The Salvation Army and the State of Welfare;
An analysis of Text and Narrative

An analysis of the discourses influencing the development of Salvation Army social policy.

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Master of Arts (Hons)

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University of Western Sydney
Statement of Authenticity

The work presented in this Thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material either in whole or in part for a degree at this or any other University.

Dennis Garland

Date
A Note of Appreciation

Many people have helped me to produce this thesis. I cannot mention them all. Space and time does not permit. However, I do wish to thank the staff and the community of the University of Western Sydney. I also wish to thank my fellow Salvationists who knew of and supported this project. Most of all, at the completion of my journey, I wish to record my thanks and my profound appreciation to three people. Firstly, to my Supervisors, Professor Jan Mason who encouraged me to start the journey and helped so much along the way; to Dr Michael Darcy, my Principal Supervisor, whose insights, knowledge, criticisms and complete professionalism encouraged and oft times led, and guided me to the completion of this task, even when I doubted that there could be an end: and finally, to my wife Pam, I could not have finished this project without her. To these three; thank you.
Abstract

This research arose out of the author’s concern that The Salvation Army and its social services in Australia, were being influenced by government and society at the expense of its own Christian beliefs and internal rhetoric. What seemed evident to the author was an apparent colonisation of The Salvation Army in Australia by external discourses that were in contradiction to internal organisational rhetoric. Internal organizational rhetoric suggests that William and Catherine Booth, the Army’s founders, were not greatly influenced by external discourses and were in fact independent social reformers and the Army they created remains free from the influence of government and society.

This research explores the Army’s rhetoric through an analysis of Salvation Army texts. To provide an epistemological framework to test the author’s concerns regarding the apparent colonisation of the Army’s policy positions Discourse Analysis (DA) was adopted as the analytical tool to examine Army texts. The variant of DA deployed in this research was Narrative Analysis (NA). NA was selected for two reasons: firstly, the Army uses narratives extensively to develop and maintain internal rhetoric and uses narratives as part of its discursive strategy to engage the welfare state in Australia; and secondly because NA is “a key epistemological category” (Jameson 1987; quoted in (Atkinson 2000, p. 213.)) providing insights into the discourses influencing policy.
Textual material produced at the time the Army was established and current textual material was selected for analysis. Research into the early Army texts centres on the textual legacy of William and Catherine Booth, the founders of the Army. William and Catherine Booth were charismatic leaders and they imprinted the Army with their religious and social values and their strong imprinting remains in the Army today (Irvine 2002). Of the two texts selected for analysis, one was written by Catherine Booth, *The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State* (Booth 1883), and the other by William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Booth 1890). These texts are foundational texts in the Army’s textual repertoire and provide precedents and formed genre templates for future Army texts. The analysis of their texts provides the frame for textual analysis of the modern Army text *No Place that’s Home* (The Salvation Army 1995).

The research findings verify the proposition of Kress (1985) and others, that institutions transform and are transformed through their use of discourse. William Booth in 1911 (Booth 1912) required that the organization that he and Catherine had formed be independent and “separate” (Booth 1912, pp 81-82) from the state and external influence. The research confirms that William and Catherine Booth were not independent from the state and from external influence as required by Booth. The research found that just as William and Catherine Booth reworked the discourses of their time, they were influenced in turn by these discourses and the organization they created, namely, The Salvation Army was transformed through the use of discourse. The research found that modern texts produced in the Army in Australia, are influenced by the dominant discourses of the modern Australian welfare state, and that as a consequence the Army, in transforming these discourses for their own purposes, is also being transformed by these discourses and in the process becoming increasingly colonised by governments in Australia.
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The Thesis and its Rationale

Introduction

The Salvation Army in Australia is a significant provider of welfare services to the Australian community. The Industry Commission (1995) reported in 1995 that the Army had the largest expenditures of any of the not for profit, Non Government Organizations (NGO’s) in Australia. The Army is, therefore, a valuable site in which to explore the development of social policy in a NGO, importantly, since the Army is such a significant provider of welfare services in Australia it is also worthy of study in its own right.

The Salvation Army began inauspiciously as a small Christian Mission with a sermon by William Booth in London’s East End slums on Sunday 2 July 1865 (Green 1996), (Sandall 1947). Initially, the Army was no different from the other Christian Missions springing up in late Victorian Britain but the Army’s subsequent adoption of the military metaphor combined with its provision of social services led to the creation of a unique social organization (Murdoch 1994).

The Army is now established in over 108 countries (The Salvation Army 2000). In the Australian context, the Army commenced operations in Adelaide, South Australia, in 1875 and progressively spread throughout the Australian Colonies. By 1890, the provision of social services had become an integral part of the Army’s operations. These services grew out of the Army’s involvement with the homeless and poverty stricken classes.

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1 The official title of the organization is “The Salvation Army”. For the purposes of this thesis I shall refer to The Salvation Army by the much shorter term ‘the Army’. A practice used by the Army itself and by historians such as Hattersley (1999), Walker (2001) and Winston (1999).
Australia was the site of the first permanent organised social work in the Army (Green 1986). The service commenced in Australia on 8 December 1883, at the request of the Victorian Colonial government. A feeding programme for the homeless and unemployed had commenced in Britain prior to 8 December 1883; however, this service was short-lived and temporary in nature (Green 1986; Hattersley 1999; Sandall 1955). The Army has therefore, provided social services for over 120 years and has during this time developed policies to control, regulate and deliver these services.

The Founders of the Army; William and Catherine Booth

William and Catherine Booth co-founded the Army, a position now generally accepted by historians and the Army itself (Green 1986; Hattersley 1999). Both Catherine and William were inveterate writers and the Army provided a publishing vehicle for their literary output. Their textual legacy has had profound effects on the Army today. Therefore, their texts are fundamental in any examination of Army social policy. Catherine and William’s textual legacy set precedents and templates for Army textual production. The textual legacy included internal documents such as Orders and Regulations, Official Minutes, reports and memos and texts expressly produced for public consumption, including the publication of texts such as “The War Cry”, which was first published in Britain in the 1890’s and is still published in Australia and around the world today.

Included in the literary output of William and Catherine Booth were the foundational texts for Army social policy. In Darkest England and the Way Out (Booth 1890) and Catherine’s address The Salvation Army And Its Relation To The State (Booth 1883). No analysis of current Salvation Army social policy can ignore these texts and analysis of these texts is included at Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

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2 This acceptance seemed to be delayed by the Army but is now displayed by an acknowledgement of the fact on the current official stationery in many Salvation Army territories around the world.

3 When using the term social policy in the context of The Salvation Army in this thesis I refer to the process through which the Army converts its social and religious beliefs into forms of social action through the provision of cash and services to the various sectors of the community in which it operates (Jamrozik 2001).
‘Darkest England’\(^4\) is particularly important since it provided the schema for social services to be provided by the Army. ‘Darkest England’ is also important because the text linked the Army’s provision of welfare services with its Christian evangelical work. After ‘Darkest England’, the Army and its welfare services were forever fused within the organization, no matter where in the world the Army operates.

The Welfare State and The Salvation Army

In providing welfare services the Army, both in Britain, and more importantly for this thesis, in Australia, operates within the welfare state. There are many definitions of the state and in particular the welfare state. For the purposes of this thesis, I have designated that part of the state formation that is specifically concerned with the wellbeing and the welfare of its citizens as the welfare state. The welfare state and its construction are important to the Army as a provider of welfare services. According to Pierson (1998), the welfare state is approximately 100 years old. The Army was therefore established at the dawning of the welfare state and has been intimately involved in the welfare state in the western economies for the whole period of the welfare states’ existence. At this point, I want to distinguish between government and the welfare state. Government, both in England and Australia, is part of the welfare state and as an institution is included in the welfare state just as is the Army, a point that will be further discussed in later chapters. Additionally, at this point, I want to draw a distinction between the organisational policies of the Army, which are more concerned with internal practices of the Army and its delivery of social services, and the social policy of the Army through which it seeks to transform social arrangements. It is the development of the Army’s social policy that is analysed in this thesis.

\(^4\) “In Darkest England and the Way Out” (Booth 1890) is a cumbersome title to use in full; in the Army, and in the literature, the title is truncated to ‘Darkest England’. This practice will be followed in this thesis.
In Britain and in Australia the Army depends on the state for its official existence as a legal entity. The Army, as a legal entity, is established in Britain by an Act of the British Parliament, namely, The Salvation Army Act of 1980. In Australia, each state and territory has an Act, or an Ordinance through which The Salvation Army is established in that jurisdiction and which draws upon the British Act as the basis of its own authority. In New South Wales the Act is entitled, The Salvation Army (New South Wales) Property Trust Act. In each state or territory of Australia the appropriate state or territory name is substituted.

Though dependent upon the state for its legal identity, the Army in Australia is a Non-Government Organization (NGO) with a large voluntary component in its welfare service provision (Brown, Kenny, et al. 2000; Hubbard, Samuel, et al. 2003; Lyons 2001). Social policy analysis of NGO’s was for many years a neglected area of research. Social policy analysis is typically applied to government rather than to NGO’s or voluntary organizations. Kuhnle and Selle note;

“in the historical, sociological and political science literature on the historical and comparative development of …welfare states, voluntary organisations have been given little or no attention”

(Kuhnle & Selle 1995, p. 12.).

Since Kuhnle and Selle’s observation there is a burgeoning interest in the place of NGO’s in social policy development (Brown, Kenny, et al. 2000; Wagner 2000). This thesis will add to the literature regarding NGO’s operating within the welfare state, and more precisely, within the context of the third sector, that is, that sector which functions alongside government on one hand and the private sector on the other (Lyons 2001). The thesis will also add to the growing literature examining The Salvation Army.
Thesis Rationale

A) Personal interest and expertise

This thesis arose out of a personal interest in social policy and a deep involvement in Salvation Army social policy development. I was employed by the Army at its Sydney Territorial Headquarters, Australia Eastern Territory\(^5\) in the Social Department for some years and was involved in the social policy development relating to homelessness. I am also a Salvationist\(^6\).

The observations presented in this thesis are, therefore, informed by a lifetime of using, studying and analysing Salvation Army practices; practices formed over 130 years in an organization dominated by its name and its adoption of the military metaphor. It might well be argued that because of my membership and employment by the Army that this study would be biased; further, that an intimate association with the organization whose social policy I am analysing will compromise the rigour of the analysis; on the contrary, as a participator/observer in the social policy process, I possess deep and significant insights into the Army social policy development process.

May (1997) comments on the advantage of using participant/observation and textual evidence as complementary methods of research where the participant observation is checked and questioned by the documentary evidence as is my intention in this thesis. My membership of and employment by the Army has provided me with an intimate knowledge of the language and discursive practices used by the Army in its discursive strategies and this experience is particularly relevant to the social policy analysis contained in this thesis, particularly when viewed in the light of May’s (1997) comments. Further discussion on this point is contained in Chapter 2.

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\(^5\) Internationally the Army is divided into Territories. Each of the Territories is controlled from International Headquarters in London, England. A Territory usually contains either an entire country, such as Canada, Ghana or New Zealand. If a Territory is geographically large then a Territory may comprise several political units such as states or provinces such as Australia where the Australia Eastern Territory includes, Queensland, New South Wales and the ACT. The rest of Australia makes up the Australia Southern Territory. See also the Appendix.

\(^6\) The term “Salvationist” was developed and used internally to refer to members of The Salvation Army. See also the Appendix.
After reviewing the literature and completing a Master of Social Administration Degree, I felt deep dissatisfaction with the existing state of policy analysis relating to the Army in Australia, and in particular, the lack of scholarly and critical analysis of Salvation Army discursive strategies developed to engage the Australian government and other institutions in the welfare state. My experiences in developing and participating in the discursive process developing social policy for the Australia Eastern Territory compounded this dissatisfaction.

B) Discourse and the Army

In my employment within the Social Department of the Army in Sydney, I frequently completed tenders, applications and submissions to government and private philanthropic agencies for funding using the language, outcomes and accountabilities required by these bodies. As the Army has no formally developed theology of social work nor international social policy charter or constitution relating to the development of social policy to form a reference point, the use of language, outcomes and accountabilities required by external funding providers, including government, provided no real barriers to the completion of these requests and tenders. Since the Army has no formal social policy statement, I wondered whether the Army was being colonised, that is to say that the Army’s language and texts were being inhabited, subverted and changed without its direct permission, by society and organizations within the welfare state, such as government, particularly in the use of language, outcomes and accountabilities.

This unease was reinforced by the internal rhetoric, stories and discourses, surrounding William and Catherine Booth’s introduction of welfare services in the early Army both in England and Australia. One of the strongest internal discourses in the Army is that of independence. William said in 1911 in relation to independence “While preserving your separation” and “there must be no control on the part of those assisting us” (Booth 1912, pp 81-82). Those “assisting us” were of course, government, philanthropic organizations and donors to the work of the Army. These internal discourses still prevail in the Army in Australia today.

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7 In this matter, the Army is essentially controlled from London. See Chapters 3, 4 and the Appendix.
8 In using the term “discourse”, I mean “a system of statements which construct an object” ((Parker 1992, p. 5. Quoted in Burr 1995, p. 48.)). For a detailed analysis of this term see Chapter 2.
Internally, William Booth, together with his wife Catherine, is considered as a saint of the highest order, thus their strong influence in the Army today (Hattersley 1999; Pentecost 1997). As a Salvationist, I was deeply influenced by the internal rhetoric, stories and discourses surrounding the Booths, including the imprinting of the Army with their values and their development of social work as an expression of the Army’s religious beliefs (Irvine 2002). Organisationally, William and Catherine are constructed as visionary, radical and totally independent. For example;

“William Booth was a man of great vision” [my emphasis].

_We who stand in this moment in Salvation Army history have the privilege of looking back to his vision_ [my emphasis] _as a means of positioning ourselves for the future. Indeed, we are inextricably linked to the vision of William Booth_ [my emphasis] _and we serve God through The Salvation Army largely as a result of the inspired thinking of William Booth_ [my emphasis].” (Green 1999, p 5).

In the light of this statement and other organisational rhetoric, together with the fact that I was developing funding applications and meeting with government bureaucrats on a continual basis caused me to question the apparent colonisation of Army social services by government and other funding providers. I wanted to explore this conflict further thus, in part, this thesis.

The Salvation Army is deeply embedded within the Australian society and in the Australian welfare state. From it’s beginning the Army sought to engage the state both in Britain and in Australia. In engaging the state, and particularly institutions within the state such as government, it seemed reasonable that despite internal discourses, rhetoric and stories the early Army was transformed through its engagement with these institutions. Indeed, both Fairclough (1996) and Kress (1985) show that organizations transform and are transformed through discourse. My concern then, was to explore this early transformation in the Army and to compare this transformation with the transformation occurring to the Army in Australia today.
To provide the focus required to test the notion that the Army is transformed by discourse I therefore explored the question; to what extent has Salvation Army social policy been influenced by the discourses of the wider society? To provide specific focus for the analyses of policy the Army’s response to homelessness was selected for special analysis.

There were for two reasons for this focus; firstly, services to the homeless were the first permanent welfare service delivered by the Army (Green 1986; Sandall 1955). Secondly, homelessness is an area of significant policy interest, for example, the Keating Labor government in Australia felt that this issue was so important that it requested the House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs (1995) to prepare A Report on Aspects on Youth Homelessness which, amongst other things stated;

“The gravity of the issues dealt with in this Report and the importance of ensuring follow up of its recommendations prompts the Committee to continue its investigations in this area of government policy” (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs 1995, Preamble).

Thesis Outline

This thesis comprises nine chapters. Chapter 2 outlines the methodology to be used in this thesis and identifies the texts to be analysed and their value as vehicles for analysis of Salvation Army social policy. Chapter 3 explores the Salvation Army, its origins, the adoption of the military metaphor, governance, policy development and the mechanisms leading to textual production in the Army and as such provides a context for the development and examination of Army social policy narratives.
Chapter 4 examines the place of the Army in the welfare state and explores the implications for the Army in its membership of the welfare state in Australia. Included in Chapter 4 is an analysis of Catherine Booth’s *The Salvation Army And Its Relation To The State* (Booth 1883). Chapter 5 provides the context and background for the analysis of ‘Darkest England’ and provides the historical context examining the development of social policy by the Army in the late 19th century. Chapter 6 is a textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’.

Chapter 7 concentrates on the later part of the 20th century and analyses the modern construction of the problem of homelessness and the influences on Army policy narratives in the late 20th century. Chapter 8 continues this analysis concentrating on an analysis of the discourses incorporated in the Army’s social policy, particularly those relating to homelessness. Finally, Chapter 9 draws conclusions based upon the findings and insights gained in the preceding chapters. The thesis is structured to provide a logical flow to my analysis, in addition, the structure was dictated by the major aim of the thesis; namely, the exploration of discourses influencing Army social policy. Since part of my concern was to compare current dominant discourses in the Army with the Army’s founding discourses, the structure of the thesis based on a historical progression of Army textual development.
Chapter 2

Methodological Approach

Introduction

Stories are powerful organisational and political tools (Orlikowski & Yates 1994). Stories are, as Gabriel (1998) suggests;

“emotionally and symbolically charged narratives; they do not present information or facts about ‘events’, but they enrich, enhance and infuse facts with meaning [my emphasis]”. (Gabriel 1998, p. 136.).

This chapter outlines the methodology to be used to analyse Salvation Army social policy narratives, and explores the links between language and discursive practices, particularly the use of narrative or story telling, to publicise and propagate Salvation Army social policy.

In order to achieve the aims of this thesis, namely, to analyse the discourses influencing the development of Salvation Army policy, I use a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), namely, Narrative Analysis (NA). The form of NA used in this thesis is a synthesis of the work of Fairclough (1996; 2002), Roe (1994) and Atkinson (2000). This chapter describes the deployment of this methodology for analysing the Army’s social policy narratives. NA is one of the analytical techniques available to the social policy analyst, through developments within the social constructionist approach that is also described here. Following discussion of the methodology, the relevance of notions of genre and intertextuality are explored.
The Social Constructionist Approach

The articulation of social construction theory by Berger and Luckmann (1975) led to a new sensitivity to the role of language in the development of social policy (Burr 1995; O’Conner 1990; Fairclough 1996). Since this articulation, many writers, including Atkinson (2000), Fairclough (1996), Hastings (1998), Jessop (1994), Jones (1996), Lempke (1995), Maines (2000), Polkinghorne (1988), Stone (1989) and Valverde (1991) have commented upon the use of socially charged language in the construction of social policy. By the use of the term ‘socially charged’, I refer to the fact that language carries social meanings that are “never fixed, … always open to question, always contestable and always temporary” (Burr 1995, p 33). In other words, language is fundamentally a social phenomenon where the meanings attached to language depend upon the power relationships within in a particular social context or situation (Burr 1995; Fairclough 1996). Since language is socially charged, an analysis of the language used by the Army to develop its social policy contains insights into the discourses that have influenced the development of Army social policy.

An increasing number of theorists, such as Atkinson (2000) and Hastings (1998), hold that it is through the analysis of language and a society’s linguistic and literary practices that insights into the economic, scientific, social, cultural and political discourses influencing the production of social policy can be explored. Through such analysis, it is possible to develop new insights into the policy development process.

Language analysis used in social policy analysis falls under the umbrella of what is commonly termed the social constructionist approach. According to Penna and O’Brien (1996), prior to the development of the social constructionist project the study of social policy as an entity sprang from the positivist perspective. Positivism assumes a scientifically neutral body of rigorous methodologies, empirical generalisations and general laws that explain these empirical generalisations. Positivism also assumes a straightforward relationship between conventional or received knowledge relating to the nature of the world and its actual nature (Hastings 1998; Kaplan 1993).
Within the positivist project scientific planning, social reform, social welfare and social order are perceived as goals attainable through the application of scientific reason and the application of scientific principles to the social and natural worlds (Penna & O'Brien 1996). Social constructionism challenges the epistemologies of positivism and positivist theories of knowledge by providing an epistemological alternative (Hastings 1998).

As Hastings (1998) notes; “Social constructionism challenges the assumption that there is a straightforward relationship between ‘knowledge’ and ‘reality’” (Hastings 1998, p. 193.). Social constructionism also challenges the assumption that an objective, impartial understanding of social policy is possible (Lemke 1995; Hastings 1998; Burr 1995). The challenge to positivism arises out of a social constructionist position that the practices and systems which we use to analyse, describe and develop meanings relating to the world we live in are themselves the construct of social, cultural and historical mechanisms (Hastings 1998; Burr 1995).

The conceptual centre of the social constructionist perspective, lies in the proposition that social constructs including definitions, ideas, values, beliefs, etc., “are inseparable from, and mutually constitutive of social conditions, narratives, symbols, categories, facts, forms and structures” (Maines 2000, p. 577). Social constructionism maintains that the ‘real world’ is a discursive construct, that is, an enunciation or production of a pattern of statements or symbols. Consequently, our access to the world is mediated, that is, social construction acts as a medium, through which we access the ‘real world’ (Fairclough 1996; Burr 1995). As a consequence, definitions, statements, texts and symbols developed by social actors that claim to represent ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge’ are themselves social constructs (Fox 1995; Hastings 1998).
Discourse and Discourse Analysis

Contributing to the social constructionist approach is the notion of ‘discourse’. The notion of ‘discourse’ has been profoundly influenced by Michel Foucault’s analyses of society and social practice (Foucault 1920, 1975, 1991; Burr 1995; Hastings 1998). Foucault developed the concept of ‘discourse’ by which he meant the “different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice” (Fairclough 1996, p. 3.) as a primary tool of social analysis. The concept of ‘discourse’ has been refined over time and according to Shapiro (1987) ‘discourse’ can be “any systematic or disciplined way of constituting subjects, objects, and relationships” (Shapiro 1987, p. 365.). There are, of course, a variety of alternate ways of defining the notion of discourse. Parker, for example, defines discourse as “a system of statements which construct an object” ((Parker 1992, p. 5. Quoted in Burr 1995, p. 48.)).

For Fairclough, discourse actively constitutes or is involved in constructing society in its various dimensions and Fairclough (1996) maintains that discourse “constitutes the object of knowledge, social subjects and forms of ‘self’, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks” (Fairclough 1996, p. 39.). In addition to the notion of discourse, the notion of ‘discursive practices’ developed by Foucault describes the linguistic practices and the use of socially charged language to produce dominant fields of knowledge. Foucault’s analysis highlights the struggle between dominant social, cultural and political power groups within society. Foucault’s position was that as a result of this struggle a discourse is not either true or false; rather, truth is simply the effect of power relations that create and constitute a prevailing form of truth and meaning (Richardson & Fowers 1998; Lemke 1995; Fairclough 1996).
Discourse Analysis (DA), that is, “the analysis of a …text in order to reveal either the discourses operating within it or the linguistic and rhetorical devices that are used in its construction” (Burr 1995, p 184) was selected as the analytical tool to be used in this thesis. Discourse analysis was selected because, as Jacobs (1999) suggests, the analysis of discourse offers the prospect of developing new insights into the social policy process, because of the power of Discourse Analysis to take the familiar and rendering it unfamiliar; and by doing providing powerful insights into policy development process.

Discourse analysis (DA) as a critical technology is not without challenge. Jacobs (1999) outlines three major areas of theoretical criticism namely, relativism, the privileging of ‘agency’ over ‘structure’ and, finally, the problem of bias. I argue above that it is not possible to claim that one single discourse is objectively the truth; rather I have argued that DA allows us the capacity to make judgements between competing interpretations. I also argue that DA offers the possibility of gain in new insights into the policy process.

Yet, it is precisely here that the criticism of relativism is levelled at DA. The criticism of relativism relies on the position that there must be recourse to some form of objective truth to allow the analyst to make judgements between competing versions of reality. In rebuttal of this criticism I argue that DA is not a method through which the ‘truth’ is revealed, rather DA is a technology that provides a consistent and rational explanation of social policy positions (Jacobs 1999).

Jessop (1990) provides a critique of DA, concluding that it privileges ‘agency’ over ‘structure’; by this he means that by privileging individual agency, that is individual action, over social structures such as the welfare state, the discourse analyst pays insufficient attention to the social conditions through which discourse is produced and consumed. However, throughout this thesis I take the position that there must be a duality; that is, an equality of both positions, in which ‘structure’ and ‘agency’ equally shape and are shaped by the other (Jacobs 1999).
The question of bias is probably one of the harder criticisms to counter. DA involves an active choice whereby I selected individual texts for analysis and presented my own opinions on how the Army as an organization shapes and is shaped by discourse. I have already stated that I am a participant/observer. My observations are biased by my attitudes and socialisation, however I return to the remarks made by Garrett (1998) defending subjectivity in research; she argues “that all knowledge is already ‘biased’ by the knowers standpoint” (Garrett 1998, p. 33) and by reference to other texts and actors I have been able to evaluate and critique my own biases.

Texts

Discourses and the discursive strategies used to generate and work on them are manifested in the production of texts. In this thesis, I shall refer to the term ‘text’ in a broader sense than that initially used by Fairclough (1996) who in 1996 referred to text as written and spoken products. Fairclough (2002) broadened his definition in a later work to “any actual instance of the usage of language is a ‘text’” (Fairclough 2002, p. 3.). Even this definition is limited, because texts such as television programmes involve the combination of language, visual images, music and sound effects to provide meaning (Fairclough 2002).

I shall use the concept of text developed by Burr (1995). According to Burr, the term ‘text’ should include objects that manifest in;

“speech, say in conversation or interview, in written material such as novels, newspaper articles or letters, in visual images like magazine advertisements or films, or even in the ‘meanings’ embodied in the clothes people wear” (Burr 1995, pp. 50-51.).
In relation to texts, Burr is of the opinion that “clothes and uniforms may suggest class, position, status, gender, age or subculture and as such can be called texts” (Burr 1995, pp. 50-51). Her observation is particularly relevant in any textual analysis of The Salvation Army, considering the Army’s appropriation of the military metaphor and its application to its members and organisational structure requiring the use of uniform, flags, bands and formalised architecture (Walker 2001; Winston 1999) ⁹.

Texts are not simple verbal or non-verbal productions of statements. The statement, no matter how complex or simple it appears is the result of specific language and action choices made by their authors. These statements are themselves the result of a complex amalgam of a variety discourses from various sources, all of which are influenced by the social and cultural usages of language and symbols (Hastings 1998). Texts do not operate in a void. Textual production and reading are social practices and this production and reading has causal effects; texts can change or add to knowledge, alter beliefs, attitudes and values. On the other hand, a text can confirm all of these things. By containing meaning, texts act on events and in the process are also acted on by social events, structures and practices, for example, the changes made by committees to political forms of action may be changed by the processes adopted by the committee (Kress 1985). For the purposes of this thesis, a text is “anything [my emphasis] that can be read for meaning” (Burr 1995, p. 185.)

