of the metaphor of ownership as applied to the investigation of the relationship between a corpus of knowledge and collectivity see W.W. Sharrock "On Owning Knowledge"). Thus whilst members may be in possession of an account they may incur some obligation not to make it available to others, though in some circumstances one can make available to others the fact that one is in possession of an account and under an obligation not to offer its content to others.

The organisation of members' verbal depictions of membership

The examination of members' accounts generated in this setting reveals that they are not offered as descriptions tout courts, but emerge from, and in turn elaborate, members' consideration of particular issues as and when they arise during the course of the evening. In the instances examined in this chapter they were inextricably tied up with members' views regarding lack of recruitment, level of manpower wastage and the ineffective structuring of activities, and concerned with the provision of cases in point and the apportioning of responsibility.

These observations suggest that the ways in which members of this organisation organise their accounts do not depart in any fundamental sense from that depicted by Garfinkel as being characteristic of those found in everyday life i.e. that members' accounts bear the hallmark of members' practical and normative involvement in the circumstances of their lives.

Thus in respect of John's portrayal of membership of the Salvation Army as being in many ways no different from that of a Working Men's

Club, we find that this view is not offered as a neutral or objective comment on the nature of organisational experience in Working Men's Clubs and religious organisations. Rather it is used to illustrate something about the motivation and competence of members and is related to his views as to why the corps is not operating as it should be and why people are not being recruited.

The portrayal of membership of the Salvation Army as being like that of a Working Men's Club works then as a contrastive device for pointing up the failings of the corps members in respect of their evangelical mission in being too concerned with working hard and enjoying themselves - the features that John chooses to stress as being characteristic of membership of Working Men's Clubs - and not reviewing their activities in terms of some overall, unspecified (though implicitly "spiritual") dimension.

Members' accounts of organisational life in this corps then reflect their pragmatic concerns with such issues as recruitment and wastage and are so designed as to provide cases in point, allocate responsibility and call into question the competency of fellow members. A particular feature of the organisation of those accounts concerned with the question of competency is that they contain devices which allow the speaker to foreclose possible exceptions to the claims that they make. In the tale of the noisy kids John not only makes available a precedent (ie. the anecdote of the sergeant who went into a meeting intent on breaking it up and came out "saved") for his proposal that noisy kids should be allowed, indeed encouraged to attend meetings, but also the fact that this anecdote was made available to the members at that time. In this way John limits a line of defence ie. the claim of ignorance of the possibility or likelihood of noisy kids being saved, for this is a possibility to which members should have been especially sensitive since the anecdote of the Sergeant Major was so fresh in their minds. The construction of John's account then forecloses a possible exception to the claim that members acted incompetently.

A similar construction can be found in John's account regarding the non-occasioning of what he regards as an effective form of evangelism. In this account he makes available to the participants the following:

- (i) that both Rob as Asst. Sergeant Major "doing Sergeant-Majors" (L 401) job and the writer as the Y.P.S.M. were in the position (ie having the official capacity) to arrange and enact such activities;

- (ii) that Rob and the writer had enjoyed this activity;
- (iii) that this was an activity for which they could expect support.

Through these devices John can be seen to exclude from consideration a number of excuses for the non-occasioning of the activity. For Rob and the writer are presented as being both favourably disposed to the activity and further in a position both officially (ie, with respect to the "rules of the game") and as relates to this particular set of circumstances (ie, to pursue the analogy, with respect to the relative position of the pieces on the board) assured of some local support to enact it.

In this chapter I have been concerned with explicating the conventional orientations that inform members' accounts of membership, specifically those relating to incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness and something of the organisational logic through which such accounts can be generated.

The After-meeting get-together provides a significant arena for the transmission of views and theories concerning the whys and wherefore of organisational life. It differs in an important respect from other arenas however in that it is not an officially constituted meeting. I do not wish to imply by this observation that the discussion encountered in After-meeting get-togethers are of a lower analytical status than those formulated in officially constituted settings. I do however want to argue that the accounts generated in such a context do have a restricted currency, restricted both in the sense of not being made available to the full membership of the corps (of testimony) or its appointed organs (c.f. census meeting) and in respect of reflecting only one of the range of different arenas of situated activity in which accounts of organisational life are formulated. I do not wish to suggest that by covering all the arenas of situated activity and adding-up all the accounts generated therein that this would produce a more complete picture of organisational life. Rather I am arguing for a more representative explication of the different activities through which members accounts are generated.

In order to redress this imbalance in the next chapter I shall examine accounts that are generated in the course of an officially constituted activity - the census meeting.

The discussion in this chapter turns to the examination of accounts generated in the context of a census meeting. The analysis will focus on one particular type of decision-making that members of census boards undertake, namely the selection of a candidate for status gradation, specifically the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster (D.BM).

This form of decision-making often involves deliberations and negotiation over the status of organisational members. So it is that an examination of their discussion may reveal something of the senior census locals' preference regarding competence and their assumptions and conceptions regarding the nature of membership. Such characterisation work tends to be more directly consequential than that carried out by members in After-meeting-get-togethers, for it is often invested with an added significance, an authorised mandate for deciding the official fate of members.

In addition to explicating members' verbal depictions of membership and the practices through which such work can be accomplished, the aim is to identify some of the practices through which it is possible for members to manage a particular stage in the process of status gradation i.e. the proposal and evaluation of candidates.

Following the formal identification of the process of status-gradation (a), and a brief outline of the official set of preferences bearing on the management of this process (b), the data is located in the overall structure of the meeting from which it is transcribed and a brief resume of the participants' biography is provided (c). Members' deliberations concerning the selection of a D.BM are then examined (d) before relating their accounts in a more direct way to the explication of membership and of the management of the proposal and evaluation of candidates.

(a) Formal identification of process of status gradation

This chapter focuses on a recorded discussion concerning the selection of a D.BM. The discussion transcribed here may be located analytically as a step in a more general process termed status gradation or promotion. Garfinkel's formulation of a status degradation ceremony (Garfinkel 1956) provides a template for formally identifying this process.

"Any communicative work between persons whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types will be called a status degradation ceremony."

Garfinkel 1956

Garfinkel is concerned to establish the conditions of successful degradation ceremonies for transforming an individual's total identity. My enterprise differs in a number of respects and thus requires that the template be fashioned to meet these contingencies.

(i) I am concerned with the question of how members manage the inverse of the process of status degradation - status gradation. For an illuminating elaboration of Garfinkel's work on the conditions of successful degradation ceremonies in relation to the study of a case of organisational succession involving the forced removal of a predecessor see R.P. Gephart Jr. 1978.

(ii) The conditions of successful status gradation hold no special interest; rather I am concerned to establish how the activity is managed, successfully or otherwise.

(iii) I have limited myself to an examination of the communicative work involved in the transformation of an individual's organisational identity.

The process of status gradation may thus be formally identified as involving:

Any communicative work between persons whereby the official organisational identity of an actor may be transformed into something looked on as higher in the local scheme of social types.

The purposes of locating the activity of selecting a D.B.M. in this analytical context is not only for clarification of this activity but also to argue for the possible relevance of the materials examined here for developing an understanding of a more general feature of organisational life.

The analysis here is restricted to a particular element in the process of status gradation - the proposal and evaluation of candidates by the census board. Whilst this step is not formally prescribed in the Orders and Regulations governing the appointment of local officers, very few appointments are made without the matter being discussed in the census meetings.

(b) The official set of preferences

In undertaking the judgemental work in status gradation census members are required to modify their individual standards of preference in relation to an official set of preferences. These set of preferences represent the grounds for making a correct decision. These grounds are formulated as prescriptions in the O & R for Senior Census Boards, Local Officers, Band and Songster Brigades and O & R for Corps Officers.

In addition to the "General Directions for the Conduct of Census Meetings" there are a set of regulations specifically referring to the selection of local officers in general, and further regulations relating to the selection for particular positions. I will deal with these prescriptions in a perfunctory way for I want to focus the analysis on how members actually manage this activity rather than on how it is prescribed. In respect of the prescriptions bearing on the selection of a D.BM. the following observations may be made:

- (1) The Census meeting is an authorised organisational activity and on specific occasions a required activity, with an officially prescribed function.
- (2) Some acquaintance with O & R is considered to be necessary to enable members to "intelligently carry out their required duties".
- (3) The Census Board is empowered to enact a number of organisational activities without seeking the consent of the D.C. i.e. the enrolment of recruits and soldiers (with some exceptions stipulated).
- (4) There are sanctionable maximum and minimum limits to the composition of a census meeting such that should these not be complied with a meeting will be deemed either not to have taken place or incorrectly constituted.
- (5) Members may only be present at census meetings by virtue of the licence granted to them by their office.
- (6) The deliberations of a census meeting are confidential and thus not to be made available to every member of the corps. It is required that there be an asymmetrical distribution of knowledge with respect to the activities of the Census Board. Thus it seems some members are deemed more competent than others to discuss corps life and a higher premium placed on their judgemental work.
- (7) There is an asymmetrical distribution of authority within the census meeting in that only the C.O. or D.C. may preside.

(8) Democratic procedures such as voting or the formation of interest groups are expressly forbidden.

(9) There is an authorised account of the meeting.

(10) Although the consideration of members for status gradation is not an expressly authorised concern of census meetings there are a number of legitimate devices under which such matters may be brought to the attention of the meeting for example -

Section 2 General Directions for Census Making

8. Any member is at liberty to draw attention to any name which he thinks should be discussed, with a view to possible action	Every member a voice
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Further O & R for Corps Officer urges them to consult their local officers.

Section 5

c) He (the C.O.) should consult them (Local officers), encouraging them to enlighten him concerning local condition and freely to express their opinions about corps affairs, although always reserving to himself the right of decision.

h) The corps officer has the final word regarding all deliberations.

(c) The talk examined in this chapter is transcribed from the census meeting held on 5.10.78. In this section the main participants are identified, the overall structure of the meeting outlined, and biographical details are provided in an attempt to redress something of the balance between what we as participants knew already and what the reader has access to.

Participants

Captain Armstrong
Lieut. Armitage
Corps Secretary - Ken Davis
Corps Treasurer - Ena Foot
Home League Sec.- Eva Edwards
Songster Leader - David Davis
Young People's
Sergeant Major - D. Jones
Bandmaster - T. Brewer.

Location

The officers' quarters

Outline

The meeting opened in prayer followed by a bible reading and refreshments.

Analytically the meeting can be divided into three distinct sections (1) The first part involved a discussion of forthcoming appointments month by month as recorded in the corps diary. A major focus of debate here were the proposals concerning the organisation of the carol playing programme.

(2) The second part of the meeting was devoted to a consideration of a series of discrete issues raised by the Capt. or Lieut. - these included proposals for Bible Fellowships, Mothers' Day, changing the bandroom and the primary room and the organisation of Sunday afternoon meetings.

(3) The final part of the meeting was concerned with the appointment of a D.BM.

The meeting was closed in prayer by the Captain

Biographical details

Captain Armstrong (early 30's) - has been at the corps for about 4 months. This is her fifth corps appointment since leaving the Training College and the second in this Division.

Lieut. Armitage (early 20's) - was appointed to the corps at the same time as the Capt. as her second-in-command. This is her first corps appointment since leaving the Training College though she did spend a training period with the Capt. at another corps in the Division.

Corps Secretary Ken Davis (late 20's) Ken has been C.S. for about a year. He also holds the commission of Singing Company Leader although the Singing Company no longer functions. He previously held the commissions of Deputy Songster Leader and Songster Leader. Ken the son of the present songster Leader is married with two children. Robert his younger brother is the Assistant Corps Sergeant Major. Ken works as a supervisor in the local pit whilst his brother is a local authority caretaker.

Songster Leader David Davis (late 50's) David and his wife Tess moved to Linden from a neighbouring corps nearly 20 years ago. He has been the Y.P.S.M. and Deputy Bandmaster (on two separate occasions). He holds the S. Ldrs. commission for a second time having taken over

from his son Ken. David is the hall cleaner and general factotum. He and Tess have been Salvationists all their lives and in addition to Ken and Robert have two daughters. Susan and Anne. Like his son Robert, David is a caretaker for a block of flats owned by the local authority. He is also a shop steward in the T.G.W.U.

Home Leage Secretary Eva Edwards (late 30's) Eva has been the H.L.S. for a number of years. She has been in the Army nearly all her life. Her parents held senior local officer commissions in the corps before leaving to become Auxillary officers. She is the niece of Mr. & Mrs. Wilson. Her husband Tom who is a soldier was not born into the corps and unlike most men in the corps does not play in the band though he does sing with the songsters. They have two children Brian (19) and Debbie (16) both senior soldiers and members of the musical sections. Eva has recently qualified as a midwife Tom works on the shop floor of a local engineering company. The family has very close ties with Ken Davis and his wife spending many hours in each other's company and going on holiday together.

Corps Treasurer Ena Foot (late 50's) Ena was born into the corps and has been Corps Treasurer for about 10 years. She is married to the retired Bandmaster Len who has a similar Army pedigree. Her brother was a renowned cornet soloist. They have a son Bill who used to be a soldier at the corps. Ena is regarded by most members as one of the "saints of the corps"

Bandmaster Tony Brewer (mid 20's) Tony came into the corps through the open-air ministry and the Sunday school. He married the daughter of Bill and Wendy Reed, a well established corps family. Tony has been D.BM. and BM on two separate occasions. They have two children who both attend Sunday school. There is some understanding in the corps that Tony has problems at home because of his wife's attributed reluctance to involve herself in corps activities. Tony for a number of years lived with Len and Ena Foot - he often refers to them as Auntie Ena and Uncle Len. Tony's closest friends are John and Joan Pepler and Gareth Evans. On occasions Tony has expressed some animosity toward the Davis family and

was anxious that they shouldn't come to dominate the Census Board.

Bandsman Gareth Evans. Gareth (19) came into the corps like Tony through the medium of the open-air ministry and the Sunday school. His family has no S.A. tradition. Gareth is a musician in the R.A.F. and is stationed at a camp some fifty miles from the corps. His attendance at this time was intermittent. Gareth and the author became and have remained close friends. Tony and Gareth had what they considered to be a "special relationship" - often referring to each other as "brother". Gareth is the only member of the band to hold a professional musical qualification.

Y.P.S.M. David Jones. This meeting marked the end of my second year at the corps. I had been the Y.P.S.M. for some five months and to the best of my knowledge was on friendly terms with most members of the corps though I tended to spend most of my time in the company of Tony Brewer, David Davis, Len Foot, John and Joan Pepler and Gareth Evans.

(e) Members' deliberations concerning the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster

7245 Lieut. Whats (?) whats next on list oh sorry
C.S. Little Jerry
Capt. Mm Mr. Bandmaster
B.M. Mm
Lieut. Thats you!
7250 B.M. What do you want me to say?
Lieut. (Its your thing
 you called for it so get started.

B.M. Well I was saying I think its about time I had
 a Deputy as a Deputy, a Deputy as a Deputy so
7255 that that () is () my patch (??) er () I think
 its er good to have a Deputy I would like a
 Deputy and er thats about it really
 (laughter - SLDR showing a cartoon from a book
 called a "Grave sense of Humour" to C.T.)
C.S. We said this at last census meeting

Lieut. Would you stop! (laughter) Captain For goodness
 7260 sake will yer?
 Capt. It's been suggested to us. Gareth Eva, Evans
 C.S. We dealt wi this matter at last census meeting as well
 Lieut. We didn't
 Capt. Oh
 7265 C.S. I think we have (??)
 Lieut. Oh I see - last one we have one was at at the hall
 The last one we had was at the hall when we were
 here.
 H.L.S. How can - So to be quite honest how can you give Gareth
 7270 a position at all with Gareth as he is at the moment?
 He doesn't know what he wants, he doesn't know, half
 the time he's not here.
 B.M. How could, How could yer give me a position when I
 was 18?
 7275 H.L.S. Yes but he wasn't in forces. He - First and foremost
 Gareth is in Forces. (personnel) he he might be posted to=
 B.M. Correct
 H.L.S. =Cyprus, Germany or anywhere
 S.Ldr. More, more so now because er in November he's expected
 7280 He's expected to take on a commission in Forces and
 I've found out that once he takes a commission in in
 Forces in November he'll not have as much time and er
 as many weekends free floating backwards and for'ards
 from home to here and this'll be the whole point he's=
 7285 Capt. Mm
 S.Ldr. =not gonna he'll not be here much and apart and on
 top of what he's now got in with Jackie () and er she's=
 B.M. Mm Mm
 S.Ldr. =gonna hold 'im back to a certain extent
 7290 B.M. I don't I, I think er that she will keep im more in
 than any than anything Jackie because I mean well
 look () that brought to Band practice er I
 rather concerned about you know er of er about
 chucking positions out er just for the sake of
 7295 giving positions out but er () that it would, give Gareth
 a bit more incentive not that he needs anymore. I
 don't think er, I don't know you know, I don't know
 quite what you would feel about Gareth er as Eva says
 er/

7300 H.L.S. (??) Look I'm not getting personal I =
 Lieut. (?)
 H.L.S. =like (Gareth) very much and I'm all for encouraging
 and nobody encourages him more than I do (?)
 But I just don't see how honestly you can give anybody
 7305 that that's in the Forces a position.
 B.M. Well er How could you
 D.J. (I'm sorry, I mean they're there are two things
 there aren't there? I mean we can talk mongst ourselves,
 his competence whether we think he's O.K. and then we
 7310 have to say to him. "Look um Are you going to be
 available to do this job? Are your commitments such
 that you can do this job?
 Lieut. Can you manage it?
 D.J. (Can you manage it?
 7315 C.S. Listen
 D.J. That that's the thing to say isn't it?
 C.S. (?)
 he was offered a position and it meant some work
 it wasn't what he wanted so he turned it down, weren't
 7320 'appy with it so he turned it down
 Capt. Well I think anybody er can have second thoughts
 (Pause)
 C.S. But there again
 Capt. (Er the thing is er taking up a position and
 not being to fulfil it I think that's even worse you know um
 7325 I've I've know (??) Do you know what I mean?
 H.L.S. I've I've always thought that if you were in the Forces
 it's not a job I don't think it's er like a job, it's a life
 Lieut. Yeah
 B.M. But then er you know then what what about Peter Wise -
 7330 D.J. Yer
 B.M. What what about a lotta London bandsmen who 'ave
 commissions, () who are in the Guards
 (Inaudible)
 D.J. You see I mean surely there's a point I mean if he does
 take a Commission I mean obviously his ability er to
 7335 fulfil the function of a Deputy B.M. would be very very
 difficult to do but we we don't know that he's gonna take
 a commission I

7340 mean he's said he's gonna take one he he doesn't know so
if he doesn't take one he's at that, where is he? down the
road (.) he's there and he could make it i possible, but
again he would have to make some undertaking to us that he's
going to make that kind of commitment but I mean that's a
question he can answer/

7345 Capt. Yes/
D.J. of which can only speculate whether he can or not he's gonna
have to make a decision and say 'Look I want to do
this job and I I'm willing and prepared to do it'
but that was, would, you know, be for him to decide and we'd
7350 have to just, assuming we said he's competent and
other things which we can discuss.

Lieut. I think it would be the same with, um away at the moment
he's home most weekends that is at the moment and, we we we
could decide to see him but you can get others who are leaders
7355 in a corps, such as Tony who's "on call" occasionally what the
BM (Mm)

Lieut. = call () "Shift Week". Now, our Y.P.S.M. at 'ome was on "Shift
Week", once a month he wasn't there, but he was still Y.P.S.M.

C.S. Thats all according what you've gotta do isn't it?
(Inaudible)

7360 Lieut. (?)
B.M. Well I mean a Deputy, what is er Deputy expected to do? What
is a Deputy yer know er, I mean it's not like saying like,
like your gonna be in charge of the band, you're gonna be
in charge of the songsters he's a Deputy and er and it
7365 would be well yer know (? ?) he would be the

Deputy and thats it, I mean it's more. It's more, should we
say, better for Gareth not to be a Deputy er then perhaps,
you do less on a Sunday morning which is you know, I'm not
getting at you Ken I'm just saying you know you're a
7370 Secretary and look at, how many Sunday mornings have you
put in? You could and you're have a Census Board position.

C.S. That doesn't affect though Sunday mornings though

B.M. Well what has a Deputy got/

C.S. He's got/ (?)

7375 H.L.S. I'm sorry/ what 'appens when the bands out or (?)=

D.J. Well you're a bandsman for that matter/
H.L.S. =Can't get up I mean he could be posted anywhere
D.J. No he couldn't be posted anywhere Eva. If if he decides
to say at Rive he can stay at Rive. That his job.
7380 There are people who've been there 20 years and stay there
and they perform well, within the community at Rive.
H.L.S. I I am, don't know how they get away with it thats all=
D.J. (But that's their job)
H.L.S. =I can say my brother in law was in Marines
7385 and he couldn't (?) He had to go where they sent him.
D.J. (Ah well)
D.J. That's different Eva when you're in the Marines thats
different=
D.J. =He's posted at Rive thats his job there thats his/
H.L.S. Yes Tom were posted to um
7390 C.S. Ark Royal
H.L.S. He was posted first to um Dartmouth and then he and
he were a bandsman (?) posted to Ark Royal and he
were off Caribbean for six months
D.J. So come to that matter I could go out the door tonight and
7395 be knocked down when er could, I mean anything could
happen. I mean we can all, in a world of of everyday life
anything can happen. And and er far as far as I know (?)
if he stays there and doesn't take a commission he could be
at Rive for the rest of his life and stay there.
7400 S. Ldr. Which'll be what for another four years
D.J. How long as he gotta go? But, well I mean those are things
that we'd need to discuss with Gareth assuming we thought he
was competent to do the job or we wanted him to do the
job or whatever
(4 SECOND PAUSE)
7405 Capt. I mean lets just for a minute just look at the job itself=
D.J. (Yeah)
Capt. =what it entails to be a Deputy Bandmaster therefore
you've gotta have a good knowledge of music but I
think over and above that you've gotta be of good
7410 spiritual character, because you're going to be a
leader of men and women. There're going to be times in
your band when you may have to deal with someone about
something or other and your character has to be such that
you can go up to that person put an arm round their

7415 shoulder and tell him nicely and quietly you know not
to have a brawling match in the hall or anything like
that but eh do it in such a brotherly way that er you
know would er p'raps correct that thing that was a matter

B.M. Well I don't thing there's any doubt about losing

7420 way I mean I thats er thats er the only thing I was
concerned about that you know I think well I don't know
what went on at Census Meeting but, I haven't been in any
about about Deputy etc etc but er yer know I just feel that
er (?) capable and I I would like him to be my Deputy
7425 and that er yer know if, you know, that it'll give him a
(?) to get home for (?) because it's good for me to have
someone to talk to

Capt. I don't think you should give jobs to encourage people

B.M. No! No! I said that with to to start with didn't I. I said/

7430 Capt. because I I think that you can get your self in a false
commitment um some years ago I was involved in a corps where
a job was given to a young person to encourage them actually
um it was, this happened in my home corps where a young man
was given a job to be encouraged but before he knew it the
7435 person that he was assisting gave up and therefore it
involved him in a census position and he wasn't really
equipped for the job workwise or spiritually.