Intertextuality

Social and cultural forces influence language selection and the influence of these forces is revealed in a text through the presence of other texts within the specific statement, that is, the level of intertextuality in the subject text. Texts are not produced in isolation. They are developed within the social and literary practices of society and rely for their value, power and validity on the hegemonic or socially dominant discourse practices of that society. Since texts are socially constructed statements, Fairclough (1996) defines intertextuality as the relationship between various texts or in other words, intertextuality is the manner in which one text plays upon other texts (Fox 1995).

⁹ See Chapter 3, page 36, for a further discussion on the use of the military metaphor and military symbols by the Army.
Intertextuality is a characteristic of all textual production and texts should be understood against the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinion, points of view and value judgements” (Bakhtin 1981, p. 281) (Also quoted in (Lemke 1995, p. 23.)).

Texts are neither independent, neutral or value free; the concept of intertextuality points to the interconnectedness of texts, or to use an equivalent term used above, statements. Statements are therefore part of a series, part of a network of other statements from which the statement derives support, validity and meaning (Foucault 1991). In speaking of the interdependence of statements or texts, that is intertextuality, Foucault (1991) observes that;

“There is no statement that does not presuppose others; there is no statement that is not surrounded by a field of coexistence as, effects of series and succession, a distribution of functions and roles” (Foucault 1991, p. 99.)
(Also partly quoted in Lemke (Lemke 1995, p. 29.)).

Intertextuality can be more or less explicit. To explain the presence of other texts Fairclough (1996) introduces the concept of “manifest intertextuality” by which he means “the explicit presence of other texts in a text” (Fairclough 1996, p. 10). Examples of manifest intertextuality include the use of the word “Army” in the Army’s name and the Army’s use of military uniform. These symbols rely on understood meanings created by the military metaphor and their use by the Army not only creates meaning but also alters and reconstitutes this meaning and as such is an example of intertextuality (Fairclough 1996).
Finally, the notion of ‘voice’ is important in intertextuality. By voice, I mean not only the speech of an individual but also the pattern of a text. A newspaper, for example, will tend to report the voice of an individual or a group, except in the case of an editorial when it uses its own voice. Doctors, for example when examining a patient will manifest the voice of medicine, patients a mixture of medicine and their own life world and a scientist the voice of their scientific speciality (Fairclough 1996).

Genres

Language always happens as text and not as isolated words or sentences; consequently, a text is a significant unit of language. Texts arise out of specific social interactions; constructed with specific purposes and meanings in mind by its author or authors. Since texts are so significant it is also clear that the social occasions in which text operates has a fundamentally important effect on a text (Kress 1985).

These occasions and the associated social relations range in formality, convention and structure. The occasions may range, for example, from weddings to church services, and include committee meetings. The formality, convention and structure may be characterised as the intention to make decisions in certain ways, ways that involve specific people and groups all with the intention to make politically sustainable decisions. These conventionalised social occasions have an effect on texts. Texts within this context lead to forms of texts designated as ‘genres’ (Kress 1985).

Fairclough notes that;

“Discourse figures in three main ways in social practice. It figures as;

Genres (ways of acting)
Discourses (ways of representing)
Styles (ways of being)” (Fairclough 2002, p. 11)
The notion of genre is important since genre and its usage is a recognisable way of presenting discourses in a familiar frame. Genres may also include such diverse types or forms of texts such as interviews, academic reports, essays, newspaper articles, addresses, meetings, memos, orders and regulations, uniforms, conversation and consultations. As an analytical category, genre is valuable precisely because it adds another dimension to the analysis of the discourses incorporated into texts (Fairclough 2002). In addition, when a text is analysed in discourse analysis in “terms of genre, we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events” (Fairclough 2002, p. 47).

Genre, as an analytical category, is also important because of the meaning making qualities of specific genres. Texts not only derive their meaning from the language and discourses that may appear in a specific text; they also derive meanings from information contained in the frame, forms, constraints and understood meanings inherent in the particular genre (Kress 1985). Genre, according to Fairclough (2002), can be ‘local’ in scale, referring to relatively limited networks of social practice say within an organization, such as a specific report into a well defined social activity; or can be ‘global’, referring to interactions across networks of social activity. Genres do not stand alone, they contribute, as ways of acting, to events and form part of a ‘chain’ of genres, that is, they form part of a network of interconnected genres. Since genres are interconnected, another way of describing this interconnectedness in an organisational sense is the notion of genre repertoire (Orlikowski & Yates 1994).

Fairclough (2002) points to the importance of genre in maintaining organizations. Organizations, such as the Army develop relatively stable ways of acting that are habitually enacted by members of an organization such as in memos, meetings, reports and monographs. By the continued production of a stable genre repertoire the Army is able to maintain its internal discourses and present a specific image to the public. This involves continually reworking the military and welfare service discourses for its own purposes. As Orlikowski & Yates (1994) note,
“a genre established within a particular community serves as an institutional template for social action – an organizing structure that shapes the ongoing communication actions of community members through their ongoing use of it” (Orlikowski & Yates 1994, p. 542.).

The genre repertoire and genre templates were, at the Army’s formation, generated by the Booths and their supporters and commenced with, amongst other texts, William Booth’s *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Booth 1890) and Catherine Booth’s *The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State* (Booth 1883). An analysis of these works will be found in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. The analysis of genre in this thesis will follow the analytical method recommended by Fairclough, that is, the analysis will proceed from the ‘genre chain’, to the genre mixtures in a particular text, to the properties of individual genres” (Fairclough 2002, p. 48.).

**Narrative Analysis**

Storytelling, or to be more precise the use of narrative, has been an important and prominent part of Army social practice. Members of the Army have used Biblical stories, i.e., parables, conversion narratives ¹⁰, and organisational rhetoric ¹¹ to construct and reinforce the Army persona and internal culture. In addition, the Army leadership and Army members have deployed narratives to influence and engage the government and potential donors. Narratives, used by the Army leadership and its members cover a wide area including the religious and the social welfare aspects of Army. For the purposes of this thesis, narratives relating to social action will be called *policy narratives*.

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¹⁰ See Chapter 4 for a description of conversion narratives.

¹¹ Particularly the stories and rhetoric surrounding the early persecution of the Army and its responses to this sometimes-violent persecution (Bailey 1984).
Policy narratives are amenable to analysis through Narrative Analysis (NA). NA is the systematic study of narrative. NA, also known as Narratology, will be used in this thesis as the primary analytical tool. NA has been recognised as having immense potential in the analysis of social policy (Boje 2001; Valverde 1991). Jameson (1987) recognises this potential and conceptualises NA “as a key epistemological category” (Jameson 1987; quoted in (Atkinson 2000, p. 213.)). Observed in this light NA offers a powerful epistemological system that provides insight into the Army’s social policy formation (Atkinson 2000).

Definitions of narrative are to be found extensively through the relevant literature. Polkinghorne (1988), Reid (1992) and Kaplan (1993) all provide extensive definitions of narrative. I refer to narrative as the discursive structure ‘that organises events, human actions and non-verbal signs into a whole’. This definition based upon a definition developed by Nakagawa (1993) conforms in principle with other definitions of narrative provided by the authors mentioned above.

In organising events, human actions and non-verbal signs a narrative is more than just the structural integration of sentences. A narrative is the construction and presentation of sentences and non-verbal signs in ways that construct meaning in distinct objects such as individual texts. Such narratives may be presented across a combination of texts such as a series in succeeding issues of a newspaper and in symbols such as the Army flag, uniform and distinctive Army architecture (Nakagawa 1993; Valverde 1991).

Narratives include an infinite number of forms. The non-verbal or symbolic form is as important as the written or textual form. The symbolic form depends, largely, upon the powers of the observer. The information, expectations, preoccupations, socialisation and the cultural context of the observer provide important cues for the observer to create meaning (Reid 1992). These cues form a frame of reference for the consumer of the text. This frame, a frame being anything “perceived by the observer to enclose an area within which meaning takes place” (Reid 1992, p. 203.) situates, labels and signs the narrative.
Kaplan (1993) suggests that NA can comfortably be applied to narratives that follow the Aristotelian progression, that is, narratives which contain a beginning, middle and an end. Simply put, the beginning of a narrative defines the context, for example “In the past the government…” or to use Booth’s words in the introduction of ‘Darkest England’;

“the progress of The Salvation Army in its work among the poor and lost of many lands has compelled me to face the problems which are more or less hopefully considered in the following pages”. (Booth 1890, Preface).

The middle defines the problem, for example “currently the legislation is deficient…” or to use Booth’s words again;

“their vicious habits and destitute circumstances make it certain that, without some kind of extraordinary help, they must hunger and sin, and sin and hunger, until, having multiplied their kind, and filled up the measure of their miseries, the gaunt fingers of death will close upon them and terminate their wretchedness” (Booth 1890, Preface).

The end of a narrative delivers the solution as in “it is recommended that funding be provided….” Or in Booth’s words

“now I propose to go straight to the sinking classes, and in doing so will aim at the heart...If we help the man it is in order to change him...In many cases I shall succeed, in some I shall fail; but even in failing of this my ultimate design, I shall at least benefit the bodies, if not the souls of men; and if I do not save the fathers, I shall make a better chance for the children” (Booth 1890, Preface).
In this thesis, I not only analyse narratives constructed in the Aristotelian progression suggested by Kaplan; I also analyse the symbols that have been incorporated and reworked by the Army. The analysis is not limited to just the literary form or to the linguistic analysis of words, sentences or paragraphs but rather focuses “upon the higher level organisational properties of dialogue… or of… texts” (Fairclough 1996, p. 3.).

**Narrative and Social Problems.**

Narratives may be discursive strategies incorporating and reworking a number of social discourses which may, for example, relate to discourses of social structure and class or to discourses relating to notions of the deserving and the undeserving poor. Alternatively, a narrative, as a discursive strategy, may work on a single discourse such as that of Empire.

It is the intersection of social discourses in narratives that provides cues relating to the intended meaning the author wishes to create in the construction of the narrative. The meaning conveyed by narrative is differentiated by the context and the discursive strategies deployed within the narrative. Narratives take on meaning only in a social context and as such are never innocent (Atkinson 2000). Narratives contain discourses and meaning-making codes together with problem definitions and problem solutions (Atkinson 2000; Stone 1989). Narratives, in attempting to project a version of reality, seek to organise this reality, while simultaneously attempting to mask or deny contradictions within that reality. Taking this projection of reality into account, what is absent from a narrative may well be just as, or indeed more important than, what is present within the narrative (Atkinson 2000).
Observer/Participant Research

DeLyser (2001) cautions that analysing texts from an observer/participator perspective poses distinct challenges. He notes that many texts relating to qualitative research methods often advise analysts to refrain from conducting research into communities or situations of which they are already part (DeLyser 2001). Bogdan and Biklen (1998) note that qualitative researchers regularly focus on the taken for granted problems; therefore, starting with an insider's perspective can make research harder rather than easier. Kitchin and Tate (2000) warn that the analyst “may fail to notice pertinent questions or issues because of the inability to step back from a situation and fully assess the circumstances,” (2000 p. 29) and Evans (1988) suggests that the participant/observer may be “over-familiar with the community” which could lead to “too much participation at the expense of observation” (Evans 1988 p. 205). Finally, Strauss (1987) cautions that the participant/observer may, in the end, "know too much experientially and descriptively about the phenomena they are studying and so [end up] literally flooded with materials" (Strauss 1987, 29). These warnings are based upon a pervasive subjective/objective dichotomy whereby researchers may be either subjective or objective but not both (Fleming and Spicer 2003).

Merton (1972), Garrett (1998), May (1997) and Maines (2001) question this dichotomy. May (1997) comments on the advantage of using participant/observation and textual evidence as complementary methods of research where the participant observation is checked and questioned by the documentary evidence, as is my intention in this thesis. Garrett (1998) observes that ‘participant observation’ can in many ways make research more authoritative. She argues in support of subjectivity as a part of the focus of research that,

“…all knowledge is already ‘biased’ by the knower’s standpoint but that this is more of an advantage than a problem, since stories …can be deconstructed to reveal social influences” (Garrett 1998, p. 32.).
The observations presented in this thesis are, therefore, informed by a lifetime of using, studying and analysing Salvation Army practices; practices formed over 130 years in an organization dominated by its name and its adoption of the military metaphor. It could be argued that because of my membership and employment by the Army that this study would be biased; further, that an intimate association with the organization whose social policy I am analysing will compromise the rigour of the analysis; on the contrary, as a participator/observer in the social policy process, I possess deep and significant insights into the Army social policy development process.

I am a Salvationist and have been associated with the development of Salvation Army social policy. May (1997) argues that the greater the personal involvement, the more the researcher is able to understand meanings in texts produced by the social group or organization. My membership of and employment by the Army has provided me with an intimate knowledge of the language and discursive practices used by the Army in its discursive strategies and this experience is particularly relevant to the social policy analysis contained in this thesis, particularly when viewed in the light of May (1997) and Garrett’s (1998) comments. The fact that I am a Salvationist is not a guarantee that my observations and analysis is correct or for that matter useful. Rather, it is in the amalgamation of my personal experience, my attention to the view of others and a critical appraisal of the themes included in the subject texts will provide consumers of this text the widest information from which to draw their own conclusions (Garrett 1998).

The arguments presented in this thesis will be informed by a lifetime of studying and analysing Salvation Army usages and practices in an organization dominated by its name and its adoption of the military metaphor. This thesis is a critical yet subjective analysis of Army policy. Given that my analysis is subjective and contains personal bias, my research, using NA explores the discourses influencing Army policy narratives taking the early texts developed by Catherine and William Booth and uses these texts to provide a context for social policy texts published by the Army in Australia in the late 20th century.
Being mindful of the comments by Strauss (1987) I have been careful to limit to three the number of texts selected for analysis, namely, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Booth 1890), Catherine’s address *The Salvation Army And Its Relation To The State* (Booth 1883) and *No Place that’s Home* (The Salvation Army 1995) so that both I as the author of this thesis, and the consumer will not become “flooded with material” (Strauss 1987, 29).

**Analytical Method**

In narrative analysis, the first task is to identify the individual narrative or story and its frame. The second task is to identify the different layers of meaning within a narrative and the code that underlies this meaning.

In analysing the narrative structures and codes in the narrative production of the Army, the challenge arises not in analysing the value or deciding whether the Army’s representation of reality is ‘true’, but in analysing the version of truth and reality that the Army is seeking to articulate and transform in its discursive strategy. In the analysis of discourse, Michael Foucault noted that:

“To analyse a discursive formation is to weigh the ‘value’ of statements, a value that is not defined by their truth, that is not gauged by a secret content but which characterizes their place, their capacity for circulation and exchange, their possibility of transformation” (Foucault 1991, p. 120).

Together with analysing the value of any statement, the issue of interpretation is crucial to narrative analysis (Atkinson 2000; Franzosi 1998; Kaplan 1993; Kiser 1996; Reid 1992). Narratives relating to social policy often embed problem definitions within the narrative, describing harms and difficulties and then proceed to outline the immanent solution (Atkinson 2000).
To weigh the value of statements and contribute to the analysis of Army texts a methodology has been devised that is a synthesis of the work of three theorists; namely, Fairclough (1996), Burr (1995) and Roe (1994), all of whom have developed methods of discourse analysis.

The chosen methodology will contain three steps;

Step 1. Identification of the narrative and its frame, including the genre or genres use by the text.

Step 2. Identification of the overarching codes or meaning structures.

Step 3. Textual analysis and the identification of discourses and their meaning within the textual material together with the identification of intertextual material.

**Results and Limitations of Narrative Analysis**

The methodology described above will provide techniques for an analysis of the development of policy narratives within the Army. I have argued that meaning is a social construction; the conclusions drawn from this analysis are not, therefore, the truth. It is acknowledged that even this research is itself a discursive interaction, constituted by the discursive practices that it uses to analyse the development of Army policy narratives (Fox 1995; Maines 1993).

Nevertheless, my reading of the influences on Army policy has the benefit of my position as a participant/observer. I am a Salvationist and have been associated with the development of Salvation Army social policy. May (1997) argues that the greater the personal involvement, the more the researcher is able to understand meanings in texts produced by the social group or organization.
Given that my analysis is subjective and contains personal bias, my research, using NA explores the discourses influencing Army policy narratives taking the early texts developed by Catherine and William Booth and uses these texts to provide a context for social policy texts published by the Army in Australia in the late 20th century.
Chapter 3.  

*Setting the Context*  

*The Salvation Army*

**Introduction**

Chapter 2 outlined the methodology by which the social influences on Salvation Army social policy are analysed. This chapter also explores the organization and development of the Army and its use of the military metaphor. Additionally, the chapter also explores the organization of the Army. The organization is important because as Valverde notes,

> “The Salvation Army… largely organised itself through a discourse composed not only of slogans, speeches, and articles but also of uniforms, insignia, musical instruments, architectural designs for Army buildings, and so on”

(Valverde 1991, p. 10.)

To provide a frame for the analysis contained in this thesis, this chapter explores the powerful effect that founders of the Army, William and Catherine Booth had on the textual legacy of the Army. The adoption of the military metaphor profoundly affected the Army and the effects on the Army through the adoption of this metaphor are explored in the chapter. Specifically, this chapter will examine the Army’s patterns of governance, the organisational structures and the place of social services within the organization.
In the previous chapter, it was noted that the ongoing task of writing the history of the Army has been the subject of a number of works including those by Ervine (1934), Begbie (1925), Green (1996), Hattersley (1999), Murdoch (1994), Walker (2001), and Winston (1999). It is therefore unnecessary to continue that wider task here. Rather, I will be focusing on one element, namely, the textual legacy of the Booths and the influences evident in this legacy.

The importance of the Booths to the Army can never be underestimated. In commenting on the effect of founders upon organizations Irvine notes, “One of the institutional elements… affecting organisational structure is its imprinting at the time of its founding” (Irvine 2002, p. 5.). Thus understanding the imprinting, the organisational structures, the social norms to which the Booths aligned the Army and the discursive traditions and conventions created by the Booths in establishing the Army is crucial in developing an understanding of the influences on Army social policy at its birth and in today’s context.

Part of the importance of Catherine and William Booth lay in their publishing legacy. Both William and Catherine Booth were incessant writers and the Army became a vehicle for the publication of their letters, addresses and monographs. The Army, amongst other things, published Life and Death, Godliness, Aggressive Christianity, Practical Christianity, Popular Christianity, Holiness, Female Ministry and The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State by Catherine 12 (Sandall 1950). The Army also published many of William’s texts including The General’s Letters, Salvation Soldiery, The Training of Children and In Darkest England and the Way Out (Sandall 1950). These texts only represent a small amount of the written body of work by these two people.

12 This latter work will form the subject of analysis in Chapter 4
Their texts are important for the way in which they generated a textual legacy for the Army. In addition, their textual output is important because of the genre repertoire and genre templates they created for the Army. Their texts led to the creation of Army genres such as reports, Orders and Regulations, addresses, letters, religious meetings and narratives (Orlikowski & Yates 1994).

**Founding Influences and Legacies**

Irvine notes that:

> “Founders have a huge influence on the structure of the organisations they set up. Their own particular characteristics and practices often become institutionalised in the organization’s culture. This was certainly the case with William Booth, the strong, charismatic founder of The Salvation Army. His vision, together with his own poor background...had a profound affect on The Salvation Army...” (Irvine 2002, p 5).

William Booth is, quite rightly, credited as the foundational figure, overshadowing the Army even today. However, to claim that William Booth was the sole founder would be to ignore the profound effect that Catherine Booth had on the Army and its textual strategies and repertoire. The Army, and independent observers such as Green (1996) and Hattersley (1999), now accept that Catherine was a co-founder of the Army.

As a co-founder of the Army, Catherine’s influence on the Army’s textual and genre repertoire is particularly important. For example, Catherine was a teetotaller and she influenced William and the Army’s ethical practices and textual production in this direction. The Army incorporated this discourse into its corporate belief systems and today the Army still develops texts opposed to the production, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages.\(^\text{13}\)

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\(^\text{13}\) The latest texts are available at the Army’s Web Page in Australia at www.salvationarmy.org.au
Catherine Booth was a radical feminist and her views on the place of women in society were incorporated into Army texts. Catherine believed that women were equal to men and should have the right to preach, teach and govern the Christian church as men’s equals; another position that is still part of the social practice of the Army today. Catherine’s feminist position was revolutionary and subversive of the dominant social discourse of feminine weakness current in Victorian England’s political and religious life. The dominance of this discourse consigned women to secondary and subordinate positions in the cultural and religious life of Britain and the Empire (Walker 1991; Walker 2001; Winston 1999).

Catherine’s feminist position challenged this discourse and the discourse of masculine privilege whilst allowing a reconstruction of the position of women’s spiritual leadership and practical authority in the church and this position received practical application in the Army (Walker 2001). This reconstruction developed by Catherine, allowed women in the Army an avenue to express their administrative, intellectual and spiritual strengths through the promotion to all offices of power within the movement.

Catherine’s feminist views regarding the equality of women flowed into the construction by the Army of policy narratives championing the rights of underprivileged as well as homeless women and prostitutes. Her views led to the development of Army policy narratives, particularly in the two major social publications of the early Army, namely, The Social Gazette and The Deliverer, supporting women against the depredation of men. In the narratives developed because of Catherine’s feminist stance, it is possible to detect codes designed to highlight the exploitation of powerless women by powerful men and the exploitation of poverty stricken women by rich men.

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14 Throughout its history, the Army has consistently promoted women over men. This practice of giving women places of power in the church is unique in the Christian church. The Army has also elected two women as Generals, namely, General Evangeline Booth and General Eva Burrows (The Salvation Army 1999). Women are regularly placed in charge of individual Churches, called Corps, Divisions and Headquarters Departments. Positions filled by women in the Army equate to priest/pastor and Bishop/Archbishop and Cardinals in other churches.
Catherine’s influence can be found in articles in *The Social Gazette* relating to such topics as prostitution:

> “our midnight crusade is making itself felt at last. The systematic efforts of our women rescuers are having a thorough effect. They are creating the fear of exposure on the part of offenders – the men (Original emphasis)...The second effect is the hustling and assaulting of our officers by the drunken and immoral “gentlemen” (Original emphasis) who nightly make a rendezvous of these thoroughfares [Piccadilly]” (Unstated 1893, p. 6.).

**Origins of The Salvation Army and the Adoption of the Military Metaphor**

The historical context into which the Army was born is important. As Irvine notes;

> “Historical contexts are highly significant, since at the founding of an organisation, there will be structures and norms to which the new organisation must align if it is to be successfully established. New organisations must be seen as legitimate subunits of the larger social system” (Irvine 2002, p. 5.).

The organization known today as The Salvation Army, moved through a number of identities. In 1865, the organization that was to become “The Salvation Army” was called The Christian Revival Association; it then became The East London Christian Mission, then The Christian Mission. The name The Salvation Army was adopted in May 1878 (Hattersley 1999; Collier 1965; The Salvation Army 2000; Begbie 1925).
The birth of The Salvation Army came at a time when the British Empire was rapidly expanding and Britain was developing into a mature urban-industrial society. Britain was becoming economically powerful and prosperous. Against this background of wealth and privilege there were substantial inequalities in wealth. Britain still experienced high levels of social dislocation, poverty, homelessness, crime, drunkenness, hunger and prostitution (Irvine 2002).

Co-incidental to the establishment of the British Empire was the expansion of the military influence on British life. Indeed militarism became one of the most dominant social metaphors at the time the Army was established; a metaphor that crystallised in the Jubilee of Victoria’s reign in 1897, but which had been growing in the British culture prior to the Jubilee (Roberts 1999; Briggs 2001). The Army could not avoid being influenced by this dominant metaphor.

The Army was not alone in being influenced by the military metaphor. This metaphor became a dominant metaphor for British and Empire Christianity. For example, in 1865 Sabine Baring-Gould, an Anglican Priest, composed the hymn “Onward Christian Soldiers” (Sandall 1947). The hymn, though Anglican in origin, is still used in the Army today.

It is recorded that Bramwell Booth coined the name The Salvation Army in a discussion between his father William and George Scott Railton, a senior figure in the establishment of the Army and a close friend to the Booths, in May 1878 (Collier 1965; Sandall 1947; Begbie 1925). Booth not only adopted the military metaphor; he appropriated the genres of uniform, brass bands, military paraphernalia and military organisational structures and reworked them to his own organisational needs. This appropriation of genres also had the advantage of creating a movement that was distinct and easily identifiable.
Symbols, Language and Metaphors of an Army.

In a moment of insight W. T. Stead 15, a friend of the Army and one time editor of the Pall Mall Gazette, wrote of The Salvation Army;

“From the moment that the Army had received its title its destiny was fixed. The whole organisation was dominated by its name”. (Quoted in (Sandall 1950, p. 1.)

The name of The Salvation Army is represented in two of its symbols; namely,

![Figure 1](http://www.salvos.org.au)  ![Figure 2](http://www.salvos.org.au)

The traditional Army crest is at Figure 1 and the newer more publicly known crest is at Figure 2. Figure 1 is used more often internally and was designed by Captain William Ebdon in 1878 and the only major addition and alteration to his original design was the addition of the crown some time later that year (The Salvation Army 2003b). The symbol draws upon a number of discourses; firstly, the military metaphor is evident in the use of the swords, secondly, the use of the crown draws on the imperial discourse of the British monarchy. Though the Army has invested its own meanings in this crest, to the public, the military and the monarchic discourses are self-evident.

15 More will be found on Stead in Chapter 5

16 Both Figure 1 and Figure 2 have been taken from [http://www.salvos.org.au](http://www.salvos.org.au) (The Salvation Army 2003b).
A Canadian Salvation Army Officer, Walter Peacock, designed the Crest at Figure 2. Peacock designed and introduced the Red Shield into the Canadian-held trenches in France in 1915. The Army soon after adopted the Red Shield on a worldwide basis (The Salvation Army 2003b). This Army symbol draws directly on the military metaphor in its use of the shield. Militarily the shield is used as a heraldic devise by armies throughout the world. The leaders of The Salvation Army were able to draw on this readily identifiable military symbol and invest the symbol with its own meanings.

Figures 1 and 2 indicate how completely the Booth family and their supporters adopted the military metaphor. In doing so they allowed the military metaphor to invade, inhabit and change the organization, that is, the military metaphor colonized the organization. This colonisation took various forms and was manifested in the use of dress, such as uniforms; religious symbols\textsuperscript{17}, such as flags, military style brass bands; religious worship, organisational pattern, governance and command structures and by the use of military titles and ranks, specialised language\textsuperscript{18}, textual production and narratives. All of these elements, based upon the military metaphor, use military terms invested with religious and organisational meaning.

The Army is not unique in its adaptation of language. In 1926, Gramsci noted that:

“\textit{In reality, every political movement creates a language of its own} [my emphasis], \textit{that is, it participates in the general development of a distinct language, introducing new terms, enriching existing terms with new content, creating metaphors, using historical names to facilitate … comprehension.}” (Gramsci 1992, p. 126.)

\textsuperscript{17} See Figures 1 and 2 on page 41 above.

\textsuperscript{18} The modern Salvation Army is now concerned to alleviate any public misunderstanding of its language and its internal usage that each official Year Book has a glossary of Army terms. See the 2000 Year Book Pages 39-40 (The Salvation Army 2000) and also the Australia Southern Territory Web Site (The Salvation Army 2003b).
With the growth and development of the Army by 1878, the movement needed to speak to its own people as well as the general population. The use of its own language based upon the military metaphor, together with the uniform, made the Army instantly recognisable both in Britain and around the world.

The deliberate choice of the military metaphor by the Army required that it should use costumes and uniform to propagate its message. In fact joining the Army entailed a convert adopting the military metaphor entirely. It required adopting military discipline and dedication as indicators of organisational membership (Walker 2001; Bailey 1984).

In Chapter 2, I noted that discourse figures in three main ways in social practice; namely, in genres (as ways of acting), discourses (as ways of representing) and styles (ways of being) (Fairclough 2002). The military metaphor created an understandable and easily recognisable style or way of being for Salvationists. As a style, the military metaphor enabled members to change their identity and become musicians, slum sisters, hallelujah lassies, local officers and officers (Winston 1999; Fairclough 2002). Acting out the military metaphor remains a constant performance in the Army for its members. The military metaphor allowed the largely uneducated working class membership of the Army to combine the Biblical military narratives that they heard preached by their officers with their own conversion narratives. The conversion narratives were important to the Army not only for their religious purposes but also as a basis for Army policy narratives (Winston 1999; Walker 1991).

19 A local officer equates with Elders in other churches, though in the Army they hold military titles such as Sergeant Major, Band Master, Quartermaster etc. See also the Appendix.

20 For example, the narrative of Joshua and the battle at Jericho, the Biblical narratives relating to the military exploits of the Children of Israel in their wonderings in the desert and David’s military exploits in attaining and hold the crown of Israel.

21 Also mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2.
The Army concentrated on the conversion narrative that contained the three major narrative elements mentioned in Chapter 2, that is, beginning, middle and end. The conversion narrative generally commenced with a description of the convert’s unhappy and spiritually dangerous state, the beginning; then the conviction of sin and the conversion by the Holy Spirit, the middle; then the changed life and the intention to continue in harmony with God, the end (Walker 1991).

The convert’s original state or the beginning of the narrative also related to the poverty of the convert and the causes of poverty. In men, this usually meant the abuse of alcohol, loose companionship (generally ex-convicts and criminals), violence and particularly domestic violence. In women the beginning of the narrative usually began with a longing for God and an inability to find Him (Walker 2001).

There were some women’s conversion narratives based upon degradation such as prostitution or the abuse of alcohol. However, they were in a minority when compared to the conversion narratives of men (Walker 2001). Individual conversion narratives were also included in ‘Darkest England’ as part of Booth’s justification for his social policies and each of the cases began with a description of the physical poverty and degradation experienced by the individual whose life had been saved, both morally and spiritually.

22 Converts were new members who were converted from a life of sin or almost as often from other Christian denominations (Murdoch 1994).

23 Army publications contained many such narratives. One of the earliest can be found in The Darkest England Gazette of 1 July 1893, Page 9, Column 1. (Flawn 1893).

24 There are many examples of conversion narratives in Army texts, one such is to be found in the Australian War Cry of 31 January, 1891, Page 4, Column 3 (Unstated 1891).

25 One of many can be found in ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) at Page 175 regarding a “Mrs R. – Drury Lane Slum.”
The Army by its adoption of the military metaphor constructed for its membership, both officers and soldiers\textsuperscript{26}, a highly visible way of being in the world. The style, or way of being, required that members wear military uniform; in effect, the discourse regulated the clothes that the Salvationists wore, the language they spoke and the organisational pattern that governed their lives (Walker 2001; Fairclough 2002). Of its members, Bailey makes the point that,

\begin{quote}
"Many factors served to reinforce commitment to the Salvation Army: a distinctive uniform and the military paraphernalia; the reality and memory of persecution; and as an authoritarian organisation which insisted that cadres rely on the locality for subsistence, requiring young Salvationists to \textquote{live very hardly and work hard}."
\end{quote}

(Bailey 1984, p. 142).

Its religious language was so colonised by the military metaphor that individual churches became “Corps”, church donations became “firing a cartridge”, and a person saved from a life of degradation, evil and sin became a “trophy”. Soldiers or members of the Army did not go to prayer meetings they went to “knee drills” and when the Army started a new “Corps” it “opened fire” and “occupied” a town or village by constructing or purchasing a building known in the Army as “barracks” or later a “citadel”\textsuperscript{27}. The use of military language through the adoption of the military metaphor also provided a system of codes and code words within the Army. These codes provided a social binding agent and provided a system of meaning creation. The codes were included in Army songs such as:

\begin{quote}
\textit{God’s soldier marches as to war,}
\textit{A soldier on an alien shore. A soldier true, a soldier who}
\textit{Will keep the highest aims in view}
\end{quote}

(Song 801) (The Salvation Army 1986)

\textsuperscript{26}Officers are ordained leaders. Soldiers are accepted church members. See the Appendix.

\textsuperscript{27}See The Salvation Army 2000 Year Book (The Salvation Army 2000) for a glossary of Army terminology and also the Australia Southern Territory Web Site (The Salvation Army 2003b) and the Appendix.
The “highest aims” were manifold. One was the Army’s Christian evangelical position, another a strict adherence to the Army’s Christian ethics and principles, and another was the organisational loyalty and obedience demanded by their General, William Booth. In this song, the codes provide meaning based on a shared knowledge of military symbols and meaning.

The adoption of the military metaphor as the modus operandi of the Army provided its member with a system of shared understandings and a method of meaning making. The adoption of a uniform for all members of the Army is a major social action within that metaphor. Davis wrote in relation to dress; as a narrative, “I would hold that clothing styles...constitute something approximating a code” (Davis 1992, p. 5.). The code embodied in the Salvation Army uniform made the Army immediately recognisable but also conveyed a specific suite of meanings both to its own members and to the public. These meanings included the fact that wearer belonged to an organization that provided social services.

**Governance**

The military metaphor had been fully adopted and incorporated by Booth and his followers, but putting the metaphor into effect was another issue. Booth needed to develop a system of control for his new movement and so he turned to the military genre of Orders and Regulations. Orders and Regulations are the first part of a genre chain. This chain includes the Army’s Official Minutes, which rely on the military genre of interpretive texts relating to orders and Regulations. The genre chain also includes memos, meetings and policy announcements that flow from the origin Orders and Regulations.

The first Orders and Regulations were issued in 1878. Since the Army was at a formative stage, it had neither textual templates nor internal genres to use in the development of Orders and Regulations. William Booth was forced to draw on external texts as the guide for internal texts. In the Introduction of the Orders and Regulations of 1878 Booth stated;
“It is a remarkable fact that our system corresponds so closely to that of the Army and Navy of this country that we have been able to use even the very words of many of their regulations, and of Sir Garnet Wolseley’s Soldier’s Pocket-book”. (Booth 1878, p. 9.).

The intertextuality, that is the incorporation of external texts and reworking them in Army texts, is made explicit in this quotation. In addition, Booth relied on the military metaphor and expressly relied on the power of external texts to enhance and protect the powers and privileges of the office of General of The Salvation Army.

The military genre of Orders and Regulations was appropriated by Booth and reworked for organisational purposes. He then reworked the genre and created a new genre template for the Army. The Army’s genre repertoire still contains Orders and Regulations and though modified somewhat over the years the genre is still clearly identifiable in the Army.

**Organization**

Chapter 2 noted that discourse figures, amongst other things in styles, or ways of being (Fairclough 2002). Part of the Army’s style or way of being in the welfare state is its bureaucracy. The British government and its institutions were the bureaucratic model adopted by the Booths for the administration of the Army. As the Army grew, its bureaucracy continually mirrored the structures of the British government. In addition, since Australia during the period, even though colonial in government also inherited British governmental institutions the Army’s bureaucratic style was easily adapted to Australian conditions.

The Army’s bureaucratic model has continually evolved but retains the centralised character developed by the Booths. The organisational pattern of the Army is important in understanding how the Army develops policy. Like all armies, the organization of the Army is strictly hierarchical. It has as its focus the General in London. However, there is a great deal of local authority delegated from London, particularly in the development of policy on local matters.
A Chief of Staff assists the General. Under the Chief of Staff, the world is divided into geographic regions under the oversight of International Secretaries. This group is the single most powerful group in the Army and together with the General and Chief of Staff; they develop the overarching policy principles for the Army. This includes matters of personnel, promotion policies, the rank structure, development of new Territories, theology, finance, and relationships with the wider Christian church community, international aid and relief and social policy amongst other issues.

Each Territory is under the control of a Territorial Commander and the International Headquarters model is replicated at the Territorial level with the Territorial Commander being supported by a Chief Secretary and a Cabinet comprised of senior officers. The development of social policy within this structure is a tortuous affair.

It is true that social policy can be developed and interpreted at the lowest level by employees; as pointed out by Lipsky (1980). Moreover, depending on the character of the service and its manager social policy developed at the service level of the Army can be very different from the actual policy developed by the International and Territorial management of the Army. Nevertheless, at the top, overarching social policy can very often be developed in very idiosyncratic ways. Since the most powerful office in the Army in a Territory is Territorial Commander the occupant of this office possesses unique powers. If the Territorial Commander is interested in social policy then the social policy making path becomes clear; the Territorial Commander sets the social policy agenda. If the occupant is a churchman and not interested in social policy, or worse still does not understand social policy or even know what it is, then the policy process is minimised and stagnates, through a lack of understanding and is stifled by neglect.

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28 See also the Appendix.
In the case that the Territorial Commander is strong and autocratic, i.e., in the mould of William Booth, then the social policy can be skewed by the personal whims and dictates of the Territorial Commander. Since the Territorial Commander has the power to promote or demote officers, they have the power to force compliance. The Territorial Commander is guided by the Orders and Regulations developed in London. The Orders and Regulations and Official minutes do not describe the social policy process. Further, under the Orders and Regulations one of the senior policy making bodies in the Army, at the Territorial level, is the Finance Council, not a social policy committee. Consequently, social policy development in the Army can often be dominated by financial considerations.

**Social Services and Their Place in The Salvation Army**

Social services have been an essential part of the Army from 1870, some five years after the beginning of the Army. From 1870 to 1874 in London, the Army provided a feeding service called “Food for the millions” designed to provide inexpensive, nourishing meals for the poor. However, the service was closed due to a lack of funds in 1874 (Green 1986; Fairbank 1983; Sandall 1955).

Internationally, the Army’s first permanent welfare service began in Melbourne in 1883 at the request of the Victorian government. This service housed homeless former prisoners. From this distant position the funding, accountability and outcomes required by the Victorian Colonial government are lost to view. However, Sandall (1955) does note that the Victorian Commissioner of Police of the time stated that, “members of the brigade\(^{29}\) are more successful as reclaiming agents than any other society however well intentioned” (Sandall 1955, p. 6.).

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\(^{29}\) One of the military terms used by the Army of the time for a specific organisational formation. The term has now largely fallen into disuse within the Army in Australia.
In 1884, a Salvationist, Mrs Elizabeth Cotterill, commenced the first permanent social service in Britain for homeless prostitutes. This service indicated a strong involvement of Salvationists in the development of social services in the early Army. Coutts notes that apart from the Melbourne service, most of the Army’s social services “were not born out of any doctrinaire theory but out of the involvement of the Salvationist himself in situations of human need” (Coutts 1978, p. 102.). In other words until Booth took hold of the Army’s social policy and social services by publishing ‘Darkest England’ in 1890 social policy and social services were, initially, being developed by the membership, not the leadership of the Army.

However, this involvement of the “Salvationist himself” had to be controlled. Since the Army being developed by the Booths was a militaristic, top-down organization, with autocratic control vested in the General there was a need to control these outbreaks of charitable licence. Coincidental to the publication of ‘Darkest England’ Booth also created the bureaucratic structures within the Army to control and regulate the development of social services and social policy in the Army. The bureaucratic answer was to establish a Department called the Social Reform Wing in 1891 (Sandall 1955).

Bureaucratic control did not initially stifle the membership’s development of social services and social policy but it controlled and regularised social policy development and controlled the service types and regulated Army-government and Army-donor contacts. In the current period, the bureaucratic structures provide definite breaks on individuals developing social and welfare services. The organisational bureaucratic control is now almost absolute throughout the whole Army.
By the development of this bureaucracy, Booth and the various Territorial Commanders could control service types, service scope and the range and cost of social services. Bureaucratic control also meant that a brake was effectively placed on developing new and innovative service types. Initially, the service range was fully outlined in ‘Darkest England’. However, this range has changed over time to adapt to the needs of each country in which the Army operates but it is still under strong bureaucratic control. The Army’s social services allow the Army to engage in the debates that form and inform the Australian welfare state. Army membership in Australia in 2000 was approximately 35,000 (The Salvation Army 2000). With such a small membership it would have little political power but for its social operations. The social operations are supported and funded by government and through philanthropic donations sought individually or through the annual Red Shield Appeal in Australia. This appeal is part of the discursive strategy that projects the Army’s persona to the Australian public, reinforces the Army’s legitimacy and allows the Army a voice in the development of social policy in Australia.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter, it was noted that the idiosyncratic character of the Army founders, William and Catherine Booth, is still reflected in the Army’s discursive strategies and in its organisational and governance systems. The Army organisational character was imprinted by the personality of its co-founders. The subversive discourses enunciated by Catherine, such as opposition to alcohol and the opposition to the hegemonic discourse of female inequality became part of the Army’s belief structures, discursive strategies and practices.

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30 See the latest Army Year Book for a list of welfare services provided by the Army (The Salvation Army 2000).
The Army also owes a debt to the publishing legacy of William and Catherine Booth. They established the Army genre repertoire by developing genre templates and providing the textual precedents for the Army. After adopting the name, The Salvation Army, the Army became completely colonised by the military metaphor. As a result, it is now a tightly controlled and highly bureaucratic organization whose language and internal discourses provide a complete way of being for Salvationists in the world.

William and Catherine Booth set many precedents for the Army. The discursive practices that led to the Army’s construction of social policy were one of their major legacies. This chapter also explored the social policy process within the Army noting that it is still ill defined and dependent on the idiosyncrasies of its senior leaders. This issue will be dealt with in subsequent chapters, particularly as the practices and discursive strategies define the Army’s place within the welfare state, a matter that will be discussed in the next chapter.
Chapter 4

The Salvation Army and the early Welfare State

Introduction

The last chapter showed that by the adoption of the military metaphor the Army, as an organization, adopted and adapted military texts and in doing so was changed and dominated by the metaphor. In addition, the influence of William and Catherine Booth on the origins of The Salvation Army was profound. Their influence included their textual legacy, the textual precedents and the genre repertoire they commenced.

Part of their textual legacy was their discursive efforts to engage the welfare state. This chapter explores the intersection of the Army and the welfare state and in particular, the efforts made by Catherine Booth to engage the developing welfare state in Britain. As part of this analysis, the chapter shows how the welfare state in western societies has been discursively constructed using socially charged language.

In examining the discursive construction of the welfare state, this chapter focuses on the Army’s discursive strategy to link the Army with the welfare state. This strategy is exemplified in the text authored by Catherine Booth entitled The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883) and an analysis of this address and the influences evident in the text forms a major focus in this chapter.
The Social Construction of the State

The constructionist project, of which this thesis is a part, argues that social objects such as the state are not the result of scientific calculations or objective planning, rather the state is constructed as a result of power struggles between social actors attempting to construct a state that recognises and promotes their own interests. These power struggles are mediated using socially charged language. Fairclough states that; “language is part of society, and not somehow external to it…language is a social process…and is socially conditioned” (Fairclough 1989, p 22.) and discourses form a central theme in the use of language in the social process.

For Fairclough and Wodak (1997) discourse is a form of ‘social practice’ that implies a “dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s) and social structures(s) which frame it” (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, p 258). A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship, which implies that the social practice at the heart of the relationship is an evolving one and those who seek to construct the state using language are in turn influenced by the dominant discourses that constitute the state. Therefore, the language used by social actors, such as the Army, in discursive events is shaped by situations and social structures and the dominant language practices of the state and changed by it. The dominant language practices used in a society also shape events. In other words, the discursive event or social narratives are socially constitutive as well as socially shaped, just as social events are discursively connected and discursively shaped. These discursive practices are also ideological in that they support and reproduce power relationships between the constituents of the state by reproducing the status quo and by transforming it (Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

The power relationships that epitomise the state are constructed in discursive practices and discursive formations: discursive formations that are “regimes of knowledge which define who does and who does not have the intellectual authority to decide issues” (Bevir 1999, p 66).
Foucault conceptualised the state, “not as a legal institution, but as a space composed of varied relations of power and the mentalities they embody” (Bevir 1999, p 353). This is not to say that this articulation and construction of the state is in itself a rational process, far from it. The state is the result of discursive struggles created, in the words of Foucault by,

“so many authors who know or don’t know one another, criticise on another, invalidate one another, pillage one another, meet without knowing it and obstinately intersect their unique discourses in a web of which they cannot see the whole, and of whose breadth they have a very inadequate idea” (Foucault 1991, p 126).

These authors referred to by Foucault are to be found in the institutions of government, in the bureaucracy together with the economic, social, religious and cultural formations of the state. The result of this intersection between these authors is the state, which is constructed discursively and constituted at the junction of the power struggles between its authors or constituents.

Pringle and Watson (1992) note in the relational and shifting aspects of Foucault’s position in showing that;

“… power is not imposed from the top of a social hierarchy nor derived from a fundamental opposition between rulers and ruled. It is relational rather than owned or seized, and it operates in a capillary fashion from below. Power finds a shifting unstable expression in networks and alliances that permeate every aspect of life. The ‘state’ is an overall effect of all of these relations and cannot be assumed to act coherently as the agent of particular group” (Pringle & Watson 1992, p 55).
The state then is discursively constructed through discursive practices initiated by social actors. The Army, as one social actor, sought to influence and enter the public policy debates as an actor in the discursive struggle at its origins and still seeks to continue that influence.

The use of the military metaphor, as discussed in the previous chapter, is one of the discursive strategies developed by the Army. An army is one of the chief coercive institutions within a state. By adopting the military metaphor and using militarily charged dress, organization and bureaucracy the Army’s founders created an intertextual order. That order drew on the language and socially understood meanings of the military to create another social formation in the state that was instantly recognisable and whose discursive practices were to have a ready made language base within the state. The Salvation Army imitated the forces that worked to preserve and protect the state. In effect, the founders of the Army were able to appropriate the language and discursive structures of the military for their own purpose.

However, the founders of the Army sought to create a different social relationship with government and other institutions within the state than that created by the military. The Army was in fact a Protestant Church, but one that was becoming deeply involved in the provision of social services. In constructing a military identity the Army’s founders appropriated a state sanctioned social formation and widened the Army’s sphere of influence by the provision of social services.

The Army’s policy development was a direct attempt to use the state’s own language to redefine, expose and highlight the welfare state’s perceived deficiencies outlined in Catherine’s Address The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State, (Booth 1883) and in William’s In Darkest England and the Way Out (Booth 1890). Part of the government response in Britain and Australia was to codify the Army’s existence in Legislation culminating with what finally became the British Salvation Army Act of 1980 and the various Acts and ordinances in each of the Australian states and territories 31.

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31 In New South Wales the Act is entitled ‘The Salvation Army (New South Wales) Property Trust Act.
The Welfare State

The terms ‘state’ and ‘welfare state’ are problematic. I have used both terms widely to this point. Within the literature, there is no general agreement on a definition of ‘the state’. What definitions there are come from two competing perspectives, namely, the Marxist and the Weberian perspectives. Both of these perspectives come with some epistemological and political baggage. Marxist theorists tend to define the state within a functional and relational framework, whilst the Weberian focus is on the monopoly of the means of coercion (Greenberg 1990; Gerth & Mills 1947; Pierson 1996).

For the purposes of this thesis I propose to concentrate on the term ‘welfare state’ since it is within this context that the Army seeks to influence government, private enterprise and the public. The term ‘welfare state’ has attracted a wide range of definitions, meanings and interpretations. Theorists such as Offe (1987), Pierson (1998) and Gough (1981) all provide definitions, meanings and interpretations. Gough (1981) in his 1981 work includes definitions of the welfare state by Titmus, Lafitte, and Carrier & Kendall (Gough 1981). Gough (1981) like Offe (1987) concentrates on the contradictory nature of the welfare state. Offe (1987) explores the contradictory nature of the state in terms of in relation to the dichotomy of ‘legitimacy verses efficiency’ (Offe 1987, p 130); where ‘legitimacy’ is conceived of as “the essential basis of political authority” (Offe 1987, p 134) and ‘efficiency’ relates to the economic production of outputs such as a efficient mail service or education system (Offe 1987). Gough (1981) speaks of contradictions of the welfare state in terms of the enhancement of social welfare on the one hand and the exertion of social control on the other.

Given the contradictory nature of the welfare state and the difficulty of defining ‘the welfare state’, for the purposes of this thesis I refer to ‘the welfare state’ as the formation responsible for the welfare and wellbeing of its citizens. In the end the term ‘welfare state’ is a political construction used to define a specific state formation that statutorily guarantees social security and health policies, education and housing through a range of interventions including social legislation and taxation policies (Jamrozik 2001).
The birth of what was to become known as the welfare state in the late 19th century was dominated by the discursive struggles over the nature, meaning and importance of poverty. The discursive struggle was fought around the discourse of rights. Haworth and Manzi (1999) note that the main tension was between the discourse of universal rights and targeted rights underpinned by the notions of the ‘deserving’ and the ‘undeserving’; notions which were the enduring legacy of the British 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act (Haworth & Manzi 1999; Laybourn 1995). The Army’s birth in 1865 in the late 19th century coincided with the developing welfare state both in Britain and in Australia and it is within this context that the Army developed discursive strategies to influence the development of the welfare state. Part of this strategy included Catherine’s address The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883).

**The Salvation Army and the Early Welfare State; Catherine Booth’s Address.**

One of the first attempts by The Salvation Army to engage the welfare state was Catherine Booth’s address entitled The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883), delivered in 1883. In this address, Catherine outlined the Army’s position in relation to the welfare state and defined the welfare state formation that the Army supported and sought to construct. As the welfare state was in its formative stages the language available to Catherine in her description of the welfare state was limited to that available at the time.

Catherine delivered the address at a time when the Army was only 18 years old, but had established itself as a social institution across England and was in the process of establishing itself across the world with particular emphasis on the countries of the British Empire and the USA. It is not certain what public Catherine was addressing, but since Catherine was particularly at ease in addressing the British upper and middle classes, it is safe to assume that it was to these classes of British society that Catherine initially directed the address. The address was one of the first policy texts developed by the Army and is in the form of a long narrative.
Chapter 2 noted that narratives have three elements, the beginning, which sets the context, the middle, which describes the problem and the end, which provides the solution. The following textual samples are excerpts from the Address. These excerpts are typical of the whole text and highlight the discourses incorporated and influencing the text as a whole.

Text 1: The Beginning: Setting the Context

In order to appreciate at all the necessity for the existence of the Salvation Army, and in order to understand its operations, it will be necessary for you to bear in mind all through these Addresses the condition of the masses on whom we propose to operate. The special sphere for the Salvation Army is no doubt what are termed the dangerous classes, and that there is great need for some such agency recent events make but too manifest. The inability of the authorities to cope with the ruffianly element even in the metropolis, the proposed addition of 500 to the police force, the attempt to blow up one of the Government offices, and the escape of the offenders, together with the continual discovery of plots, and outbursts of ruffianism vented on others, besides the members of the Salvation Army, ought to awake everybody to the necessity for something being done.

Text 2: The Middle: Describing the Problem

Oh that we could get our rulers to look on these multitudes—our ministers, our philanthropists, our intelligent Christian gentlemen and merchants! They could not sit still in indifference. They would recognise the necessity for operating upon, and at any rate trying to civilize this outlying mass of heathenism, lawlessness, and vice.
Text 3: The End: The Solution

_But I want to show this afternoon the relation of the work of the Salvation Army I may say, first, that the Salvation Army benefits the State by creating RESPECT FOR LAW (Catherine’s capitals). All its teaching is directed to the individual conscience. We find that the attitude of the great majority of the population is that of forced submission. They submit simply because they must, and because they perceive no chance at present of successful resistance—not from any intelligent respect for rightly constituted authority. The pressure to obedience comes from without, not from within, and if you could imagine the pressure taken off, we should have similar results to those we have seen in other nations._

The Frame of Catherine Booth’s Address

The frame of a text provides cues to the reader as to the meaning intended by the author. Part of the frame is the genre chain into which the text belongs, the genre mixtures in the text itself and the properties of the individual genre (Fairclough 2002). Catherine’s address falls into the genre of public addresses. Catherine’s address is not a church sermon, though it does draw on and incorporates this genre as well. This is demonstrated by the inclusion of Christian discourse in the conclusion; but the propagation of the Christian faith was not the purpose of the address. The main purpose of the address was to legitimise the Army, to engage the public and to publicize the place of the Army and its services within the welfare state and to construct a welfare state favourable to the Army and its methods. In relation to genres Kress notes, “conventionalised forms of occasions lead to conventionalised forms of texts, to specific genres” (Kress 1985, p 19.). The address delivered by Catherine made use of the conventionalised form of both the public address and the religious sermon genres using and reworking both genres to reinforce the legitimacy of the Army and to provide a frame for the address.
The address, according to the titling, was delivered at the Crown St Hotel to what would have been a relatively small audience. Though the address was delivered in 1883, it was not published until 1890, the year that ‘Darkest England’ was published. Catherine’s address became part of textual repertoire of the Army. The address formed a textual template and precedent for other texts deployed by the Army in its meaning making strategies. The address is an excellent example of early efforts to engage the welfare state and to legitimise the Army particularly as its founders William and Catherine Booth sought to influence policy debates both in Britain and Australia. This early text led to other texts such as the address The Relation to Governments etc. (Booth 1912), delivered by William Booth at the International Social Council Addresses in 1911.

Chapter 2 also noted that narratives are set within a frame that provides cues as to the social meaning. The cues are provided so that the consumers of the narrative will associate familiar meanings to the narrative construction. In an address given to a live audience, Fairclough notes that these cues are “interwoven with gesture, facial expression, movement, posture” (Fairclough 1989, p 27). Since Catherine Booth’s address was not visually recorded, Catherine’s gestures, facial expression, movement and posture are lost to us. All that is left is the address itself and the analysis will concentrate on the text.