B.M. MM

Capt. And therefore he was involved in the end and they had to put
7440 'im on census board and after a time, you can tell it caused
a lot of upset in the corps. Not for, because he was put on
the census board, but because of the, what the job entailed
you know. I mean he was made a S. Ldr. and er he was a nice
young fella but he was im immature in his outlook and it
7445 was decided that he wanted all the songsters to go into
summer uniform. Well when you've (?) when you've been
wearing bonnets and buttoned up uniforms for years and you
get these old stages in corps, saying "I'm not going to
give up my bonnet" You see you end up with the songsters
7450 splitting down the middle (laughs) and it was because it was
approached in the wrong way.

B.M. Mm but there you are

Capt. You see

B.M. What I'm saying is that we're all human and if you think
7455 well I'm not really bothered about, as they do, as I do feel

sometimes well I'm not, but you go because you think "Well I should be there" and when you get there you know you come out on top and so you know. I'm not saying that he will only come to be whatever he might be, or anybody does, I mean you could say that about everybody here, well we do it because we've got our, in fact we don't, whether yer know we're expected to do, you could say that about everybody. But as far as musical ability I mean there's nobody more qualified in the band I mean er who else has got qualifications in the band I mean I don't think that musically you could er/

7460 D.J. I don't think anybody sort of questions his musical ability at all
 B.M. Well that's what we're saying won't it? yer know are we?
 C.S. (?) Deputy B.M.
 D.J. (It's not -

7470 Capt. No no I'm saying you're judging to take up really a responsibility, isn't it as a Deputy Bandmaster. I mean you could be knocked down by a bus, could be in hospital (laughter) if you end up with broken leg (laughter)
 B.M. Well you could say that but there again yer know

7475 Capt. I mean you can say that about anyone
 (PAUSE)
 B.M. Well I (?) about the subject anywhere as far as say well
 Capt. I mean and even if we do accept him, if we do or we don't, and he still got, we haven't, I mean nothing's been said to anyone I mean this is the first "sounding-out" um is whether he'll be able to whether he that he would be willing to (execute) it he might not want it

7480 B.M. He might not
 Capt. He might say well I don't think I could have it at this time I don't feel I can cope with it.

7485 B.M. Mm
 Capt. And that would be the end of subject
 D.J. Yeah
 C.S. He wouldn't! =⁽¹⁾
 Lieut. How old is he =⁽²⁾

7490 B.M. (2) =19=
 H.L.S. (2) =19mm
 C.S. (1) =He won't!
 D.J. He won't?
 H.L.S. Well he told me he wanted it when he was at music camp

7495 when he were only 18!
 B.M. I were 18

H.L.S. Mm (?)

C.T. Pardon

H.L.S. (?)

7500 C.T. Our Bill were only (?)

B.M. Well what other position were there?

C.T. No No but I mean no, not really responsibility isn't it

B.M. But there again there was a bit of a tiswas about that weren't there? About whether he was asked or whether or what.

7505

C.S. He was asked/

D.J. Well, well I mean that that's happened and in, as far as I'm concerned that's in the past and er I mean I don't really want to, to talk about that, you know it happened and um that was very badly handled the whole exercise was very badly, but I mean er we're talking about now and we have to er discuss things as they are now

7510

C.S. Well in light of light of (?) then a lot of new young people and er junior soldiers (?) go again

7515

D.J. (Mm)

C.S. (?) but there again to start singing company/

D.J. And er/

C.S. Well lets offer it to him again if he wants to be, willing to (?) completely

7520

Lieut. Well he can't do it in the week

B.M. He's in charge of a section int he

C.S. Well this is what we're just saying, one minute we're saying Deputy Bandmaster with responsibility next minute we're saying/

7525

Lieut. Yes but a Deputy's job is not as much responsibility as a solely in charge of/

Capt. That would make him (?) Y.P. Census local.

It would mean it's not fair to (?) have a leader's job, yer know that much of him 'cos of him being away

7530

C.S. I can't see where a singing Co. Leader has as much responsibility as senior band providing he's got some locals

7535 Lieut. A S.Co.Ldr must be at practices, conduct the practices
A Deputy Bandmaster is the deputy to the Bandmaster

C.S. So?

Lieut. Gareth cannot always make band practice but the Bandmaster is usually there.

7540 C.S. Usually

Lieut. He's got someone above him he won't yer, he won't be under the pressure.

S.Ldr. Then you see this is coming back to the point again isn't it you see yer say he's he's gotta be there in case

7545 in/ you've just said, if if Tony's "on call" then (?) Deputy to take on now Gareth can't get home in week so if Tony get's called out in week "on call"/

C.S. It's Len does it

S.Ldr. Len has to take band practice

7550 D.J. Mm

S.Ldr. Well why why have a Deputy Bandmaster

B.M. Ah but the thing is that you know I I've be been on call for Army but/

7555 C.S. We said this at last census meeting I don't care what they say this is what was tipped at last census meeting

B.M. What was what was tipped?

D.J. (What was tipped?)

S.Ldr. I I'm not on about anything

7560 C.S. Er er I am this situation was guaranteed to come up at the census meeting

D.J. Wh What situation?

C.S. The situation were that Gareth turned it down and Tony were made Bandmaster and it was a well known fact that at next census meeting Gareth would be put forward as Deputy

7565

D.J. To whom was it well known to?

C.S. To majority of Census Board
(PAUSE)

C.S. () feeling that was going on

7570 D.J. Who who were majority of the Census Board?

S.Ldr. Well I I don't think personally it's fair to put im in while while he comes out of forces. While he's in Forces because he's gonna (?) no avail to band apart from being here at weekend.

7575 B.M. But, there again see he's he's of avail to me because he he thinks a lot like I think about music er what he might influence me er I might influence him. I

B.M. don't know in fact I've never had a Deputy er wherever the band's gone away they've had a Deputy er as a
7580 leader I think you you should 'ave someone you can say what you think to and I've got I mean I can't go to Ivor and say "what do you think? really."
I can go to Len and er there again yer know you've gotta a lot of differences of opinion. Er, But as a
7585 leader I'd like to just 'ave someone to say yer know "what what about this? What what do you think about this? What do you thing about what do you think about how's the band playing? What do you think about this piece of music?

7590 Lieut. Can't you ask him that even if he's not Deputy

B.M. Correct I can. But the thing is you know I think it's a good thing to 'ave a position for him. I though it were good enough for me to have a position when I were his age. A position that is is not that, I
7595 mean we're making it, this position Deputy, as if he's gonna be, yer know, alright he's gonna take it It'll not be er yer, just, alright, yer know you're gonna be Bandmaster and I'm gonna sit down! I won't do that - just no way. He would be a Deputy and er er that p'raps er a couple of tunes on a Sunday.

7600 H.L.S. He'll take some though

B.M. Well whatever yer know? () But that that's just what I feel (?) I er yer know, why should I do everything? Alright then who who who who out of
7605 the rest of them? There's only one really (pause) Those are my feelings I don't know who/

H.L.S. But do you think its fair to put in, do you think its really fair to other bandsmen to put Gareth in when p'raps he doesn't put in as much service as
7610 other people 'cos because of his, very nature of the fact that he's in in forces. (?) and can't always be there/

B.M. But the band would accept him that I/

H.L.S. I don't know, I don't know about Band

7615 B.M. I mean there again, yer see he he would be there when he was and you can't expect anyone.

H.L.S. Well what what

(same as everybody else I could get word

B.M. er oh I but I can't get
7620 H.L.S. Would they accept him coming on Sunday and taking them
when he's not been to band practice Wednesday night?
B.M. A person might have been to band practice and they
might not have. () Well thats that ain't answered your
question. I don't know I mean they wouldn't accept
7625 me when I first took the band to start with (pause)
Yer can't beat about bush yer know I, they wouldn't
accept me yer know. but I don't know (pause)
its not er its not end of the world just if yer make
somebody Deputy Bandmaster. Its not, the corps not
7630 gonna pack up if yer make er a Deputy Bandmaster is it?
What difference is it gonna make to the band er?

TAPE ENDS

Observations

The preparatory work necessary for the establishment of the selection of a D.BM. as the topic for consideration is undertaken by the Lieut., who in enquiring as to the next item on the list opens up the possibility of a topic change ("What's () what's next on list oh sorry" 7245). The reference to the list indicates that the sequencing of the topics discussed in the Census meeting was pre-planned and that the authorisation of selection as a topic for discussion at this particular juncture is related to its place on the list. The list was not made available to the other members of the census board during the meeting and thus the officers were at some advantage in respect of having prior knowledge of the items to be discussed and their order in the meeting.

Instead of introducing the topic, as she had done throughout the evening, the Captain calls on the B.M. (7247). The Captain's reference to "Mr. Bandmaster" (7247) marks a change in the policy hitherto established of referring to local officers by their christian name. It also signals a change in the manner in which topics are raised for discussion. For the first time the initiative is placed on a local officer, the use of the identifier B.M. indicating to those present the possibility that the forthcoming topic is in some way related to his official responsibilities and duties. The calling of the B.M. to introduce the topic coupled with the Lieut.'s comment "its your (thing) you called for it" 7251/2 (my emphasis) has the additional effect of distancing the officers' involvement in the

topic and emphasises that this is matter "called for" by the B.M.

The B.M. seems unsure as to what to say ("What do you want me to say?" 7250) and yet this uncertainty would not seem to be grounded in complete ignorance for when pressed by the Lieut. ("It's your (thing) you called for it so get started" 7251-2) he presents his case ("it's about time I had a Deputy" 7253-4). Though he seems sure of what he wants, the B.M. seems uncertain as to what to say and how, for his presentation here especially when compared to an earlier summary of the proposals for carol playing, is repetitious and hesitant (e.g. c/f "Well I was saying I think its about time I had a Deputy as a Deputy, a Deputy, as a Deputy so that that is () my patch (?) er () I think its er good to have a Deputy I would like a Deputy and er thats about it really" 7253-7 with "What we're gonna do, we just go out Saturday morning er but we would be out in the week on a Monday night and Wednesday night").

There is no attempt to outline a case for the appointment of a Deputy, to formulate grounds for choice or to nominate a preferred candidate. The non-specification of the candidate seems especially significant in view of the strong preference for Gareth Evans which the B.M. later reveals and taken together with the laboured and circuitous nature of the presentation suggests to me that the B.M. expects his selection to be challenged.

The establishment of the selection of a D.BM. as a topic for consideration does not go unchallenged, for the C.S. declares that this is a topic that has already been dealt with (7258). This comment is almost lost in the laughter that accompanies the displaying of a cartoon from the book "Grave Sense of Humour", a book that has been circulated by members throughout the evening demonstrating that not all the members are equally attentive to the issues being discussed.

The Lieut. appeals to the Captain to restore order ("Would you stop! (laughter) Captain for goodness sake will yer" 7259/60). Following this appeal the Captain announces the name of the candidate - "It's been suggested to us Gareth Eva, Evans" (7261). The use of the passive voice indicates to those present that neither the Capt. nor the Lieut. were instrumental in proposing this candidate.

The C.S. persists that this matter has been settled and moreover in relation to this particular candidate ("We dealt wi this matter at last census meeting as well" 7262). At first the Lieut. directly denies this (7263) however her comments "Oh I see - last one we had was at the hall. The last one we had was at the hall when were here" 7266-8 indicates some measure of resolution. I would suggest that the Lieut.'s comments indicate that she now understands the C.S. to have been referring to a different census meeting, one held prior to her and the Captain's arrival at the corps.

No attempt is made by any of the other participants to elicit further information from the C.S. regarding his claim. Indeed the meeting continues on the basis that the selection of a D.BM. is a matter which requires resolving.

The H.L.S. proceeds to question the suitability of the candidate, a question which is directed towards his motivational disposition

"How - so to be quite honest how can you give Gareth a position at all with Gareth as he is at the moment? He doesn't know what he wants, he doesn't know, half the time he's not here." 7369-2

The qualifier "as he is at the moment" carries with it the suggestion that this is a stage Gareth is going through, a stage which the B.M. later links to age (7273-4). Though temporally qualified ('i.e. defined as relating to the moment), uncertainty is portrayed as a persistent feature of Gareth's character. Various facets of Gareth's behaviour - "not knowing what he wants", and infrequent attendance are thus linked together and displayed as indexing an underlying motivational disposition obliquely referred to as "the way he is at the moment". So it is that Gareth is depicted as a particular motivational type, as someone who is more than likely to be inconsistent and someone who in all honesty one could not consider for any commission.

Though Gareth's infrequent attendance is initially linked to his not "know(ing) what he wants", i.e. to his personal disposition this is not the only formulation available and indeed in her next utterance the H.L.S. causally links the same feature to Gareth's membership of the forces (7275).

The B.M. ("How could, How could yer give me a position when I was 18?" 7273-4) does not challenge the H.L.S. but rather through collocating Gareth's depicted state with that of his own at that age makes available

a different interpretation. I propose that this interpretation may be explicated as follows (i) Gareth's motivational state arises out of a stage in maturation

(ii) that this feature places a question mark over his (and anyone of his age) suitability for office

(iii) that his appointment would entail a risk

(iv) that the census board have in the past chosen to accept this risk and appoint a D.B.M. at 18 (i.e. Tony Brewer - the present B.M.)

(v) that this risk should not preclude Gareth from consideration.

The H.L.S. then proceeds to differentiate Gareth's case as being of a different order, distinguishing it from the precedent that applied in the B.M.'s case and thus requiring separate consideration ("Yes but you wasn't in forces" 7275). Gareth's infrequent attendance is now made available not in terms of some motivational disposition but in relation to Gareth's employment and formulated as something over which he has no command or possibility of changing in the immediate future. His suitability for office is thus presented as being contingent on the candidates situation in life. In this way the discussion is guided away from a consideration of Gareth as a motivational type to his situation in life, to his availability for service - "he might be posted to Cyprus, Germany or anywhere" (7276-7).

The Sldr. (7279-89) echoes and elaborates this concern disclosing the fact that Gareth is expected to take a regular commission in November and furthermore suggesting that Gareth's involvement with Jackie will place an added constraint on his availability. I take the significance of the Sldr's reference to Jackie to lie in an "understanding" that as Jackie is not a member of the Army she is unlikely to welcome or encourage Gareth's additional involvement in the Army. This understanding is contested by the B.M. (7290) who cites an occasion when Gareth took Jackie to band practice as evidence to the contrary.

The B.M. (7293-6), whilst expressing a preference for not allocating commissions according to need, underlines the motivational efficacy of being placed in a position of responsibility, though in the same breath he denies that Gareth needs motivating (7296). It seems that for the B.M. the raising of the possibility of providing an additional

incentive is an important point in favour of promoting Gareth, but at the same time he is orientated to the possibility that in raising this issue he may occasion doubts in the minds of those present about Gareth's motivational disposition - hence the hedging of his comments with a statement of general preference ("I rather concerned about.....chucking positions out er just for the sake of giving positions" 7292-5) and his qualifier ("not that he needs anymore" 7296) which would seem to be aimed at foreclosing this possibility. The BM seeks further information concerning Gareth's suitability as to whether the other members feel like the H.L.S. - "What would you feel about Gareth" (7298).

The H.L.S. (7300-5) interprets the B.M.'s remarks as implying that her questioning of Gareth's suitability is motivated by personal considerations and that her misgivings may be seen as indexing an unwillingness to encourage him. She maintains that her misgivings are not motivated by personal grievance indeed she is "all for encouraging him" in fact "nobody encourages him more than I do" but relates to a general "worry" concerning the efficacy of appointing members of the armed forces as local officers. In displaying these aspects the H.L.S. can be regarded as authorising the objective nature of her misgivings.

The author - as - participant interrupts the B.M. (7306) and attempts to establish some parameters for the discussion, distinguishing between competence as a proper matter for consideration by the census board and availability as a separate issue warranting additional information from Gareth, and also suggesting ways in which the later question might be approached (7307-12). The Lieut. echoes those with a further example (7313).

Before the C.S. can comment (7315) the author-as-participant interrupts in order to solicit feedback on his proposal.

The C.S. does not direct his comments to this issue but to the motivational state of the candidate,

7315 "Listen

he was offered a position and it meant some work

it wasn't what he wanted so he turned it down, weren't

7320 'appy with it so he turned it down."

The fact that Gareth refused a commission (Singing Company Leader)

is used by the C.S. to characterise Gareth as someone who is work-shy and not prepared to take on a job he does not like, implying that Gareth is motivated more by personal gratification than holy ambition. This characterisation however is not the only available understanding of a refusal for it emerges from the Capt.'s account (7321, 7323-5) that a refusal may be portrayed as a judicious decision reflective of a careful weighing of personal capabilities and limitations in relation to the skills required. Moreover anybody not just one particular motivational type "can have second thoughts" (7321).

The H.L.S. continues with her "worry" about Gareth being in the forces, intimating that membership is a way of life and not like a job (7327). The B.M. attempts to counter this argument with the use of examples from the London Corps where membership of the forces has not disqualified bandsmen from becoming D.BM.'s (7329 - Peter Wise is a renowned euphonium soloist and at that time was Deputy Bandmaster of one of the Army's established bands (7331-2).

The author-as-participant persists with his proposal that Gareth's availability is not a proper matter for discussion since it requires knowledge that is not to hand, that only Gareth can provide (a proposal which receives some measure of support from the Captain. 7345), and that the meeting concern itself solely with ascertaining his competence (7333-7344, 7346-7351).

The Lieut. (7352-8) suggests that "we" (the census board) "could decide to see him" and also provides further examples of cases from her home corps and Linden where the fact that members' availability was restricted by the nature of their work did not prevent them from holding senior census board positions ("Tony who is 'on call' occasionally" 7355 "Now our Y.P.S.M. was at 'ome was on 'shift week', once a month he wasn't there, but he was still Y.P.S.M." 7356-7).

The C.S. proposes a qualifier to this line of reasoning "that's all according what you've gotta do in't it?" (7359). The B.M. follows this with the first formulation of what the job of D.BM. involves. No reference is made to O & R regarding authority for this formulation, indeed it shows every sign of being developed ad hoc to deal with the concern about availability. Thus the job is defined more in relation to criteria of irrelevance (i.e. what is not involved) than relevance (i.e. what is). (7361-7366). The crucial defining

factor for the B.M. is that a Deputy is not in charge, the implication being that the requirements for availability are commensurately lower than those for one who is in charge. This implication is spelt out with regard to the C.S.'s infrequent attendance on Sunday mornings, the point being that Ken's ability to fulfil his duties as a senior census local would not seem to have been seriously impaired by his restricted availability. The B.M. makes it clear that he is more concerned with the principle than with criticising the C.S. ("I'm not getting at you Ken, I'm just saying you know you're a Secretary and look at, how many Sunday mornings have you put in?" 7368-70).

The C.S. does not seem to regard the two cases as being of the same order, for whilst he regards his own restricted availability as being of little consequence the use of the qualifier "though" implies that he does not so regard Gareth's restricted availability (7372). The notion that the C.S.'s infrequent attendance is non-consequential is challenged by the author-as-participant who points to the C.S.'s membership of the band as being a line of activity that is affected by his infrequent attendance on Sunday mornings.

Before the C.S. (7374) can elaborate on the nature of a Deputy's responsibility the H.L.S. interrupts referring to the possibility that Gareth could be posted anywhere, citing the example of her brother-in-law's experience in the Marines as a case in point (7375,7). This possibility is contested by the author-as-participant who maintains that in Gareth's case serving in the forces is a job and not like being in the Marines. The equivocation is combined with a re-emphasis of the view that availability is a matter to be discussed with Gareth, a matter that will only arise if the census board considers him competent (7378-81, 7383, 7386-7388, 739407399, 7401-7404). This is followed by a pause of 4 seconds duration.

The Captain then proposes that the census board considers what the "job itself" (7405) entails, a formulation which she herself undertakes. Again there is no specific reference to O & R. Two qualities are identified as being important, "a good knowledge of music" (7408,9) and "good spiritual character" (7410). The quality "good spiritual character" is accorded primary significance because of its perceived importance for leadership. Ability to lead men and women and "correct that thing that was a-matter" (7417) is directly linked to the possession of a "good spiritual character". An illustration of the outworking

of this character is provided (7411). A competent leader (i.e. someone of good spiritual character does not enter into a "brawling match in hall" (7416) but conducts criticism in "a brotherly way" (7417) "put(s) an arm round their shoulder and tell(s) him nicely and quietly" (7414-5)).

Whilst there is no detailed description of the kinds of "troubles" a Deputy might have to cope with those that are specified are depicted as pertaining to the individual - "to deal with someone about something or other" (7412 my emphasis). The possibility that members may at times have a collective grievance is not countenanced - even though later on in her account she refers to "songsters splitting down the middle" (7449-50).

No deference is paid in the Capt.'s account to the fact that the job being considered is of a Deputy whose main task is to "assist the BM particularly with musical affairs" (O & R my emphasis). The Capt. seems to be invoking the standard of responsibility associated with the senior local officer, the leader of a section, as applying to the Deputy. The reason for employing this gambit of compliance (Bittner 1965) may be related to an example which the Capt. furnishes a little later in the proceedings as a cautionary tale. (7428-37).