Textual Analysis: The Coding Contained in Catherine Booth’s Address

In Chapter 2 it was noted that in addition to the explicit meaning many social narratives contain an underlying code. Sometimes the underlying code is implied, in others it is specifically stated. In Catherine’s case, the underlying code is the legitimacy of the Army, and this code can be found in the words, “The work of the Salvation Army tends to benefit the State” (Text 3). Catherine was emphasising the strength of the Army and the weakness of the welfare state in addressing social issues. Her address was also an attempt to recruit the consumers of her text into supporting the Army’s efforts to ‘benefit the state’.
One of the overarching codes is Catherine’s use of the phrase “RESPECT FOR LAW”. This phrase is represented in the text in capitals and was in all probability emphasised in her speech in the terms suggested by Fairclough (1989) by the use of rhetorical devises such as loudness and the use of physical devices such as waving hands etc. In using this phrase, Catherine was appealing to the common sense of her audience, since it is only common sense for the middle and upper classes to support the discourse of “RESPECT FOR LAW”. Catherine was also using the discourse of public order. The appeal to this discourse is found in the use of the phrase “the inability of the authorities to cope with the ruffianly element even in the metropolis” (Text 1). The maintenance of law and order typically appeals to the middle and upper classes.

Since the intended consumers of Catherine’s address were most likely the middle and upper classes of British society, Catherine was careful to frame the address to appeal to this audience in such a way as to create a climate of acceptance of the Army, its methods and its social aims. Catherine was also careful to use words and phrases to support middle and upper class prejudices against lawlessness and the breakdown of social order whilst appealing to middle and upper class values. This is indicated in phrases such as “dangerous classes”, “ruffianly element”, and “continual discovery of plots” (Text 1) in the beginning of the narrative to create fear and to confirm middle and upper class views of the lower class.

In the middle of the narrative, Catherine uses the coded phrase “civilise this outlying mass of heathenism, lawlessness and vice” (Text 2). The word “outlying” implies that these classes do not belong to society; they are on the periphery and as such a danger to society, they are in today’s terms the marginalised members of society. The key word in this phrase is the word “civilise”. This code word implies social change and a consequent reduction of the conditions that create fear in the middle and upper classes. It also implies that the Army has the capacity and the tools to “civilise” the marginalised masses of British society.
Catherine was in effect struggling to gain ideological power through the appeal to common sense. As Fairclough notes, “ideological power, the power to project ones practices as universal and ‘common sense’ is a significant complement to economic and political power” (Fairclough 1989, p 33.).

Catherine in employing the code of Law and Order was seeking on behalf of the Army the power to implement Army practices within the welfare state and to influence the debates in the welfare state. Catherine was also attempting to win the consent of her audience, and later her readers, or the consumers of her text, for the implementation of Army practices to ameliorate the suffering of the poor. Catherine was in effect seeking the consent of the consumers of the text to exercise power. As Fairclough further observes:

“There are in gross terms two ways in which those in power can exercise it and keep it: through coercing others to go along with them... or through winning their consent to, or at least acquiescence in their possession and exercise of power” (Fairclough 1989, p 33.).

By the common sense appeal to support “RESPECT FOR LAW” and the consent of her audience to use power, Catherine was placing the Army squarely in the struggle for political and ideological power and in the struggle to define the welfare state. The phrase “RESPECT FOR LAW” also demonstrates the contradictions of the welfare state explored by Offe (1987) and Gough (1981) noted above. On the one hand, Catherine is seeking legitimacy for the Army and on the other she is placing the Army at the disposal of the middle and upper classes and seeking to act as a coercive arm of the welfare state.
In addition to the appeal for legitimacy and support from the middle and upper classes, Catherine is also intersecting this legitimacy and coercive power with God’s plan for humanity. Later in the Address Catherine says, “There must be an extraneous power brought into the soul. God must come to man, and God offers to come.” (Booth 1883, p 5.). The coding in Catherine’s address is both implied, by the reference to the law and order discourse, and explicit through the use of easily understood words and phrases such as “Oh that we could get our rulers to look on these multitudes—our ministers, our philanthropists, our intelligent Christian gentlemen and merchants! They could not sit still in indifference” (TEXT 2); a discourse of ignorance that set a precedent for future Army texts 32.

Textual Analysis: The Discourses Incorporated in Catherine Booth’s Address

Catherine, through her language choices, is careful to construct an organization, namely the Army, which possesses the knowledge and capacity to protect the state. Catherine, was particularly careful in the use of the word ‘state’. She uses the word ‘state’ deliberately to frame the whole address.

The use of this discourse and the use of the word ‘state’ also confirm the conservative voice of the text. Catherine and William Booth did not wish the Army to be mistaken for a revolutionary political body. For the Booth family Victorian social structures were important. This position was exemplified in William Booth’s article in the War Cry relating to socialism where he stated, “No good thing can possibly be gained by destroying the foundations of society” (Booth 1886, p 9.). As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6 William Booth’s social regeneration depended upon fitting people to work within the state, not against it. Army texts such as Catherine’s address and ‘Darkest England’ always supported the state and the British Empire as a frame for its religious activities33. The Booths wanted a state with a favourable government that achieved its goals by financially and politically supporting the Army’s work.

32 See William Booth’s use of this discourse on page 82.
33 See Chapter 5.
However, the word ‘state’, even in the late 19th century was beginning to have socially charged connotations, particularly when used by the emerging socialist movement (Bailey 1984). McLaughlin (2000) notes that the discourse of socialism was one of the two emerging discourses of Victorian Britain; the other being natural selection. These discourses were competing with the discourses of class and Empire that were the dominant discourses of Victorian England. Catherine’s use of the discourse is instructive. It indicates a socialist influence in her language choices and supports Bailey’s (1984) contention that the early Army and the socialists marched hand in hand and, in Foucault’s (1991) words “pillaged” each other’s discourses.

The socialists of late 19th century Britain spoke in religious terms, appropriating the Army’s conversion narratives to the point that it was not unknown for; ‘socialists to testify to having been ‘born again’, a crucial canon of Salvationism’s meagre theology” (Bailey 1984, p 138.). Catherine was returning the complement. By using the term ‘state’, she was drawing on the socialist discourses of ‘state’ and ‘state powers’ and incorporating them into her address.

The address also discloses the socialist influence in Catherine’s narrative by the division of society into classes using the socialist term ‘masses’ and by the use of the word ‘classes’ itself (Text 1). Catherine provides a divisive and threatening construction of the term ‘masses’. The masses, according to Catherine were that enormous group who were dangerous to the state. They were different, threatening and capable of overwhelming even “500 additional policemen” (Text 1). By implication, the coercive powers of the state were insufficient to control this “dangerous class” (Text 1). Within the narrative, specified classes are classified as dangerous, both to the state and to other classes, and the dangerous are within and belong to the “special sphere for the Salvation Army” (Text 1). In making this suggestion, Catherine is labelling one group of citizens and using understood and implied discourses of danger not only as a rhetorical device but also as means of framing the field of Army operations. This is further qualified by the descriptions of the danger in the later part of the narrative and the need for police to protect the state.

34 See page 52.
The adoption of the military metaphor by the Army’s leaders is of relevance. An army, or military formation, as a coercive arm of the state, protects the state and its institutions and social structures. Catherine’s text draws on the military metaphor. The text includes militarily charged words such as the word “operations” (Text 1). The Salvation Army conducts “operations” a military term implying that it is fighting, or struggling against “heathenism, lawlessness and vice” (Text 2) conditions mentioned in the second chapter of her address.

In Chapter 2 it was noted that narratives are never innocent and that narratives often contain not only a description of the social problem but are constructed in such a way as to contain the solution. The narrative authored by Catherine is no different. The narrative carefully constructs social problems in such a way that the Army has the solutions because: “We believe ourselves to be carrying out the very HIGHEST PRINCIPLES OF MORAL AND SOCIAL REFORM [Capitals in the original]” (Booth 1883, p 11.).

In an effort to extend and justify the Army’s existence Catherine points in (Text 1) to the ineffectuality of the resources applied by the state to arrest the danger. The implication being that the state does not have the capacity to control the “dangerous classes” (Text 1) whilst The Salvation Army does. The Army has the capacity to control the dangerous classes through the creation of a “RESPECT FOR LAW” (Text 3) in each individual.

Another major discourse contained in Catherine’s text is the place of women in British society. In Chapter 3, it was noted that Catherine challenged prevailing notions of feminism and championed the rights of women against notions of male domination. Catherine considered women as equals to men and when women do transgress social norms it is usually not their fault, but the fault of men. This discourse is also included in the address. In the address they are described as “unfortunate women”;

35 William Booth (1890) also labelled this class as “wicked”, and “vicious”. Darkest England Gazette, No. 5 July 1893, Page 6. See also Chapter 5.
“Another most important evidence of improvement in morality is the number of UNFORTUNATE WOMEN [Capital in the original] reclaimed through our agencies” (Booth 1883, p 7).

Catherine also implies in her narrative that the wealthy ruling class are ignorant.

“Oh that we could get our rulers to look on these multitudes—our ministers, our philanthropists, our intelligent Christian gentlemen and merchants! They could not sit still in indifference”. (Text 2)

This discursive construction of ignorance is important because Catherine’s use of the discourse forms a template for later Army authors including William Booth and later 20th century authors, as we shall see in later chapters. Catherine does not deny the power of this group. Indeed, Catherine relies on discourses of upper class indifference and ignorance combined with the discourse of the political power of the ruling elite and wealthy to strengthen the arguments for Salvation Army legitimacy within the narrative.36

Textual Analysis: The Discourse of Poverty

An important aspect of Catherine’s address was the approach to the discourse of poverty. Catherine, and the Army, was concerned with the mitigation of poverty. Narratives constructing a discourse of poverty abound in all of the Army’s early social and religious texts37; and the majority of the early Army narratives placed sin as the major cause of poverty. The Army’s solution was the religious regeneration of the individual.

36 The use of this discourse provided a precedent for William Booth in ‘Darkest England’. See page 82.
As an example later in the address Catherine says,

“Man is fallen, and cannot of himself obey even his own enlightened intelligence. There must be an extraneous power brought into the soul. God must come to man, and God offers to come; yea. He has come to thousands, and He has made ” all things new.” (Booth 1883, p 5)

Catherine’s address includes the Christian discourse and variations of this discourse are to be found in all of the Army’s early publications including The Social Gazette. The Christian discourse is often fused in narratives of sin and regeneration used by the early Army and this construction powered many of the early Army’s discursive strategies. Catherine’s text contains a description of conversion narratives;

“Friends you know me, for so many years I earned so much money I received every Saturday night – some will say £4, some £3 and some £2 and so on and some will say that they left regularly every Saturday night of their lives £3 out of the £4 at the “Black Eagle”… and took £1 to staving wife and children…We rejoice over thousands of such, rescued, redeemed and saved.” (Booth 1883, p 2.)

Poverty was constructed as a social evil and the result of sinful behaviour. This construction provided the Army with the authority and the capacity to address the problem in ways unavailable to the secular governments. As a church, the Army possessed the solution to sin through spiritual salvation; and as a provider of social services, the Army was also able to offer social salvation and regeneration.

37 The Darkest England Gazette provides many examples in its editorials and in the stories of homelessness and prostitution. For example in the Editorial (Unstated 1893) and in the article The Social Scheme at Work (Unstated 1893).
Conclusion

The Army’s early engagement with the state was explored in this chapter. This engagement is exemplified in the narratives developed by the founders and leaders of the Army. These narratives were influenced by the discourses of class, as well as the emerging discourse of socialism to establish their truth claims and are evidence of the Army leadership’s first attempts to cement the engagement of the Army and the state.

The address delivered by Catherine Booth, *The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State* (Booth 1883) was the one of the first recorded efforts to produce a coherent narrative linking the Army and the state.

This linkage was important to the Army as a means of strengthening its place in the state and as a means of legitimisation and social acceptance. The adoption of the military metaphor was a central plank in this engagement since it evoked in its audience a suite of meanings all based upon the organs of the state. The meaning making efforts were continued in ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) and are the subject of the next chapter.
Chapter 5

Darkest England and the Way Out

Introduction

Chapter 4 identified the early attempts by the Army to engage various formations within the welfare state, particularly government and philanthropic institutions and individuals. The Chapter demonstrated how the discursive strategy was implemented through an analysis of Catherine Booth’s Address The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883). Another element in the discursive strategy developed by William and Catherine Booth, and probably the most important, was the text In Darkest England and The Way Out (Booth 1890) published by the Army in 1890. In this text, William Booth highlighted the need to address the issue of poverty and highlighted the Army’s proposed solutions to the issue of poverty.

In describing ‘Darkest England’ Bailey states;

“William Booth did, after all, set out to fight poverty on a massive scale; he dramatised the war against want like no one before him, provoking a new awareness of social conditions and a new desire for social reform. For these reasons alone, ‘Darkest England’ deserves closer textual analysis than it is usually accorded” (Bailey 1984, p 152.).

‘Darkest England’ remains a pivotal text in the development of Army social policy. To provide a closer analysis of the influences revealed in the text the textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’ will be broken into two parts. This chapter provides a context for the textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’. The context reveals some of the major discourses incorporated into the text. In setting the context for Chapter 6, this chapter examines the authorship of ‘Darkest England’. As well as exploring the intertextual elements identifiable in the text, the frame surrounding the text and the genre in which the ‘Darkest England’ is located is examined in this chapter.

It would be expected that the Army, as a worldwide church, would produce some form of theological document to provide a context for its social work, much as the Catholic Church has done down through the years with Papal Encyclicals such as *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987). This has never happened. Consequently, ‘Darkest England’ remains the most important social policy text published by the Army. In it Booth defined, for the first time, the Army’s social policy. Yet, the authorship of ‘Darkest England’ has always been in dispute.

Debate over the authorship generally falls into two camps. The first; perhaps best articulated by Professor Norman Murdoch (1994) is that W. T. Stead, a social activist, journalist, sometime editor of the Pall Mall Gazette and friend of the Army, was the principal author, assisted by two Salvation Army officers, Commissioner Frank Smith and Major Suzie Swift. Others, such as the official Army historian Sandall (1955), consider the work to be mostly William Booth’s and that W.T. Stead was the editorial assistant.

My own opinion, after reviewing the evidence, is that ‘Darkest England’ was, in all probability, the result of a joint effort. Booth had written a large amount of material but due to the early death of his wife, Catherine, was unable to finish the text. W. T. Stead was the editor who brought order to Booth’s writings; and, the ideological input came from Swift and Smith. Salvation Army Officers around the world supplied the case studies. Bailey’s (1984) judgement of the authorship of ‘Darkest England’ is apt:

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38 This debate became fiercest when General Coutts challenged Professor Murdoch at the Fourth Annual Salvation Army Historical Conference in September 1978. Coutts objected to particular aspects of Murdoch’s paper “Salvationist-Socialist Frank Smith, M.P.: Father of Salvation Army Social Work” (Murdoch 1978) which included arguments related to Stead’s authorship of ‘Darkest England’. A copy of Murdoch’s paper, with Coutts’ annotations, is held at the International Headquarters Heritage Museum in London. In these annotations it is clear that Coutts did not agree with Murdoch’s position regarding the importance of Smith and Stead. On the other hand, three academics, Dr. Diane Winston (1999), Professor Mariana Valverde (1996) and Associate Professor Pamela J Walker (2001) have broadly taken Murdoch’s position, so the debate continues.
“In view of the different tributaries feeding into Darkest England, it is perhaps unwise to be too categorical about its true source. Nonetheless, the book seems to emerge from the fusion of the ideas of the socialist-imperialist movement, anxious to use the Empire to combat urban degeneration, and the “social gospel” wing of Nonconformity, notably its emphasis on rural panaceas. Without question, a strong anti-urbanism runs through Darkest England, not least in the prefatory chart, where the city is obviously the source of evil, the countryside “the way out.” (Bailey 1984, p 151.).

The debate has implications for the Army and its production of policy texts today. If Booth, as I think likely, used an author/editor from outside the Army to develop and articulate Salvation Army policy, then Booth was setting a precedent for future Army discursive practises in the production of social policy texts. Like all authoritative military organisational structures the Army is a conservative organization and the precedents set by the Booth family still maintain their authority and pre-eminence. Thus, the idea of allowing an outside author/editor to articulate and develop Army policy can be validated by reference to discursive practices developed by the Booths.

The production of policy texts for the Army by others has implications for the production and consumption of Army texts today. The opportunity to introduce discourses unfamiliar to the Army is greater if the author is independent from the Army. This is not necessarily detrimental to the overall policy position and discursive strategy adopted by Army leadership. By the use of external author/editors it is possible that discourses not initially supported by the membership will be included in Salvation Army policy.

39 Catherine died on 1 October 1890 (Hattersley 1999).
Additionally, the production of social texts, or indeed any Army text in these circumstances, means that is free from internal Army contestation. Because of the Army’s autocratic structures, for the text to become Army policy approval is often only dependant upon the approval of a single officer, generally the Territorial Commander\(^{40}\), for its production as an official Army text. This concentration of power in a few offices of authority in the Army is a result of the adoption of the military metaphor. It can be argued that in adopting the military metaphor, the Army also adopted the discursive practices of the military in western democracies.

Traditionally, the military in Western states only react to policy developed by an external source; namely the government, rather than developing their own independent defence policies, for example, defence policy is the prerogative of government, not the military. However, the analogy can be taken too far. The Salvation Army is an independent Protestant Church and seeks to formulate its own policy positions based upon a Protestant theology (The Salvation Army 2000).

That there was an external author involved in producing ‘Darkest England’ is not in question. The Army historian Sandall (1955) acknowledged the work of W. T. Stead, one-time editor of the Pall Mall Gazette and social activist, in the production of ‘Darkest England’. Stead’s impact on the work is undeniable. Stead wrote to a friend,

> “You will recognize my fine Roman hand in most chapters. You will be delighted to see that we have got the Salvation Army not only for social reform but also for Imperial unity. I have written to [Cecil] Rhodes about it and we stand on the eve of great things” (Quoted in (Inglis 1963, p 202; Bailey 1984, p 151; Murdoch 1978, p 161; Driver 2001, p 189.)).

\(^{40}\) See Chapter 3 for a brief explanation of the Army rank structure and also the Appendix.
The fact that the discourses of social reform and British Imperialism are mentioned by Stead is important. Stead, by the use of the phrase “we have got the Salvation Army not only for social reform but also for Imperial unity” infers that “we”, whoever the “we” are, have in fact ‘captured’ the Army for causes other than the expressed by Booth, namely, the Salvation of the masses.

Murdoch (1978) suggests that in addition to Stead, Commissioner Frank Smith also had an important part to play in the development of ‘Darkest England’. Smith was the first officer in charge of the Social Wing created after the publication of ‘Darkest England’. Smith had a reputation as a socialist and was known, even in Salvation Army circles in the late 1800’s, as the “Red Major” (Unstated 1884, p 12.). Smith had written a number of articles for the War Cry under the title Sociology. There were to be eight articles beginning with the British War Cry of 30 August 1890 but for some reason the articles ceased with only five articles, the last being published in the British War Cry of 29 November 1890. According to Inglis (1963), the socialist discourse is particularly evident in these articles and it is Inglis’ position that the articles were adapted and incorporated into ‘Darkest England’.

Smith’s major theme in these articles was the social problem of poverty. Smith’s concern was to develop a coherent Army policy relating to poverty and to demonstrate that poverty was an evil in itself (Inglis 1963). The other author who has been ignored in this debate, particularly by official Army historians, was an American officer stationed in London, Major Suzie Swift. Both Swift and Smith were influenced by the American socialist Henry George, whose discourse on wealth is acknowledged by Booth in the phrase “a Single Tax on Land Values” on page 87 of ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) (Murdoch 1978).
Booth does not acknowledge the assistance of Smith or Swift; acknowledging only “the services rendered to me in preparing this book by Officers under my command” (Booth 1890, Preface.). Booth did acknowledge, “the valuable literary help from a friend of the poor, who, though not in any way connected with the Salvation Army, has the deepest sympathy with its aims”. (Booth 1890, Preface). Throughout the literature related to the Army, this quote has always been accepted as Booth referring to W.T. Stead by such authors as Green (1996), Hattersley (1999), Sandall (1955), Bailey (1984), Inglis (1963) and Ervine (1934).

Apart from his note to a friend, quoted above, Stead did say in an article in the War Cry:

The Book ‘In Darkest England’ is General Booth’s book; the idea of the book is entirely his own…. He asked me if I would get him a literary hack who would lick his material into shape, and get the book out on time. I said, ‘I will do the hack-work myself’, and I did” (Stead 1891, p 6.)

Booth, according to Stead, in this article had written a large amount of material but it was formless and needed editing. It is clear then, that Booth was the major driving force behind ‘Darkest England’. However, the textual precedents set by Booth were to have implications for Army discursive practices today and this issue will be examined in Chapters 7 and 8.
The Intertextual Elements of Darkest England

The intertextual elements incorporated in the ‘Darkest England’ text point to Stead as a major contributor to the text. A supporter of the Army, Stead was an admirer of Carlyle. Stead wrote that in his opinion “the Army was established on principles Carlylean” (Quoted in Inglis 1963, p 183). Inglis (1963) also makes the point that the end of Chapter 1 of ‘Darkest England’ is an almost verbatim quotation from the leading article of the Pall Mall Gazette of 16 October 1883, where Stead endorsed Mearne’s pamphlet The Bitter Cry of Outcast London. Booth did not acknowledge this intertextuality. Since there was no acknowledgement in the text, in all probability, Stead just incorporated his own work to add meaning to Booth’s original text.

‘Darkest England’ includes an illustration of the treatment of the poor using Cab Horses as an example. The illustration is termed the Cab Horse Charter in ‘Darkest England’. Booth’s Cab Horse Charter is a direct importation of Carlyle’s texts into ‘Darkest England’ (Inglis 1963). Booth (1890) claimed in ‘Darkest England’ that he had never read Carlyle prior to the development of ‘Darkest England’. It is only reasonable to conclude that these quotes from Carlyle were also as the result of Stead’s editorial contributions.

Booth (1890) explicitly mentions a number of authors and their influence on ‘Darkest England’ in his Appendix. There are references to Count Rumford, an American who after serving in the American Civil War moved to Bavaria and worked at reducing poverty in that country. Booth also mentions the co-operative social experiments at Ralahine in Ireland conducted by John Scott Vaneleur. Finally, Booth (1890) included some excerpts from Carlyle’s work Past and Present in the Appendix to ‘Darkest England’

41 It is clear that Stead had a major hand in the text, however, for the purposes of this thesis, and to remove confusion, I shall refer to William Booth as the author of ‘Darkest England’.

42 ‘Darkest England’ contains a description of the food and lodging provided to London cab horses. A concept first developed by Carlyle. From Carlyle’s position Booth then developed ‘The Cab Horse Charter’. Booth wrote, “There are two points of the Cab Horse’s Charter. When he [a horse] is down he is helped up, and while he lives he has food, shelter and work” (Booth 1890, p 27.). Booth felt that if horses were fed then so should the poverty stricken workers be housed and fed.
The intertextuality evident in ‘Darkest England’ points to a number of influences on the text. However, the strong imprinting and influence of both Catherine and William on the Army noted by Irvine (2002), particularly their influence in shaping the Salvation Army’s social and religious outlook, would indicate that nothing in ‘Darkest England’ would have been included without William’s, and in all probability Catherine’s, final approval (Magnuson 1990). So even though Booth employed the discursive practice of using an outside author the influences evident in the text, even though they may not have had currency with the Army itself to that time, obviously met with William Booth’s approval and set precedents for future discursive practices.43.

‘Darkest England’; The Text and the Audience

Booth was careful to ensure that his intended audience would understand his text and not read into the text any support for revolutionary, violent social action. This was important to Booth since the funding of his scheme depended so much on middle and upper class philanthropy. ‘Darkest England’ was intended for consumption by the literate upper and middle classes of Britain, “the sober, serious, practical men and women who constitute the saving strength and moral backbone of the country” (Booth 1890, p 25.).

While acknowledging the Army’s need of the upper and middle classes Booth did not resist the temptation to introduce one of his main discursive elements; one that was nearly always incorporated into the early Army’s discursive construction of poverty, that is, the notion of upper and middle class ignorance and apathy.44. Booth wrote;

43 See Chapters 7 and 8.

44 See also Catherine’s use of this discursive strategy on page 61.
“But I trust that the upper and middle classes are at least being awakened out of their long slumber with regard to the permanent improvement of the lot of those who have hither to been regarded as being for ever abandoned and hopeless” (Booth 1890, p 294.).

The consumption of the text was another matter. By publishing ‘Darkest England’ for general consumption, Booth could not control his audience or the meanings that would be attributed to the text. Nor could he control the alternate constructions that would be suggested by the text. Therefore, Booth took great pains to reduce any dissonance that consumers might experience when reading ‘Darkest England’ caused by a clash of imperial and socialist discourses.

Booth was aware of the socialist biases that could be read into his work, two of its contributors were after all committed socialists, so he attempted to balance the socialist discourse. While writing, “I intensely sympathise with the aspirations that lie behind these socialist dreams” (Booth 1890, p 87.) he wrote a paragraph in opposition to the socialists who often advocated violent means to overturn state institutions;

“That is those, if such there be, who are determined to bring about by any and every means a bloody and violent overturn of all existing institutions. They will oppose the scheme, and they will act logically in doing so.” (Booth 1890, p 89.).

As far as possible Booth was careful to present a policy narrative that informed his audience but also sought to calm any misgivings.

‘Darkest England’; The Frame and Genre.

In describing ‘Darkest England’ and its social, ideological, political and religious Valverde states:
In Chapter 2, I outlined the analytical method to be used in this thesis. In narrative analysis, the context or frame of the text is an important element of the narrative. The frame provides additional cues to the intended meaning of a text. The most obvious frame selection surrounding William Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ is the name itself. Booth clearly draws upon two literary genres current in Victorian England; the travel literature of late Victorian Britain and the social discovery literary genre.

Travel literature was the inspiration for the name ‘Darkest England’. This was a reference to the name of Henry M. Stanley’s 1890 publication In Darkest Africa. Stanley’s exploration and his work In Darkest Africa lead to a discursive construction of the city as jungle in such other titles as Darkest Russia and Darkest New York (Driver 2001). Later references to the metaphor include Joseph Conrad’s Heart of Darkness who also used the jungle metaphor in much the same way as Booth. In this later text, Conrad conflated the Belgian Congo with metropolitan London (McLaughlin 2000).

Booth was by no means the first and only author to appropriate the language and metaphors of imperial travel as a means of exploring and defining social problems using the metaphors of exploration and the jungle. However, apart from Stanley, he was probably one of the most successful and sensational (Driver 2001). Booth sold over 115,000 copies in the first few months of publication in 1890 and by the end of one year had sold over 200,000 copies of ‘Darkest England’ (Sandall 1955; Valverde 1996; Driver 2001).

Booth was careful to construct a frame that allowed him to speak with authority. He constructed himself as an equal to Stanley; as an explorer par excellence. Booth constructed himself as the;
“Urban Stanley, the adventurer who is missionary, explorer, soldier and reporter. As missionary he Christianizes, as explorer he goes into the interminable heart of darkness, as soldier, he conquers the recalcitrant enemy; and as reporter, he tells us about his journey and exploit” (McLaughlin 2000, p 21.).

Within ‘Darkest England’ Booth consistently used the jungle metaphor describing his “explorations” and “adventures” amongst the lower working class and poverty-stricken population in the East End of London. In using the jungle metaphor Booth was, according to Valverde (1996) engaging a ‘dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar’.

In using the ‘dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar’ Booth was producing knowledge about social problems, namely poverty and homelessness, using familiar terms and constructing a social problem in terms that were at the same time both lurid and understandable. In effect, there was a movement of metaphors between the urban landscape and the jungle (Valverde 1996).

This use of the dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar is probably best demonstrated in ‘Darkest England’ when Booth writes;

“There is a Darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England? Civilization, which can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its own pygmies?” (Booth 1890, p 18.).

By the use of this linguistic device, Booth is able to control his construction of social problems in such a way as to direct and construct the solutions in his own terms. He does so by labelling the poor as “barbarians” and “pygmies”. In other words, the poor are labelled as ‘other’; an unfortunate label at best and a divisive one at its worst. Yet these labels would be readily recognised by the consumers of ‘Darkest England’ and were ones to which the upper and middle class could easily attach their own meanings.
In ‘Darkest England’ Booth was constructing specific classes of people, labelling and describing these classes by the use of the discourse of the jungle and then recommending specific solutions modelled on the garish images his constructions evoked. By making use of the discourse of the jungle, Booth was using the imagery of an urban landscape that was populated by dangerous savages and was to be mapped and explored.

The new technologies of mapping were, in late Victorian Britain, developing a common epistemological basis for knowledge and shared meanings, and Booth was able to draw on this knowledge to create new schemas of knowledge for the middle and upper classes of British and colonial societies (Driver 2001). The jungle provided the analogies of threatening sexuality, the idea of an inner dark womb combined with dank decay. The jungle with its “dwarfish, de-humanized inhabitants, the slavery to which they are subjected, their privations and their misery” (Booth 1890, p 19.) provided a ready-made metaphor for the dark impenetrable rookeries of London, the extended regions of poverty, misery, squalor and immorality particularly in the East End of London and in the slums and poverty stricken areas of the rapidly growing cities of England and throughout the Empire and in America (Valverde 1996).

‘Darkest England’; Its use of the Social Discovery Genre.

In developing his narratives describing the social problems of poverty and homelessness, Booth fused the discourses of mapping, exploration, adventure, discovery, social regeneration and spiritual salvation. In doing so, Booth also drew on the genre of social discovery literature being developed in late Victorian England.

Booth’s text mapped an urban terrain that was being explored and described by the novels of Charles Dickens 1812-1870, in Andrew Mearne’s pamphlet, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London, Robert Giffen’s essay The Progress of the Working Classes in the last Half-Century both published in 1883 and Charles Booth’s (no relative of William and Catherine Booth) 17 volume Life and Labour of the People in London published between 1889 and 1903 (Saville 1988; Waller 1984).
In ‘Darkest England’, the construction of the major themes first developed by Catherine Booth (1883) in her address The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883) analysed in Chapter 4, are continued and expanded. These themes are, the Salvation Army as a Christian body, the ignorance of the public, the Army’s militant role as a supporter of the state, the Army as reporter and advocate for the poor and the marginalised and the Army as the organization capable of providing the solution to social problems.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the production of the text ‘Darkest England’, its authorship and the implications for the Army in the use of an author outside the ranks of the Army. By using external authors, Booth was creating a precedent for future Army social policy texts.

It has been demonstrated that ‘Darkest England’ drew on two major literary genres, namely, travel and social discovery literature. Within these genres, Booth engaged in a dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar by creating an understanding of the slums of London through the reference to the jungles of Africa. The textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’ will continue in the next chapter.
Chapter 6

Textual Analysis of ‘Darkest England’

Introduction

Chapter 5 examined the authorship of ‘Darkest England’ and its implications for the later textual production within the Army. The chapter also explored the intertextuality evident in ‘Darkest England’ and revealed the likely consumers of the text. The genres that formed part of the frame for ‘Darkest England’ namely, the travel and social discovery genres were described.

The textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’ is continued in this chapter. The textual samples selected for analysis reveals the discourses influencing the production of social policy narratives in ‘Darkest England’. The textual analysis also includes an analysis of Booth’s construction of the social problem of homelessness.

The chapter then moves to an analysis of the narrative construction and explores the discourses influencing the narrative in the textual sample. Finally, the Chapter moves to an exploration of the discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor and concludes with an exploration of some other early Army texts.

The Textual Samples Selected from “Darkest England”

In such a large work as ‘Darkest England’ one of the difficulties facing the analyst is the journalistic voice or pattern of the work. ‘Darkest England’ does not use the scientific voice evident in Charles Booth’s text Life and Labour in London (Waller 1984). Rather, ‘Darkest England’ draws on the journalistic voice of a newspaper (Fairclough 1996; Inglis 1963).
Because of the journalistic pattern, ‘Darkest England’ is fragmented and complex, requiring a deal of analysis to locate the themes and place the narratives in order. Therefore, to satisfy the aims of this thesis and facilitate the textual analysis of ‘Darkest England’, narratives relating to a particular social problem, namely homelessness, have been selected as the focus for analysis.

Chapter 2 outlined the three essential elements of a narrative, namely, the beginning, the middle and the end. The beginning provides the context of the problem, the middle defines the problem and the end outlines the solution. The selected texts follow this narrative pattern:

**Text 1. The Beginning: Setting the context.**

“To very many even of those who live in London it may be news that there are so many hundreds who sleep out of doors every night. There are comparatively few who stir after mid-night, and when we are snugly tucked into our own beds we are apt to forget the multitude outside in the rain and the storm who are shivering the long hours through on the hard stone seats in the open or under the arches of the railway. These homeless, hungry people are, however there, but being broken spirited folk for the most part they seldom make their voices audible in the ears of their neighbours. Now and again, however, a harsh cry from the depths is heard for a moment, jarring rudely on the ear and then all is still. The articulate classes speak as seldom as Balaam's ass.” (Booth 1890, p 38).

**Text 2 (A). The Middle: Constructing the Problem**

“I have already given a few life stories taken down from the Embankment from the lips of those who are found homeless on the Embankment which suggest somewhat of the hardships and the misery of the fruitless search for work. But what a dull, squalid horror – a horror of great darkness gradually obscuring all the light of day from the life of the sufferer – might be written from the simple prosaic experiences of the ragged fellows whom you meet every day in the street. These men, whose labour is their
only capital, are allowed, nay compelled to waste day after day by the want of any means of employment, and then when they have seen days and weeks roll by during which their capital has been wasted by pounds and pounds, they are lectured for not saving the pence. When a rich man cannot employ his capital he puts it out at interest, but the bank for labor capital of the poor man has yet to be invented. Yet it might be worth inventing one. A man’s labor is not only his capital, but his life. When it passes it returns never more. To utilize it, to prevent its wasteful squandering, to enable the poor man to bank it up for use hereafter, this is surely one of the most urgent tasks before civilization.” (Booth 1890, p 40)

Text 2 (B). The Middle: Constructing the Problem.

I have spoken of the houseless poor. Each of these represents a point in the scale of human suffering below that of those who have still contrived to keep shelter over their heads. A home is a home, be it ever so low; and the desperate tenacity at which the poor will cling to the last wretched semblance of one is very touching. There are vile dens, fever-haunted and stenchful crowded courts, where the return of summer is dreaded because it means the unloosing of myriad vermin which render night unbearable, which, nevertheless, are regarded at this moment as havens of rest by their hard working occupants.

They can scarcely be said to be furnished. A chair, a mattress, and a few miserable sticks constitute all the furniture of the single room in which they have to sleep, and breed, and die; but they cling to it as a drowning man to a half-submerged raft. Every week they contrive by pinching and scheming to raise the rent, for with them it is pay or go; and they struggle to meet the collector as the sailor nerves himself to avoid being sucked under by the foaming wave. If at any time work fails or sickness comes they are liable to drop helplessly into the ranks of the homeless. It is bad for a single man to have to confront the struggle for life in the streets and Casual Wards. But how much more terrible must it be for the married man with his wife and children to be turned out into the streets.
So long as the family has a lair into which it can creep at night, he keeps his footing; but when he looses that solitary foothold then arrives the time for Christian compassion, for the helping hand to be held out to save him from the vortex that sucks him downward – ay, downward to the hopeless understrata of crime and despair (Booth 1890, pp 48-49.).

Text 3. The Conclusion: The Solution.

“The social problem presents itself before us whenever a hungry, dirty and ragged man stands at our door asking if we can give him a crust or a job. That is the social question. What are we to do with that man? He has no money in his pocket, all that he can pawn he has pawned long ago, his stomach is as empty as his purse, and the whole of the clothes upon his back, even if sold on the best of terms, would not fetch a shilling. There he stands, your brother, with sixpennyworth of rags to cover his nakedness from his fellow men and not sixpennyworth of victuals within his reach. He asks for work, which he will set to even on his empty stomach and in his ragged uniform, if so be that you will give him something for it, but his hands are idle, for no one employs him. What are you to do with that man? That is the great note of interrogation that confronts Society to-day. Not only in overcrowded England, but in newer countries beyond the sea, where Society has not yet provided the means by which the men can be put upon the land and the land be made to feed the men.

To deal with this man is the Problem of the Unemployed. To deal with him effectively you must deal with him immediately, you must provide him with shelter, and warmth. Next you must find him something to do, something that will test the reality of his desire to work. This test must be more or less temporary, and should be of such a nature as to prepare him to make a permanent livelihood. Then, having trained him, you must provide him with the wherewithal to start life afresh. All these things I propose to do. My Scheme divides itself into three sections, each of which is indispensable for the success of the whole. In this three-fold organisation lies the open secret of the solution of the Social Problem.
The scheme I have to offer consists in the formation of these people into self-helping and self-sustaining communities, each being a kind of co-operative society, or patriarchal family, governed and disciplined on the principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army.

These communities we will call, for want of a better term, Colonies. There will be-
1. The City Colony.
2. The Farm Colony.
3. The Over-Sea Colony” (Booth 1890, pp 99-100.).

The Construction of Homelessness in ‘Darkest England’

The construction of homelessness in the textual samples is based upon a description of the poverty-stricken masses, as ‘other’. By evoking the jungle metaphor with the words “a harsh cry from the depths is heard for a moment, jarring rudely on the ear and then all is still” (Text 1) the idea of ‘other’ is reinforced. In referring to his major metaphor, namely the jungle, Booth is engaging in the dialectic of the familiar and the unfamiliar. He is defining the familiar, in this case the homeless, in terms of the unknown, namely, the jungle and its inhabitants (Valverde 1996).

The use of the jungle metaphor allowed a construction of homelessness in terms that were familiar to the late Victorian consumers of the text, particularly because of Henry. M. Stanley’s publication In Darkest Africa. The use of the jungle metaphor also influences the way in which the social problem of homelessness is constructed.

In (Text 1) Booth, by contemporary standards, provides an unsophisticated definition of homelessness, i.e., “Those that sleep out of doors every night”. By the use of this definition, it is possible to count the numbers of homeless, and more importantly, once counted, the solution is already built into the definition. Part of the solution, by implication, is the provision of shelter.
Booth reiterates this construction in the passage;

“outside in the rain and the storm who are shivering the long hours through on the hard stone seats in the open or under the arches of the railway. These homeless, hungry people are, however there”. (Text 1)

Booth did not address other factors contributing to the notion of homelessness, such as the meaning of the term itself, the meanings attached to ‘home’ and the periodicity of homelessness. Booth’s definition lacks the sophistication of current debates surrounding this social problem, issues that will be addressed in the next Chapter. Booth did, however, introduce the concept of an economic process into his definition of homelessness by the use of the phrase “whose labour is their only capital” (Text 2 A).

Homelessness was also an opportunity for “Christian compassion” (Text 2 B). Booth says;

“ but when he looses that solitary foothold then arrives the time for Christian compassion, for the helping hand to be held out to save him from the vortex that sucks him downward – ay, downward to the hopeless under-strata of crime and despair” (Text 2 B).

In this text, Booth introduces a number of metaphors to construct homelessness and introduces some of the consequences of homelessness. Using the mountain climbing metaphor, homelessness is depicted as a ‘fall’. One of the consequences is described using the shipwreck/violent angry sea metaphor45. The reference to crime and despair also refers back to Catherine’s construction of crime and criminality in her Address, The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State (Booth 1883).

45 This metaphor was popular in the early Army and it was used by Booth in the frontispiece of ‘Darkest England’ as well as forming the basis of a sermon by Booth (1910) entitled More Rope recorded on a phonograph record in 1910 (C) a copy of which is held in the Australian National Film and Sound Archive, Canberra.
Textual Analysis: Setting the Context.

Booth’s text contains elements of the Army’s major themes initially developed by Catherine Booth in The Salvation Army and its Relationship to the State (Booth 1883). The major element being the ignorance of government and particularly the public; this recurring element is developed in this text in the following way;

“To very many even of those who live in London it may be news that there are so many hundreds who sleep out of doors every night. There are comparatively few who stir after mid-night, and when we are snugly tucked into our own beds we are apt to forget…” (Text 1)

These two sentences are the first part of the narrative construction. They introduce the theme and set the context for the problem. By using the discursive strategy of claiming general ignorance of the problem, Booth is able to define homelessness in his own term. By inference, the ignorance of others is placed against the Army’s knowledge of the problem. One obvious reading of this theme is that since the Army has knowledge of the problem it also possesses the solution.

One of the Booth’s primary themes in ‘Darkest England’ is the salvation of souls. This theme forms part of the recurrent use of the Christian discourse, or what an editorial writer in the Darkest England Gazette terms the “Religious Influence” (Unstated 1893, p 7.). This theme is also injected very early in the selected narrative by the use of the term “Balaam’s ass” (Text 1). This is a reference to an Old Testament narrative found in the bible in the Book of Numbers, Chapter 22, and Verse 21. The Christian discourse is also mentioned again in the text “Christian compassion, for the helping hand to be held” (Text 2 B).
The Christian discourse also legitimises Booth’s authority to construct homeless people as “being broken spirited folk” (Text 1). By describing the homeless in spiritual terms Booth was reinforcing his own and the Army’s religious authority and also providing one of the solutions to homelessness that accorded with one of the central tenets of Army beliefs and practice, namely, the spiritual salvation of the poverty stricken homeless⁴⁶.

Text 1 provides the beginning of the narrative and provides the context for the social problem. In Text 1 Booth not only outlines the problem but also constructs the Army as an organization capable of articulating the need for solutions for homeless people. Booth constructs the homeless in such a way that the homeless are unable to advocate for themselves. This construction enables the Army to enter into the debate on behalf of the homeless. The text notes that, “for the most part they [the homeless] seldom make their voices audible in the ears of their neighbours” (Text 1). Immediately following the above statement is the sentence, “The articulate classes speak as seldom as Balaam’s ass” (Text 1). Since the homeless cannot advocate on their own behalf and the articulate or upper and middle classes will not speak, the Army in this text has the right and the ability to advocate on behalf of the homeless.

Texts 2 A and 2 B, though part of the middle of the narrative, refers back to Text 1 and reinforces Booth’s construction of the Army as an advocate for the poor as well containing the standard textual themes evident in early Salvation Army texts, namely, the ignorance of the wider society of the social problem⁴⁷. The Army’s capacity to report and to articulate the problem and the causes of poverty is highlighted by the phrase “I have spoken to the houseless poor” Text 2 (B). One of the implications being, of course, that though Booth had spoken to the poor others had not.

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⁴⁶ This position is articulated particularly in ‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890). See also any issue of the War Cry or The Darkest England Gazette.

⁴⁷ See Catherine’s use of this discourse at page 61.
Textual Analysis; Defining the Problem.

Texts 2 (A) and 2 (B) are representative of the middle of Booth’s narratives relating to homelessness or the definition of the problem. This is the most complex part of the narrative construction. In Text 2 (A) and Text 2 (B) Booth was defining the social problem of homelessness in his own terms. In Text 1 Booth defined homelessness as the absence of shelter, this definition continues in Text 2 (A) and Text 2 (B). In Text 2 (B) Booth notes the absence of shelter specifically in the second sentence.

Conflict is evident between the construction of homelessness and poverty offered by Catherine (1883) in the Address The Salvation Army and Its Relation To The State to that constructed by William in ‘Darkest England’. In the Address delivered by Catherine (1883), the poor were constructed as ‘dangerous’; William Booth (1890) in his text does not use this construction. There are two probable reasons for the apparent conflict. Firstly, Catherine had delivered her Address to a largely upper and middle class audience and created meanings understood by those classes; and secondly, the Army’s policy thinking had evolved and William’s understanding of poverty and services to the poor had grown and matured. One implication that can be drawn from this shift in construction is that William wanted support from a wider audience than the narrow audience addressed by Catherine.

Textual Analysis: The Solution

Booth’s solution to the problem of homelessness depended upon a number of major elements including the contestation of the prevailing discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor, the discourse of social reform and the discourse of British Imperialism. As a political statement, Booth sought to denigrate solutions currently in force in Britain and replace them with his own solutions.

One of the dominant discourses of the period is the anti-urban discourse where the city is compared in harsh terms against an idealistic country landscape (Driver 2001) (McLaughlin 2000). The anti-urban discourse is reinforced in the text by the reference to the “great darkness” (Text 2 A), or other words, the jungle and by the use of the notion of “the Farm Colony”(Text 3) (Driver 2001) (Bailey 1984).
The migration from the City Colony to the Farm Colony and then to the Over-Sea Colony is a fundamental part of Booth’s solution to homelessness. The notion of colonies was not new. In ‘Darkest England’ Booth acknowledges the importation of the idea from the co-operative social experiments at Ralahine in Ireland conducted by John Scott Vaneleur in 1830 (Armytage 1961; Booth 1890).

The establishment of the Over-Sea Colonies borrows from the British Imperial discourse. Booth said,

“The constant travelling of the Colonists backwards and forwards to England makes it absurd to speak of the Colonies as if they were a foreign land. They are simply pieces of Britain distributed about the world, enabling the Britisher to have access to the richest parts of the world”

(Booth 1890, p 152.).

The words “simply pieces of Britain” are instructive. The notion of Empire has been adopted completely. To Booth the British Empire itself could form part of the solution to the social problem he had defined. In that definition Booth was careful to note that England was “overcrowded” (Text 3). Consequently, if England was overcrowded then the only solution was to end the overcrowding. Removing the people to the Colonies solves the social problem.

The solution also was aimed at appealing to the upper and middle classes. By using immigration, there was an appeal to these classes through the removal of danger and a strengthening of the Empire through immigration from Britain. In his solution to the problem, Booth also paints a picture of the poor as a pressing problem, and one that must be solved immediately.
By painting the poor in such graphic terms as “hungry”, “empty stomach”, “dressed in rags”, “at your door” (Text 3) Booth was reminding his readers firstly of the state of the poor, namely “hungry”, etc, and that as a consequence they might prove dangerous since they were “at your door” and the problem could best be solved by removing them to a safer place, namely in the Colonies controlled by England.

Booth was aware of his need for middle and upper class support. He was conscious that they as a class should not be offended or inconvenienced by his proposals. He wrote, “Whilst assisting one class of the community, it must not seriously interfere with the interests of another” (Booth 1890, p 95.). Booth was at pains to ensure that the social concerns of the consumers of his text would be addressed. He was also trying to calm any fears that the tradesmen and Unions might have with his work creation schemes 48.

In the conclusion of his narrative Booth does not neglect the Christian discourses. Even in this truncated selection of texts Booth mentions, the “principles which have already proved so effective in the Salvation Army” Text 3. The use of the word “principles” is a direct reference to both the Army’s current social work practices and the Army’s spiritual and church practices. After 1890, Booth never separated the two aspects of Army practice. They were fused as he pointed out in his 1911 addresses;

“It should ever be in your minds that the two Departments – that is, the Social and the Field 49 - and each one is indispensable, and must ever remain so”.(Booth 1912, p 73.)

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48 One of the main criticisms Booth faced with his work creation schemes was that he would be undercutting the wages of tradesmen already employed. Booth’s was at pains to show that his industrial schemes were not based on ‘sweated labour’, as he pointed out in an interview with W.T. Stead in 1908 (Stead 1908).

49 The term “the Field” refers to the evangelical wing of the Army.
The Embankment and the Notion of Class

Booth’s use of the word “Embankment” is also interesting for its implications and for the inclusion of the Victorian discourse of class within Booth’s narrative. To Booth, those who lived on the Embankment of the Thames were the lowest possible strata in British society. In one of his 1911 Social Addresses delivered to an international gathering of social officers Booth described the dwellers on the Embankment in the following terms; “Take twenty from the derelicts of society: the Thames Embankment people, including criminals and others…” (Booth 1912, p 178.).

Booth did not see the need to contest Victorian notions of class; indeed Booth clearly supported the discourse of class distinction. Booth noted in the same address in 1911;

“take twenty from the labouring class: dockmen and the like. Then twenty from a somewhat higher grade; mechanics and miners. Another twenty from the skilled mechanics and shopkeepers, and tradesmen. Go up as high as you like [my emphasis] as the House of Commons, or even the House of Lords”(Booth 1912, p 179.).

Booth also extrapolated this notion of class, as personified by the term “Embankment” to both England and the Empire. It seemed clear to Booth and the Army’s leaders that just as English society conformed to the Victorian discourse of class so the dominant discourse would be extended without question through the British Empire into the colonies. Examples of this discourse are to be found in The Darkest England Gazette of 1893 which states:

“this is especially shown in Australia, by the readiness which its leading statesmen have availed themselves of the help of the Salvation Army in effecting moral reformation of the lowest, in dealing with the questions of the unemployed and prison populations” (Unstated 1893, p 7.)
The notion of class is of course a contested one. In using the notion of class Booth was, just as were the socialists of the time, providing different meanings and interpretation of the terms. Booth was engaging in dialectic between discourse and social practice defining and redefining class with his own particular meaning.

**The Deserving and the Undeserving Poor**

It was noted in Chapter 2 that what is left out of a narrative is almost as important as what is included. Booth does not mention the discourse of the deserving poor and the undeserving poor by name but rather by inference. By omitting this discourse, Booth was contesting the validity of the discourse. The words “whenever a hungry, dirty and ragged man stands at our door asking if we can give him a crust or a job” (Text 3) are important. The words describe poverty but do not imply that the person or their character causes their poverty. The word “whenever” is significant. It implies that there is no discrimination and in addition, implies that many are already seeking welfare services from the Army.

Though there is no mention of this discourse by name in the selected texts, Booth is clearly aware of the discourse since he specifically mentions in ‘Darkest England’ the prevailing policy of deliberately making shelter for the homeless difficult to obtain and as “disagreeable as possible” (Booth 1890, p 79.). In fact, by mentioning how hard the homeless have worked to maintain their shelter, Booth is producing a counter to the discourse of the deserving and undeserving poor. Booth is criticising the discourse and expanding on the system that creates poverty in an endeavour to create and legitimise his own subversive discourse of poverty.

In effect, Booth created a new meaning to attach to the signifiers of the poverty that was evident in Victorian Britain. Booth defined poverty in new terms not in the old terms of as laziness, stupidity or evil. Rather, Booth defined poverty in economic terms and the reduced capacity to receive wages “the want of any means of employment” (Text 2 A).

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50 Booth’s notion of class is made explicit in this quote.
The discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor was a dominant discourse in British society (Laybourn 1995). Booth’s opposition to the discourse may well have been coloured by his own career as a pawnbroker and his own experience of poverty. It is Bailey’s opinion that;

“All such categorisation, Booth believed, ought to wait until the submerged\textsuperscript{51} had first been offered a way out. This displayed a much less censorious attitude to the urban ‘residuum’ than that shown either by the Charity Organisation Society or, indeed, by the labour movement.”

(Bailey 1984, p 145.).

**Other Early Army Social Policy Texts**

Following the publication Catherine’s Address and William’s ‘Darkest England’ (1890)\textsuperscript{52}, the Army published ‘The Darkest England Gazette’ as a vehicle to continue the Army’s discursive strategies to create greater public awareness of its social ideology and message.

From 1890 onwards, the early Army campaigned to force the government into action over such issues as homelessness, prostitution and poverty. With this publication, the Army began to develop narratives to publicise their social policy positions.

In the first issue of The Darkest England Gazette, which was to change its name a year later to The Social Gazette the editor, who would not have published anything without the Booth’s approval, wrote:

\textsuperscript{51} Booth defined the poor as the “Submerged Tenth” (Booth 1890, p 24.) of the British population. “Submerged” in this case is just shorthand for Booth’s longer definition.

\textsuperscript{52} See Chapter 5 for an analysis of the social policy narratives of ‘Darkest England’
We come to articulate the cry of the hungry, homeless and degraded of the land; to voice their just demands upon the sympathy and help of a Christian nation; and draw aside the curtain of false modesty, and show the sores of the poor and neglected on the one hand, and what may seem to us to be, on the other hand, the readiest and most beneficial method of deliverance and restoration.” (Unstated 1893, p 6.).

This passage is another demonstration of the evolution in Army social thought. It also indicates that the readership of The Darkest England Gazette included the lower social class and in all probability included many current and former members of the “dangerous classes” (Text 1, Booth 1883, p 58.).

The editor admitted that the “task will be at times unpopular and burdensome”, but he believed that “with the cordial co-operation of our friends we shall in time…stir the hearts of every true lover of humanity”. This editorial text set the voice, that is, the linguistic formation, for what was to come from this publication. Within the text the author constructed a social position for the Army that drew on a number of discourses already understood within British society. Firstly, the discourse of poverty, the Army continually drew on the public understanding of poverty narratives with the words “hungry, homeless, and degraded”. Secondly, the text draws upon socialist narratives by the use of the words “just demands”.

The text also criticises the Victorian discourses of upper-class respectability and modesty by criticising the “false modesty” and in doing so draws on the biblical narrative of Lazarus by using the words “sores of the poor”. Finally, the Editor supports the Army’s position by suggesting that it will “articulate” and therefore provide the social context for the most “beneficial method of deliverance and restoration”.
This editorial text once again contains the major discursive strategies that became common to nearly all early Army texts, namely, the discursive construction of poverty, the Army’s fitness to serve society, the continuation of the British state and Empire, the inability of the upper classes to see the problem and finally the religious discourses of the Army.

**Conclusion**

‘Darkest England’ of course had many aims. Its primary purpose was to publicise the plight of the poor in England, to emphasise the Army’s capacity to develop and implement solutions to intractable social problems, as defined by the Army, and to raise public awareness of the Army’s capacity to solve the social problems and finally to elicit political, social and economic legitimacy for the Army.