The BM (7418) discounts the possibility that Gareth may lose his way, a metaphor which I understand as referring to Gareth's spiritual character. With what seems to be a summary of his position the BM dismisses all knowledge of transactions at previous census meetings maintaining that (a) Gareth is capable (b) the position of D.BM. will provide Gareth with an incentive to "get home" (7426) and (c) "its good for me (i.e. the BM) to have someone to talk to" (7218-26).

The Capt. (7428) questions the advisability of giving "jobs to encourage people". She provides an example from her home corps to illustrate this "worry". The thrust of her misgivings would seem to lie in the possibility that in appointing a member to encourage him "you can get yourself in a false commitment" (7428-31). This "false commitment" would seem to relate to an implicit understanding that a Deputy will normally expect and be expected to succeed the incumbent leader ("before he knew it the person that he was assisting gave up and therefore it involved him in a census position" (7434-6) "And therefore he was involved in the end, they had to put 'im on census board"

7439-40)my emphasis.) The "commitment" to deemed to be a "false" one if the Deputy was selected in relation to the lesser responsibilities of an assistant and not in relation to those of a leader, as would seem to have been the case in the Captain's example ("it involved him in a census position and he wasn't really equipped for the job workwise or spiritually" 7436-7). Thus the lesson and preference the Captain draws may be represented as follows; candidates for promotion to the status Deputy should be judged in relation to the senior post to avoid the possibility of having to promote someone who is not suitable for leadership.

The possibility that elevation to the status Deputy may or should be viewed as a possible end of the line or that the selection of a BM should be viewed as a discrete decision point and not a matter of entitlement is foreclosed despite the fact that there are notable examples where this has occurred (e.g. David Davis was D.BM. at Linden on more than one occasion without ever succeeding to become BM). The Capt.'s formulation also ignores the distinction drawn in O & R across a wide range of commissions between leader and assistant and reflected in different levels of responsibility and criteria for selection. Neither is there anything on the bond or commission that signals the type of commitment that the Capt. speaks of.

The Capt.'s formulation shows every sign of being constructed to obviate the "trouble" that occurred in her home corps "songsters splitting down the middle" and which she presents as having been occasioned by the "false commitment". Note it would be possible to present a different reading of the "trouble" focusing on the reluctance of particular members of the songster brigade to change their style of uniform. In this respect it is interesting to note that the Sldr's instruction regarding the wearing of summer uniform is not deemed in itself to be injudicious, but rather it is the process, the manner in which it was handled that is regarded as being at fault - "because it was approached in the wrong way" (7450-51).

The BM (7454-65) proceeds to qualify his comments concerning the motivational value of holding a commission. He suggests that the fact of holding a commission may act as a spur to members of the census board to attend ("you go because you think (you) should" 7456/7) on those occasions when they "are not really bothered" which they feel and that "when you get there (i.e. to the meeting) you

know you come out on top" (7457-8). Coming "out on top" here would seem to refer to a battle over spiritual inertia (elsewhere in testimony the BM has on occasions made reference to a lack of desire to come to the meeting but coming all the same and then "gaining the victory" i.e. the victory over the sin of indifference).

Further the BM makes it clear that he is not saying that Gareth or "anybody" only comes to the meetings because they hold a commission ("to be whatever he might be, or anybody does" 7459). Though he admits it is possible for that to be said, he insists that they do not ("I mean you could say that about everybody here, we we do it because we've got one, in fact we don't, whether yer know we're expected to do, you could say that about everybody" 7459-62). The BM. reiterates his point about Gareth's ability emphasising his superiority regarding musical qualifications, a judgement with which the author-as-participant concurs and interprets as being the consensus view.

The BM. seems to propose that that is the point at issue, a view not shared by the C.S., the author-as-participant or the Capt. The Capt. re-emphasises her view that the suitability of a candidate should be determined in relation to the standard expected of a BM. ("I'm saying you're judging to take up really a responsibility" 7470/71). this is followed by a pause interrupted by the BM. resting his case "Well I (?) about the subject anywhere as far as say well" (7476).

Capt. undertakes a further formulation of the parameters for deciding suitability, emphasising the provisional nature of the deliberations and echoing the author-as-participant's policy concerning availability. There is an implication that if something had been said then action would be required. The possibility is also raised that Gareth might not feel able or be willing to accept the commission, "He might say well I don't think I could have it at this time I don't feel I can cope with it" (7483-4).

The C.S. seems assured that Gareth will not refuse the commission (7488) this assurance is queried by the author-as-participant (7492). The H.L.S. replies "Well he told me he wanted it when he was at music camp when he were only 18!" the implication being that this is a position for which Gareth has a strong measure of personal

affection. The discussion of age continues in a somewhat elliptical manner, reference being made to the son of the C.T. "Our Bill" (7500). I've chosen not to address this part of the transcript (7497-500).

Following this the BM. raises the question of Gareth being considered for another position ("Well what other positions were there" 7501), questioning the manner in which this was conducted (7502-4). Before the C.S. (7506) can elaborate the author-as-participant interrupts, displaying a preference for divorcing the past from the present

("Well Well I mean that that's happened and in, as far as I'm concerned that's in the past and er I mean I don't really want to talk about that.....but I mean er we're talking about now and we have to er discuss things as they are now" 7507-13)

The C.S. referring to the author-as-participant's plea to "discuss things as they are now" proposes that in view of the increase of young people and junior soldiers that the census board offer the position of Singing Co. leader to Gareth (7514-5; 7519-20). Thus though the C.S. feels Gareth is not a suitable candidate for D.BM. he does regard him as an acceptable candidate for the position of Singing Co. Ldr. It seems then that for the C.S. at least the standard of competence required of a D.BM. is more stringent than that of a Singing Co. Ldr. This view is opposed by the Lieut. (7521) on the grounds of Gareth's restricted availability during the week, and the BM. (7522) on the grounds that he will be in charge of a section. The C.S. (7523-5) refers to the Capt.'s exhortation to judge the candidate's suitability in relation to the senior position and suggests that the census board is being asked to do this anyway thus why not offer him a different leadership position ("Well this is what we're just saying one minute we're saying Deputy Bandmaster with responsibility next minute we're saying" 7523-5). The C.S. does not make it clear however why he feels Gareth is a suitable candidate for the position of Singing Co. Leader.

The Lieut. (7526) again differentiates between being a Deputy and being "solely in charge", the position of Deputy involving less responsibility. The Capt. continues on the same lines pointing out that it would involve Gareth in a position on the Y.P. Census Board (7528) and that a leadership position would be too much to require of him. This seems a somewhat curious formulation given the Capt.'s insistence on evaluating a candidate's suitability in relation to the qualities required of a leader. it could be that whilst insisting that Gareth's

capability be measured in relation to the senior position, his availability should be judged in relation to the duties required of a Deputy.

The C.S. however does not accept the proposal that a Singing Co. Ldr. has as much responsibility as those in charge of the "senior band"; provided the Singing Co. Ldr. has assistants. It's not clear here whether the C.S. is referring to the position of D.BM. or BM.

The Lieut. (7536-7) is in no doubt that a leader "must be at the practice, conduct the practice" which implies that this duty (i.e. being at the practice, conducting the practice) does not fall so heavily on a Deputy, for a "D.BM. is the deputy to the BM." This view is further elaborated in relation to this specific candidate (7538-9) "Gareth cannot always make band practice but the BM. is usually there", though now the duties of a BM. are tied down in a less certain way (i.e. the BM. is usually there") a formulation which the C.S. picks up, repeating the word "usually" (7540) in such a manner as to imply "not always". Furthermore a Deputy is subject to less pressure than a leader for "he's got someone above him" (7541).

The S.Ldr. (7543) guides the discussion back to a consideration of Gareth's availability during the week pointing out that he is unable to step-in when the BM. is "on call". The factor of the BM. being "on call" during the week is not regarded by the S.Ldr or C.S. as necessitating the appointment of a D.BM. for, as they observe, when this happens the retired Bandmaster steps in. This factor forecloses for the S.Ldr. the necessity for appointing a D.BM. "Well why why have a Deputy Bandmaster" (7551).

The substance of the BM's response (7552-3) is difficult to establish for he is interrupted by the C.S. -

"We said this at last census meeting I don't care
what they say this is what was tipped at last census
meeting" (7554-6)

Further information is solicited by the BM. (7557) and the author-as-participant (7558) though the S.Ldr. eschews any interest in what the C.S. is saying ("I'm not on about anything" 7559). The C.S. is not thwarted in his resolve, indeed this seems to be a matter of some consequence for him for he disregards the S.Ldr's comment (7559). His comment is rather abstruse - "this situation was guaranteed

to come up" (7560). The author-as-participant seeks further elaboration (7562).

The C.S. replies

7563 "The situation were that Gareth turned it down and
Tony were made Bandmaster and it was a well known
fact that at next Census meeting Gareth would be put forward
7566 a Deputy"

These comments would seem to relate to Gareth's refusal of the offer of the leaderships of the Singing Company suggesting that Gareth's refusal of this position and Tony's appointment as BM. were not unconnected, the implication being that Gareth refused the position because he fully expected on Tony's succession to the Bandmastership to become his deputy and that it was generally understood that Tony would propose Gareth as his Deputy.

The author-as-participant continues his probing - "To whom was it well known to?" (7567) and it appears that the C.S. understood "the situation" to be known to the "majority of the census board (7568).

This subject is not pursued by the S.Ldr. (7571) who further questions the necessity of the appointment and moreover it's fairness to the rest of the board since "while he's in forces he's gonna (?) no avail to band apart from being here at weekends" (7573-4). Thus the fairness of an appointment to the band emerges as a further criterion for deciding the suitability of a candidate. This is not to suggest that this standard is shared by all the participants, merely to draw attention to its employment here.

The BM. does not contest the S.Ldr's view though he does suggest that Gareth is someone with whom he can discuss matters concerning the band, a facility that the BM. depicts as not being afforded to him by the other local officers of the band ("I've got I mean I can't go to Ivor" (the Band Secretary) 7581-2. "I can go to Len (the retired Bandmaster) and er there again yer know you've gotta lot of differences of opinion" 7583-4). The Lieut. (7590) however suggests that this facility is open to the BM. irrespective of whether Gareth is commissioned or not, a suggestion the BM. accepts (7591). The BM. continues emphasising the benefit that Gareth would obtain from holding a commission and suggesting that members are attaching too much significance to this position. He intimates that the census

~~band~~ members seem to be labouring under the misguided assumption that Gareth would take over, a view that is portrayed as being far removed from the one he has in mind, as one involving "p'raps er a couple of tunes on a Sunday" (7600). This is still not acceptable to the H.L.S. - "He'll take some though" (7601).

The BM. (7602-3) maintains that this is his view, that he feels there is a need for an appointment and further that Gareth is the only acceptable candidate ("Alright then who who who out of the rest of them? There's only one really" 7604-5).

The H.L.S. (7614,17,20,21) reiterates the concern regarding the fairness and acceptability of the appointment to the band, fairness being equated with some variant of the general principle "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work" reward (being commissioned D.BM) being directly related to effort (amount of service). This principle is qualified by the BM (7615-6) who suggests that a fair day's work (i.e. effort) be assessed in relation to the individual's particular circumstances rather than against some universal standard, recognising the employment situation as a legitimate constraint on availability for service. - "I mean there again, yer see he would be there when he was and you can't ask more than that" (7615-6)....."same as everybody else" (7618).

The H.L.S. persists, suggesting that one could expect some complaint from the band if Gareth conducted the band on a Sunday after missing band practice (7620-21).

The BM. (7622) begins to formulate a reply but after a pause reflects, "that aint answered your question" (7623-4). He admits that he is not sure whether the band will accept Gareth though in linking the band's purported non-acceptance to his own initial experience he does imply that these difficulties can be overcome. So it appears that a person even though commissioned a BM. and thus carrying an official mandate can meet with opposition from members of the band during his early term of appointment. The BM. continues, reiterating his view that too much is being made of the appointment, "It's not, the corps not gonna pack up if yer make er a Deputy Bandmaster is it? What difference is it gonna make to the band eh?" (7628-31).

The tape runs out at this point however the BM's remarks mark the

close of the deliberations for it is followed, after a pause by the Capt.'s announcement that she intends to approach Gareth in a "round about way" without revealing the intentions of the census board and find out what his movements are likely to be. Following this the Captain closed the meeting with a prayer.

Discussion

In this section I want to relate the material elicited from the transcript in a more direct way to a consideration of 1) the practices involved in the proposal and evaluation of candidates for promotion and (2) members' verbal depictions of membership.

1. The proposal and evaluation of candidates, a stage in the process of status gradation

The preparatory work necessary to establish selection as a topic for consideration is undertaken by the Lieut., who in enquiring as to what is next on the list opens up the possibility of a topic change (7245). The reference to a list indicates that the sequencing of the topics discussed was pre-planned, and that the authorisation of selection as a topic for discussion at this juncture is related to its place on the list. As far as I could ascertain this list was not available to other members of the census board.

Instead of introducing the topic as she had done throughout the evening the Captain calls on the Bandmaster (7247) to do the work of proposing the task. In making this pre-introduction the Captain changes the policy oriented to throughout the evening of identifying the local officers either by their christian or surname. The change in member identification policy with the use of the official category Bandmaster and the change in the topic proposal policy not only serves to alert to those present the possibility that the forthcoming topic is related to the proposer's official responsibilities and duties but also when collated with the Lieut. exhortation ("That's you"....."you called for it so get started" 7249,7251-2) does the work of distancing the officers' involvement with the topic.

The proposal of status gradation as a matter for consideration is undertaken somewhat hesitantly by the BM (7253-7). No attempt is made to outline the case for filling the post, the job requirements

or the grounds for choice, neither is a preferred candidate nominated. The last feature is especially noticeable given the BM's later declaration that there is only one suitable candidate - Gareth (7604-5)

The establishment of selection as a topic for debate does not go unchallenged for the C.S. maintains that this matter has already been discussed (7258, 7262). It would seem that this claim is intended to foreclose the consideration of this candidate and/or cast doubt on his suitability (see later in evening where this is raised in connection with Gareth's refusal of the singing Co. Leader's commission (755.4-7566). This claim is challenged by the Lieut. (7263). The dispute is resolved when it becomes clear that the C.S. was referring to the census meeting held prior to the present Capt. and Lieut.'s arrival at the corps (7265-8). The meeting proceeds on the basis that this is a matter which requires resolving.

The candidate is announced by the Captain (7261). Through using the passive voice she makes it clear to those present that neither the Lieut nor herself were instrumental in making this proposal. Whilst there is no reference to the identity of the proposer it becomes clear during the course of the evening that Gareth is the BM's first and only choice.

This meeting continues with the evaluation of the candidate. In managing this work members make use of over-heard remarks, stories, understandings, theories, rules and knowledge of practices observed in this and other corps to formulate their accounts. These are so assembled as to make available to those present features of the candidate's character: for displaying some isolated act as indicative of some underlying motivational pre-disposition (e.g. Gareth's refusal of the Singing Co. Leader's position is used by the C.S. as evidence that Gareth is indolent and motivated by self interest 7315-20); for establishing and distinguishing precedents (e.g. use of examples from London corps where members of the forces have held senior local officer commissions 7329-32 - precedent qualified by relating significance of restricted availability to varying demands of different commissions 7359); for formulating the parameters of the decision and grounds for choice (e.g. the cautionary tale of the "false commitment" 7430-7451); for self characterisation (7300-5); for formulating the requirements of the job and for making a case for filling the post.

These formulations reflect a normative orientation. That is to say the accounts are constructed so as to instruct the hearer as to how to regard the account. The point is, that members preferences with regard to such matters as the suitability of the candidate, the inferences to be drawn from particular cases and the validity of certain precedents are already reflected in the devices used to formulate the accounts, and thus the accounts may be regarded as constructed to illustrate and justify a point rather than to provide grounds ffrom which a point is to be objectively inferred.

Members' methods of managing the process of evaluating the suitability of candidates then exhibit a feature which Garfinkel (1967) has identified and suggested as being characteristic of everyday life, namely that decision making in daily life,

"may be much more preoccupied with the problem of assigning outcomes their legitimate history than with the question of deciding before the actual ocasion of choice the conditions under which one, among a set of alternative possible courses of action will be elected"

Garfinkel 1967 p114

Thus in respect of the following example drawn from members' deliberations, 7315 Corps.Sec. "Listen

7320 he was offered a position and it meant some work it wasn't
 what he wanted so he turned it down, weren't 'appy with
 it so he turned it down"

We find that the act of refusing a commission is directly linked to the motivational state of the candidate through offering the reasons for the refusal. It is not the case that the member makes available to those assembled the fact of the refusal and then seeks clarification as to how this bears on the candidate's suitability and/or as to whether previous refusals should be included in the set of conditions in terms of which candidates should be evaluated. Rather, the outcome is presented i.e. the candidate is not suitable and the refusal of a commission is used as a resource to do the work of justifying his view.

If we take each factor that is raised in connection with the candidates' suitability, we find a degree of equivocality persists as to the inferences that should be drawn, such that members in their formulations can take the same factor and draw inferences that reflect in either

a favourable or adverse way on the candidate, or cast doubt on the validity of the inferences, that a particular speaker has drawn. The factors raised in members' deliberations can be grouped into three distinct sets

- a) relating to the behavioural characteristics of the candidate
- b) pertaining to the candidate's situation in life
- c) relating to the candidate's standing in relation to other candidates

For each set I identify the factor and summarise the devices discoverable in members' accounts which enable an adverse formulation and a favourable formulation to be drawn.

a) Formulation of candidate's behavioural characteristics

<u>Behavioural characteristic</u>	<u>Formulation</u>
eg 1) Not knowing what he wants and infrequent attendances	<p>i) Adverse formulation. Uncertainty about what he wants and infrequent attendances are linked together, and displayed as being symptomatic of his personal disposition. In this way Gareth is depicted as a particular motivational type i.e. as someone who is inconsistent and by extension unreliable. (L7269-72) (Later in the evening) Eva links Gareth's attendance to his membership of Her Majesty's Forces.)</p> <p>(ii) Favourable formulation. The B.M. in collocating Gareth's depicted state with that of his own at that age (L7273/4) makes available a different reading, which I interpret in the following manner (a) Gareth's uncertainty relates to a stage in maturation (b) this feature places a question mark over</p>

his (and anyone of that age's) suitability (c) there is then an element of risk in making this appointment (d) however since the census board chose in the past to accept this risk and make Tony Brewer D.BM. at the age of 18 there is an established precedent.

2) Previous refusal of a commission

i) Adverse formulation - (a) Refusal of a previous commission is used by the C.S. to reveal Gareth as someone who is work shy and motivated by self-concern (L7317-20) (b) Gareth's refusal of the Singing Co.

Leader's commission is connected by the C.S. to the appointment of Tony Brewer as BM. in such a manner as to suggest that Gareth refused the commission because he fully expected to become Tony's Deputy (L7554-70)

(ii) Favourable formulation - The Captain equates refusal with having second thoughts (L7321), something that can happen to anyone and not necessarily indicative of indolence and self-interest but indeed possibly reflective of a careful examination of capabilities in relation to skills required (L7321-5)

3) Musical ability

Favourable formulation - (a) "there's nobody more qualified in the band" (L7464/7) BM (b) "I don't think anybody sort of questions his musical ability at all" (L7466) DJ (c) "he thinks a lot like I think about music" (L7576) "someone to say yer know what what

4) Someone to talk to

about this.....how's the band
playing. What do you think about
this piece of music" (L7584-8) BM
(7245/6)

b) Formulation of Candidate's Situation in Life

<u>Situation in life</u>	<u>Formulation</u>
eg.1. Member of Her Majesty's Forces	<p>(i) Adverse - (a) Gareth's membership of the forces is used by HLS to distinguish the precedent that applied in Tony Brewer's case (ie being commissioned a D.BM. at 18) Gareth's availability for service is depicted as being of a restricted nature, and moreover now beyond his personal control. (Compare L7269-2) (See also - Sldr's- assertion that Gareth is to take on regular commission - made available as something he's "found out" ie as fact (L7279-86)</p> <p>HLS - "its not a job.....its a life" L7236 - "what 'appens when the bands out or (?) can't get up I mean he could be posted anywhere"(L7375-7),</p> <p>HLS - eg of brother-in-law who is bandsman in The Royal Marines L7382-93ff</p> <p>Sldr - "Gareth can't get home in week" - L7545</p> <p>"No avail to band apart from being here at weekend" L7570-3)</p> <p>(b) Appointing someone (Gareth) who because of the nature of his job cannot put in as much service as other people, as D.BM. is formulated as being unfair and unacceptable to the band (L7606-20 ff - HLS + Sldr)</p>

eg 1 Member of Her Majesty's Forces

(ii) Favourable (a) - Furnishing of precedent from London corps where membership of Her Majesty's Guards has not deprived bandsmen of the opportunity of taking a local officers commission (L7329-32) - BM

- Furnishing of precedent from other corps where the fact that members availability is restricted by the nature of their work has not prevented them from holding a commission (L7532-8) Lieut.

- Also precedent from Linden Corps (L7355/6-7369/71) Lieut. BM.,

- Denial that Gareth could be posted anywhere, emphasising Gareth's membership of forces as a job in contradistinction to HLS formulation of membership as a life, and furnishing as fact eg of service people who have remained at one posting for 20 years (L7378-1) DJ.

- Distinguishing HLS's eg of brother-in-law's experience in the Royal Marines as being of different order, emphasising the fact that Gareth's post is at Rive - DJ.

(iii) Qualifying Formulation - that significance of candidate's availability is related to the demands of the job (L7359) CS

(iv) Proposal that availability is not relevant to initial consideration of candidate suitability by (a) distinguish between candidate's competence and his availability for service (L7307-12; L7401-04) and

(b) characterising Gareth's availability as an unknown (L7333-51; L7394-99; L7401-4) DJ.

eg 2 Relationship with Jackie who
is not a Salvationist

- (i) Adverse - The Sldr portrays Jackie as someone who will place constraints on Gareth's availability.
- (ii) Favourable - The BM challenges their view and cites the fact that Gareth brought Jackie to band practice as evidence to the contrary.

c) Formulation of candidate's standing in relation to other candidates

The BM presents Gareth as the only acceptable candidate. "Alright then who who out of the rest of them? There's only one really (pause) Those are my feelings I don't know who" (L7603-5)

An additional device which provides further support for my suggestion that the ways in which members manage the evaluation of candidates do not depart from that which Garfinkel suggests as being characteristic of decision making in daily life can be found in the following extract.