The analysis of ‘Darkest England’ demonstrated that the text was influenced by a number of prevailing discourses. It is possible to identify the discourses of socialism, Empire, Imperial unity, the countryside or anti-urbanism, the jungle, mapping, exploration, adventure, discovery, social regeneration and spiritual salvation. Not only have these discourses influenced Booth’s social policy development but they are clearly incorporated in the text.

The incorporation of these discourses was made easier by the genre selections made by Booth. By selecting the genres of travel and social discovery, Booth was able to easily introduce the metaphor of the jungle. This metaphor enabled a two-way movement of meanings where the jungle became the slums of London.

In addition, London’s poverty stricken inhabitants were then easily identified as ‘other’ allowing Booth to develop solutions to his social policy problem in terms of the jungle and the Imperial conquest of this mysterious and dangerous place. The precedents created by Booth have implications for the Army today, particularly in the Australian context, and these implications will be examined in Chapters 7 and 8.
Chapter 7

Social Policy and The Salvation Army

The Australian Context.

Introduction

“In the constructivist perspective, social problems are seen as being formed by the power of identifiable groups in society to define a certain issue as a ‘problem’ that needs tackling in a particular kind of way. The ability to define an issue as a social problem then leads to the construction of a policy.” (Jacobs, Kemeny, et al. 1999, p 13.).

Chapters 5 and 6 examined the Salvation Army’s policy narratives contained in ‘Darkest England’ and Booth’s construction of social problems, particularly the problem of homelessness. It was noted in Chapter 6 that Booth deliberately chose a discursive strategy that defined homelessness in such a way that contributed to the creation of solutions that favoured Army methods.

My thesis will now move to an exploration of the social policy developed by the Army in Australia. In Chapter 3, it was noted that the founders of an organization have profound and lasting legacy within the organization that they establish. This is the case with the Army in Australia. Chapters 5 and 6 provide a basis for comparison of modern Army texts created by the Army in Australia. Chapter 7 will use the analysis of the early Army texts, and the narratives contained in them, as a basis for comparison with modern Australian Army texts and narratives.
The Army has evolved since the late 19th century. It evolved from a small religious sect in Britain to a worldwide church and is now an accepted constituent of Australian society. This chapter explores the growth and evolution of the Army in the Australian context, particularly towards the end of the 20th century. In addition, the chapter examines the Army’s place in the modern welfare state and explores the tensions caused by the major policy shifts in the welfare state from a Fordist to a post-Fordist welfare state.

The exploration of Army social policy in the later part of the 20th century centres on the Report, No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995). This chapter also explores the Report’s place in the Army’s textual repertoire and explores the genre chains used by the authors of the Report.

The Army in Australia Today

The Salvation Army is a Protestant Church. In the Australian context, the Army is more usually perceived as a benevolent or welfare organization offering a wide variety of welfare services (Mt Eliza Business School 2003). Beginning with one social service in 1883 (Sandall 1955) (Green 1986) the Army, by the end of the 20th century, has become a substantial social service provider in Australia.

The Army’s initial expansion in Australia was spectacular Hogan notes that,

“in the 1880s an identification with the interests of the poor received a boost with the establishment of The Salvation Army. Membership of The Salvation Army jumped from zero to over 10,000 in less than 10 years in New South Wales.” (Hogan 1987, p 137.).

53 I have used the word “sect” deliberately. Niebuhr (1929) outlines the ways in which sect evolve into churches. I believe Niebuhr’s arguments are persuasive. Discussion on this matter is outside the aims of this thesis but would be worth a thesis on its own as far as it concerns the Army.
The primary concern of this thesis is an analysis of social policy so the issue of the church membership is outside the analysis. Relevant to this thesis is the size of the army’s contribution to social work in Australia. It is difficult to measure the relative size of NGO’s within Australia however, the Commonwealth Government Industry Commission, (1995) Report of 1995 noted that the Army had the largest single organisational expenditures of the charitable voluntary welfare sector in that year.

The conclusions drawn in the report were somewhat flawed since the Report’s authors did not include the expenditures of many of the larger welfare agencies such as Catholic Health system. However, the report does indicate that the Army is a significant player in the Australian welfare state.

The Army’s annual financial reports show that the Australia Eastern Territory has financial reserves in the order of $482M (The Salvation Army 2001); taken with the Australia Southern Territory the Army in Australia has financial reserves close to $700m. By any measure, the Army within Australia has grown from small beginnings to a large and significant social service welfare provider.

The size of the Army welfare services in Australia is similarly difficult to quantify. The Army’s Annual Financial Reports no longer detail the number and size of the social services provided by the Army in Australia. The latest annual Report for the Australia Eastern Territory (2003a) only provides broad outlines or “Highlights” of the year in review. The Army’s Website www.salvationarmy.org.au (The Salvation Army 2003b) is a little more forthcoming; it notes that in 2002 the Army in Australia had 1.08M instances of service and had spent over $318M on the provision of its social services.
As a significant welfare organization in the Australian welfare state, the Army seeks to engage in public debates to influence the welfare state. It has large Public Relations Departments in each of its Territorial Headquarters in Sydney and in Melbourne. These Departments publish a wide variety of texts, particularly texts relating to the Army’s religious and ethical positions, though as noted above there is no theological or formal text that provides a justification for the Army’s provision of social services.

The Army’s Social Services and the Australian Welfare State

The fact that the Army is involved in developing social policy in the Australian welfare state and seeks to influence that policy is not without its critics. Mitchell, a Sydney journalist, wrote:

“The idea that the Salvos should be involved in Australia’s policy making on employment and drugs is enough to make you laugh or cry, depending on your mood. The Salvation Army is a 19th century organisation trapped in the concepts of that far off time.” (Mitchell 1999, p 33.)

Since the first efforts by Catherine Booth to engage the welfare state, the Army has always sought to continue this engagement and the members of Army in Australia have continued this tradition. Mitchell clearly agreed with the notion that the Army, in late 20th century, had the power to define social policy issues in Australia. This power is not confined to the social issues defined by Mitchell; it is also manifested in the Army’s attempts to define homelessness as a social policy issue.

54 For a complete list visit the Army’s Australian Web Site at www.salvationarmy.org.au (The Salvation Army 2003b). This site has links to both Territorial Headquarters in Australia. These sites provide listing of texts published by the Army in Australia. The social issues mentioned on this site are extensive and not confined to homelessness, employment or drug related issues. A number of the texts mentioned on the two Territorial sites are available for downloading.

55 See Chapter 3.
In addition to engaging the Australian welfare state through the publication of textual material, the Army in Australia provides a wide range of social services. Just as the textual production of the Army has matured, so has the provision of social services. Social services in the Army in Booth’s time, both in England and Australia, were generally managed and delivered by Officers and Salvationists together with a few employees. Any casual examination of the Army Orders and Regulations (The Salvation Army 1915) (The Salvation Army 1916) will illustrate the dominance of officers in the management and delivery of social services in the past.

This position has changed. The increasing need for professional qualifications, government grants and service outcome requirements and restrictions, allied to a fall in the number of Salvationists offering themselves as candidates for Officership and ordination means there has been a shift in the management and delivery of Army social services in Australia. Lay employees now make up the bulk of service delivery staff, and management of these services is increasingly falling to employed staff, most of whom are not Salvationists. An example of the magnitude of this shift can be ascertained by reference to the level of salary funding reserves revealed Army’s Eastern Australia Territorial Annual Report for the 2000/01 financial year (The Salvation Army 2001) and the fact that in the financial year 2003/2004 the Army in the Eastern Territory employed over 4000 staff (The Salvation Army 2003a).

A measure of the change in staffing mix can be gauged by examining the texts published by the Army. In 1894, the Social Gazette (Unstated 1894) provides an insight into the effect of officers on the development of social policy. This can be compared with the October issue of the Pipeline (Abbott 2003) containing an article relating to Army’s Employment Plus service in Australia. The shift in employment patterns has implications for the development and delivery of social policy within the Army. In the first text, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the Officers are the only policy makers. In the second, the most important policy maker is the lay employee. Though the policy structures outlined in Chapter 3 remain, the increasing

56 Though not mentioning the individual services by name see the Eastern Territory Annual Report (The Salvation Army 2001) for the areas in which the Army in this Territory provides social services as well as the Army web site www.salvationarmy.org.au (The Salvation Army 2003b).
number of lay employees means an increase in the tributaries leading into the Army’s
development of social policy by its hierarchy.

The Modern Welfare State in Australia

There has been a shift in the development of social policy. At its beginning and in its
golden period just following the 2nd World War, social policy, in the western
democracies, was developed by state bureaucracies and social services were, in the
main provided by these same bureaucracies (Pierson 1998). According to Penna and
O’Brien (1996) the position had changed in the late 20th early 21st centuries.

Social policy should now be understood as an instrument of governance of the state.
This shift has come about due to what is termed as the crisis in the welfare state. This
crisis has caused a major rethinking of the development of policy together with the
delivery of social services. Ife, for example expressed his “sense of outrage at the…
oppressive environment” (Ife 1998, p ix.) caused by this crisis in the welfare state. Ife’s
(1998) expression is based on his observation that the welfare state has been attacked in
Australia by what he terms economic rationalism, that is, economic theories under the
theoretical umbrella of neo-conservativism, or Thatcherism and Reagonomics.

Like Ife, many theorists are now questioning the point currently reached in the
evolution of the welfare state. According to Jamrozik (2001) we are now in the post-
welfare state, that is a welfare state that is in transition from an all-embracing welfare
provision to welfare state which is in an as yet an undefined form. This notion of crisis
of the welfare state is a central factor in the thinking of politicians, bureaucrats, social
policy analysts and governments in Australia. It clear that this condition will continue
into the foreseeable future and might well be the normal condition of the welfare state
in the early 21st century in Australia (Jamrozik 2001). This crisis in the welfare state in
western industrialised countries is caused, in part, by governments responding to global
economic conditions. This response includes, amongst other things, the reduction of
social expenditures with the aim of ensuring the inflow of investment capital and
ensuring global market competitiveness.

57 Penna and O’Brien (1996) are not alone, see also Gough (1981) and Offe (1987) for example.
Presently, the condition of the welfare state is one of a paradox. On the one hand traditional social policies, such as the payment of pensions and the provision of benefits still holds and on the other hand, the Howard government has introduced the notion of ‘mutual obligation’. This welfare regime targets welfare benefits and is accompanied by highly complex rules. Within these rules, welfare recipients are penalised for relatively minor breaches of benefit conditions. In effect, a reintroduction of the discourse of the deserving and undeserving poor, where moral judgements are made by bureaucrats based upon the recipient’s capacity to obey what for many are a complex set of eligibility rules.\(^{58}\)

These changes by the Howard government are representative of the changes forced by the new welfare state paradigm. Within this paradigm a number of factors such as globalisation, changing demographics and the sheer scale of the industrialised economies has caused governments, of both the left and the right, to question the substantive benefits of the provisions of the welfare state both to the state and to its citizens (Jamrozik 2001; Pierson 1998).

This shift in the social and economic policies in the industrial western economies has been influenced by global economic policies rather than local considerations and has forced a re-evaluation of the modern welfare state. In attempting to grapple with these shifts Penna and O’Brien (1996) suggest that it is in the literature relating to Fordism and post-Fordism that the links between the globalisation, the contracting state and state social policy is most clearly understood.

In an economic sense, post-Fordism is the innovative response to the breakdown of Fordist, high-volume, mass production systems by the introduction of flexible post-Fordist systems of production based upon lower volumes, greater product variety and new technologies. In this new globalised economy the introduction of post-Fordist production techniques, allow nation states, such as Australia, to compete in the new globalised world markets by the use of new technologies and by the introduction of innovative work organization strategies (Lambert 2000).

\(^{58}\) The implications for the Army will be examined under the Section “The Salvation Army and the Matter of Breaching” later in this Chapter.
These innovative organisational strategies have caused the decrease of permanent full-time work engagement patterns and lead to an increase in casualisation and part-time work patterns. This economic restructuring has also caused a shift in social policy development to meet the needs of a globalised economy (Lambert 2000). The development of the state economy in an increasingly globalised world involves subordinating social policy to the push for economic innovation and competitiveness (Jessop 1994) (Penna & O'Brien 1996). The emphasis of the modern welfare state then, is towards negotiating international agreements on trade and technology. Political action is aimed, not at the functional requirements of a national economy, but at the national economy’s “insertion into the fragmentised demand structure of an international economic system” (Penna & O'Brien 1996, p 50).

Within the post-Fordist state, private welfare organizations, such as the Army, are now viewed as client, community-centred enterprises, specialising according to state demand for their welfare services (Penna & O'Brien 1996). It is within this context that non-government organizations (NGO’s) such as the Army, are actors in a newly emerging sector or perhaps more importantly the comparatively recently identified sector of the economy namely the ‘Third Sector’.

Factors Influencing Salvation Army Funding and its Position as a The Third Sector Organization

Social policy analyses within a post-Fordist context illuminates the changes in working practices, employment patterns, decentralized, operational control and the introduction of ’marketisation’ in welfare institutions. Recent changes in Australian social policy priorities - the introduction of internal markets, employment services, service contracts, and the encouragement of private sector involvement in welfare provision are all indications of the trajectory that the Australian welfare state is taking in a post-Fordist context (Castles 1985; Penna & O'Brien 1996; Pierson 1998; Jamrozik 2001).
A major focus of the discursive strategies developed by the Booths was the funding of Army social services by government. The current changes in the welfare state and the shift to a post-Fordist regime has implications for the funding of third sector institutions such as the Army in Australia. Successive governments in Australia are now reducing budgetary expenditures on welfare services in an effort to reduce overall government expenditures. These changing patterns of government funding and welfare provision had significant implications for the Army in the last decade of the 20th century.

The bureaucratic structure of the Army today still echoes the discourse of Empire. They reflect a British bureaucracy whose function had, prior to the late 20th century undergone little change. The new post-Fordist economic regimes are driving change on the Army in Australia. To obtain government funding the Army has changed its old Victorian methods, developed initially by William and Catherine Booth, and modified its interactions with state bureaucratic and political structures. In doing so, it has become part of that wider group of agencies that have coalesced into the private welfare providers in the Australian state known as the ‘Third Sector’.

The Third Sector is that sector of the modern state that lies outside the government sector and outside the market sector. Yet, even this definition of the sector is problematic. Within the literature, there is a struggle to adequately describe the Third Sector. Lyons (2001) suggests that the Third Sector encompasses those organizations that are not part of the public or business sectors and consists of private organizations. Since interest in this field is comparatively recent, terminology relating to the voluntary sector is at times confused and ambiguous, and observers frequently disagree about what the sector includes and excludes (Cortes 2000). For the purposes of this thesis I will use the definition provided by Giner and Sarasa (1996) who define Third Sector groups or voluntary associations as:

59 A comparison of Salvation Army Year Books from 1900 to 2001 will show that while some Departments change titles or are extinguished entirely, (such as the “Foreign Office” at International Headquarters, which for a while was responsible for all of the Army’s overseas Territories); the basic bureaucratic governance structures remain.
“those groups which lie partially or completely in the private sphere (civil society), one of whose chief aims is to work for the benefit of others or for the common good, without profit.” (Giner & Sarasa 1996, p 140).

Within this broad definition Brown et al (2000) note that the organizations contained within this sector are variously referred to as “voluntary organisations, community organisations, non-government, not-for-profit and non-profit” or “charity organisations” (Brown, Kenny, et al. 2000, p 51). For the purposes of this thesis, the Army will be referred to as a non-government organization (NGO) operating within the Third Sector.

The decision to define the Army as an NGO is based upon a number of factors. Firstly, the Army’s form of governance, the Army is an international, politically independent, centrally controlled bureaucratic organization. At its head is the International Headquarters (IHQ) of the Army in London. Secondly, national or regional commands or Territories each have their own bureaucratic structures under the control of Territorial Headquarters (THQ) and local commands or Divisions within Territories are under the control of Divisional Headquarters (DHQ). The leaders of each of these headquarters are appointed at the express direction of, or with the approval of IHQ in London. Finally, the Army is not a ‘community’ organization in that is governance structure is hierarchical, appointed and generally not representative of the local community, though the Army makes great use of community leaders in an advisory capacity. Finally, though a not for profit organization it has church, charitable and some commercial functions\textsuperscript{60} whose profit is used to support social and charitable works and is not distributed to Army members.

\textsuperscript{60} These functions include a large second hand clothing industry, e.g. Salvo Stores in the Australia Eastern Territory.
The Army and the Relationship with Government in Australia

Having such a long history of welfare provision, the Army has strongly established relationships with the wider Australian society and particularly with government. This has been a deliberate policy choice. Historically, the Army has always sought to tighten this relationship. There is no currently available internal policy text that supports and outlines this relationship between the Army and government. The current policy stems from a policy articulated William Booth at the first International Social Council of Officers in 1911 said:

“he (the officer) must seize every opportunity of getting what assistance he can from Governments and other Institutions for the work in which he is himself employed. Especially must this be the case with respect to civil – that is, secular-governments” (Booth 1912, p 79.).

Not only do Officers and employees of the Army actively seek government funding but Officers and employees employed in welfare provision actively engage both government and other actors in the sector in order to influence policy. For example, Captain David Eldridge of the Australian Southern Territory, chaired Prime Minister Howard’s Committee of Inquiry into Youth Homelessness (Eldridge 1998). In addition, I was a member of the Commonwealth Department of Social Security Reference Group advising the Commonwealth Government on the Youth Allowance Benefit from 1989-2000 and was also part of a working group of the New South Wales Department of Community Services (NSW Department of Community Services 1998) developing standards for homeless service providers in New South Wales, under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP).

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61 The evidence for this is easily found in Army publications such as the Social Gazette where articles expressly quoting State Governors, Premiers and Judges can be found, for example, the article quoting the Premier of the Colony of Victoria (Unstated 1893). In addition Booth’s (1912) Social Addresses of 1911 include a whole chapter on the Army and its relationship with governments, the Chapter outlines the conditions under which the Army will accept government funding.

62 That is the Salvation Army Territory in Australia comprising Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia and the Northern Territory See also the Appendix.
The Army is an active member of each Australian state’s Council to Homeless Persons as well as a member of combined lobby groups such as the Association of Major Charitable Organizations (AMCO) and the various state Councils of Social Service as well as the Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS). The Army seeks to influence policy in the various church agencies such as the Australian Council of Churches and the various state ecumenical councils. The Army is represented on the social justice committees of these bodies and thus has both a communal as well as an individual corporate voice in the third sector.

The Salvation Army and the Discourse of Organisational Independence

In a Report written by The House of Representative Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs wrote

“In welfare delivery, the international trend has been for governments to pass these responsibilities to the not-for-profit community sector by contracting or privatising former State-run welfare institutions. In Australia, similar changes are taking place, with major implications for governments in terms of their future role in welfare and their relationship with non-government service providers.”

(House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs 1998, p xi.).

The Army has actively sought to be part of the new welfare services of late 20th century Australia. Its ability to do so is demonstrated by its capacity to obtain government contracts for the provision of employment services as well obtaining government grants for the traditional homeless services (The Salvation Army 2001).

As already mentioned the Army has always sought to obtain funding from government. However, within the Army a dominant discourse of organizational independence has been constructed. As in many things Booth, who always wanted to preserve the organizational independence of the Army, constructed this discourse very early in the Army’s history. Words such as “preserving your separation” (Booth
“Nothing must be allowed to come into our arrangements with Governments and other organisations like impositions or conditions, on the part of those making the grants or gifts, that would be calculated to interfere with our perfect freedom to carry out the work as we think best.” (Booth 1912, p 85.).

And again;

“Finally, no Social Work must be undertaken (except under very extraordinary circumstance, and then only with the consent of International Headquarters) which has to be sustained by any government grant, the continuance of which is uncertain.” (Booth 1912, p 85.).

This discourse of independence was imprinted by Booth on the early Army and has remained today, even in Australia (Irvine 2002). The conditions laid down and imprinted on the organization are clear; the Army must maintain its organizational independence and the continuation of funding must be guaranteed. These policy restrictions have never been formally rescinded in the Army. Yet, by their very nature government grants within a post-Fordist economic regime are both prescriptive and limited in time. The discourse of “absolute freedom” to carry out Army social work has now been constricted by government grant conditions and grants tend to be time limited.
In relation to the “absolute freedom”, the House of Representatives Committee wrote in June 1998:

> Performance monitoring is a central element of service delivery. It is a process by which government agencies supervise a service provider’s performance so as to ensure the provider meets predetermined performance standards. [my emphasis]” (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs 1998, p 49.)

In addition, under the prevailing economic order in the late 20th century the continuation of funding and the levels of funding are often uncertain and unclear. The House of Representatives Committee wrote;

> “This Inquiry found that current service agreements frequently fail to include key information in service agreements. (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs 1998, p 72.).

The Army, still influenced by the discourse of “perfect freedom”, has misgivings about the notion of privatisation in the new post-Fordist welfare economy. The Army wrote, in its submission to the Inquiry,

> “The matter of outcome standards is also an issue. If the government does not provide a fully funded tender, what percentage of what outcome does it have a legal right to expect, and who determines this. Is it a court of law? This raises the issue of what the Government “owns”. It also goes to data provision if the government does not pay for this. Who picks up the cost?”(The Salvation Army 1997, p 4.).
And again;

“The Salvation Army has serious concerns about the concept and the results of going down the competitive tendering track. Human services are the shared responsibility of all in the community. We are not sure competitive tendering will result in this sharing.” (The Salvation Army 1997, p 6.).

In choosing to have close links with government, the Army has sought to influence the welfare state yet in return the state has influenced the Army. To obtain grants to continue its welfare services under the post-Fordist economic regimes in Australia the Army’s has had to assume a quasi-governmental role in the provision of these services. In other words, the Army has been forced to modify the organisational discourse of independence by contracting to provide government specified outcomes. However, the dominant organizational discourse independence was also linked to another discourse, namely, that of Christianity. The Army is, primarily, a Christian Church within the Protestant tradition and the Christian discourse is its central ideological driving force (The Salvation Army 1999). Booth feared that institutions within the state, such as government, might dilute or even pollute this central ideology and so he took great pains in his 1911 Address (Booth 1912) and in his first Orders and Regulations for Social Officers (The Salvation Army 1898) to construct the discourse of Army organizational independence. Not that Booth saw the Army as being removed or in someway divorced from the state; indeed his 1911 Address indicated that the Army needed to engage with government and other institutions of the state; what Booth was at pains to construct was an organisational discourse of independence that would inform, control and regulate the Army’s contact with other institutions.

See Chapter 4.
Yet, the quasi-governmental role forced on the Army in the role as a service purchaser rather than a service provider has led to a dilution of Army decision-making powers and the reworking and modification of internal discourses. This modification has a good example in the matter of ‘breaching’.

**Resolving the Matter of Breaching**

The social policy problem of ‘breaching’ best illustrates the intermingling of government and Army decision-making and reworking and modification of internal Army discourses in the new welfare market place. The Salvation Army defines breaching in a report entitled *Stepping into the Breach* (Jones 2001) in the following way:

“To receive unemployment benefits in Australia – Newstart Allowance and Youth Allowance-a person must satisfy two types of requirements: Activity Tests and Administrative requirements. Activity test requirements are designed to ensure that the unemployed person is making reasonable efforts to find suitable work, undertake activities to improve their employment prospects or assist in development of work habits, or is making a contribution to the community in exchange for their benefit. Administrative test requirements relate to such things as replying to correspondence, notifying Centrelink of changes in personal circumstances, attending Centrelink office when required, etc. Failure to meet these requirements results in a person being “breached”, that is, having their unemployment benefit significantly reduced for up to six months or cut off completely for eight weeks” (Jones 2001, p 4.).
The responsibility to inform government, through the Centrelink\textsuperscript{64} office, if a client ‘breaches’ part of their allowance requirement, forms part of the government contract for job placement services under the Australian Commonwealth Government’s privatised job network. The Army received a major contract from government when the newly privatised job placement programme commenced in May 1998. The Army now has 13\% of what is termed the Intensive Assistance market, making the Army the largest provider of services in this segment of the privatised job placement market (Jones 2001).

The notion of ‘breaching’ a person, and thereby reducing already low levels of income is antithetical to Army discourses developed to support and advocate for the marginalised. In support of the Army’s position and to develop an internal discourse subversive to the supremacy of liberal economics Booth wrote in ‘Darkest England’;

\begin{quote}
“There is nothing in my scheme which will bring it into collision \ldots [with] any of the various schools of thought in the great field of social economics – excepting only those anti-Christian economists who hold that it is an offence against the doctrine of survival of the fittest to try to save the weakest from going to the wall, and who believe that when once a man is down the supreme duty of a self-regarding Society is to jump upon him” (Booth 1890, p 25.)
\end{quote}

And also:

\begin{quote}
“The laws of supply and demand, and all the rest of the excuses by which those who stand on firm ground salve their conscience when they let their brother sink\ldots often enough are responsible for his disaster” (Booth 1890, p 51.).
\end{quote}

\footnote{Centrelink is the agency charged with, amongst other things, payment of benefits.}
In effect, by accepting government contracts that require ‘breaching’ the Army has had to modify the subversive discourse created by Booth regarding the deserving and the undeserving poor. Booth did not accept the dominant discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor noting in relation to the poor, stating, “their miseries are to be their passport to our assistance” (Booth 1912, p 93.). The acceptance of ‘breaching’ would therefore seem be in contradiction of the Army’s discourse of poverty and its causes.

Jones (2001) notes that whilst the Army has 13% of the market the Army is responsible for only 2% of all of the ‘breaches’ notified to Centrelink. The Army’s low breaching rate demonstrates just how strong the internal discourse of support for the marginalised remains within the organization in Australia. The low breaching rate also demonstrates how the Army works to reduce the impact of government requirements and restrictions.

From the statistics, it is easy to infer that the Army errs on the side of the client rather than on the side of government requirements. However, whatever the Army’s internal discourses may be, the Army is in a difficult position and is still, in the end, forced to fulfil government requirements other than its own discourses when it accepts government contracts.

The organisational tension in relation to ‘breaching’ arises not only from its internal discourses but also from the Army’s participation in another sector of the privatised welfare market. The Army provides emergency relief (ER) for the government. ER is a programme administered by the Commonwealth Government of Australia and is delivered under contract by approved welfare, religious and community agencies. Currently there are some 900 agencies approved under contract and the Army is one of the larger agencies (Jones 2001)

The Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) describes Emergency Relief (ER) in the following way as;
“the provision of financial assistance to those persons who find themselves in financial crisis. ER can be for a “one off” episode, or an ongoing financial problem. Assistance is given in the following forms; cash/cheque assistance for food, housing costs, utility bills, medical and educational expenses, or vouchers for food and energy. It can also be provided as in-kind material assistance, such as clothing, food and other household items” (Australian Council of Social Services 1999, p 7.).

The Army then has the internal dissonance between competing discourses. On the one hand it provides assistance to poverty stricken Australians in line with its discourse of helping the marginalised; and on the other hand the Army is forced by government contract to ‘breach’ many of these same people if they fail to meet government imposed standards of conduct. In acknowledging these tensions the Army stated:

“The Salvation Army acknowledges that there is a tension between the “markets” of emergency relief and job network service provision that have been created by the Commonwealth Government. The Salvation Army has a long-standing commitment to enabling disadvantaged people to gain employment and has entered the contracted-out job network system in full knowledge of this tension, believing in the need for community providers whose motive is not profit driven but rather provision of genuine outcomes. Furthermore, this tension should not disempower The Salvation Army or any other non-government community service from providing well-founded critiques of the appropriateness and operation of this system” (Jones 2001, p 7.).

Within the context of a post-Fordist, neo-liberal economic framework the Army’s discourse of complete independence is clearly untenable if the Army in Australia wishes to gain government contracts for the provision of social services.
To enable the Army to speak on behalf of the marginalised and to strengthen its place in the Australian welfare state, it has been forced to develop new sources of funding to reduce its dependence on government and forced into new political alliances. The new sources of funding are to be found in the latest Annual report and include avenues such as on-line donation solicitation through its Web site www.salvationarmy.org.au (The Salvation Army 2003b).

New political alliances have been forged with other similar social actors and the Army in Australia now belongs to such organizations as the Australian Council of Social Service (ACOSS), the various state Councils of Social Service, and the Association of Major Charity Organizations (AMCO), as well as the NSW Council of Churches and each state’s Council of Homeless Persons Services.

As a constituent of the Third Sector within the post-Fordist welfare state, the Army has been forced to rethink its development of social policy and its social policy position. Further, it has been required to develop new discursive strategies to propagate its social position and relieve total dependence on government for funding. Evidence of this rethinking and reshaping can be found in its current textual production.

**Recent Army Social Policy Texts and the use of Genre**

One of the major ways the Army in Australia has refined its textual production is through a deliberate strategy of publishing reports that construct a view of social policy representing the Army’s view. The Army, as a constituent of Australian society, has sought to define social problems in its own terms. In this it is not alone. Those constituents of the Australian welfare state involved in developing social policy have struggled to establish what Hutson defines as a “*dominant discourse by which [the] issue is defined and dealt with*” (Hutson 1999, p 1.).
As a significant social actor in the Australian welfare state, The Salvation Army has been part of these debates. This is demonstrated by the production of texts relating to the social problem of homelessness. In 1995, the Army published the Report No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995). This text formed part of a group of texts published by the Army relating to homelessness and included Forced Exit (Hirst 1989) and A Long Way from Home (Bartholomew 1999).

These texts do not move far from the purposes of Booth’s ‘Darkest England’ as a vehicle for creating legitimacy. What is different is the genre selection and the voice. It was noted in Chapter 5 that Booth used a journalistic voice for ‘Darkest England’. These later reports published by the Army use an academic voice. By using the academic voice, the Army is co-opting and reworking the academic genre for its own purposes.

In Chapter 2, the implications for the development of a social discourse using genre were examined. Fairclough (2002) refers to genre as a way of acting and interacting socially. These ways of interacting include the use of “thematic content, style and compositional structure” (Fairclough 2002, p 17.) linked to a relatively stable body of textual material.

Chapters 5 and 6 explored the construction of the social problem of homelessness by Booth in ‘Darkest England’. In those Chapters, it was noted that ‘Darkest England’ was a foundational text in the Army’s genre repertoire. Additionally, it was noted that ‘Darkest England’ was framed by the social discovery genre but also used the genre of Victorian travel literature as a means of creating meanings for the consumers of Booth’s text.
In developing its social policy texts in the late 20th century Australia, the Army used genres common in the wider community. The wide variety of texts include many genres such as the academic report evidenced by the works of Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1998, 1992, 1995), Maas (1995), the government report as in Neil and Fopp (1992), *Our Homeless Children* (Burdekin 1989), the *Report on Aspects of Youth Homelessness* (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs 1995) and in the newspaper genre represented by the Illawarra Mercury (Unknown 2002) and *The Sydney Morning Herald* (Horin 2002).

**Conclusion**

The growth and evolution of the Army in Australia, particularly in relation to social services has been extensive. The Army grew from one social service in 1883 to an organization providing 1.08M instances of service in 2002 and spending over $318M on its social services in that year (The Salvation Army 2003b). The Army has evolved and this evolution together with the introduction of privatisation of welfare markets has caused tensions within the Army.

Under Booth, the Army fought to maintain its organisational independence from its donors. However, as shown in this chapter the welfare state has came under attack within the post-Fordist economic regimes and the Army policy of total independence has been compromised.

This chapter noted the tensions for the Army caused by this modification, especially when privatisation has forced an intermingling of government and Army decision-making in relation to Army clients. This tension has also been heightened by conflicting programme requirements for different government social welfare programmes, such as the requirements of the job network and the requirements of the emergency relief programmes.

To continue this exploration the text *No Place that’s Home* (The Salvation Army 1995) is the subject of analysis in the next chapter.
Chapter 8

*Salvation Army Policy Narratives Surrounding Homelessness*

*In the Later 20th Century*

**Introduction**

Chapter 2 set out the methodology to be used in this thesis to analyse Salvation Army policy narratives. That chapter explored the ways in which social problems were constructed using socially charged language. In addition, Chapter 2 examined the ways in which these constructions are influenced by the dominant discourses in society and from these observations, a methodology was adopted to analyse policy narratives.

Using the methodology developed in Chapter 2 this chapter continues the analysis of modern Army texts commenced in Chapter 7. To provide a focus on homelessness as a social problem this chapter explores the social construction of homelessness in the late 20th century.

This chapter includes an examination of the text *No Place that’s Home* (The Salvation Army 1995). This text is explored to reveal the discourses influencing Army policy development. The examination also includes a discussion of the place of this text within the Army’s genre repertoire and contains an exploration of the language use in the text. The chapter also explores the weakening and omission of some discourses in modern texts when compared to the early texts produced by William and Catherine Booth.
Selection of Text for Analysis

The first text analysed in this thesis was Catherine Booth’s address, *The Salvation Army and its Relation to the State* (Booth 1883) in Chapter 4. Importantly, this text was one of the first army texts seeking to discursively link, develop and maintain a legitimate role for the Army within the developing welfare state. The address provided the template for William Booth’s later address *The Relationship of the Social Work to Governments, The Philanthropies, and the Churches or Other Religious Institutions* (Booth 1912). Additionally, Catherine’s address is important in that it provides a discursive precedent for ‘Darkest England’, analysed in Chapters 4 and 5.

*In Darkest England and the Way Out* (Booth 1890) provides the context for the analysis of current social policy narratives. William Booth’s text ‘Darkest England’ is the pre-eminent social policy document for the Army. ‘Darkest England’ is a foundational text in the Army’s textual repertoire and it provides a template for the Army’s later social policy text production. It is still important in the Army’s discursive strategy to engage the welfare state today. Darkest England is still published by the Army and is available in the Army bookshops in Australia and in the western world.

Furthermore, since the Army has yet to produce a formal theology of social work, the text ‘Darkest England’ remains, after 113 years, the only text initiated by the Army’s International Headquarters formally outlining Salvation Army social policy. ‘Darkest England’, and Catherine’s address also provides a base to assess and compare early Army policy texts with modern Army policy texts published in Australia. In effect, these two texts set the context in which the later Army social policy texts are analysed.
The welfare state at the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} and early 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries is in a state of change. These changes were examined in Chapter 3, however, as an example of the Army’s social policy at the end of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995) has been selected for analysis. This report was selected because it provides insights into the current social policy development in the Army in Australia. Additionally, the report provides insights into discursive strategies deployed by the Army in the late 20\textsuperscript{th} century Australia and it is representative of the Army’s policy texts relating to the issue of homelessness.

Through the publication of such a large body of texts, the Army seeks to influence policy debates within the Australian welfare state. The texts also represent a continuation of the efforts of the Army to seek legitimacy in the Australian society; a legitimacy that provides the Army with what Yeatman (1990) refers to in discussing the discursive strategies of organizations, as the “power to create reality and give it meaning” (Yeatman 1990, p 115). The Army’s textual production is, therefore, a vital component in its discursive strategy seeking to seize and exercise the power to create reality and meaning in the debates within the Australian welfare state.

Included in the discursive strategy are texts relating to the issue of homelessness. These texts include Forced Exit (Hirst 1989), A Long Way From Home (Bartholomew 1999) and the text selected for analysis No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995).
The text **No Place that’s Home** (The Salvation Army 1995) was selected for analysis for a number of reasons. Firstly, this text is part of the Army’s genre repertoire; secondly, the text is representative of the modern texts produced by the Army in Australia relating to homelessness. It was published for general consumption and was aimed at consumers across a wide spectrum of the Australian public. The Report comprises four elements; three monographs and a Digital Video Disk (DVD). The construction is therefore able to rely on a number of genres for its legitimacy and authority. Additionally, the report provides insights into discursive strategies deployed by the Army in the late 20th century Australia and it is representative of the Army’s policy texts relating to the issue of homelessness.

**The Social Construction of Homelessness in the Late 20th Century.**

Before analysing the text **No Place that’s Home** (The Salvation Army 1995), it is well to revisit the construction of homeless. In commenting upon the meaning of the term ‘homeless’, Marsh and Kennett observed that:

> "the meaning of the term 'homeless' is fundamentally unstable [my emphasis]. Contests over the precise definition of homelessness and the appropriate means of measuring the extent of homelessness have been a prominent feature of [policy] debates” (Marsh & Kennett 1999, p 2.).

The instability of the term homelessness is also revealed in the literature relating to the topic. Even a cursory exploration of current homelessness texts will reveal little agreement about what is meant by the term homelessness. This relative disagreement on just how the term homelessness should be defined brings into question the whole notion of homelessness as an analytical category (Chamberlain & Mackenzie 1992). With this instability in mind, it was decided to concentrate this part of the analysis on homelessness as it relates to young people between the ages of ten years and thirty years to give some form to the unstable notion of homelessness.
Since the term homelessness is so unstable, it is inevitable that the social terrain in which homelessness is defined has become highly contested. Social actors such as government and church agencies such as the Army have sought a dominant role in this contest. Since the term is so contested the term ‘homelessness’ itself is fragile and open to a wide number of interpretations (Marsh and Kennett 1999; Chamberlain and Mackenzie 1992).

Marsh and Kennett (1999) remark upon the fragility of the concept of homelessness and the difficulties faced by governments seeking to define, and measure the extent of homelessness. They state;

“All statistical measures are socially negotiated, but in the case of homelessness- along with other key political issues like crime and unemployment - the fragility of official definitions and measures is particularly stark [my emphasis]”(Marsh & Kennett 1999, p 2.).

The Australian Commonwealth Government sought to provide a legal definition of homelessness in the Commonwealth Government’s Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme Act of 1994. In part the Act, in Section 4. (1) states; “a person is homeless if, and only if, he or she has inadequate access to safe and secure housing”. This Section of the Act also contains qualifiers, exclusions and inclusions. It remains the basis for the provision of government funding throughout Australia. In attempting to provide a normative definition of homelessness, this definition relies upon the use of a number of subjective words, words whose meaning must be socially negotiated. The words “if”, “only if”, “inadequate”, “safe”, and “secure” in the legislation are all subjective and call for the reader to construct a meaning based upon their social and cultural perception of the subjective words. The word “if” relates to the other qualifiers yet the meaning of “home” as opposed to ‘homeless’ is never provided and the concept of “adequate” as opposed to “inadequate” combined with the qualifiers “safe” and “secure” makes the statutory definition of homelessness a problematic exercise leaning heavily on dominant constructions and social norms for its interpretation.
The statutory definition of homeless devised by the Commonwealth government was greatly influenced by the work of the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC). The HREOC inquiry into youth homelessness in 1989 titled Our Homeless Children (Burdekin 1989) and commonly called the ‘Burdekin Report’ after Brian Burdekin, the Chair of HREOC at the time, has been particularly influential in the debates surrounding youth homelessness in Australia. This report set the context for the social problem of youth homelessness by providing a definition on which to build its report and as a result provided a source definition through which subsequent texts from both inside and outside government and government legislation in the last decade of the 20th century in Australia were influenced.

Burdekin defined youth homelessness in the following way;

“’Homelessness’ describes a lifestyle which includes insecurity and transiency of shelter. It is not confined to a total lack of shelter. For many children and young people it signifies a state of detachment from family and vulnerability to dangers, including exploitation and abuse broadly defined, from which the family normally protects a child “(Burdekin 1989, p 7.).

This definition was not original. Burdekin acknowledged the intertextual elements of the definition and referred to the definition of homelessness contained in a Report, Youth Housing; Survey Report and Conference Proceedings prepared by C. Chappell in 1988 for the South Australian Council of Social Services as the basis of his own definition. In Appendix 5 of Burdekin’s Report, Fopp (1989) acknowledged a debt to the Chappell’s definition in the preparation of his methodology to estimate the number of homeless young people in Australia.
The HREOC definition accepted by Burdekin is referred to in the House of Representatives Standing Committee Report into Aspects of Youth Homelessness (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Community Affairs 1995) as well as by Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1998), Bartholomew (1999), Hirst (1989) and was used in the Conference Proceedings, Homelessness: The Unfinished Agenda sponsored by Mission Australia (James, Plant, et al. 1999) showing the widespread acceptance and influence of the original definition of homelessness constructed by Chappell.

Revealing both the positivistic and constructionist influences on definitions, the various definitions of homelessness developed in the later 20th century are to be found in a terrain, which according to Neil and Fopp varies from the “subjective to the objective” (Neil & Fopp 1992, p 6.). The issue of ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ definitions of homelessness is a recurring theme throughout homelessness texts of the late 20th century in Australia. Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1992) highlight the historical shift in definitions of homelessness from the ‘objective’ to the ‘subjective’ from the early 1960’s to the 1990’s. It is their thesis that definitions of homelessness have evolved from ‘objective’ or positivist definitions that concentrated on attempting to measure the physical characteristics of homelessness to ‘subjective’ measurements and definitions of homelessness that were influenced by the new philosophical epistemologies of constructivism (Chamberlain & Mackenzie 1992).

‘Subjective’ definitions of homelessness emphasise the importance of individual reality and experience over normative, state-mandated or legal interpretations (Bartholomew 1999). Subjective definitions of homelessness point to the failure of normative and state-mandated definitions to acknowledge the full extent of homelessness. This failure can be seen in social policies that were based upon what are moral assumptions about the character of homeless individuals or what in other terms could be perceived as a modern reworking of the discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor (Jacobs, Kemeny, et al. 1999).
According to Chamberlain and Mackenzie, social policy in late 20th century Australia must recognise that definitions of "'Homelessness' and 'inadequate housing' are socially constructed cultural concepts that only make sense in a particular community at a given historical period" (Chamberlain & Mackenzie 1992, p 290.). This recognition has implications for this thesis in the analysis of the policy narratives published by the Army in the late 20th century in Australia, particularly in relation to the analysis that follows in this chapter which analyses the discursive strategy deployed by the Army’s leaders to define the problem in their own terms and to solicit funding to address the social problem of homelessness.

No Place that’s Home; The Frame

Chapter 2 established that the framing of any text is important in developing the meaning for the consumer of the text. The frame provides cues for the consumer through which the consumer can apply their own frame of reference and deploy a suite of shared meanings to decipher the text. The Report No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995) comprises of four elements. The first three elements are monographs, which, although contributing to the overall Report can stand alone, and the fourth element is a Digital Video Disk (DVD).

The major part of the Report is the monograph Being Young and Homeless (Smith 1995); the second part is the monograph entitled A Place That’s Home (Smith 1995), the third, produced from the background research was developed by the overseeing Editorial Committee and is entitled Young People Have Their Say on Being Homeless (Newman, Eldridge, et al. 1995) and the DVD is entitled No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995). Being such a multifaceted text for ease of reference the authorship will, for discussion purposes, be referred to as ‘the Army’. In addition, though comprising four elements, unless specifically required the whole text will be referred to as ‘No Place that’s Home’ or where appropriate as ‘the Report’.
The four constituents of the Report draw on different genres for their meaning, legitimacy and authority. Being Young and Homeless (Smith 1995), the major constituent, relies on the academic research genre for its authority. The ‘voice’, that is the style and tone of this element of the report, appropriates the academic report genre in order to present a powerful, authentic and authoritative voice. In addition, the appropriation of the academic report is aimed at providing the Report with legitimacy and authenticity (Fairclough 1996). The academic voice is accentuated using academic citations, particularly in the use of quotations from recognised academic authorities such as Jordan (1994), Neil (1992) and Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1992, 1995). For example, when discussing the debates surrounding the definition of homelessness Smith (1995) says;

“Victorian researchers, Mackenzie and Chamberlain point out that the use of such definitions make it difficult to assess, quantify and conceptualise homelessness. They contend that ‘homelessness is a relative concept that acquires meaning in relation to the housing conventions of a particular culture’ (Chamberlain & Mackenzie 1992)” (Smith 1995, pp 17-18.).

The second element of the Report A Place That’s Home (Smith 1995) outlines the conclusions drawn from the research in Being Young and Homeless. The conclusions could just as easily have been part of the Being Young and Homeless text. However, the production of the report was carefully tailored to the intended readership of this part of the Report, namely, the politicians and bureaucrats who develop policy and who have control over government funding in the area of homeless services.

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65 These two authors have been involved in co-authoring a number of texts. Often their names are used interchangeably. For consistency, I have generally placed Chris Chamberlain’s name first throughout this thesis. The only exception being the somewhat rare case of David Mackenzie’s name appearing first as the principle author of a text.
This second element in the Report appropriates the government report genre to enhance its authority and legitimacy. By using the genre of government reports and using a similar voice as government reports, the Report provides a familiar text for bureaucratic consumers. The following sentence discloses the influence of the government genre on the Report’s production. Under the heading “Strategies”, is the sentence:

“Careful monitoring of national and state policies to determine the impact of changes to administrative and policy processes, such as Unit Costing of community welfare agencies and the introduction of new State Welfare Policy on the lives of young homeless people” (Smith 1995, p 23.).

By not mentioning the Army or any other agency, the bureaucrat is implicated in the strategy. This is particularly so in the use of the words “Unit Costing” and “new State Welfare Policy”. These words are socially charged. They form part of the economic rationalist or neo-liberal discourse and are commonly found in government reports such as the House of Representative Standing Committee’s report into the contracting of welfare services (House of Representatives Standing Committee on Family and Community Affairs 1998).

It is also clear by the use of these words “Unit Costing” the Army is influenced by the dominant economic discourse currently being promoted by post-Fordist governments in Australia. “Unit Costing” refers to the cost per individual, per instance of service. Though to be fair, the words “Careful monitoring” suggest a challenge to the discourse as well. Within the post-Fordist, neo-liberal discourse dominating Australian governments, citizens are being constructed as economic units; components of a wider economic agenda, rather than being considered as belonging to a civil society where people and their individual needs are considered paramount. Another possible reading is that by using the words “Careful monitoring” the text challenges the dominance of this pervasive neo-liberal economic discourse and its influence on Army social policy. Additionally, it may be inferred that the Army will conduct the careful monitoring.
The third element of the Report Young People have their say on being Homeless (Newman, Eldridge, et al. 1995) relies on the newspaper genre for its legitimacy. The newspaper genre is particularly powerful. Fairclough notes that in newspapers there is a “degree of mystification about voices and positions being represented” (Fairclough 1996, p 110.). This mystification comes chiefly when social identities, relationships and distances are collapsed and particularly where the homeless person’s voice is immediate yet disembodied (Fairclough 1996). In effect, we are reading about, spoken to, but not directly interacting with the homeless people. The consumer of the text therefore has a frame of reference that has been created through their interaction with newspapers and the way in which newspapers construct people and their social problems; for example;

“A high proportion of the young people interviewed have been involved in the criminal justice system. It would appear that offending is an option of survival. A young person recently homeless or less involved with the “scene” may simply engage in stealing to survive” (Newman, Eldridge, et al. 1995, p 20.).

In this passage, social identities have been collapsed into “young people”, the young person’s relationship to homelessness has been collapsed to “the criminal justice system” and “stealing” and distances have been collapsed to the “scene”. This passage then introduces an interview that is at the same time both immediate and disembodied. All the consumer of the text knows is that the person giving the interview is “Ken”.

“Ken. Yeah but ripping people off, asking for money, bashing people, which now I thought was petty, now I think was pretty low, then I started knocking off cars and things like that, getting into trouble with the law” (Newman, Eldridge, et al. 1995, p 200.).
Finally, the fourth element of the Report, the DVD No Place that’s Home (The Salvation Army 1995), was jointly published by the Army and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology. This element contains all of the other elements of the Report and includes, amongst other things, the report Our Homeless Children (Burdekin 1989) as well as video clips of interviews from some of the homeless people interviewed for the Report. This element was intended as a research tool and relies on the academic genres for its validation and power to create meaning.

As a research tool the DVD also contains an annotated bibliography of over 1,000 newspaper articles relating to homelessness. The annotated bibliography comes directly from the academic genre. Interestingly, the list contains a number of articles regarding homelessness from the Australian War Cry. In associating the War Cry articles with articles from other newspapers and academic reports, the Army is appropriating equality together with an authority and legitimacy for its own publications and uses the Report as a vehicle to enhance its own power to name and define social problems.

No Place that’s Home: The Report

Fairclough (1996) states “one never really talks about features of a text without some reference to text production, and/or interpretation” (Fairclough 1996, p 75.) and so it is with this analysis. The Army produced this Report with a number of aims. These aims include the reinforcement of the Army’s legitimacy within the Australian welfare state, the capacity to influence public debates and to raise funding for the Army in Australia. The Report is directly aimed at influencing public debates relating to homelessness. In articulating this aim, the Report uses such phrases as “contribute to the ongoing practice and policy debate” (Smith 1995, p 24.). The aims of the Report were reinforced by the public launch of the Report by the Southern Territory in Melbourne.
As a fundraising vehicle, the Report had a mixed reception in the Army. The Australia Eastern Territory disagreed with the use of the Report as a fundraising vehicle for the annual Australian Red Shield Appeal for 1997. Though accepting the Report as a valid analysis of the problem of youth homelessness in Australia the Australia Eastern Territory chose only to use the TV and other media advertising campaign that had already been developed and agreed to by both Territories some months prior to the production of ‘No Place that’s Home’.

The choice by the Australian Eastern Territory to only use the already agreed TV and other media campaign was, in part, the result of internal difference in style and public relations focus between the two elements of the Army in Australia. The Southern Territory chose a broad public relations strategy using the jointly agreed publicity and included the Report as a central focus. The Eastern Territory focused narrowly on fundraising and used only the jointly agreed publicity campaign and little else, in the Red Shield campaign of 1995.

As a result of the Southern Territory’s decision the Report was far more widely consumed in the states of Australia where the Southern Territory Headquarters had influence, namely, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, The Northern Territory and Tasmania. Eventually, the Report formed a central plank of the Southern Territory’s fundraising publicity in 1995 Red Shield Appeal. At the launch of the 1995 Red Shield Appeal for the Australia Southern Territory, which also launched of the Report, the Army symbols, such as the Army uniform and the Army flag, were highly conspicuous. The meanings represented in these Army symbols continue to draw upon and rework the military discourses. The Army’s use of the military symbols still provides a readily understood frame for the consumers of Army texts in Australia.

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66 The author was present at the meeting that lead to the Eastern Territory’s decision not to use the Report as part of its Red Shield Appeal for 1995.
The Report itself relies upon the Army’s genre templates for its organisational validity. ‘No Place that’s Home’ can trace its lineage back to ‘Darkest England’. Firstly, the Report was initiated and approved by the senior management of the Army in the Southern Territorial Headquarters. Secondly, following the discursive precedent set by Booth in the production of ‘Darkest England’, the Army employed an author from outside its own ranks to develop and write the majority of Report. There are many positive aspects to employing an outside author including the importation of new discourses previously unused in Army discursive practice. The practice ensures that the Army is continually open to new ideas. There are, of course, inherent faults with this practice. The practice facilitates the introduction of language that was not, prior to the Report’s publication, part of the Army’s usual discursive practices.

An example of language outside the normal Army discursive practices is found in the section of the report developed by the Report’s Editorial Committee, headed by Newman, another non-Salvationist contributor, entitled Young People Have Their Say on Being Homeless:

“Woody

Q. What makes a good youth worker?
A. Someone that can relate to kids.
Q. And what makes a bad one?
A. Some dumb shit [my emphasis] that can’t”


And another example;

“I’m still on pills and everything else which is fucking [my emphasis] stupid” (Newman, Eldridge, et al. 1995, p 17.).
This language, prior to the publication of ‘No Place that’s Home’, had never entered into Army texts within Australia. The religious practices of the Army prevent the use of the language, which, even if mild in the Australian idiom, is not acceptable to the bulk of ordinary Salvationists. Even a cursory examination of Army publications such as the Australian War Cry will indicate that language such as this does not form any part of Army discourse practice.

Captain Eldridge⁶⁷, a major force in the development of the Report, only received some minor complaints from within the Army. This lack of complaint may indicate that the Report’s readership amongst Salvationists in Australia was not widespread. However, this was not the purpose of the Report. The Report was produced to take part in the wider discursive debates constructing the problem of homelessness and was aimed directly at an outside audience that included the public who fund the Army’s homeless services in Australia, and more importantly, the Report was aimed at the politicians and bureaucrats who control government funding for homeless services in Australia.

No Place that’s Home; The Selected Narrative

Chapter 2 noted that a narrative, or story, includes three elements, a beginning, middle and an end. The beginning sets the context of the problem, the middle outlines the parameters of the problem and the end outlines the solution. In texts as long as the Report, these three elements are often spread across the full range of the text and will be found in various constituent chapters. Indeed in such a unique text as the Report, the policy narrative ranges across the four elements of the Report.

For ease of analysis, the following text sample was selected from one element of the Report to provide an example and to draw on all of the elements of the report. This sample is a summary of the various policy narratives to be found in the text as a whole.

⁶⁷ Reported verbally by Captain Eldridge to the author.
Text 1. The Beginning: Setting the Context

“A civilised society compassionately supports its disadvantaged members. Young homeless people are among the most disadvantaged in Australia yet many remain inadequately supported and uncared for. It is over five years since the release of Our Homeless Children” (Smith 1995, p 24.).

Text 2. The Middle: Constructing the Problem

“Despite increase in funds for homeless services, improved research and development and the release of various policies, the lot of many young homeless people has only marginally improved. New groups of young people are becoming homeless and many are remaining homeless for a number of years. In the light of what young people have said, it is time to re-evaluate our efforts, and if necessary, to redouble them” (Smith 1995, p 24.).