7300 HLS (??) Look I'm not getting personal I=

•
•

= like (Gareth) very much and I'm all for encouraging and nobody encourages him more than I do (?)

But I just don't see how honestly you can give anybody

7305 that that's in the forces a position"

The HLS seems oriented to the possibility that her misgivings about the candidate may be construed as "getting personal" (7300), a characterisation she seems anxious to dispel for she displays herself as someone who has no small measure of affection or concern for the candidate. In so doing the HLS can be regarded as authorising the objective nature of her misgivings. Such work can be seen as reflecting a concern with "assigning outcomes (i.e. in this context deciding the candidate's suitability) their legitimate history" (Garfinkel 1967 p114) my emphasis.

The main component elements involved in the proposal and evaluation of the candidate one identified on page 158. We may observe that in respect of the sequencing of these components, that members do not follow the line of deciding beforehand the parameters for the decision and the grounds for choice, and then proceed to examine the candidate's standing in relation to these criteria before arriving at a decision. Rather the sequencing of these elements (the deciding

of the criteria and the candidates standing in relation to these criteria) emerge from member's consideration of particular issues during the course of the meeting. Indeed the first formulation of the duties and responsibilities of a D.BM. does not appear until L7361 (the topic having been introduced in L7253). The formulation when it does appear shows every sign of being developed to cope with the point that the C.S. raises in connection with the discussion concerning the significance of member availability as a selection criterion i.e. that this varies with the demands of particular commissions. Thus we find that the duties and responsibilities are so presented (L7361-70) as to make much more of what the post does not entail than what it does. (See also the Capt.'s formulation of the qualities required of a D.BM. 7405-17 and linked to this L7427-36 discussed on pages 142-4 of the thesis.)

The criteria according to which members feel the evaluation should be conducted emerge from, and are elaborated to deal with, local issues which arise during the course of their deliberation. This leads me to suggest that members of this organisation in their decision-making use selection criteria (conditions of choice) as a resource for amongst other things justifying the points they wish to make and/or coping with issues raised by other members.

Member's deliberations concerning the proposal and evaluation of candidates arranged in their main component elements.

A. Managing Topic change

Announcement of topic change

Proposer: Lieut.

Announcer: Captain

Sequence in text: 7245-52

B. Proposal of Task

Establishing status elevation as a matter for discussion

Proposers: Bandmaster, Capt., Lieut.

Sequence in text: 7253-57; 7259-60

C. Nomination of candidates for status gradation

Candidate - Gareth

Proposer: Bandmaster

Announcer: Capt.

Sequence in text: 7261

D. Proposal that matter has been dealt with elsewhere

Proposer: Corps Secretary

Sequence in text: 7258, 7262-7268, 7553, 7569

E. Case for Candidate

1. Relating to behavioural characteristics

- (a) "How could you.....when I was 18"
BM 7273-4
- (b) "Can have second thoughts"
Capt. 7321-5
- (c) "Capable no doubt about him
losing his way, someone to talk
to" BM. 7418-23
- (d) "Musical ability" BM, DJ 7462-5
- (e) "He's of avail to me" BM 7577-7593
- (f) "Someone you can talk to"
BM 7245/6

2. Relating to situation on life

- (a) Forces - "London Bandsmen" BM 7329-32
"Couldn't be posted
anywhere" DJ 7378-99
Not relevant to initial
consideration of suitability
local precedents. Lieut
7352-8
- (b) Jackie - "came to band practice"
BM 7290-3

3. It's good for him

- (a) "More incentive to come home"
BM 7294-9; 7424-5
- (b) "good thing to 'ave a position
for him" BM 7591

4. Acceptibility and fairness to band

- (a) "The band would accept him"
BM 7612, 4, 5
- (b) "Band wouldn't accept me at first"
BM 7623-30

5. No other candidate

"There's only one really" BM 7603-4

F. Case against candidate

1. Relating to behavioural characteristics

- (a) Doesn't know what he wants -
infrequent attendance HLS 7269-72
- (b) Work shy and self-interested
CS 7315-20

2. Relating to situation
in life

(a) Member of forces therefore restricted
availability HLS 7275-8
"In November he's expected to take
a commission"! Sldr. 7279-85
How can you give anybody that's in the
Forces a commission" HLS. 7304-5.
"it's not a job.....it's a life"
HLS. 7396-7
"could be posted anywhere" HLS 7375-7
eg of brother-in-law HLS 7382-93
"can't get home in week" Sldr. 7542-50
"No avail to band apart from being
here at weekend" Sldr. 7570-3

3. Acceptability and fairness
to band

(b) Jackie.....gonna hold 'im back to
certain extent Sldr. 7286-9
"No avail to band and therefore not
fair" SLDR 7570-3
"But do you think it's fair" HLS 7606-20

G. Self-characterisation of Assessors

"Nobody encourages him more than I
do" HLS 7300-5

H. Assessment of whether candidate is likely to accept the proposed gradation

(a) "he wouldn't turn it down" CS 7487,91
HLS 7493

(b) "he might not want it" DJ 7336-7
Capt 7479-80
7482,3,5
BM 7481,4

I. Proposal that candidate be considered for another position i.e.

Singing Co. Leader

Proposed: C.S.

Opposed: Lieut., BM, Capt.

J. Warrant for establishing the post

For (a) "Concerned about chucking positions out but would give BM 7294-9
Gareth a bit more incentive to come home" 7424-5
"it's a good thing to 'ave a position for him 7591

	(b) "someone to talk to"		7476
	"I think you should 'ave someone you can		7579-80
	say what you think to"....."how the bands		7584-8
	playing"....		
Against	(a) Shouldn't give jobs to encourage people	Capt.	7427-
			7461
	(b) "Can't you ask him that even if he's not a	Lieut.	7589
	deputy?		
	(c) "Well why have you a deputy?"	Sldr.	7530
	"no avail to band"		7570-3
K. <u>Explicit formulation of the parameters for discussion and grounds</u>			
<u>for choice</u>			
1.	Competence of candidate v availability	DJ	7307-7316
	as proper matters for discussion		7333-7351
			7401-4
2.	Availability as a general criterion for selection		
	(a) "Yes but you wasn't in forces."	HLS	7273
	"How can you give anybody that's in		7304-5
	the forces a commission "		
	(b) London precedents	BM	7329-32
	Local precedents	Lieut.	7352-8
	(c) "Depends on what you've gotta do"	CS	7539
3.	The job itself	BM	7361-70
		Capt.	7405-17
			7469-74
		BM, Lieut, CS, Capt.	7522-7541
		BM	7594-7600
4.	Sounding out	Capt.	7427-61
5.	Shouldn't give jobs to encourage people	BM	7493-7
	or for sake of "chucking positions about"	Capt.	7427-61
		BM	7428
L. <u>Outcome</u>			
	Approach Gareth in a "round about way"	Capt.	Not taped
	without revealing the intentions of the census board		
	and find out what his movements are likely to be.		

In respect of the overall strategies for managing the proposal and evaluation of candidates we note that in addition to the devices discussed earlier, i.e. challenging the establishment of the selection of D.BM. as a topic for consideration and casting doubt on the candidate's motivational disposition and availability for service, there would seem to be another strategy open to members wishing to deny the candidate's elevation to D.BM. - the offer of elevation to a different commission. In this case however this does not prove to be a successful ploy.

The deliberations cease following the Captain's announced intent of approaching Gareth and finding out in a "round about way", i.e. without revealing the intentions of the census board, whether or not he is likely to be available.

The discussion now turns to a consideration of what members' deliberations reveal about the nature of membership.

2. Members' verbal depictions of membership

These fall into two broad categories, those pertaining to the criteria used in assessing the suitability of candidates for elevation to the position of D.BM. and those relating to more general aspects of membership.

(a) Criteria used in evaluating candidates for elevation to position of D.BM.

The Captain identifies two qualities (a) a good knowledge of music and (b) good spiritual character. The latter quality is regarded as being the most important because of its significance for leadership

"but I think over and above that (good knowledge of music) you've gotta be of good spiritual character because you're going to be a leader of men and women" (7409-11)

And yet leading men and women is not one of the responsibilities envisaged by those who formulated the O & R for the O & R explicitly state that "The Deputy Bandmaster is responsible to assist the Bandmaster particularly with musical affairs." Indeed it seems as though the Captain is invoking the standard of responsibilities and duties usually associated with the senior, local officer of the section i.e. the Bandmaster who is specifically charged

with the responsibility for "the management, training and leadership of the corps band."

I would suggest that the reason the qualities of a D.BM. are formulated in this way is tied to a theory and a worry that the Capt. holds with respect to the position of D.BM. and which may be discerned from an account which the Capt. furnishes a little later in the proceedings as a cautionary tale (7428-51 - for a more detailed explication of this point see pages 142-4). Broadly stated this theory holds that those occupying the position of D.BM. will normally expect to succeed to the senior rank - Bandmaster. Thus in order to avoid the worry of getting yourself in the "false position" of having to promote a candidate who, whilst being regarded as an acceptable deputy, is not envisaged at the moment as being capable of managing the senior position of BM. the Capt. argues that the suitability of candidates for D.BM. should be judged in relation to the criteria applying to the position of BM.

In addition to the above criteria there was a number of other preferences expressed - that the candidate should be available for service and acceptable to the band (7273-8; 7571-4; 7608-21)

- that one shouldn't select someone who doesn't know what he wants or who is work shy and/or self interested (7315-20)

- that commissions shouldn't be allocated on the basis of encouraging people (7428)

- that you should select someone you can speak to (7245-6)

(b) In their deliberations participants also expressed some general comments relating to issues of membership

(i) Thus the Captain suggests that

- (a) competent members can have second thoughts about accepting a commission and that indeed its better to refuse a commission than to accept one and find out that you cannot fulfil the required duties.

- (b) grievance and disciplinary matters should be handled in a brotherly way ("Putting an arm around their shoulder and tell them nicely.....in such a brotherly way that er you know would er p'raps correct that thing that was a matter " Captain 7415-8 ff) and

- (i) (c) that the ability to lead men and women and to manage their problems was directly dependent on the possession of a good spiritual character.

Whilst the Captain does not provide any detailed specification of the kinds of trouble that a Deputy might have to manage,, her comments do suggest that she does envisage them to be of an individual nature (7412) even though later on she does refer to a case of collective grievance in her home corps "songster splitting down the middle" 7449-50.

- (ii) Whilst the BM accepted the Captain's proposition that the allocation of commissions should not be used as a motivating device he did suggest that there were occasions when the very fact of holding a commission may provide that initial and vital impetus in a situation of spiritual inertia. He also argued that holding the D.BM. commission would be beneficial to Gareth.
- (iii) It seems that members can go through stages of "not knowing what (they) want" (7269-72)
- (iv) The state of not "knowing what you want" is associated by some members with a stage in maturation (7273-4)

Summary

The explication of members' accounts generated in the context of a census meeting revealed some of the practices through which members can manage the proposal and evaluation of candidates for promotion to D.BM. This included the identifications of the main component elements, the sequencing of these elements and the devices which enable an adverse or favourable formulation to be made of the candidate. Formally this process was identified as constituting an element in a more general process, that of status gradation. The intention behind this formal identification was not only clarificatory but also to argue for the relevance of the analysis conducted here in respect of developing a detailed understanding of a pervasive feature of organisational life in general - the communicative work involved in the transformation of a member's official organisational identity into something looked on as higher in the local scheme of types.

The work featured in this chapter represents a modest, albeit fairly

novel step in the explication of this process - focussing on the practices involved in the management of one element - the proposal and evaluation of candidates. I would suggest that a more sustained and finely focussed analysis following the lines of this approach would offer much in the way of developing understanding of not only the set of communicative practices through which selection and promotion can be managed and members' conventional orientation to these as well as other features of organisational life, but also in respect of the more general question as to how people manage the process of making decisions.

In respect of the decision making practices considered in this chapter we may note that they exhibit a feature which Garfinkel suggests as being characteristic of decision making in everyday life, namely that the outcome - in this case in respect of such issues as members' judgements regarding the suitability of the candidate, the correct inferences to be drawn from particular cases and the validity of certain precedents/criteria - comes first. It would seem to be the case that members are more concerned with justifying their judgements than with deciding beforehand the parameters for the discussion and the grounds for choice, presenting evidence bearing on the candidate and seeking clarification as to the inferences that may legitimately be drawn regarding his suitability. This should not be taken as a criticism of members' decision making practices. I am merely pointing out that the practices examined here exhibit a feature which Garfinkel suggests is characteristic of decision making in daily life.

In the course of their deliberations members made reference to their preferences and understandings regarding such features of membership as the basis of good leadership, the way in which grievances and disciplinary matters should be handled, the efficacy of allocating commissions as a motivating device, the significance of refusing a commission and the criteria against which candidates for promotion to D.BM. should be assessed. As we have seen members' discursive treatment of these issues reflected their pragmatic concerns in coping with the business of managing the evaluation of candidate suitability.

In this chapter I have tried to develop the understanding of the features of organisational life as oriented to by members, and the practices through which such work is accomplished, by focussing on

the management of one particular type of decision making. In the following chapter I shall try to extend this further by examining a less exclusive activity - Testimony. The giving of public testimony is an important and recurrent feature of organisational life. This activity, unlike the one examined in this chapter, is not officially confined to a specific class of membership. All members are deemed competent and indeed required to be prepared to speak about their personal experience. Testimony-time provides members with a rich source of discursive knowledge concerning the nature of their lives. The analysis will not only reveal members' verbal depictions of their personal experience but also some of the practices through which such accounts may be generated.

The analysis in this chapter focuses on one particular type of activity that members undertake - the giving of public testimony. The sine qua non of a testimony is that it should arise out of and relate to personal experience. The study of members' own accounts of their personal experience within the context of religious organisations has, according to Taylor (Taylor, 1976 also Robertson and Campbell, 1972 and Beckford, 1978 for similar views), been largely neglected.

In a paper which is primarily addressed to developing a Sociology of Conversion, Taylor records his general dissatisfaction with the methodological strategies deployed within the Sociology of Religion and proceeds, via an outline of what he considers to be the major deficiencies of previous attempts to develop a Sociology of Conversion, a critique which is premised in the main on the work of C. Wright Mills (1940), Blum and McHugh (1971) and Scott and Lyman (1968), to argue for the adoption of what he calls a broadly ethnomethodological approach. He suggests that by adopting this perspective we can gain some analytical purchase on how people talk religiously (i.e. identifying "the linguistic and conversational candidate identities which religious individuals might rehearse for the conceptualisation and communication of religious meaning" p 19 Taylor, 1976) and how conversion is done (i.e. identifying, "the situated practices for rendering conversion as an accomplished activity").

Beckford (1978) records similar misgivings and offers a similar remedy, and explores the implications of these for the understanding of Jehovah's Witnesses' conversion accounts.

Whilst accepting the view that the examination of members' own accounts of their personal experience represents a fruitful area for consideration I want to argue the case for its importance in terms of a different focus of enquiry i.e. in respect of providing some understanding of members' conventional orientations and the practices through which accounts of personal experience are generated.

This analytical preference has to do with a "hunch" concerning the features of life in religious organisations which has taken on form and grown stronger during the course of the thesis. The "hunch" is that members' verbal practices do not depart in any fundamental

sense from those which Garfinkel suggests as being characteristic of everyday life. My analysis provides support for the suggestion that members' recourse to "linguistic and conversational candidate identifiers" (page 19) and "the assembly of practices which produce talk as religious talk" is related to their pragmatic concerns and thus by restricting the analysis to the identification of the practices which generate talk as God talk one loses sight of a very important aspect of the organisation of members' accounts, namely that they are designed to do specific work within specific settings. Further, by paying exclusive attention to such features as God talk and Convert talk one risks the danger of over emphasising the difference between members of religious organisations and other organisations. I shall return to a more detailed consideration of these and related issues in the concluding section of the thesis.

In relation to the materials examined in this chapter there are then two axes of analytical interest, members' conversational orientations and the set of practices through which members' accounts of personal experience can be accomplished. The procedure adopted will be to (a) outline the official set of preferences bearing on this activity, (b) point-up some general features of public testimony and (c) locate the "talk" to be examined in the overall structure of the meeting from which it was transcribed. The transcription will then be presented (d) and the verbal exchanges examined (e) before relating them in a more direct way to the analytical issues (f).

(a) The official set of preferences.

There are a number of prescriptors concerning the giving of spoken testimony. These are outlined in the O & R for Soldiers under Section 4 Public Speaking:

- (1) All members are required to be prepared to "witness by a word of testimony"....."right from the moment of (their) conversion". Three main benefits are recorded as ensuing from the giving of testimony (a) the encouraging of God's people
 - (b) the calling of sinners'
 - (c) the confirming of the speakerin his new found experience

The provision for the ministry of personal testimony derives in part from a conscious concern of the Army's leaders to guard against the development of a one-man ministry. This ties in with the view expressed elsewhere in O & R for Soldiers

that "Every soldier is saved to save".

It emerges from the text however that some soldiers are to be given more opportunity than others to "speak in public". Thus those who are recognised as having acquired more ability to speak should additionally be given "the responsibility to give addresses on texts or topics".

This points to an important feature of giving testimony. Testimony is an activity which is mainly though not solely accomplished through the spoken word. Thus the giving of testimony is in part dependent on and related to ability for public speaking. This is not to say that a testimony will only or mainly be assessed in relation to public speaking ability, merely to a point to a necessary feature of the accomplishment of some forms of testimony (i.e. spoken testimonies). And yet members in their correspondence to "The Musician" and "War Cry" do at times exhibit a conscious concern with the way in which the spoken form of personal testimony is delivered.

In "The Musician" of the 27 August 1977 there were a number of letters querying the propriety and efficacy of reading testimonies and reciting phrases such as "Thank God I'm saved". Indeed one writer characterised testimonies that are read as "paper testimonies" contrasting them with what he regards as the authentic form of "speaking from the heart". It would seem then that there are occasions where proficiency in public speaking may be used by members as an index of spiritual competence. Alternatively the reading of testimonies may be regarded by members as a welcomed "prop" for those who are nervous, or as symptomatic of poor training and wrong practice. Similarly the recital of the phrase "Thank God I'm saved" is depicted by members alternatively as a well worn cliché indicative of a shallow spiritual experience or as a valued affirmation of faith after the manner of the recital of the Lord's Prayer.

The Editorial comment in this particular issue of "The Musician" records a preference for valuing all forms of testimony regardless of whether members possess the gift of eloquence

and can discourse at length or whether they have to ".....rely upon carefully prepared notes clutched in our apprehensive hands" for "what matters most is that what we say comes from the heart". And as regards the recital of stock phrases the Editor comments. "And what of our great songs and hymns? Are they not also the "previously prepared" utterances of others' spiritual experiences or petitions which we, by our singing of them, make our own."

(2) It is required that the speakers know what task they have been given and orientate their remarks to that task. If the soldier has been asked to speak he must prepare his remarks by study, meditation and prayer.

(3) All members are urged to come to the meetings prepared to say something.

3. "Even if the soldier has not been given notice of it before the event, it is good for him to go to the meeting with some idea of what he should say, should it be thought suitable for him to speak"/

though

the opportunity to speak is controlled to some degree by the leader of the meeting who may or may not choose to make an opportunity available for speaking.

(4) In addition the O & R provide the following guidelines for public speaking :

4. "The message, if truly given by the Spirit, will be living and practical. It must be expressed in simple words which are not beyond the understanding of the listeners. A well chosen illustration will help to stimulate their attention. The address should not be too lengthy. It is better to conclude while the hearers regretfully feel that they would have liked to hear more, than to go on until they sigh with relief when the speaker at last has finished.

5. Whether giving his testimony or delivering an address, the speaker must keep clearly in mind what main result he is driving at and what part of his public he is particularly wishing to reach. General rambling will dissipate everybody's attention.

p.176

6. The more the speaker is himself gripped by the message, the more likely he is to captivate his hearers. He should beware of the temptation simply to make an impression rather than to glorify his Saviour.

7. A soldier must try to do the people good - to get

them saved and blessed there and then. He must speak as the servant of God, considering the seriousness of the business and the uncertainty of ever having an opportunity to speak to the same people again. In short, he must speak as a dying man to dying men.

p.177

(b) Some general features of testimonies and testimony periods.

Characteristically testimonies and testimony periods tend to vary along the following dimensions

- (1) The manner in which the speaker is specified
 - (2) The type of bounded activity in which it is situated
 - (3) The timing and manner of the request for testimony
 - (4) The specification of theme.
-
- (1) The leader of a testimony period may call upon a particular person to speak, a representative of a particular class of member (e.g. a young people's worker or bandsman etc.) or alternatively anyone "with a word".
 - (2) Testimonies tend to be delivered in a number of distinct areas of bounded activity
 - (i) At the level of the corps e.g. Holiness Meeting
Praise Meeting
Salvation Meeting
Open-Air
Sunday School
Special ceremonies or events etc. (e.g. Swearing-in, Harvest Festival, Mother's Day)
 - (ii) Divisional Level
e.g. Soldiers' Rallies/Receptions
Councils (e.g. Youth, Bandsmen and Songsters)
Holiness Meeting
Special events and festivals
 - (iii) National/International Level
e.g. International Congress (1978)

- (3) Testimonies may be requested either prior or during any of these bounded activities. Those testimonies which are requested for bounded activities above the corps level (e.g. Divisional Youth Councils) tend to be by way of a formal written invitation some weeks prior to the event and also tend to be followed by a formal acknowledgement. At corps level an opportunity for testimony is usually made formally available during the Sunday meetings, though not necessarily in every meeting.
- (4) The degree of specification of theme varies from the relatively specific such as "An experience arising out of this years' Annual Appeal Effort" to the most open ended of all instruction "Have a word".

The opportunity for testimony is not one that is always grasped by members and officers do on occasion pass on to the next song or activity without a word being offered or comment being made on the lack of response. This lack of response is not necessarily treated by an officer as a sign of underlying spiritual immaturity or not having a spiritual experience to testify to but more often in terms of some secondary elaboration such as nervousness or "being rather slow this morning".