Text 3. The End: The Solution

“This report is designed to stimulate discussion about the future provision of services for our young homeless. It is not an end point, but represents a commitment by the Army to re-assess its own involvement with young homeless Australians and contribute to the ongoing practice and policy debate. We do so by listening to the views of young people, and, in partnership with them, seek to find a place that’s home in our community “ (Smith 1995, p 24.).
The Construction of Homelessness within the Report

The construction of homelessness commences with the notion of ‘home’;

“while we as a society remain unclear about what constitutes a home, we are likely to remain unclear about who is homeless” (Smith 1995, p 18.).

The concept of ‘home’ forms a central thread throughout the text. The Report never defines the concept of ‘home’, yet the term ‘home’ is used consistently throughout the Report. The Army is therefore leaving the interpretation of the term ‘home’ to the consumer of the text. This construction requires the readers to provide their own meanings from their own frame of reference. As a Protestant church, the Army has a traditional Christian understanding of ‘home’ constructed over its 120-year history. This notion is constructed in its hymnology, internal publications such as the Handbook of Doctrine. Within the Army the description of the traditional family unit or home is constructed in the following way, “The family unit – father, mother, and children – is still the ideal social institution in contemporary Australian life” (The Salvation Army 2003b). One reading of the omission of a definition of home in the Report is that the Army’s position on ‘home’ would be taken as a given, i.e., the traditional Christian position. Another reading could be that the Army did not want to offend any of the funding bodies, including government, and so left the consumer of the text to provide their own meanings.

The Report is sensitive to the use of language. When defining homelessness the Report specifically draws upon the notion of ‘subjectivity’ developed by Neil and Fopp (1992) and Chamberlain and Mackenzie (1992) particularly in the phrase “the definition of homelessness largely determines the nature and extent of services provided to homeless people” (Smith 1995, p 16.). The Report does not contain a normative definition; it relies on the interviewees to provide their own definition and experience of homelessness. By relying on individual perspectives the Army is able to provide the broadest possible referent for the social problem of homelessness by relying on the “entirely subjective” experience of the subject as the final arbiter (Smith 1995) (Chamberlain & Mackenzie 1992).

68 See also Chapter 7.
No Place that’s Home; Coding within the Report

Chapter 2 noted that narratives contained underlying codes. In addition, in many cases what is unsaid in a narrative is often as important as what is said. In this case, the Army leaves unsaid its need for funding. The Army has always sought funding from government and from philanthropic donors. One of the major aims of the Report was raise funds for the Army, particularly for the Southern Territory. Yet nowhere in the report is there specific mention of the Army’s need for funding. The Report uses a number of devices as code for additional funding for Army services.

The need for funding is found in the words “inadequately cared for”. The phrase “inadequately care for” can also refer to the actual services or indeed people providing care. So that the need for funding of Army homeless services is implied in the Report rather than expressly stated. The consumers of the text would draw this meaning implicitly since the Report was delivered as part of the Red Shield Appeal, but read in isolation the meaning becomes obscured.

The Army’s legitimacy is also reinforced in the Report using code and loaded words. The word ‘compassion’ is a prime example. The Army describes itself as “compassionate” (Text 1), and since it is compassionate, it is therefore fit to support and care for disadvantaged young people. The Report draws upon and comments upon the failure of others, in particular government. The notion that “research and development and the release of various policies” (Text 2) is inadequate or inappropriate points to the failure of others, particularly government, not the Army. The discourse of government inaction and failure was a constant theme in William and Catherine Booth’s social texts; a theme previously discussed in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6.
The coded message that the Army is able to care for the marginalised, where government has manifestly failed to do so, is reinforced in another part of the Report;

“The delivery of services for young homeless people is the responsibility of a wide range of Commonwealth and State government department. The coordination of government efforts across these departments to achieve a common end has proved costly, time consuming and only marginally successful [my emphasis]. Too often both good ideas and challenging issues have been left unattended while territorial debates are pursued. At present there is no single point of accountability in government to ensure that the needs of homeless people are met [my emphasis]” (Smith 1995, p 23.).

The phrase “At present there is no single point of accountability in government to ensure that the needs of homeless people are met” (Smith 1995, p 23.) is another condemnation of government to meet the needs of homeless people.

No Place that’s Home; Some discourses incorporated into the Report.

The Report leans heavily on the Burdekin Report and the academic work of Chamberlain and Mackenzie. In constructing the social problem of youth homelessness the Army incorporates the discourse of homelessness found in the Burdekin Report (1989) and the Report openly acknowledges this source as well as incorporating quotes from Chamberlain and Mackenzie to provide authority to the Report. By referring to these other texts and expressly incorporating them into its own text the Army “reaccentuates and reworks past texts” (Fairclough 1996, p 102.) for their own purposes. In doing so the Army leadership in the Southern Territory sought to contribute to the wider process of change; but change in a direction acceptable to the Army, its leaders and its membership (Fairclough 1996).
The words “A civilised society” (Text 1) in the first line of the discourse sample indicates a particular discourse that is currently contending for supremacy within the context of the post-Fordist society in Australia. This discourse was enunciated by Eva Cox (1995) in 1995 her Boyer Lectures delivered on the ABC. Another allied discourse implied in the text is the discourse of social capital. Whittaker and Banwell define social capital as:

“the ability of individuals to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social networks. Through Social Capital, individuals potentially gain access to real capital (economic resources), or they can increase their store of cultural capital through contact with experts or through participation in prestigious associations”
(Whittaker & Banwell 2002, p 253.).

In other words, the economy serves the people both financially and socially; people do not serve the economy. This discourse resonates with Booth’s prescriptions for the poor in ‘Darkest England’ and his condemnation of unrestrained capitalism when he states:

“The laws of supply and demand, and all the rest of the excuses by which those who stand on firm ground salve their consciences when they leave their brother to sink...They are often enough responsible for his disaster”
(Booth 1890, p 51.).

Another of the dominant discourses of the late 20th century is the discourse of marginalisation, or social exclusion. Marsh and Kennett note that:

“The complexity of the problems and the trajectory and coalescence of the social processes which result in households finding themselves homeless require explanations with a clear focus on process. It is essential to move beyond broad labels such as 'socially excluded' [my
emphasis] and, indeed, 'homeless' [my emphasis] to understand both the varied processes involved and the differentiated impact which these processes have on particular social groups” (Marsh & Kennett 1999, p 1.).

The discourse of social exclusion or marginalisation is a powerful one. The subject text refers to this discourse in the words;

“New groups of young people are becoming homeless and many are remaining homeless for a number of years” (Smith 1995, p 24.)(Text 2).

By referring to the increase of homelessness and marginalisation the Army in the Report is following the textual precedents of Booth in “Darkest England”. Poverty was given a broad referent by Booth. Booth’s construction of poverty included those out of work, those who could not work, those for whom no work was available and those who were too ill to work. What Booth would not accept was the hegemonic discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor. This discourse permeated the early welfare state in Britain and Australia and defined people suffering poverty based upon their own perceived moral deficiencies; in effect people who were poor deserved to be poor because they lacked the moral fibre to find work (Pierson 1998). As an example of Booth’s active opposition to the discourse of the deserving versus the undeserving poor Booth said in 1911, “their miseries are to be their passport to our assistance” (Booth 1912, p 93.). In this statement Booth is not making any moral judgements, rather he is accepting a person no matter what their condition may be when they present requiring Army social services.
The text sample provided in this chapter does not mention the discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor. This discursive practice follows the precedent set by Booth in Darkest England. Rather; the report continues Booth’s precedent by acting against and producing a counter discourse. The text uses the words “We do so by listening to the views of young people, and, in partnership with them, seek to find a place that’s home in our community” (Smith 1995, p 24.) (Text 3).

The word “partnership” is instructive. The use of the word recruits both the client and the consumer of the text to accept the Army’s construction of the social problem of homelessness and recruits both clients and text’s consumer to accept the Army’s solutions to the social problem. It also follows Booth’s discursive precedent of making no moral judgements about the poor but in this passage constructs the poor as partners with the Army.

Within the current neo-liberal economic climate, the discourse of deserving verses the undeserving poor, first constructed at the beginnings of the welfare state, has been re-invented and is now re-worked and renamed as ‘mutual obligation’. ‘Mutual obligation’ makes moral judgements about the recipient of welfare payments and requires them to earn benefits; and if the recipients fail the often onerous obligations then they are “breached” and suffer a loss of part or all of their welfare payment. In Chapter 7, I noted that the Army’s strong internal discourse of ‘complete independence’ has had to be reworked to conform to government requirements in the matter of breaching; so there is clearly pressure on the Army’s leaders to conform to the new discourse of ‘mutual obligation’ if it wishes to retain government grants. The Report, in keeping with precedents established by William Booth, does not explicitly mention the discourse of ‘mutual obligation’; a discourse which is in direct opposition

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69 See Chapter 6, page 92 for an analysis of William Booth’s position on the discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor.

70 See Chapter 6, pages 92-93

71 See also Chapter 7, pages 101-103

72 See Chapter 7, pages 111-115.
to its own discourse of full support for the poor what ever their circumstance. Rather, it seeks to criticise the creator of the discourse of mutual obligation, namely government, stating:

“The coordination of government efforts across these departments to achieve a common end has proved costly, time consuming and only marginally successful” [my emphasis]. (Smith 1995, p 23.).

Moreover, the text points to the accountability of government rather than the accountability of the individual, a key tenant discourse known as ‘mutual obligation’ by stating that;

“At present there is no single point of accountability in government to ensure that the needs of homeless people are met” [my emphasis] (Smith 1995, p 23.).

As pointed out in the last chapter the internal discourses of the Army are particularly strong. Thus whilst having to accept grant conditions imposed on it within the discourse of mutual obligation the Army in the Report still seeks to modify such discourses in line with its internal discourses using the textual precedents set by its founders Catherine and William Booth. William did not mention the discourse of the deserving versus the undeserving poor so in constructing or modifying the discourse of ‘mutual obligation’ the Report does not mention this lamentable re-working of the deserving verses the undeserving poor discourse either.

73 See also Chapter 6, pages 92-93.
No Place that’s Home; A notable omission

When discussing the discourses evident in ‘Darkest England’ and comparing them to the later Report major discrepancies emerges. Booth’s template has not been followed precisely. ‘Darkest England’ contains numerous references to the Christian discourse. Indeed this discourse is a hegemonic discourse in ‘Darkest England’. Throughout every Chapter in ‘Darkest England’ Booth was careful to incorporate the Christian discourse in all of his narratives.

In a secular, pluralistic, post-Fordist environment Christian discourses have little economic weight. Further, the application of Christian discourses to service delivery may well inhibit the free flow of funding, particularly from private donors and governments committed to non-religious, pluralistic welfare services; so their exclusion from the Report indicates the strength of anti-religious bias anticipated by the Army.

Another discourse incorporated by Catherine Booth was the resistant discourse of gender equality. The text ‘No Place that’s Home’ does provide interviews with homeless females. It does not, however, provide recommendations taking notice of the special requirements of homeless young women such as strong physical protection and specialised psychological and psychiatric services.

One possible reading is that the Army believes that everyone should be treated equally. However, the absence of gender in the text is informative. Williams (1994) argues strongly that homelessness has been a male construction and any analysis of homelessness must acknowledge the discriminatory nature of social policy and policy solutions towards women. The Report fails to make any comment on this aspect of the debate surrounding the construction of homelessness. Another possible reading is that this omission could have been the result of a deliberate policy to reduce conflict and thus make the Report more accessible. A further reading is that the resistant discourse developed by Catherine Booth and incorporated into Army texts of the time⁷⁴ has diminished in force within the Army, and under the influence of 20th century

⁷⁴ See Chapter 3.
Australian society, the Army has gradually weakened its commitment to female equality 75.

Conclusion

Chapters 7 and 8 explored the ways in which the Army was careful to develop narratives that contribute to the construction of homelessness within the constructionist perspective, yet followed Army precedents established by William Booth. The Report ‘No Place that’s Home’ (The Salvation Army 1995) fits into the Army’s genre of social discovery texts.

The report may well have allowed the Army “to re-assess its own involvement with young homeless Australians” (Text 3); but this Chapter revealed how the Report served wider purposes. Part of its purpose was to reinforce the Army’s legitimacy and to serve as a fund raising device seeking to influence the public, politicians, bureaucrats and the public.

There are a number of discourses discernable in the policy narratives provided in Chapters 7 and 8. These chapters revealed the influence neo-liberalism in Army texts particularly since the Army is now required by government to enter into contracts for the provision of services. The effects of the neo-liberal discourse on the internal discourse of independence, formulated by Booth, was also explored, both in relation to funding and policy outcomes. In addition, I have identified in Chapter 8 the discourses of social exclusion, marginalisation, civil society and the discourse of the deserving and the undeserving poor in the subject text.

This chapter also revealed a shift or weakening in the Army’s use of the Christian discourse. The Army is a protestant Christian church formed in the fervour of Christian revival. It was expected that this discourse would still be evident in the Army’s textual production today. However, this was not the case and two readings of this omission are possible. It is possible that the initial Christian fervour has waned.

75 A position explored by Eason (2003) in his analysis of the treatment of women and their place within the Army.
Alternatively, it is possible that the Army has become sophisticated and part of its discursive strategy is to reduce any conflict with government bureaucrats and the philanthropic agencies and donors by using neutral, non-confrontational language.

However, the need to maintain government funding has demonstrated a weakening of the internal discourse of organisational independence, particularly in relation to the matter of ‘breaching’. This weakening has been caused by the implementation of restrictions and funding conditions attached to government grants.

The discourse of the deserving poor and the undeserving poor was found in the textual samples. However, the analysis did indicate that the Army had not accepted the discourse of the deserving verses the undeserving poor, now re-invented with the name of ‘mutual obligation’. The analysis of the Report indicated that the Report had followed the discursive precedent first established by William Booth in ‘Darkest England’. In ‘Darkest England’ Booth did mention of the discourse of the deserving verses the undeserving poor by name but still offered a counter discourse; so too does Smith’s Report.

The implications for the Army in the new welfare state environment whose dominant discourses include globalisation, economic rationalism and ‘mutual obligation’ will be discussed in the Conclusion.
Chapter 9

Conclusion

Introduction

Fairclough (1996) and Kress (1985) suggest that institutions transform and are transformed through their use of discourse. My research findings confirm their observation. This transformation will be discussed in this chapter through a discussion of the findings and implication of my research. Throughout this thesis, my concern has been to explore the discourses evident in Army texts with the aim of ascertaining whether modern Army texts indicate the extent to which the Army in Australia may have become colonised by government. This concluding chapter will summarise the research findings and outline some of the implications to be drawn from the research.

The Frame for The Textual Analysis

A major finding of my research was that William and Catherine Booth largely incorporated the hegemonic discourses of the late 19th century into their texts, working and reworking these discourses for their own organisational purposes. The wide variety of discourses discernable in both William and Catherine’s texts include socialism, Empire, Imperial unity, the countryside or anti-urbanism, the jungle, mapping, exploration, adventure, discovery, social regeneration and spiritual salvation.
Shifts in language usage between the early writings of William and Catherine Booth and modern texts was found when compared to modern Army texts. Modern texts are far more subtle than those of the Booths, for example, William wrote, “The question of the harlots is, however quite insoluble by the ordinary methods” (Booth 1890, p 58.) compared to the modern language: “The inquiry emphasised the need for health and medical services that were closely integrated with the general support system in order to meet the ‘multi-dimensional’ needs of homeless young people” (Smith, 1995, p 93.)

Findings and implications


‘Darkest England’ (Booth 1890) is important as the foremost formal textual statement of Army policy and as a theological basis for Army social work; an important consideration since the Army is a Christian Church in the Protestant tradition. My research found the absence of a modern formal theological policy statement produced by the Army’s International Headquarters. This absence has had its greatest ramifications in the late 20th century. When faced with the dominant neo-liberal economic philosophies of the late 20th century within the context of the post-Fordist state76 the Army leadership in Australia has not been able to counter this discourse with its own formally stated theological and theoretical constructs.

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76 See Chapter 3 for s discussion on the post-Fordist state and the Army.
It is fair to say that the presence of a formal theological policy statement in the Army will not in itself guarantee organisational conformity. However, a formal statement would at least provide a textual precedent against which the Army could measure the impact external influences on current policy texts. Particularly so since the Army is still dominated by internal texts such as Orders and Regulations and Official Minutes; and since the Army is still so dominated by its name and the complete colonisation of the military metaphor, any guiding texts, such as a formal theological statement, would have substantial power in the Army. Until the Army’s leaders decide on developing such a text, ‘Darkest England’ fills the void and ‘Darkest England’ is still published and available through Army bookshops. Its continued publication points to the Army’s attachment to the text; additionally the text still forms part of the Army’s discursive strategy to engage institutions within the western welfare state.

Booth made no secret of the fact that the Army under his control was, firstly, a Christian movement, and secondly, a social service provider. What is not mentioned anywhere in the later Australian text ‘No Place that’s Home’ (The Salvation Army 1995) is the Army’s Christian discourse or the Army’s reasons for developing social policy or the fundamental reasons for the Army’s provision of services to the homeless. This is in stark contrast to Booth and the texts produced by his Army. Booth was unapologetically a Christian and so was his Army. They were flamboyant and used whatever means available to publicise the Army’s fitness as an organization to provide services on behalf of government and the state as a whole and to extend the Christian message. The modern Australian Report does not contain a reference to the Army’s Christian discourse, demonstrating a cultural shift in the social policy developed by the Army in Australia today. The Report appears to be targeted in a way that will be acceptable to a post-Fordist government and a secular, multicultural public.
B) Organisational independence and the neo-liberal discourse

Though the language used in modern Army texts is reflected in a subtle approach to policy, it is still clear that the Army has been influenced the discourses of society in Australia today; particularly the neo-liberal discourse. In the Army in Australia, the organisational rhetoric regarding the Army’s independence is strong and to some extent, this strong internal rhetoric provides an organisational challenge to the neo-liberal discourse. The discourse of organisational independence first constructed by William Booth became institutionalised in the first Orders and Regulations (The Salvation Army 1915) developed for Men’s social services. In these regulations, Army officers are warned not to accept funding from governments if:

(a) “The imposition of conditions likely to interfere with The Army’s liberty as to management, discipline, religion, or which might clash with its principles and methods

(b) Subjecting The Army to unreasonable inspection by officials who may be prejudiced against its work” (The Salvation Army 1915 p 40.).

In Chapter 8, the research pointed to a weakening of the internal discourse of “complete freedom” (Booth 1912, p 80.) and “independence” (Booth 1912, p 80). This is particularly demonstrated in the matter of ‘breaching’ (Jones 2001). In this area of policy the management of Army social services has had to bow to the dictates of government. The tension; acknowledged in Jones’ (2001) text, caused by these competing discourses, demonstrates the validity of both Kress’ (1985) and Fairclough’s (1996) observations that in re-working and modifying discourses organizations are in turn influenced by the discourses they seek to rework and modify. This reworking and modification is evident in the tension caused by conflicting programme requirements for different government social welfare programmes such as the requirements of the privatised Australian job network and the requirements of the emergency relief programmes.
The great difficulty for the Army is the nature of the current, dominant neo-liberal discourse in the post-Fordist welfare state. Organisational continuance combined with an organisational imperative to provide social services makes it easy for the leadership and members of the Army to be influenced by the prevailing social discourses as a way of achieving its own ends.

Australian neo-liberal governments exact a price for their provision of funding. Governments as purchasers of social services, require services to be delivered within their own ideological framework of managerialism and financial accountability, where individuals are considered as consuming units, rather than individual people with needs, emotions and a spiritual quality. This can sometimes be in contrast to the Army’s Christian belief structures. The Army’s leaders will need to be more aware of the ideological imperatives driving current Australian governments that might clash with the Christian basis of the Army belief structures.

C) Privatisation, commercialisation and the ceding of the Army’s authority

The research indicated that the discourses of privatisation and commercialisation are to be found in the Australian text. The moves towards privatisation and commercialisation by Australian governments in the provision of welfare services imply a change in the status of the Army. Under the new post-Fordist regime, governments now treat organizations such as the Army as commercial providers rather than charitable organizations. The Army clearly has misgivings about these changes, particularly in the competitive tendering for welfare services, noting that;

“The Salvation Army has serious concerns about the concept and the results of going down the competitive tendering track. Human services are the shared responsibility of all in the community. We are not sure competitive tendering will result in this sharing.” (The Salvation Army 1997, p 6.).
The strict government guidelines associated with privatisation and commercialisation of government services has a major implication for the Army. This commercialisation is taking place within a climate of managerialism and cost cutting. The Army’s leaders will therefore need to decide just how commercial their services will be and under whose ideology the services will be provided; it will be either their own or the various Australian governments.

Government funds the majority of the Army social services and this funding carries with it the seeds of internal, and probably external conflict. The research indicated that the need to maintain government funding has led to a weakening of the strong internal discourse of independence. This was particularly so in the matter of ‘breaching’. This weakening has been caused by the implementation of restrictions and funding conditions attached to government grants. Though the research indicated that Army has made strong efforts to ameliorate and mitigate government restrictions, it is still forced to comply with government grant requirements if it wishes to maintain the steady supply of government funding.

Under Booth, the Army fought to maintain its organisational independence from its donors. However, the research indicates the welfare state has come under attack within a post-Fordist economic regime and the Army policy of independence from government and outside control has been compromised. The matter is of course not one that is either black or white. Just as Booth resisted the hegemonic discourse of the deserving verses the undeserving poor, my research indicates that the Army today has attempted to resist this discourse, even though the discourse has been reinvented under the name ‘mutual obligation’.
Conclusion

There are tensions between the Army and the market caused by the modification of its strongly held beliefs\textsuperscript{77}, especially when privatisation has forced an intermingling of government and Army decision-making in relation to Army clients. This tension has also been heightened by conflicting programme requirements for different government social welfare programmes, such as the requirements of the job network and the requirements of the emergency relief programmes. Government, as a major institution in the welfare state, still endeavours to care for its citizens but it has changed from a major direct care provider to a purchaser of care service (Jessop 1994). The Army as a care provider is now being increasingly forced by government to sell its services and to conform to government ideology rather than to provide services entirely within its own belief structures.

In addition, the moves reported in the Australian Financial Review of 5 September 2003 by the Australian government to restrict the capacity of federally funded charities to criticise government, illuminate the trajectory of current governmentpolicy initiatives and point to areas of future concern for charities and NGO’s, such as the Army, that seek to advocate for the marginalised and excluded members of Australian society.

However, since the Army is largely reliant upon government funding for many of its social services this dependency has placed the government, as a major Army donor, in a place of power over the Army. In accepting government funding, the Army must accept government restrictions on its power to advocate for the poor and accept modification to strongly held beliefs, practices and internal rhetoric. The major implication for the Army is just how much power it is willing to retain at the expense of its services to the poor.

\textsuperscript{77} See Chapter 7, page 112.
Under the pressures of a post-Fordist regime in Australia, the Army now also has to decide just how much power over its services it will cede to the various Australian governments. This research revealed the power of language in the policy process. The use of language is a dialectic process and the Army in its use of language was and is transformed by the use of socially charged language. Just as William Booth’s ‘Darkest England’, and its thematic content, was aimed at producing a relational role between Booth and his readers, so too is this research. It is ironic, however, that Booth who strove mightily to preserve the organizational independence of his Army, was in fact so heavily influenced by the discourses of his day and the Army that he, his wife and supporters developed has become so colonised by the present day governments of Australia.
Appendix

The Salvation Army 78

The administration of The Salvation Army is top-down and autocratic, in line with the military metaphor, with all positions except that of General being held by appointment.

International Headquarters

The General directs Salvation Army operations throughout 108 countries of the world through the administrative departments of International Headquarters (IHQ) in London, which are headed by International Secretaries.

The Chief of the Staff, a commissioner appointed by the General to be second-in-command, is the Army's chief executive whose function is to implement the General's policy decisions and effect liaison between departments. As well as the handling of day-to-day business and the allocation of resources, IHQ is concerned with strategic, long range planning and acts as a resource centre for the worldwide Army and as a facilitator of ideas and policies.

Territories

For administrative purposes, The Salvation Army is split into world Territories. Usually each country forms a single Salvation Army Territory, but somewhere the Army is strong numerically are divided into two or more Territories.

Territorial leaders are called Territorial Commanders (usually Commissioners in rank, sometimes Colonels) and they are responsible either to a National Commander or directly to International Headquarters.

Territorial Commanders are based at Territorial Headquarters (THQ), where a Chief Secretary and various other Secretaries (departmental heads) responsible for overseeing the various branches of Army activity assist them.

There are currently 56 Salvation Army Territories in the world. Australia has two: the Australia Eastern Territory (NSW, ACT and Qld) with headquarters in Sydney; and the Australia Southern Territory (Vic., Tas., SA, WA, NT) with headquarters in Melbourne. The Salvation Army in Australia does not have a National Commander, but rather, each of the Territories is responsible to International Headquarters.

78 Much of the information in this Appendix has been adapted from the Salvation Army Web site (The Salvation Army 2003).
The Australia Eastern Territory of The Salvation Army operates under a Cabinet Administrative System. The Administrative Cabinet - similar to a Board - determines policy and strategy for the Territory, particularly as it relates to the future. On 1 October 2003, the Eastern territory renamed its Cabinet to “The Policy Council”

Divisions

Each Territory throughout The Salvation Army world is divided into Divisions, which are administered by Divisional Commanders, who are responsible to the Territorial Commander. A Division is a grouping of districts, similar to a diocese in the Anglican Church. Each Division consists of a number of Corps and social centres managed by officers of varying rank.

In the Australia Eastern Territory there are seven Divisions: Sydney East and Illawarra; The Greater West; Newcastle and Central NSW; North NSW; ACT and South NSW; South Qld; and Central and North Qld.

Corps

A Corps is The Salvation Army equivalent of a church, and often acts as a community centre. Each Corps is managed and led by a Corps Officer who is responsible to the Divisional Commander. There are around 350 Corps in Australia

The Salvation Army Rank Structure

In keeping with the military metaphor, Salvation Army church members are known as 'soldiers', while clergy are known as 'officers' who hold varying ranks.

Soldiers worship at their local Corps (church) and wear a uniform, although unlike officers, they usually only wear it during Sunday worship or whilst attending Salvation Army functions. (Many people worship at The Salvation Army without becoming soldiers, and are known as 'adherents'.)

A senior soldier who feels called to be an officer goes to The Salvation Army Officer Training College and becomes a CADET

On commissioning, each cadet is appointed as CAPTAIN

After 15 years of service, a captain is promoted to MAJOR

LT COLONELS are promoted and appointed by the General

COLONELS are promoted and appointed by the General

COMMISSIONERS are promoted and appointed by the General
One officer at a time is elected world leader of The Salvation Army, and is known as THE GENERAL. The world leader, or General is elected from amongst the most senior Salvation Army officers in the world. (A group known as the High Council - made up mainly of Salvation Army Commissioners - is summoned together for this purpose when necessary.)


The Salvation Army (1898). *Orders and Regulations for Social Officers.* London: The Salvation Army International Headquarters