Some officers in requesting testimony make available as an alternative to "having a word" the selection of a favourite chorus or verse of a song.

(c) The Setting

The talk is transcribed from a testimony period which occurred during a Sunday morning Holiness meeting at Linden (15.1.78), a meeting in which the teaching ministry to the converted is supposed to predominate. There is no set form of worship though meetings tend to follow the five hymn sandwich of the English Free Church. In most Holiness meetings an opportunity is made available for various members to speak a word of personal testimony, to lead the congregation in song and to pray extempore.

(i) The overall structure of the meeting was as follows.

		Leader
<u>Song</u> 378 "Lord I come to thee beseeching"	(1,2)	Capt
Prayer	Chorus "Teach me again Lord" (119)	Capt
	Prayer	S.Ldr.
	Chorus "Meet my need Lord" (131)	Capt
	Lord's prayer	Capt
<u>Song</u> 379 "Lord I pray that I may know thee"	(2)	Capt
Collection and Announcements		C.S.M.
Testimony Period		Capt
Bible Reading - Matthew Ch. 4 v 17-25 (The Living Bible)		Capt
	"The Calling of the Four Fishermen"	
<u>Song</u> 464 "Not my own but saved by Jesus"	(4)	Capt
Sermon	The qualities of good fishermen as a template for the "fishing" of men	Capt
<u>Song</u> 478 "And is it so? A gift from me"	(4)	Capt
Prayer		Capt

The structure is fairly representative of Holiness meetings at this and other corps.

(ii) Present at the meeting: Capt. Parsons, C.S.M. Wilf Sampson, S.Ldr. Davis, C.S. Davis and family, H.L.S., Brian and Debbie Edwards, C.T., D.B.M. Brewer, the Peplers, the Smiths, Robert Davis and family, George Wilson, Jenni Jones and the writer.

(iii) Speakers in Testimony Period (a) Capt. Parsons. The Capt. has been at the corps since June 1977. This is his second appointment in the Division and fourth since leaving the Training College. He is married with three children.

(b) D.B.M. Tony Brewer - commissioned D.B.M. December 1977 (see page 125)

(c) H.L.S. Eva Edwards (see page 125)

40's. Wilf's children were brought up in the Sunday School but no longer attend the Army or any Christian Fellowship on a regular basis. His wife regularly attends the Sunday evening meeting but doesn't wear Army uniform. Wilf owns a small window cleaning and odd job business.

At this stage I had been in the corps some 15 months and as yet held no commission other than bandsman.

(d) The Transcript

Jan. 15, 1982

1 Capt. "I love him better everyday:

Close by his side, there I'll
abide:

I love him better everyday."

5 Then if there is that one with a word

(SING CHORUS)

PAUSE - 10 seconds -

Capt. P'raps we could sing 268 then

SING CHORUS -

268

(In my heart a song is ringing
For he pardoned me I know
Just because he loved me so;
And I'm singing, singing, singing,
Just because he loved me so.)

Capt. That one with a word?

Tony. (standing) Well er I had to have a little titter to me-self

just then er we er yer know we were singing er () sounded
10 very nice huh you know and I and I was just listening and
er () it sounded, as yer know () we were all full of the
Lord and er () and then as usual we're asked for a testimony
what the Lord or yer know whatever you feel (), er just
because one gives a testimony er it's wh what er a person
15 feels and er what I feel about my Lord this morning er well
the first song er, it says

"Holy Spirit come revealing

(S.B. 378 v2)

All I must forsake confess

Tis for light I am appealing

20 I am here to seek thy healing

20 Thou art here to save and bless"

Then I thought just then yes that's why er I'm here this

morning er that I hope my Fellowship with the Lord will be

strengthened therefore that's why we come that I might know

25 more of Him more that what He wa- that He wants me to do

25 and I pray that my service for him today p'raps might bless
someone.

Capt. Mm Thank you. Two Hundred and Seventy Five.

Capt. "Wonderful Wonderful Jesus

30 In the heart He implanteth a song;
A song of deliverance, of courage, of strength
30 In the heart He implanteth a song:"

SING CHORUS

Capt. Perhaps this morning we have a "song of deliverance" within
our hearts but sometimes when the things of life seem
35 to be pressing in around us it's very difficult to have
a "song of courage" and perhaps even more a "song of
strength". For so often do we not try to do things in
35 our own strength instead of coming back to the deliverance
of Jesus Christ. Let's sing the chorus once again and
40 there is another opportunity should you so desire.

SING CHORUS "Wonderful, Wonderful Jesus
.....song."

PAUSE - 4 SECONDS

Eva Well they do say that it's a sign of getting old when
(standing) yer start looking back and remembering yer younger days
40 but er last Sunday afternoon the songsters sang "Victors
Acclaimed" um and this used to be a great favourite
45 of mine. When I was er about our Debbie's age - teenager
er I think the first time I heard it was um I think
the record must have been made round about that time
and er and er me cousin Clive who's at the Citadel now
45 had the record and they had the record player which
50 we never had at home and as I used to spend a lot of
time at their house er this was the record that I always
used to put on - um in fact I think me Auntie Annie
got fed up hearing it 'cos she used to hid it when she
50 heard I was coming 'cos it was always the first I put
55 on and then I got to thinking about those days there
were ever such a lot of people at that house um particularly
those youngsters and er we used to go, a lot of the
girls from here because Clive was in the Citadel Young
Band and we were always after the Junior Band lads there
60 and of course that's what we went for really um, but
looking back I was looking round last Sunday afternoon
thinking how many of us () there were that used to knock
around together then that aren't here now um such crowds
of us in fact I lost count I tried to count up how many
65 young people there were. Teenagers that um were all =

here in the corps then and how many there are now that
'ave sort of grown up and are still here um I'm not
saying that we're any better than they are I don't think
that yer know I don't really think that I/you can say
that but it seems such a pity that um the number are
not here um () I'm glad that I'm here I'm glad that
I'm to be found still loving and serving the Lord er
and I pray er that perhaps one day we may have the joy
seeing some of the young people well they're not young
people they're all middle aged like me (smiles) but
- eh. Some of the people that were in the same age group
as me and that were all in our corps. We may have the
privilege of perhaps seeing some of them come back to
serve God's (house)

80 Capt. Thank you Eva. My mind goes back as Eva spoke of people
75 she could think of who are no longer serving God and
my memory triggered off my days in the Junior Band and
I just quickly in my mind's eye went to the Junior Band
that I used to play in its it was in those days even
85 then almost well I think it was as big as our Senior
Band here and out of all those I can only think of four,
80 as I quickly flitted round that are now still within
the ranks of the Salvation Army er in any way serving
God out of about 20 to 25 lads and some of them who
90 did eventually go through to the senior band but now
these many years after there's only four left serving
85 and er I sometimes wonder why is it so many fall by
the wayside what what is it that causes people to go
even when they brung up within Army Juniors some of
95 them with Salvation Army parents to guide them in the
right way why is it that so many people fall away from
God and er as Eva says I don't think it's that we can
90 say that we have been better for I am always reminded
of the phrase my mother used to quote me on such occasions
100 "there I go but for the grace of God" and I think that's
it it's the grace of God within our lives that has kept
us here and we need to pray for our comrades who have
95 fallen by the wayside. We do hope of course that there
is some spark left within their lives and er perhaps
105 yer know we need to pray for these people who have known
Jesus Christ equally as much for as those who have never =

= for there is a sense in which er they are more under
100 the judgement of Jesus Christ than those who have never
known him. For Christ said that we would be judged according
110 to the life we have received and if they have sat under
the message of the gospel for x number of years they
must have received some light into their souls and for
105 those who have never been to Sunday School for those
who have never heard very well the gospel of Jesus Christ
115 they have not received as much light and therefore will
be judged accordingly so for our comrades who we once
used to have amongst us who have fallen by the wayside
we may just pray that God will continue to shed his
110 light upon them and that one day they may come back
120 to his fold. Can we sing 296 and then there's just an
opportunity for one more should someone feel they'd
like to give their testimony.

115 "If Jesus goes with me I'll go anywhere;
'Tis heaven to me wherever I be,
125 if he is there.
I count it a privilege here His
cross to share;
If Jesus goes with me I'll go
120 anywhere.

SONG - CHORUS x 2

PAUSE - 5 SECONDS

130 Wilf Well er it seems we're going back in days and perhaps
wondering why er that er Eva was saying why the people
aren't here again the youngsters that were here, probably
there may be an answer, probably the answer I get from
125 my kids why they aren't here () especially should we
say Gordon when we go back, he's thirty-three now he's,
135 no I wouldn't say he's got any spark. I wouldn't say
Mary's got any spark but they were all here at one time
but they always have the same answer and probably it
130 might be a lesson to all of us, probably us older people
140 we should () be more careful what we say to the to them
when they are young, we should be more careful to show
a good example. Well the answer I get is well we find
better fellowship outside the Army.

135 Capt. Sad if that is true is it not? My own brother once er
145 was a Salvation Army bandsman but he says, it's not
exactly that but er he's decided that the fellowship
of the world outside suited his needs more than the =

= fellowship within the Salvation Army Band and er now plays
in an outside band back at home and yet for many years he
150 too was a practising Salvationist and a server of the Lord
and I'm sure that er he knew the Lord as his personal Saviour
but er it doesn't take very much sometimes does it to set
people on the wrong road, the smallest faction and without
which (), because of a personality can upset them and er,
155 the road away is a far wider one than the one back it's
always easier to take the road away than it is to come back.
I suppose we could use the analogy of it's like Gold Hill
it's fairly easy to walk down but it's very difficult to
come back up and er, these people who we know need to be
160 encouraged perhaps; need to be given a helping hand up the
hill that leads back to Jesus Christ. Two Ninety Four to close with.

SING - CHORUS - (I've cast my burden on the Saviour
And, while I pray
I shall find in Jesus all the help I need
on the upward way
It is not in sorrow to defeat me
Nor the cheering ray of hope to dim,
For the present shows God's mercy
And the future is with him.)

Capt. Captain's got his stilts on again this morning can we have
the right note Songster Leader please

SING - CHORUS

Capt. Amen and I'm glad that the future of my life and yours too
165 I know is with Jesus Christ and we can quite safely leave
it in his care and keeping. Shall we turn to the word of
God

e) Observations from transcript

1. Introduction

1. Capt. "I love him better everyday;
Close by his side, there I'll
abide;
I love him better everyday"

5. Then if there is that one with a word
(SING CHORUS)

PAUSE - 10 SECONDS

6. Capt. Perhaps we could sing 268 then

268 In my heart a song is ringing
For he pardoned me I know
SING CHORUS Just because he loved me so;
And I'm singing, singing, singing
Just because he loved me so.

7. Capt. That one with a word?

The activity is not initiated by calling on anyone in particular to testify rather an opportunity is made available by the officer should there be "that one with a word" (L5). There is then an element of choice in deciding whether or not to undertake this form of activity. The offer of an opportunity to speak is preceded by the reciting of the words of a chorus by the officer. This particular chorus ("I love him better everyday"), like all the choruses chosen by the officer in this extract, comes from the "experience and testimony" section of the song book. The choice of the chorus would appear not to be wholly arbitrary. Indeed I would suggest that the recital and singing of choruses plays an important part in the management of testimony time. Not only do they serve to re-emphasise the nature of the activity that members find themselves engaged in such that the mere announcement of a chorus number from the platform may be taken as a reliable harbinger of the imminent arrival of testimony time, a prospect which fills some of the younger members with dread, but also I would argue provides members with a set of resources from which to formulate a testimony and/or time out to gather their thoughts. In this context it is also worth observing that the singing or recital of a chorus can in and of itself be regarded as testimony.

Following the singing of the chorus there is a lapse of some 10 seconds. The silence is not however used by the Captain as evidence that there is no one "with a word" though from his introductory remarks it would seem that this was a possibility he had envisaged (Then if there is that one with a word" L5 (my emphasis)). A preference is registered by the Captain for defining members' silence as reflecting some intermediary condition between "having a word to say" and saying it, movement from which may be facilitated by the singing of another chorus (P'raps we could sing 268 then. L6).

The chorus is again one well known to members and contains a simple affirmation of personal faith and experience - Chorus 268 "In my heart a song is ringing". Following the singing of the chorus the captain reiterates his request for testimony ("That one with a word" L7). Tony Brewer stands up immediately.

2. First Testimony

Tony (standing) Well er I had to have a little titter to me-self
just then er we er yer know we were singing er () sounded
10 very nice huh you know and I and I was just listening and

er () it sounded, as yer know () we were full of the
Lord and er () and then as usual we were asked for a testimony
what the Lord or yer know whatever you feel (), er just
because one gives a testimony er it's wh what er a person
15 feels and er what I feel about my Lord this morning er well
the first song er, it says

"Holy Spirit come revealing (S.B. 378 v2)
All I must forsake confess
Tis for light I am appealing
20 I am here to seek thy healing
Thou art here to save and bless"

Then I though just then yes that's why er I'm here this
morning er that I hope my Fellowship with the Lord will be
strengthened therefore that's why we come that I might know
25 more of Him more than what He wa- that He wants me to do
and I pray that my service for Him today p'raps might bless
someone.

Capt.

Mm. Thank you. Two Hundred and Seventy Five.

Tony begins by disclosing that he had to "have a little titter to
meself" (L 8). What is there about the singing of a chorus and the
request for testimony that occasions laughter? What is there about
having to have a "little titter to meself" (L 8) that makes it a
point worth expressing publicly in a testimony? I want to try and
make sense of Tony's remarks using the transcript and my own memory
of that occasion.

(i) The occasioning of a "titter" is linked by Tony in some way
to the singing. There are a number of features of the singing which
seem worthwhile to Tony to index.

"Sounded very nice - huh you know and I and I was just listening
and er () it sounded as yer know we were full of the
Lord" (L 9-11)

(ii) These features however are not seen as being worthy of note
in.. their own right for they are linked by Tony to an additional
factor being asked for a testimony (and er () and then as usual
we're asked for a testimony L 11-12). Thus it seems that these features
of the singing (sounded very nice etc.) obtain some additional significance
from their juxtaposition to the request for testimony.

(iii) The collocation of "huh" with "sounded very nice" (L 9/10) may
be seen to qualify in some way the initial sense of the observation.

(iv) Tony links this observation (and also L 11 "sounded as yer
know () we were all full of the Lord) with the activity of just
listening ("and I and I was just listening L 10). What is special

about "just listening" as an activity that might make it worthwhile noting. We may begin by noting that "just listening" indexes a set of activities which Tony may not have been engaged in doing (e.g. not singing, not looking). following this particular "reading" we could argue that the significance of "just listening" lies in the fact that this is a partial and imperfect form of observation which on some occasions if relied on solely may serve to mislead. Indeed I would argue that Tony's observation can be read as an ironical comment on members' behaviour - that by just listening you could be mislead in your expectations about members.

(v) This reading is supported by what I take to be a reference to the silence (10 sec pause L6 'P'raps we could sing 268 then') which followed the Captain's call for testimony immediately following the singing of the chorus "I love him better everyday".

("and er () and then as usual we're asked for a testimony what the Lord er yer know whatever you feel ()" (L11-13). This understanding owed as much to Tony's gesture when delivering these lines as to the actual content of the words (raising his eyebrows, opening and throwing out his hands as if to say "and then what happens - nothing!"), though the device "and then" linking the observations about "sounding very nice" "we were all full of the Lord" and being "asked for a testimony" can be used in leading up to an anti-climax.)

I would suggest then that the sense of Tony's comments be formulated as follows.

"The singing sounded very nice as if we were full of the Lord but then when we're asked to testify nothing happens"

Thus I see Tony's having "to have a little titter" to himself to be grounded in an unexpected feeling of anti-climax stemming from the silence that followed the singing, the singing having led Tony to anticipate an eagerness on the part of those present to speak openly about their being "full of the Lord", an expectation which is not fulfilled.

Tony continues with a formulation of what a testimony is, a testimony is "what er a person feels" (L4) and what Tony feels about the Lord can be disclosed from the words of a song (S.B. 378 v2). This particular song, which comes from the Holiness Section of the songbook, is

used by Tony to display himself as a particular motivational type, as someone who is seeking the strengthening of his fellowship with the Lord. The testimony does not end there for Tony is concerned to present this "seeking after stronger fellowship with the Lord" as the motivating factor for all participants - "therefore that's why we come (L 24). And yet immediately following this pronouncement on the factors motivating all members Tony reverts back to the form of the first person singular spelling out what motivated him "that I may know more of Him than what He wa- that He wants me to do and I pray that my service for Him today p'raps might bless someone" (24-7). The testimony ends with this statement of intention.

Tony's account is difficult to explicate and that difficulty would seem to reside I would argue in the crossing over of three distinct axes of orientation in the discourse. (a) a personal orientation - How Tony Feels (e.g. "Well er I had" (L 8) "What I feel about" (L 14/15)) (b) an awareness of and orientation to the way things should be (e.g. Members should be willing to testify and/or (c) the way things are (e.g. the silence following the singing).

3. Link

Capt. Mm Thank you. Two Hundred and Seventy Five

Capt. "Wonderful Wonderful Jesus

30 In the heart He implanteth a song;
A song of deliverance, of courage, of strength
In the heart He implanteth a song."

SING CHORUS

Capt. Perhaps this morning we have a "song of deliverance" within our hearts but sometimes when the things of life seem

35 to be pressing in around us it's very difficult to have a "song of courage" and perhaps even more a "song of strength". For so often do we not try to do things in our own strength instead of coming back to the deliverance of Jesus Christ. Let's sing the chorus once again and

40 there is another opportunity should you so desire.

SING CHORUS

"Wonderful Wonderful Jesus
.....song."

PAUSE - 4 SECONDS

The Captain thanks Tony and calls out the number of a chorus which

he outlines. Whilst he does not explicitly refer to Tony's account, the exposition of the chorus does suggest that the Capt. is orientated to the issues raised therein and is making available a set of resources for making sense of these.

Following the singing the Captain (L33-40) singles out three phrases from the chorus linking these to different hierarchical states of Christian experience characterised as being evidenced by

- (a) having a song of deliverance
- (b) having a song of courage
- (c) having a song of strength

By linking these three phrases to different states of Christian experience the Captain may be seen as making available to members a framework for developing an understanding of their own personal experience and re-casting it in terms of a theological discourse.

In his exposition the Captain supposes and makes this supposition known that all the members probably have a "song of deliverance within their hearts" (L33/4) (ie that they can testify to being "saved". He does not then raise for consideration the possibility that the silence which followed the call for testimonies indicates that those assembled may have no spiritual experience to testify to. Rather he suggests that there are phases in a member's experience where they may find it difficult, when "things of life seem to be pressing in around" them to have a "song of courage" and perhaps even more a "song of strength". The "song of strength" is characterised as being the most difficult song to sing because of the purported tendency of members to want to do things in their "own strength" (L38) rather than "coming back to the deliverance of Jesus Christ" (L38/9).

Through his exposition the Captain can be seen as providing members not only with a framework for inspecting their own experience and constructing a testimony but also an aetiology of and remedy for personal trials and tribulations. Thus times of personal tribulation ("when things of life seem to be pressing in around us" (L34/5) are exemplified metaphorically by an inability to sing a "song of courage" or "strength" and are presented as flowing from the pursuit of "life in our own strength" (L37/8) to be rectified by "relying on the deliverance of Jesus Christ" (L38/9).

The fact that a further opportunity for testimony is made available suggests that the Captain may have been orientated to the possibility that his remarks may have provided members with additional grounds from which to speak.

The chorus is followed by a 4 second pause which is interrupted by Eva the Home League Secretary.

4. Second Testimony

Eva Well they do say that it's a sign of getting old when (standing) yer start looking back and remembering yer younger days but er last Sunday afternoon the songsters sang "Victors Acclaimed" um and this used to be a great favourite
45 of mine. When I was er about our Debbie's age - teenager er I think the first time I heard it was um I think the record must have been made round about that time and er and er me cousin Clive who's at the Citadel now had the record and they had the record player which
50 we never had at home and as I used to spend a lot of time at their house er this was the record that I always used to put on - um in fact I think me Auntie Annie got fed up hearing it 'cos she used to hide it when she heard I was coming 'cos it was always the first I put
55 on and then I got to thinking about those days there were ever such a lot of people at that house um particularly those youngsters and er we used to go, a lot of the girls from here because Clive was in the Citadel Young Band and we were always after the Junior Band lads there
60 and of course that's what we went for really um, but looking back I was looking round last Sunday afternoon thinking how many of us () there were that used to knock around together then that aren't here now um such crowds of us in fact I lost count I tried to count up how many
65 young people there were. Teenagers that um were all here in the corps then and how many there are now that 'ave sort of grown up and are still here um I'm not saying that we're any better than they are I don't think that yer know I don't really think that I/you can say
70 that but it seems such a pity that um the number are not here um () I'm glad that I'm here I'm glad that I'm to be found still loving and serving the Lord er and I pray er that perhaps one day we may have the joy

seeing some of the young people well they're not young people they're all middle aged like me (smiles) but - eh, some of the people that were in the same age group as me and that were all in our corps. We may have the privilege of perhaps seeing some of them come back to serve God's (house)[?]

Eva does not directly link her remarks to the foregoing chorus instead she presents a memory from her childhood for consideration in a manner reminiscent of professional story tellers.

From the introduction it can be ascertained that Eva will be remembering her "younger days" (L 39) and that this remembering will for her reveal something more significant than just her age. Eva seems oriented to furnishing a reason as to why she came to be "remembering her younger days". She presents this as being occasioned by the songsters' singing of "Victors Acclaimed" the previous Sunday. It seems that this particular song has strong associations for her with a particular period in her life. So it is that Army music may operate to bind together and "fix" a particular experience in members' memories in much the same way as its secular counterparts. Eva provides a string of biographical details and information concerning the circumstances in which she first came to hear the song - during "get-togethers" at her cousin's home.

A significant feature of these gatherings appears to have been the large number of "Teenagers" who at one time were all here in the corps (L 65). The significance of the high attendance would not seem to be devalued in any way by the attributed mode of involvement i.e. chasing the "Junior Band lads" - "that's what we went for really" (L 59/60). Thus the attributed absence of spiritual motivation which might lead one to expect a high wastage rate from the corps is not seen by Eva as devaluing in any sense the thrust of her story i.e. that there was in living memory a time when large numbers of youngsters attended Linden Corps and yet now only a few are left. The remembrance of things past is thus used by Eva to reveal to those present the fact that many youngsters have left the Army and that this concerns her.

In talking about those who've left, Eva does not make available as a topic for consideration the possibility that they could be "loving and serving the Lord" elsewhere. Indeed the juxtaposition of the phrase expressing gladness that she is to be found "still

loving and serving the Lord" (L72 my emphasis) with the phrase expressing pity that those with whom she used to go to Sunday School no longer attend (L70/71 "but it seems such a pity that um the number are not here um ()") suggests that she equates absence from the Army with absence from the Lord.

The purpose in directing members' attention to the wastage would not seem to be to cast those remaining as "Heroes of the Faith" and/or those who've left as "Villains of the Piece" rather to register her pity and concern. She makes little if any attempt to develop an aetiology of wastage apart from denying that those remaining are "any better" (L66). What is made abundantly clear though is that she is glad that she is here.

"I'm glad that I'm here I'm glad that I'm to be found still loving and serving the Lord" (L71/2)

A peculiar feature of this part of the discourse as compared to the speaker's earlier utterances is the employment of passive voice and emphatic personal pronouns when speaking of her relationship with the Lord. I want to consider the work that such devices may achieve.

The use of the passive voice has the effect of placing a distance between a state of affairs and an agent in such a way as to de-emphasise personal agency. In this context I want to suggest that the phrase "I'm to be found still loving and serving the Lord" may be read as instructing the hearer to play down any consideration of the part that an individual (Eva) has played in maintaining her (Eva's) membership and attribute her (Eva's) continued presence in the corps to some unspecified agency (in this case to the working and outpouring of some divine agency). The use of this device may, I would argue, enable the speaker to enhance his/her spiritual standing for it allows the speaker to display his/herself as someone through whom the agency of God has worked and is continuing to work for he/she is present within God's house now.

Eva concludes her testimony with a statement of intent, formulated as a prayer, a divine ambition,

73 "and I pray that perhaps one day we may have the joy
 seeing some of the young people well they're not young
 people they're all middle aged like me (smiles) but
 - eh. Some of the people that were in the same age group
 as me and that were all in our corps. We may have the

privilege of perhaps seeing some of them come back to
 serve God's (house)[?]

The prayer intimates that their return will be occasioned solely by some divine agency, no request is made for divine guidance or orders concerning the organisational work of members - her hope is that of the spectator directed to the "joy" of witnessing their return.

Age (see introductory remarks) would seem to be an important feature for Eva for she corrects herself ("Well they're not young people really they're all middle aged like me (smiles) but eh" L 74-5), though the intention would seem to be more directed to the bringing-off of humour than concern for recording a "true and fair" account. Thus the employment of personal emphasis "like me" after the designation of those who've left as "middle aged" and the phrase "but eh" indicating that she is not unaware that such a designation might be humourously called into question. Eva concludes by re-iterating her hope of seeing those who've left returning.

5. Link

80 Capt. Thank you Eva. My mind goes back as Eva spoke of people she could think of who are no longer serving God and my memory triggered off my days in the Junior Band and I just quickly in my mind's eye went to the Junior Band that I used to play in its it was in those days even
 85 then almost well I think it was as big as our Senior Band here and out of all those I can only think of four, as I quickly flitted round that are now still within the ranks of the Salvation Army er in any way serving God out of about 20 to 25 lads and some of them who
 90 did eventually go through to the senior band but now these many years after there's only four left serving and I sometimes wonder why is it that so many fall by the wayside what what is it that causes people to go even when they brung up within the Army Juniors some
 95 of them with Salvation Army parents to guide them in the right way why is it that so many people fall away from God and er as Eva says I don't think it's that we can say that we have been better for I am always reminded of the phrase my mother used to quote to me on such occasions

100 "there but for the grace of God" and I think that's
 it it's the grace of God within our lives that has kept
 us here and we need to pray for our comrades who have
 fallen by the wayside. We do hope of course that there
 is some spark left within their lives and er perhaps
 105 yer know we need to pray for these people who have known
 Jesus Christ equally as much for as those who have never
 for there is a sense in which er they are more under
 the judgement of Jesus Christ than those who have never
 known him. For Christ said that we would be judged according
 110 to the life we have received and if they have sat under
 the message of the gospel for x number of years they
 must have received some light into their souls and for
 those who have never been to Sunday School for those
 who have never heard very well the gospel of Jesus Christ
 115 they have not received as much light and therefore will
 be judged accordingly so for our comrades who we once
 used to have amongst us who have fallen by the wayside
 we may just pray that God will continue to shed his
 light upon them and that one day they may come back
 120 to his fold. Can we sing 296 and then there's just an
 opportunity for one more should someone feel they'd
 like to give their testimony.

"If Jesus goes with me I'll go anywhere;
 'Tis heaven to me wherever I be,
 125 if he is there.
 I count it a privilege here His
 cross to share;
 If Jesus goes with me I'll go
 anywhere.

SONG - CHORUS x 2
 PAUSE - 5 SECONDS

The Captain links Eva's comments to his personal biography (L 80
 providing an additional e.g. of wastage, though in this case it
 concerns a formal institutional arrangement i.e. the Y.P. Band in
 contrast to a group that "used to knock around together" (L 62/3).

The size of the Y.P. Band (the Junior Band was as big as our Senior
 Band L 85, about 20-25 L 89) indicates that wastage is not a problem
 confined to smaller corps like Linden.

The Captain unlike Eva does explicitly allow for the possibility that those who've left the Army may still be "serving God" in some other capacity ("within the ranks of the the Salvation Army er in any way serving God" L 87/89).

From the collection of lapsed members the Captain separates out for consideration three cohorts - those who left after "(going) through to the senior band" (L 90), those "brung up within the Army Juniors" (Sunday School) (L 94) and those brought up in the Sunday School and having Salvation Army parents. (L 94/5).

The fact that there is wastage amongst members of these cohorts would seem to be especially significant. This significance would seem to obtain from the presumption that as members of those groups these individuals were especially privileged ("brung up within Army Juniors some of them with Salvation Army parents to guide them in the right way" L 94/5) and thus their departure is deemed even more remarkable - hence the use of the qualifier "even when" (L 94).

Whilst the Captain evinces wonderment at the fact that so many people fall from God (L 96/7) he eschews any direct concern with the reasons for and circumstances surrounding their departures in favour of a consideration of why members don't fall from God. Thus after posing the question (L 97) he adds "er as Eva says I don't think it's that we can say we have been better" L 97/98.

Like Eva he mentions that "our" continuing membership cannot be explained in terms of personal merit but rather it is a matter of divine grace (L100/2) "and I think that's it it's the grace of God within our lives that has kept us here"). This observation not only provided the Captain with an explanation but also a remedy ("we need to pray" L102).

Those who've left the Kingdom of God would seem to constitute a special theological category, for they are characterised as standing "more under the judgement of Jesus Christ than those who have never known him" (L107/109) - judgement varying according to the life they have received.

The Captain concludes with a chorus (L 123 "If Jesus goes with me I'll go anywhere") making a further opportunity available for testimony

though this time the opportunity is restricted -"and then there's just an opportunity for one more should they feel they'd like to give their testimony" (L 120-2).

The words of the chorus echo the Captain's thesis that continued membership of God's fold (the corps) is a matter of divine grace (1100/2), of having Jesus with you for "If Jesus is with me I'll go anywhere" no matter how difficult the circumstances or trials become "'Tis heaven to me wherever I be if he is there". The words also provide a potential resource for discounting the view that wastage may be related to lack of fellowship, members' misdemeanours and/or incompetence (a possibility raised earlier in the thesis by John and Joan Pepler and later in this extract by Wilf the C.S.M.) for it allows one to argue that if these individuals really had known Jesus, then sharing in such tribulations would have been counted as a privilege, "a cross to share".

6. Third Testimony

130 Wilf Well er it seems we're going back in days and perhaps
(standing) wondering why er that er Eva was saying why the people
aren't here again the youngsters that were here, probably
there may be an answer, probably, the answer I get from
125 my kids why they aren't here () especially should we
135 say Gordon when we go back, he's thirty three now he's,
no I wouldn't say he's got any spark. I wouldn't say
Mary's got any spark but they were all here at one time
but they always have the same answer and probably it
130 might be a lesson to all of us, probably us older people
140 we should () be more careful what we say to them when
they are young, we should be more careful to show a
good example. Well the answer I get is well we find
better fellowship outside the Army.

Wilf begins by formulating the sense of the preceding discourse characterising its thematic as "going back in days and perhaps wondering why.....the people aren't here" (L 130-2). He displays a concern for his remarks to be treated as elaborating on that topic, hence the use of "we're" L 130 emphasising the claim for continuity with the preceding speakers and de-emphasising his personal initiative. It would seem then that he is concerned to establish legitimacy for what he is about to say in terms of what has been said already,

to provide himself with a mandate for speaking on this topic.

Like the previous speakers Wilf (C.S.M.) is concerned with establishing "why the people aren't here" (L 131/2). The answer he volunteers, which carries an air of uncertainty about it ("probably there may be an answer" L122/3), is one given to him by his children. Though the children are now depicted as having no "spark" (L 136/7), imagery I take to refer to an attributed lack of spiritual sensitivity and experience, the phrase "but they were all here at one time" (L 137. suggests that there was a time when they were members and thereby implies that "something" must have occurred in the interim to occasion their departure.

An important feature of the reason that the children give for leaving appears to be its invariance, for prior to its disclosure Wilf reveals that "they always have the same answer" (L 138). I would suggest that this device facilitates the portrayal of their account as being valid. Wilf also intimates that there may be something to learn from their account, "a lesson to all of us!" (L 139), of special significance to the older members.

The reason that the children give is that they "find better fellowship outside the Army" (L142/3). Wastage is thus directly related by Wilf's children to the structuring of activities in the corps - the absence of fellowship. The remedy is delineated in terms of interactional competence, involving for example taking care in "what we say to them when they are young" (L140/1), "showing a good example (L 141-2) recognising youth as a category for special pleading, requiring particular care.

With the disclosure of the reason the speaker concludes. There is no sacred invocation or elaboration (compare Tony and Eva).

7.

135 Capt. Sad if that is true is it not? My own brother once er
145 was a Salvation Army bandsman but he says, it's not
exactly that but er he's decided that the fellowship
of the world outside suited his needs more than the
fellowship within the Salvation Army Band and er now plays
in an outside band back at home and yet for many years he
140 too was a practising Salvationist and a server of the Lord

and I'm sure that er he knew the Lord as his personal saviour
but er it doesn't take very much sometimes does it to set
people on the wrong road, the smallest fraction and without
which (), because of a personality can upset them and er,
155 the road away is a far wider one than the one back it's
always easier to take the road away than it is to come back.
I suppose we could use the analogy of it's like Gold Hill
it's fairly easy to walk down but it's very difficult to
come back up and er, these people who we know need to be
160 encouraged perhaps; need to be given a helping hand up the
hill that leads back to Jesus Christ. Two Ninety Four to close with.
SING - CHORUS - (I've cast my burden on the Saviour
And, while I pray
I shall find in Jesus all the help I need
on the upward way
It is not in sorrow to defeat me
Nor the cheering ray of hope to dim,
For the present shows God's mercy
And the future is with Him.)

Capt. Captain's got his stilts on again this morning can we have
the right note Songster Leader please

SING - CHORUS

Capt. Amen and I'm glad that the future of my life and yours too
165 I know is with Jesus Christ and we can quite safely leave
it in his care and keeping. Shall we turn to the word of
God

The Captain, whilst expressing sadness at the possibility that people
leave because they find better fellowship outside the Army, neither
explicitly accepts nor regrets Wilf's (C.S.M.'s) explanation, though
the use of the conditional mood does indicate some doubt as to its
veracity ("sad if that is true is it not?" L 144 my emphasis). He
continues with another account relating to his personal biography
which he uses to present another "reading" as to why members leave
the Army, one which I would argue can be seen as shifting the burden
of responsibility or blame for wastage away from the interactional
work of members to the leaver himself and thus foreclosing consideration
of the efficacy of members' activities.

Thus the reason that the Captain's brother is portrayed as giving
for leaving is not that he found better fellowship in the world

outside but that the "fellowship of the world outside suited his needs more than the fellowship within the Salvation Army Band" (L 146-8) (a distinction which would allow members to question the adequacy of the theory that wastage arises because members find better fellowship outside). In this way the question of wastage becomes redirected to an examination of the individual's condition and need. This emphasis is further facilitated by the characterisation of a "practising Salvationist and a server of the Lord" who "knew the Lord as his personal saviour" as being yet vulnerable to what are deemed relatively minor eventualities, ("but it doesn't take very much sometimes does it to set people on the wrong road, the smallest faction and without which () because of a personality can upset them and er " L 152-4) and also by the portrayal of the process of leaving as involving a matter of individual responsibility and decision. Thus leaving is depicted as - taking the road away - (see 155) implying a situation of choice (and a relatively easy one at that) with the individual himself the agent. ("the road away is far wider than the one back, it's always easier to take the road away than it is to come back" 155-6). So it is that the possibility that the remaining members of the corps are in some culpable for wastage is de-emphasised and the consideration of the issues that Wilf raised foreclosed.

Whilst the remaining members' responsibility for wastage is not directly considered or emphasised, the Captain does remind them of their responsibility to give a "helping hand" (L160) to those in need. In this way remedial action is directed to the winning back of those who have left rather than calling into question the efficacy of the existing nature of organisational arrangements and relationships. The notion that the "smallest faction" (L 153) may index a deeper problematic relating to the interactional work of members to the lack of fellowship is ignored. The problem and solution is presented as lying fairly and squarely with those who chose to depart,

This thesis is echoed in the chorus which entreates members "to cast their burden on the Saviour" and in the Captain's final remark.

f) Discussion

The accounts of personal experience examined in this chapter arise in the course of a Sunday morning meeting Testimony time. In this section I will examine some of the practices through which the management

of testimony time and the giving of testimony are accomplished. I will deal with each of these aspects in turn before considering some fugitive points which arise within their accounts relating to membership..

1. The Management of Testimony time

Testimonies don't just happen they are made to happen; time and materials (reasons for speaking, ways of speaking etc) have to be provided for their accomplishment. Testimony periods have a beginning, a closing and a linking structure.

The leader of the meeting controls the opening and closing of testimony time and in the interim provides members with a set of sensitising devices for examining and re-casting their personal experience.

The activity is initiated by the officer who, following the recital of a chorus from the "experience and testimony" section of the song book, formally announces the availability of an opportunity for "having a word". The silence that follows the singing of the chorus is not treated by the officer as indicating that no one wishes to avail themselves of this opportunity (a possibility seemingly envisaged by the officer at the commencement of testimony time - hence use of conditional mood) but rather as reflecting some intermediary condition between having a word to say and saying it, movement from which may be facilitated by the singing of another chorus.

I would suggest that the recital and singing of choruses plays an important part in the management of Testimony time in providing members with a set of resources from which to formulate a testimony and/or time-out to gather their thoughts. Capt. Parsons' exposition of the chorus "Wonderful wonderful Jesus" provides an illustration of this point. This is discussed in more detail on page 183 of this thesis. Through this exposition the Capt. may be seen as not only commenting on the issues raised by Tony's testimony but also as making available to members a framework for inspecting their own personal experience and recasting it in terms of a theological discourse. In so doing he provides members with a theological aetiology of and remedy for personal trials and tribulations which are characterised as stemming from the tendency of members to do things in their "own strength" (L 38), the remedy for which is for members to rely on Jesus Christ for deliverance.

As the testimony period progresses, so the stock of sensitising devices and resources is elaborated by members.

In managing testimony time the Capt. makes use of his own personal experience, linked together in some cases with choruses, to comment on members' accounts. Following Eva's testimony he links her comment to his own experience and provides a story which he uses to make a number of points relating to the question of wastage. The devices which he uses in the formulation of the story and its exposition focus attention on the individual need and condition of those who have departed. This is achieved in two ways. Firstly he depicts those individuals who leave having been brought up within the Sunday School and with Army parents as having a privileged status; hence the use of the qualifier "even when" (L 94) ("even when they brought up within Army Juniors some of them with Salvation Army parents to guide them in the right way"); and secondly he characterises those who've left as "having fallen by the wayside", as falling away from God (see L 92/, 96/7 and again L102/3). This latter characterisation also signals the beginning of a theological elaboration of wastage.

The Capt. continues with an exploration of what the fact of members' departure says about those remaining and thus what it might reveal about wastage. Like Eva he ascribes the continuing presence of members to the grace of God working within their lives and denies that it reflects on their merit. A theological elaboration of wastage is continued throughout the identification of those who've left as constituting a special theological category and as a result standing more under the judgement of Jesus Christ than those who had never known him. The elaboration of the aetiology of wastage in terms of a theological causal texture facilitates formulation of a theological (in this case spiritual) remedy i.e. the winning back of those departed through prayer. The decision to return is construed as being dependent on God's mercy and the receptivity of the individual soul, with members being entreated to give a helping hand. The chorus which the Capt. selects ("If Jesus goes with me I'll go anywhere", see p 188 - 190) provides authority for the Capt.'s thesis that membership of the corps is a matter of divine grace, and together with the devices discussed above provides a resource for foreclosing the consideration that fellowship within the corps might affect wastage and thus may require remedial action.

The view that lack of fellowship and members' misdemeanours and incompetence are casuative in respect of wastage is however, as we have seen in the context of After-meeting-get-togethers, one that is seriously entertained, and indeed one that is raised later in the testimony period by Wilf. It is notable in this respect that in the account that the Capt. gives following Wilf's testimony he can be seen as making available a number of devices for formulating his preferred reading as to why it is members leave the Army. I would argue that this reading can be seen as directing the allocation of responsibility for wastage away from the activities of members and placing it with the leaver, and thus foreclosing the necessity to consider the issues that Wilf raises in respect of the efficacy of members' activities. There are a number of devices discoverable in the Capt.'s account (L 144-167) which illustrate this.

Thus we find that in relating the factors that he attributes as having led his brother to leave the Capt. explicitly excludes the possibility that his brother found better fellowship outside the Army. Through distinguishing between "finding better fellowship outside the Army" (L142/3) and "finding that the fellowship of the world outside suited his needs (my emphasis) more than the fellowship within the Salvation Army band", the Captain makes available this distinction which would allow members to question the adequacy of Wilf's theory that wastage arises because fellowship within the corps is not as good as fellowship outside the corps. The re-direction of the question of wastage away from the activities of corps members to an examination of the individual need and condition of those who'd departed is further facilitated by the characterisation of a "practising Salvationist" and a "server of the Lord" (L 150) 141) as being yet vulnerable to what are characterised as relatively minor eventualities ("it doesn't take very much sometimes does it so set people on the wrong road, the smallest faction and without which () because of a personality can upset them" (L 152-154), and also by the depiction of the process of leaving as involving a matter of individual responsibility and choice. The words of the chorus "I've cast my burden on the Saviour" provide an additional resource for supporting the Capt.'s thesis which is re-echoed in his closing of the Testimony time L 164-167)

"Amen and I'm glad that the future of my life and yours too I know is with Jesus Christ and we can quite safely leave it in his care and keeping....."

So it is then that the Captain may use his own personal experience and choruses to make available a different reading to a member's view of wastage.

2. Giving Testimony

In each testimony we find that members make use of a number of resources to make available to those assembled the reasons why they come to be speaking. This is accomplished in a number of ways - Tony presents his thoughts as having been occasioned by the singing of a chorus and the request for testimony, a set of events which he displays as having led him to have a "little titter" to himself which I interpreted as being grounded in an unexplicated and unrealised expectation that members eagerness to sing would be matched by an eagerness to testify.

Eva in her testimony depicts her remarks as having been occasioned by the singing of "Victors Acclaimed" - the song portrayed as a key that triggered off memories of her younger days and gave her cause to reflect on the high wastage of Sunday School members and acknowledge her grateful thanks for the outpouring of grace in her own life.

Wilf links what he has to say to the preceding discussion by homogenising it under the theme of "we're going back in days and perhaps wondering why.....the people aren't here." (L 130-2).

The singing of choruses, songs and childhood and contemporary personal experiences are not used only to provide members with grounds for speaking but also to comment on aspects of their lives. Thus in Tony's account we find that he uses the singing of the chorus and the silence following the call to testify to make available to members the fact that the enthusiasm reflected in the singing was not matched by an eagerness to testify and the words of a song to display himself as a particular motivational type and to pronounce on what motivates members. (These are discussed in more detail on pp 179-82).

Eva formulates her memories of her childhood experience to reflect on wastage and uses this to record her thanks to God for her continued membership. In so doing she displays herself as a motivational type, as someone through whom the grace of God has continued to work and who anticipates with joy the return of the departed and makes an

Members' accounts of their personal experiences are then designed to do specific work. This can be clearly seen in Wilf's testimony which simply makes available a view as to why the youngsters leave. This view, which he records as having been given to him by his children, suggests that wastage is related to the nature and quality of social relationships that predominate in the corps i.e. to the absence of fellowship. The account contains a number of devices which seemed to be designed to authorise this view e.g. the portrayal of this explanation as one given to him by his own children and one that they always give and as something which contains a lesson for all members but in particular the older members in respect of dealing with young people. (For a more detailed discussion see pages 190-1).

3. Some fugitive points concerning membership

In the course of their accounts members made a number of references to membership not treated in the foregoing discussion. The following preferences were recorded:

- Members should not only be able but also eager to testify about their spiritual experience (Tony Brewer)..
- A competent member is someone who is orientated to seeking a stronger relationship with the Lord, no other orientation is admissable (Tony Brewer).
- Members should know the Lord as their personal saviour and place their lives in his care and leave it their (Captain Parsons).
- Members should take particular care in dealing with the young and show a good example (Wilf Sampson).
- Members should give a "helping hand" to enable those who've left to find their way back. (Captain Parsons)

The Capt. distinguishes between three levels of competence specifically in relation to the spiritual dimension. Each level is exemplified metaphorically in relation to three songs of experience - a song of deliverance, a song of courage and a song of strength. In addition the Capt. characterises those who leave the Kingdom of God as constituting a special theological category and as standing more under the judgement of Jesus Christ than those who have never known him. Finally we may note that the fact of continued membership is not regarded as signifying an individual's merit but rather as reflecting the outpouring of God's grace. We may note however that the fact of continued membership

does allow the individual to display himself as one who through the agency of God has worked and is continuing to work and thus enable the member to enhance his spiritual standing.

In this chapter I have tried to indicate how members manage testimony time and the giving of testimony. I have shown how members use a variety of resources for providing reasons for speaking, for interrogating their own experience and recasting it in terms of a theological causal texture. A prominent feature of members' accounts of personal experience is that they are designed to do specific work, to make available readings of the features of their lives. As I suggested in the introduction to this chapter these points raise a number of questions concerning the sociological analysis of religious organisations. For if, as the analysis in this chapter suggests, members' recourse to and use of theological categories and discourse is related to such concerns as providing materials for testimony, for understanding personal troubles, for directing attention away from an examination of the relationship between the activities of members and wastage and for focussing on the condition and need of the individual leaver; then those theorists who choose to focus on the assembly of practises which produce talk as religious talk will have missed a very important feature of such talk, namely that it arises out of and is used to elaborate members' practical concerns. This, and other points considered in this thesis, raise a number of questions concerning the conception and analysis of the features of membership in religious organisations. These will be considered more fully in the final chapter.

I have come to the end of the explication of members' conversational orientations and sense-making activities and it would perhaps be opportune at this point to relocate the analysis within the wider confines of organisational analysis and to consider the contribution of this work to the study of organisations as well as the direction for future research; for I am conscious that much more work has to be done before we arrive at an understanding of a crucial feature of organisational life, the way in which members shape-up their lives.

The thesis originated with a practical question concerning the ways in which members of a Salvation Army Corps manage their lives. A literature survey showed the study of religious organisations to be an under-researched area and revealed little substantive or methodological concern for the analysis of organisational life from the point of view of those actively engaged in its midst.

It was suggested that a study aimed at explicating the features of organisational life in a Salvation Army Corps as oriented to and conveyed by members would extend the theory of organisations not only in terms of the range of organisations "heard from" but also in relation to a growing though as yet comparatively under-developed aspect of theory - the analysis of organisational life at the level of the members.

Drawing in the main on the work of Garfinkel I endeavoured to develop an approach to the study of religious organisations which remains adequate at the level of social interaction and which at the same time allows a measure of analytical purchase to be gained on the features of organisational life as oriented to and conveyed by members. The approach focuses on members' characterisation of organisational life, written and oral, and the practices through which these can be managed and uses the insights and techniques derived from conversation analysis.

Whilst the promise of what might be broadly termed an ethnomethodological approach has been advocated and acknowledged, very little use has been made of this form of enquiry within the general field of organisational analysis and I would tentatively suggest that the specific approach developed here in respect of the study of religious organisations may be of more general utility.

The work of explicating members' concept of membership begins with an examination of the officially constituted terminology, music, architecture and dress. These aspects play an important part in the categorisation and production of members' lives. They constitute part of the formal array of descriptors that are used to characterise the features of members' lives. Whilst (with the exception of music) these features are common to all organisations seldom do they figure in organisational theory.

An examination of the stock of descriptors used in this organisation reveals the distinctive and pervasive influence of the military metaphor. This metaphor informs the formal classification and production of the full range of members' activities, biography and material environment, furnishing a distinctive set of linguistic categories, musical forms, architecture and dress.

The extensive use of the military metaphor would seem to offer some measure of support for Thompson's proposition that a feature of membership of religious organisations as compared to other types of organisation is members' concern for ensuring the symbolic appropriateness of the features of their lives. However the examination of the origin and subsequent development of the military metaphor and members' discursive treatment of this feature does suggest that the concern for and maintenance of symbolic appropriateness is not unalloyed.

The decision to adopt the military metaphor reflected a number of contingencies - the gradual sneaking-in of military terms by Booth's co-workers (in particular Railton and Cadman); the fit between that metaphor and Booth's call for action and his declared preference for an autocratic style of leadership; and the pervasiveness of the military model and metaphor in Victorian society. However the gradual and extensive re-categorisation and re-organisation of members' activities, material environment and mode of dress consequent on the change of the movement from the Christian Mission to the Salvation Army does reflect a concern, on the part of the leadership at least, for maintaining stylistic unity once the decision had been made.

An examination of members' discursive treatment of this feature reveals a pluriformity of orientations and indicates that symbolic appropriateness was but one of a number of concerns. It was suggested that one of the reasons why the leadership should continue to be particularly sensitive to this issue and show a reluctance to admit any major dilution of the

metaphor is the part it played and continues to play in maintaining the separate identity of the movement and thus its very existence. If this is so then it would imply that not only are notions of and concerns for maintaining symbolic appropriateness alloyed but that also they are tied into different interests within the organisation. This introduces a legitimacy dimension into the discussion of the part that considerations of symbolic appropriateness play within religious organisations.

The examination of the relationship between symbols, metaphors and the features and practices adopted within an organisation remains an under-developed area of organisational analysis in general. Whilst I would agree with Thompson's claims regarding the importance of this topic I do however want to make some qualifications concerning the way in which this area is to be explored and the kinds of claims that can be sustained for this type of analysis. An exploration of the set of preferences and the degree of congruence between these and particular symbols and metaphors revealed through the investigation of members' accounts can only provide a preliminary guide to the way in which members manage their lives. This is because this type of analysis fails to consider the way in which members defer to such preferences. A knowledge of members' preferences for particular symbols and the degree of correspondence between these and models-for organisation alone then cannot provide a viable theory that would account for the production of the features found in organisations. For in order to derive an adequate theory we need in addition to know how members relate social phenomena to the various descriptive and prescriptive categories and organise them in order to produce the features they do produce.

The explication of members' descriptive categories however, together with their preference does, I would suggest, constitute a valuable enterprise in terms of making available the ethos of members and thus providing some indication of the range and types of organisational practices that are likely to be regarded as being acceptable. Such work is particularly useful in the context of managing planned change within organisations, for those proposals which are seen as being commensurate with the preference of members, and in particular the formal statement of preference (in the case of the Salvation Army commensurate with the root metaphor of the military) are more likely to be accepted than those that cannot demonstrate such a fit. An important feature for consideration in this context is the extent to which the features of organisational life are tied to the root metaphor. If, as would seem to be the case with the

Salvation Army, the metaphor becomes incarnate, inextricably embedded in its arrangements, then the possibility for change would seem to be limited to those changes that can be shown to match the semantic field covered by the metaphor ; for a move to change the metaphor would almost certainly be regarded as constituting a threat to its very being.

I would suggest then that an investigation of the formal array of descriptors can, provided one recognises the provisional nature of this kind of analysis, make a useful contribution to the understanding of organisational life in general in terms of making available something of the ethos of the members and the nature and range of resources available to members for characterising their activities and experience.

The investigation continues with the exploration of the set of preferences informing the characterisation work of members and the production of their activities.

The analysis begins with the formal statement of preference found in the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers. Rules are a significant feature of organisational life and since the time of Weber have occupied a central place in theoretical accounts of organisational life. Too often however this theoretical interest has been informed by a restricted and unwarranted conception of organisational life as rule-governed. So we find in the works of Weber and Selznick that rules are used as a resource for deciding the sense of members' activities. It is to Bittner that we are indebted for revealing this theoretical myopia and for establishing an alternative programme of enquiry; the examination of the way in which members defer to such programmic statements of preference.

Whilst I regard the explication of naturally occurring interaction as fundamental to the development of organisational theory, I would make a claim for the continued study of formal rules and regulations though in a different guise to that envisaged by Weber and Selznick. Rather than treating such statements of preference as definitive of rationality I have argued for their analytical relevance in terms of providing a guide to the leaders' conventional orientations and an indication of potentialities for discretion and sources of tension. This claim resides on the presumption that a text will not admit just any reading and on the warrant of the test of adequacy ie. that the "readings" so generated meet the requirement of cultural appropriateness. This type of analysis is essentially exploratory concerned as it is with generating, albeit

from materials grounded in the text, some propositions regarding the leaders' conception of membership and the use to which such materials may be directed. It may nonetheless produce some useful insights into a significant feature of members' lives and may when extended over a range of organisations help to clarify our understanding of the generalities and peculiarities of organisational life.

In respect of the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers, using the resources discoverable in the text I was able to derive a unitary conception of social organisation. I demonstrated how these resources could be used to provide a powerful device for conferring legitimacy on the leadership enabling them to maintain control over the settlement of claims for competency. It could be that such a device has more general currency within the management of organisations.

Paradoxically however the analysis of the text also reveals a set of resources which admit the possibility of claims which do not arise in formally prescribed ways being considered competent. This possibility is grounded in an analytical observation but is also granted substantive authority in the Orders and Regulations. Summarily stated, the analytical basis of this claim resides on Garfinkel's observations relating to the essential incompleteness of all prescriptions and Bittner's observations concerning the problem of transforming a pluriform mode of existence (everyday life) into a uniform mode (the Christian way of life). Thus the possibility of claims arising in ways not formally prescribed being considered competent can be said to constitute a general feature of organisational life.

A peculiar feature of this organisation however is that this pluralist conception of competence is publically acknowledged in the text. A significant feature of this acknowledgement is that it is located by members in relation to a distinct conceptual system - the theology of the priesthood of all believers, a theology which affords all souls competency.

It was suggested that this conception of membership was likely to give rise to possible sources of tension in terms of providing a resource for questioning the authority and the decisions of the leadership. Two illustrations provided confirmation of this possibility.

It is likely that a tension of this kind is to be found in educational, political and trade union organisations, for as Bittner argues it is

perhaps endemic to say any organisation which seeks to transmit a homogenised interpretation of the world whilst seeking to operate on a democratic basis.

Following the analysis of the Orders and Regulations for Soldiers the focus of enquiry switches to an explication of the socially situated manifestation of preference. This marks a change in analytical focus away from a consideration of disembodied characterisations of organisational life to a consideration of the conventional orientations that members defer to and deploy in the course of the management of their activities.

The analysis moves beyond the explication of preference to a consideration of the practices through which depictions of membership can be assembled and the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster and the management of Testimony Time can be accomplished. Whilst the formulation of accounts of membership is a ubiquitous, though rarely addressed, feature of organisational life in general the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster and the Management of Testimony Time though significant and recurring features in this organisation are more restricted in their location. However I would argue that an explication of these localised practices does have a broader significance for organisational theory in terms of contributing to the understanding of a general phenomenon - members' verbal practices.

The explication of the socially situated manifestation of preferences was derived from an analysis of transcripts taken from audio recordings of naturally-occurring interaction drawn from three arenas of situated activity (i) an after-meeting get-together, (ii) a census meeting, (iii) testimony time. I consider in turn members' verbal depictions of membership, the organisation of these accounts and the management of the selection of a Deputy Bandmaster and Testimony Time.

An analysis of members' verbal exchanges revealed an amalgam of diverse and sometimes conflicting conceptions of membership. They focussed on such issues as - the desired mode of orientation, conduct and involvement emphasising for example the spiritual dimension, the treatment of the young and those who've left, the maintenance of consistency in belief and practice

- the basis of good leadership
- the way in which grievance and disciplinary matters should be handled
- the significance of refusing a commission, of "not

knowing what you want"

- the efficacy of using the allocation of commissions as a motivating device
- whether noisy kids should be allowed to attend meetings
- the extent of responsibility that each individual member incurs for the activities of other members

A prominent focus of attention in the After-meeting get-together and also, though to a lesser degree, in the Testimony period was the consideration of the nature, incidence and aetiology of impropriety, ineffectiveness and incompetence. Professional students of organisations have largely neglected the consideration of members treatment of these issues. Yet commonsense knowledge and experience would seem to suggest that these are not an uncommon feature in many organisations. It would be interesting to discover whether the way in which members of other organisations deal with this topic differs in significant ways from that found in this organisation.

As far as members of this organisation were concerned, incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness are a fact of life, though members differed in their portrayal of the significance of these features. Thus not all accounts of impropriety were treated with regret or shame, but rather as indexing a golden age. In this regard we may note that the age and official status of the transgressor, the nature of the transgression and the time and place of the action would appear to be significant dimensions affecting the way in which such an eventuality is regarded.

The above points would seem to indicate that as far as this organisation is concerned, some measure of correspondence is likely to be found between the way in which competence and the like is treated in religious and other organisations. Members do however subscribe to and share propositions which would appear to be distinctive. Thus members, when considering such issues as recruitment, wastage and why incompetence, impropriety and ineffectiveness persist, had a tendency to link these to a theological causal texture (e.g. focussing on the reluctance to consider corps activities in relation to "what the Lord wants", arguing that Christians are too willing to compromise and that members live too much in their "own strength" and not the "Lord's"), though not in all cases.

I do not however wish to claim too much for members' verbal depictions of membership for it is recognised and has been shown as such that such

characterisations are not offered as depictions of membership in simpliciter but emerge from members' contemplation of particular issues and in turn elaborate such practical reasoning. It is in respect of the ways in which members can shape up their accounts that I wish to focus and direct a claim for some measure of equivalence between the features of membership in this and other organisations. Accordingly I will now turn to a consideration of the ways in which it is possible for members to assemble and organise their accounts.

An examination of the organisation of members' verbal depictions of membership shows how various collections and assortments of conversational fragments, overheard remarks, stories and understandings, axioms, theories and rules can be so assembled as to make available to those present ripping yarns, cautionary tales, "just-so" stories, precedents for seeing an isolated act as being indicative of some underlying motivational predisposition and questioning the moral character of members. Members also employed a variety of devices for, amongst other things, collecting the wastage of members under the auspices of different causal textures (one pertaining to the condition and need of those departed and another pertaining to the institutional arrangement of corps activities) and de-emphasising the seriousness and consequentiality of members' impropriety.

A recurring feature of members' accounts then was that they showed every sign of being formulated to deal with local and strategic issues as and when they occurred during the management of the activities referred to above. So we find that the B.M.'s formulation of the duties and responsibilities of a D.B.M. (which makes much more of what the job does not entail as opposed to what it does) shows every indication of being developed to cope with the C.S.'s concern that the candidate will not be in a position to fulfil the demands incumbent on a D.B.M. Similarly Captain Parson's use of an account of his brother's departure from the Army seems to have been developed in order to make available to those assembled a set of resources a) for discounting the view that wastage is related to a lack of fellowship; b) for shifting the burden of responsibility away from the interactional work of members and thereby c) foreclosing a public consideration of the efficacy of members' activities. (See also John Pepler's story of the drum in his account of the dispute over the "noisy kids"). It is through such practices then that the features of members' lives, their preferences regarding the organisation of their activities and the factors they see as being relevant to their understanding and accomplishment became publicly available. This re-affirms the validity

of Garfinkel's proposition that what members' accounts reveal about the nature of their lives cannot properly be separated from how they were speaking, for example in this case attributing responsibility for wastage or questioning the suitability of candidates for promotion - hence my reservation concerning the claims that can be drawn from members' verbal depictions of organisational life.

It may be objected that since members' accounts are irredeemably indexical and reflexive, that expository work of this kind has little to contribute to the field of organisational analysis, for if members' recourse to particular arrays of categories is situationally specific, what possible use can there be in explicating them, since it would be impossible to arrive at an unalloyed set. It seems to me however that to adopt such a view is to place too stringent and more importantly unnecessary demands on the product of this kind of expository work. Providing the claims for this type of analysis (in this case my explication of members' verbal depictions of membership) are adjusted in line with their logical status and the results can be shown to meet the test of adequacy in terms of rendering a cultural appropriate understanding, then this type of analysis can, I would argue, make a valuable contribution to the understanding of organisational life. Its value lies in its ability to focus on and render accessible the descriptive categories which members use to map out their lives and their preferences. This value remains uncompromised, providing we recognise the provisional status of these materials in terms of arriving at an understanding of the production of the features of organisations that are produced and that in addition we need to understand how members select and organise the available categories. The analytical status of these accounts occupies, I would suggest, a similar role in developing an understanding of organisational life to that occupied by a dictionary in terms of acquiring an understanding of a language. The definitions included in a dictionary cannot be regarded as definitive or exhaustive in terms of understanding a particular discourse but they nonetheless provide a useful point of departure for arriving at a meaning in context.

In addition to revealing some of the devices through which members' accounts of membership can be assembled I also examine how members can co-ordinate their activities with respect to the management of the proposal and evaluation of candidates for promotion to Deputy Bandmaster. The selection of a Deputy Bandmaster was linked formally to the process of status gradation, a process which I derived analytically from

Garfinkel's work on status degradation. In adopting this formulation I am arguing for the more general relevance of the analysis conducted here in terms of developing an understanding of the set of communicative practices through which selection and promotion can be managed. The work featured in this chapter represents a modest step in the explication of this process. I identify the main component elements involved in the proposal and evaluation of candidates for status gradation, the sequencing of these elements and the devices which facilitate the formulation of an adverse or favourable portrayal of the candidate. I would venture to suggest that a more finely focussed and sustained pursuit of this line of inquiry would add much to our understanding of a significant, though poorly documented feature of organisational life and if pursued across a range of organisations make an important contribution to the comparative analysis of organisations, an area which in the main has been dominated by correlational analyses and thus has been unable to add little to our understanding of the way in which members of various organisations shape up and manage the process of making decisions.

In relation to the last point my analysis shows that as far as the selection of D.B.M. is concerned that members' decision-making practices are more concerned with authorising the legitimacy of their views than with seeking to establish a priori parameters for selection, grounds for distinguishing between fact and fiction and for determining what inferences may be legitimately drawn from some set of material fact. The decision making practices in this religious organisation then exhibit some measure of equivalence with those practices which Garfinkel suggests are characteristic of decision making in everyday life, namely that the outcome comes first.

The analysis also revealed something of the ways through which the management of Testimony Time and the giving of personal testimony can be accomplished. The giving of personal testimony is an important and routine feature of life in this as well as other religious organisations and yet comparatively little is known about the nature and organisation of this activity. The analysis shows how members use the recital and singing of choruses, other testimonies, and personal experiences to provide reasons for speaking, for examining their own experience and representing it in terms of a theological causal texture and for commenting on the features of their lives. Once again the organisation of members' accounts reflects their normative and practical concerns. Thus we find that in their use of theological categories, members were concerned with such issues as the causes and

significance of wastage, providing sensitising devices for testimony and, for examining and understanding their personal circumstances. As I suggested earlier, these observations raise some questions concerning the efficacy of a particular approach to the examination of personal accounts of experience given by members of religious organisations. In brief it suggests that those theorists who concentrate solely on developing an understanding of the array of practices which produce talk as religious talk will be neglecting what might be an essential element of members' use of these practices, namely that they are related to pragmatic concerns. I would suggest that members in their recourse to religious categories face the same sets of problems and have recourse to the same set of repair mechanisms as faced by anyone in the selection and use of whatever category. The basic problem, the features of which have been identified and elucidated in the works of H. Garfinkel and H. Sacks, is that for any set of events in the world there are an infinite number of categories that may be used to describe them. Thus members of society are faced with having to do work in order to link a particular category to a particular set of circumstances e.g. authorising the relevance of a particular descriptor and thus by extension excluding others from consideration.

The problem of categorisation also raises an issue regarding the efficacy of the substantive divisions within sociology,* for unless such substantive categories as religion can be shown to be what Harvey Sacks calls PN adequate i.e. that it can be shown for example that the behaviour exhibited by members of a religious group exclusively and only reflect the attributes of that category, then we are left with the conclusion that the assignment of behavioural characteristics and practices to that category proceeds on a scientifically unwarrantable basis. This problem is reflected in relation to the selection of the particular field of substantive sociology in which I chose to pursue this research i.e. the area bounded by the Sociology of Organisations and the Sociology of Religion. A case could be argued that the Sociology of Community, or the Sociology of Class, or the Sociology of the Brass Band movement were more pertinent theoretical locations on the basis that in addition to membership of a religious organisation that members occupied each of these various categories and these are more fateful. There would seem to be however no independent scientifically warrantable means by which one can arrive at determining the relevant categories. In support of my decision I can only argue

* The stimulus for this point was occasioned by a reading of an article "Taking Professor Gluckman seriously; the Case of Participant observation" by I.G. Anderson and J.R.E. Lee. This includes a detailed and finely focussed account of the hitherto largely unnoticed and certainly unacknowledged dependence by participant observers on common sense methods of reasoning in the production of their reports.

that it was based on a member's theory that the Salvation Army is a religious organisation and on the previous practices of professional sociologists and that whilst this theoretical location provided a starting point, that in the course of research I endeavoured not to allow the partisan concerns of the particular substantive fields to dominate my analysis.

In addition I would argue that an academic division of labour which invites the analyst to focus on religious phenomena from the outset has led analysts to over-emphasise the particular and exotic at the expense of the general and the mundane and thereby possibly lose sight of the fact that members of religious organisations are men amongst men. Instead of deciding to focus on the distinctive and peculiar (e.g. the relationship between religious beliefs, symbols and structure, pace my original submission) I would suggest that it would perhaps be more fruitful to bracket away these specific concerns and examine the way in which people manage their activities whatever and wherever.

An examination of the organisation of members' accounts suggests then that the verbal practices exhibited by members share many features in common with those of the pragmatic rule-using analyst depicted by Garfinkel. That is to say, for some sub-set of the total set of activities undertaken in this organisation, the sense-making methods and procedures discoverable in members' accounts did not depart in any fundamental sense from those used in everyday life. I do not wish to deny the possibility that there may be some activities in which members engage which might at some stage involve a fundamental modification of the methods and procedures used in everyday life. I merely wish to say that the activities examined here exhibited no such modification (for a Schutzian elaboration of the possibility of such a modification see M. Schibilsky "Konstitutionsbedingungen religioses Kompetenz"). I would tentatively suggest that since the main medium for the transmission of experience is language, that this places certain constraints on the way in which religious activities can be organised and managed (e.g. the fact that descriptions are essentially incomplete means people can never "say what they mean in so many words" (Garfinkel 1967) and requires that indexicality be repaired somehow).

The work of explicating members' conventional orientations and practices is far from complete and much more needs to be done before we arrive at an understanding of these aspects. There are in addition a number

of features which I have glossed over or failed to address e.g. Preaching, The Corps Council, The Sunday School, Family relationships; and extending beyond the Corps, the relationship with Divisional Headquarters, Inter-Corps relations, the relationship between the Corps and the Local Community and the Training of Officers. The techniques of conversation analysis as applied to audio-transcriptions may not be appropriate to an examination of all these features; Sunday School Teaching for example involves such diverse activities as singing choruses and songs, play acting, filling-in crosswords and writing quarterly tests on doctrine.

It might be objected that the topics outlined above and indeed the whole thesis reflect an over-preoccupation with parochial issues in some way peripheral to the more important issues of organisation theory and that more consideration ought to be given to distinguishing between those factors which are peculiar and those which are common to other organisations and thus generalisable across the range of organisations. In the same vein it might be argued that the examination of a single organisation limits the generalisability of the results and thus the contribution of this approach to the development of organisational theory.

Such objections seem to me to be both premature and themselves equally open to the charge of parochiality. They are premature because we have not as yet developed an understanding of the features of organisational life in the particular. They are parochial in that they betray a limited conception of generalisation i.e. as focussing on and extracting out some feature of organisational life (e.g. technology) and examining the relationship between this and other features across a range of organisations. Furthermore these objections are misconceived because a concern with organisational life in the particular does not reflect the abrogation of any concern for generalisation, rather it betrays a difference in opinion regarding the pursuit of theoretical knowledge. It reflects the conception that the development of the understanding of how organisational life is put together in the particular constitutes an important focus for analysis and a valid approach to developing the understanding of the nature of organisational life in general.

This thesis originated with a question concerning the features of organisational life as oriented to and conveyed by members. I can only reflect that in taking this heuristic and unfolding it I am left with the persuasion, as yet far from substantiated, that what I have begun to discover is something of the general ways in which people account for the things that they do.

1. The Aston School refers to a group of researchers based primarily at the University of Aston who, using the general method of factor analysis, undertook a number of studies of organisational structure and context. The group of researchers who included C.R. Hinings, R. Mansfield, R. Payne and D. Pheysey were led by D. Pugh and D. Hickson. For a documentation of the origins, theoretical interests, methodology and research see

Pugh and Hickson 1976. In addition to the original studies there have been a number of extensions and replications the major egs. of which are published in Pugh and Hinings 1976. (See also Pugh and Payne 1977). Their work shows many similarities with research carried out in the States by R. Hall, Hage and Aiken and P. Blau. (For a summary see R. Hall 1977).

The work on religious organisations arose out of the general theoretical concerns informing the Aston Studies and was carried out under the guidance of C.R. Hinings (first at the University of Aston and then at the Institute of Local Government Studies). Hinings together with B. Foster, A. Bryman and S. Ransom have published a number of articles outlining the general theoretical model and summarising the results of their study (Hinings and Foster 1973, Hinings and Bryman (1974), Hinings, Ransom and Bryman 1974, Hinings 1979). In addition to this work they have published a book on religious functionaries (Ransom, Bryman and Hinings 1977) and are preparing a book on social control in religious organisations.

For a general critique and evaluation of the Aston programme see Clegg and Dunkerly (1980), Burrell and Morgan (1978).

2. For a more extended evaluation see J. Beckford (1973) who, whilst acknowledging the important contribution of this approach in terms of devising "a sophisticated delineation of the variables affecting religious organisations" queries amongst other things the utility of the model giving causal priority to purpose, belief, systems and aims, and which conflates goals with theology and organisational charter. It will be seen that this evaluation differs from my own in that I am primarily concerned with the adequacy of the approach at the level of social interaction and not its deputed efficacy for developing causal models of organisational development.
3. An official publication for Officers available bi-monthly.
4. See R. Kirkby letter to "The Officer" Sept. 1976 "Implied Contradiction", also J. Coutts "The Salvationists" Oxford Mowbray 1977.
5. I am indebted to John McAuley for the observation that these practices are sometimes seen.
6. In "Accounting for Conversion" Beckford examines the conversion accounts of Jehovah's Witnesses. This analysis stems from a general dissatisfaction with what he terms the prevailing orthodoxy in sociological approaches to the understanding of religious conversion (and in this respect his concerns are somewhat removed from my own) and a particular issue arising out of his research regarding the relationship between the symbols employed in members' accounts and the features of the movement's ideology and organisational structure.

The adoption of a policy which treats conversion accounts as

a topic in their own right rather than as an objective resource unquestionably represents a fruitful area for analysis. Unfortunately this particular exemplification of this mode of analysis is found wanting in two important respects. Firstly the author fails to specify the precise means by which he came by his materials (i.e. the technology involved and the context and factors surrounding the recording). Secondly and more fundamentally he does not specify the occasion in which such accounts were generated. If as he argues such accounts are context sensitive then it would seem beholden on him to provide the reader with at least a cursory description of the particular situation in which they were generated for as I hope to show this has fundamental implications for the organisation of members' accounts.

7. Note I have decided not to distinguish between different types of knowledge, understanding and predelictions by making apriori definitions of beliefs and belief system (e.g. distinguishing as Parsons does between cognitive, evaluative interests and empirical, non-empirical referents - Parsons 1951 The Social System pp367ff) but to focus on the stock of descriptors and set of preferences without prejudice. The difficulties attendant on making distinctions of the above kind are reflected as Towler (1973) suggests in the difficulties sociologists are experiencing in distinguishing the sociology of religion from the more inclusive interest of the sociology of knowledge. (See Berger and Luckman 1969, Fisher and Marhold 1978 Religionsoziologie als Wissenisozologie and the other papers in that collection).
8. The term "situated activity" is used in accordance with that usage found in Goffman 1961 and refers to a situation in which focussed interaction occurs.

Chapter 2 - THE FORMAL STOCK OF DESCRIPTORS

1. The ignorance of theological matters may surprise some readers and indeed was commented upon by Commanding Officers on more than one occasion. They referred to the general lack of interest in Bible Study and noted the poor scores obtained in Bible Quizes.
2. a) Letters and Editorial Comment
e.g. see Musician Vol. 40 No. 42 Oct. 15 1977 - Communication
- b) Letters
Musician Vol. 40 No. 43 Oct. 28 1978 - Professionalism
- c) Article by Maj. John Crashley
Musician Vol. 40 No. 25 June 18 1977 - Let us keep Army Meetings Army
3. e.g. See Musician Vol. 40 No. 35 Aug. 27 1977
4. The Army's Brass Band Compositions are published in four separate journals - Unity, Triumph, General and Festival Series. The main distinction between music published in these series relates to the level of technical difficulty demanded and the number of instrumental parts required. Historically the Army's Musical Editorial Department have not regarded music published in the Festival journal as being suitable for performance during Sunday and weekday devotional meetings.
5. The "Joy Strings" composed of Army officers was the first officially sanctioned "beat group" and functioned during the early sixties. They

released a number of singles and E.P.'s on Royal Zonophone (with whom the Army had a special recording contract before forming their own "label" "Banners and Bonnets" during the later part of the seventies). The group's first single "It's an open secret" figured in the Radio Luxembourg "Top Ten" and was the subject of heated debate in many corps.

Chapter 3 - THE STOCK OF PREFERENCES

1. This policy was not commensurate with the inception of the Army. Holy Communion continued to be celebrated until General Bramwell Booth (the founder's eldest son and successor) decided to discontinue the practice for various reasons both theological (the Army's publication "The Sacraments" establishes the point that it is given as a command in only one Gospel (Luke 22:19-20) and stresses the dangers of relying on outward ceremony) and practical (the consequences of using alcoholic wine in a movement dedicated to win the fight against the "power of drink").
2. "To the Salvation Soldier there can be no book as important as the Bible. It is the source from which all Army doctrine is derived. It alone constitutes the divine rule of Christian faith and practice." p 15 O & R for Soldier.
3. Indeed what may be implicit for some may be all too apparent to others.
4. Though it is a commonly held view that most officers in the British Territory come from non-Army homes.
5. From "Army, Beliefs and Characteristics" S.PS.
6. This is not to suggest that there is only one account that is congruent with the writer's intention, rather this is one that can be shown to be so.
7. See O & R for Soldiers, Senior Census Boards page 12.
8. See R. Kirby Letter to The Officer Sept. 1976 "Implied Contradiction" and J. Coutts The Salvationists, Oxford, Mowbray 1977.
9. "Divinely Called - Divinely Appointed" Capt. Howard Davies in letter to The Officer Sept. 1976
10. Theology and Officership see The Officer Jan 1974 Editorial also March, Aug. Sept.
11. See E. Bittner (1963).
12. "A Junior Soldier after attaining the age of fourteen years, and after having signed the Articles of War may be transferred to the Senior Corps" p 70 O & R for Soldiers.
13. Competence to enact a decision is attributed at an even earlier age though it is recognised that such a decision is of a different order such that junior members are formally required to make an additional decision to qualify for full membership i.e. senior soldiership.

Chapter 7 - TESTIMONY TIME

1. All songs from "The Life of Holiness" section of the Salvation Army Song Book (SASB).
2. From the "Seeking Holiness" sub-section of SASB
3. From the "Prayer section" of Chorus section SASB
4. From the "Consecration and service" sub-section of SASB

(Sources: Salvation Army Year Book, The Salvation Army
by Clifford Kew, God's Army by Cyril Barnes)

Glossary of Salvation Army Terms

Adherent	a prospective member
Articles of Faith	the Salvationist's creed, eleven doctrines defined unalterable in 1878
Articles of War	the statement of beliefs and promises which every intending soldier is required to sign before enrolment
Cartridge	the regular contribution of Salvationists towards corps expenses
Census Board	established at a corps: responsible for the addition of names to, and removal of names from, the rolls
Citadel (usually simply called "the hall")	a hall used for public worship; the central meeting place and operations base of a corps
Commanding Officer (C.O.)	The "minister" in charge of a corps
Commission	a document conferring authority upon an officer, or upon an unpaid local officer
Company Meeting	the Sunday meeting at which children are taught the Bible in companies or classes under the direction of a <u>Company Guard</u> (Sunday School Teacher)
Corps	the local S.A. centre established for the propagation of the gospel; under the leadership of one or more officers
Corps Cadet Brigade	a group of 12-24 yr. olds who meet under a Guardian for Bible Study, discussion of Christian beliefs and behaviour and who regularly take part as a group (or individually) in meetings
Cradle Roll	list of names of Army and non-Army infants who are prospective attenders at Sunday School

Corps Sergeant Major (C.S.M.)	the chief local officer for public work; he assists the C.O.'s with meetings (particularly open-air meetings) and usually takes command in their absence
Division	a number of corps in a defined geographical area (e.g. the S. London division, the Central and W. Yorks division)
Divisional Commander (D.C.)	officer who oversees all the corps in a division
Divisional Youth Secretary (D.Y.S.)	officer who under the D.C. has oversight of all the Y.P. work in a division
Envoy	local officer whose duty is to visit corps and particularly societies, and outposts for the purpose of conducting meetings. An Envoy may be appointed in charge of such centres
Hall	(see Citadel)
Holiness Meeting	the Sunday morning meeting at a corps
Home League	a fellowship that meets weekly, designed to influence women in the creation and developments of Christian standards in personal home life
Junior Soldier	a boy or girl (7 yrs. or over) who, having professed conversion and signed the junior soldier's promise, becomes a Salvationist
Local Officer	a soldier appointed to a position of responsibility and authority in a corps; he carries out the duties of his appointment without being separated from his regular employment or receiving remuneration from the Army
Mercy Seat	(see Penitent-form)
Musician, The	the title of a weekly periodical which keeps Salvationist musicians informed about the activities of S.A. musical sections in the British Territory
Officer	a male or female Salvationist who has left ordinary employment and, having been trained and commissioned, is (until retirement) engaged in

Officer (contd...)	full-time S.A. service with the status of an ordained priest. Also the name of a bi-monthly magazine available only to officers
Open-air	a meeting held out of doors, usually on a Sunday, and often followed by a march from the chosen site to the Citadel where an indoor meeting then takes place
Penitent-form	a bench (usually in front of the platform in an Army hall) at which persons anxious about their spiritual condition are invited to seek Salvation or sanctification or make a special consecration to God's will and service
Platform	raised area at the front of a hall used by those leading or taking part in a meeting
Praise Meeting	the Sunday afternoon meeting at a corps
Primary	Sunday School for the under 7's
Promotion to Glory	the Army's description of the death of Salvationists
Pub-boomer	a Salvationist who regularly sells S.A. papers in public houses
Recruit	an intending member who is attending senior soldier's preparation classes
Salvation Meeting	the Sunday evening meetings at a corps
Salvationist	(see Senior Soldier and Junior Soldier)
Self-Denial Appeal	an annual effort to raise funds for the Army's world wide operations
Senior Soldier	a converted person of at least 14 yrs. of age who has, with the approval of the census board, been sworn in as a member of the S.A. after signing the Articles of War
Singing Company	children's choir at a corps
Songster Brigade	choir for adults at a corps

Swearing-in Ceremony

the public enrolment of S.A.
soldiers (usually takes place
in the Salvation meeting)

War Cry, The

title of the S.A.'s weekly paper

Young People's Band

junior brass band

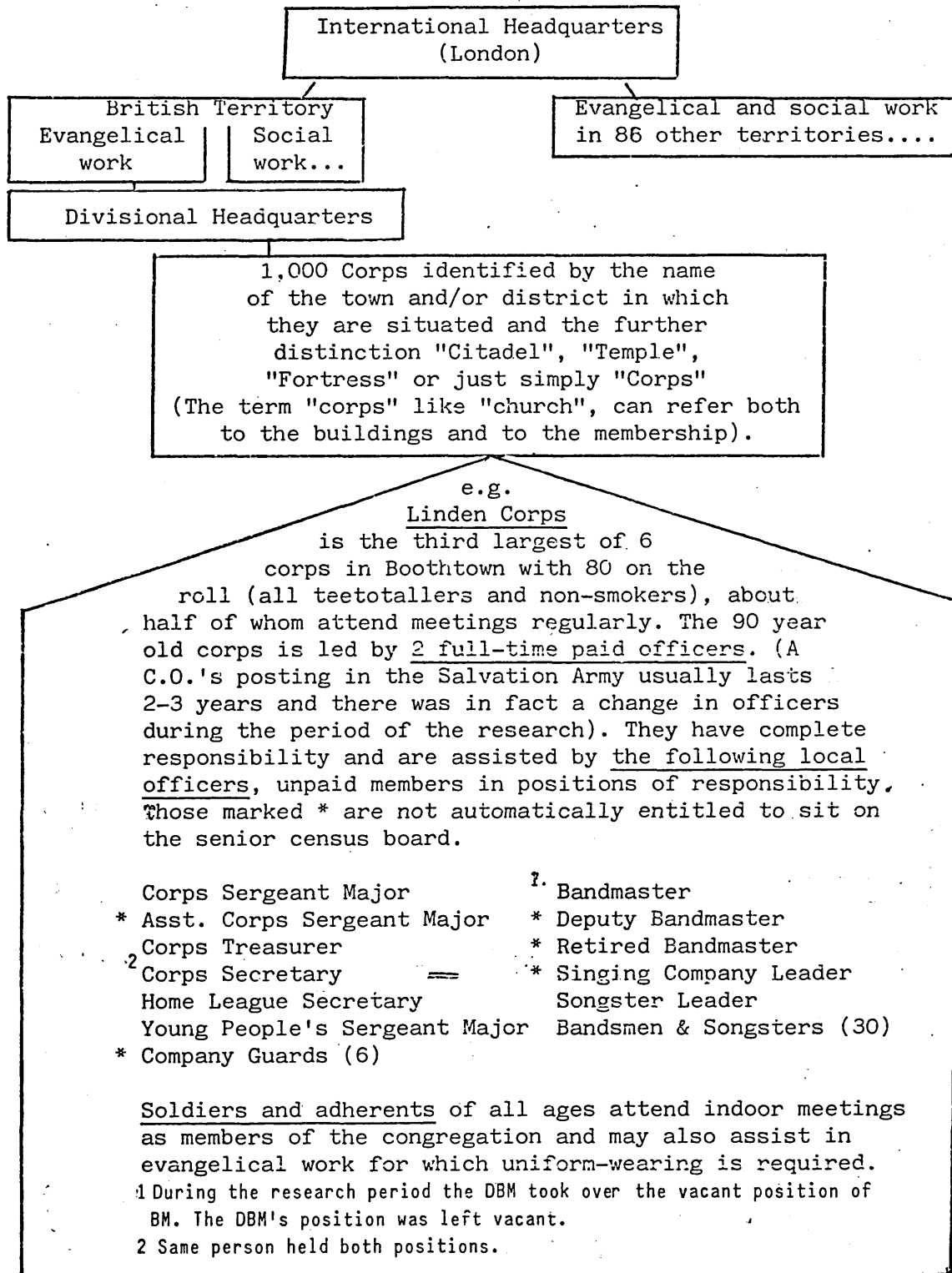
Young People's Sergeant Major
(Y.P.S.M.)

the local officer responsible,
under the C.O., for the Y.P.
work in a corps

Young Soldier, The

title of the S.A.'s weekly paper
for children

Diagram outlining the formal organisation of the Salvation Army's activities and the position of the corps (local church) in relation to these with the e.g. of "Linden".



The system of notation and transcript design is broadly in accord with that developed by Gail Jefferson and found in Schenkein 1978 with the exception of the recording of intonation and intervals.

- Joan (Well they do don't they
Mrs. Wilson He says "what's the matter with this woman then"

- Joan It's the Army that's not
Mr. Wilson (Sally Army cross top yer see

Mr. Wilson ructions be - because I've - I've been (?) Boothtown
 I'm not saying it is

- Mr. there 'ave been a court do over it and er in in't=(¹)
 ()
D.J. Yeah

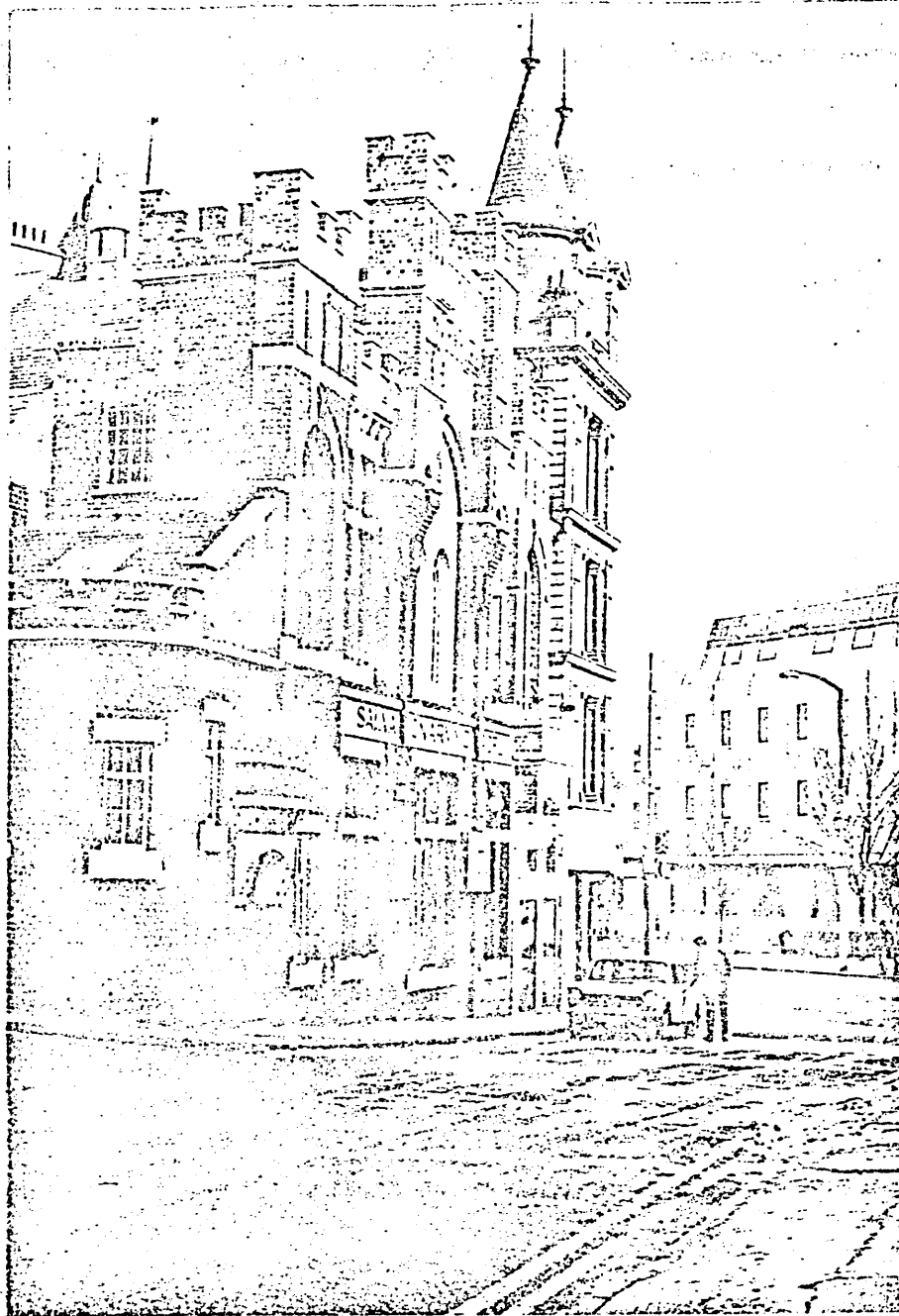
- A short untimed pause within an utterance is indicated by a dash, comma or full stop

- Generally - A question mark indicates an upward intonation at the end of the word it is placed after
- an exclamation mark indicates an animated tone
 - a slanted dash / indicates an abrupt cut off
 - an emphasis is indicated by underlining

6. Transcription doubt - this is indicated by a question mark enclosed within single parenthesis (?).

7. horizontal ellipses indicate that an utterance is being reported only in part

. vertical ellipses indicate intervening turns at talking
: have been taken out of the fragment



Photograph 1
SHEFFIELD CITADEL
formerly Sheffield IV



Photograph 2
NUNHEAD, SOUTH LONDON

Contents Page of Orders and Regulations

1. Chosen to be a Soldier. Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army

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