‘Care-Fully’ Queering Advocacy

LGBTQ Interactions with Christian-Inspired Provisioning in Philadelphia as Alternative Approaches to Social-Reproduction, Work and Advocacy

A Research Paper presented by:

Daniel Robert Soucy
(United States of America)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

SPD

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Helena Perez Nino
Dr. Karin Astrid Siegmann

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2022

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

International Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460
e: info@iss.nl
w: www.iss.nl
fb: http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl
twitter: @issnl

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Contents

List of Figures

List of Appendices

List of Acronyms

US	United States
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
PLHIV	People Living with Human Immune Deficiency Virus
AIDS	Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
POC	People of Color
WOC	Women of Color
Latin-x	People of Latin American descent

Acknowledgement:

For every person who knows how possible it is to feel loved and like a disgrace at the same time. Keep on resisting.

To my siblings Nicole and Mike: thank you for loving and supporting me always.

A special thank you to Helena Perez Nino: you stuck with a project that turned out a bit different than what you expected! Somehow you managed to challenge me at every step. I could not have asked for anything more.

My ISS family: You listened to me and challenged me through this research process. I am humbled by your kindness and generosity.

And of course: Thank you feels insufficient to the numerous new and old friends who treated me with care and respect in the city I call my second home. I appreciate your hospitality of time and energy. Thank you especially for sharing your thought-provoking words, inspiring and enlightening stories. They are nothing short of gifts.

Abstract

The contemporary welfare regime in the United States is predicated on neoliberal logics of productivity, efficiency and employment rooted in heteronormative family relations. In achieving these logics, federal and state governments frequently outsource their responsibility to provision material needs to private groups, many of which are Christian-inspired (Goode, 2006). However, these institutions have a long history marginalizing so-called 'deviant' populations and specifically, LGBTQ people. As such, it is informative to direct attention to LGBTQ individuals interacting with Christian-inspired care throughout the 20th and 21st centuries.

Utilizing reflexive, oral historical methods, this project reveals how LGBTQ people rely on their own experiences of vulnerability (Butler, 2016) from their family, communities and the conservative Christian-inspired, neoliberal welfare regime more broadly, to exert their agency and ensure social reproduction for marginalized groups. In addition to subverting this regime's logics through forms of material provisioning that question dominant binaries in private social reproduction and public, paid employment, these narratives also reveal their efforts to prioritize affective forms of care through their work. As such and in further disrupting the binary between paid employment and social reproduction, they also challenge how the welfare regime constructs employment as a natural, necessary and even moral part of life. Far from only being theoretically useful to discussions on social reproduction, care, work and advocacy these narratives also provide insight into the ways in which care and relationality form the building blocks of long-term and accountable efforts to advocate against structures of LGBTQ exclusion and economic precarity.

Relevance to Development Studies

Religion is frequently employed to differentiate between 'developing' and 'developed' societies (Cassanova, 1996 and Judis, 2005). Using resource and rhetoric from Christian-inspired groups, the United States and Europe have positioned whiteness, heteronormativity and Western-values as 'good' or 'righteous' thus justifying atrocities like slavery, colonialism and interventionism more broadly

(Judis, 2005). Counterintuitively, far from leading the US to view itself as religious, foreign policy leaders in the 20th and 21st centuries have instead positioned the US as secular compared to developing societies (Cassanova, 1996; Clarke and Jennings, 2008 and Judis, 2005). In comparison, these countries are framed as hyper-religious and thus irrational (Cassanova, 1996).

By positioning the developed world as secular and the developing world as hyper-religious, it is easier for the West more broadly to exploit particular "subject positions" (Mitchell et al, 2003, p. 413) and validate economic and military exploitation. Recently, this has been even more noticeable in debates over LGBTQ equality and justice. Linda Martin Alcoff and Satya P. Mohanty make clear that LGBTQ people are frequently utilized as pawns in "geopolitical debates over the meaning and value of culture, tradition, and religion" (2006, p. 2). In this instance, developed-societies demonize 'migrant sending-countries' by pointing to their religiously-influenced discrimination toward LGBTQ individuals. Similar dynamics are apparent in Israel (Mikdashi and Puar, 2016) and the Netherlands (McNeal and Brennan, 2021) where the state positions itself as friendly toward LGBTQ people in comparison to their predominantly Muslim neighbors, immigrants and occupied territories. This justifies the state's continued occupation of and violence toward these groups. More broadly, the west often frames itself as a safe-haven for LGBTQ individuals (Puar, 2013).

However, the US in particular frequently perpetuates ideas essentializing sexuality and gender as natural categories (Correa and Jolly, 2008) while also endorsing forms of conservative Christian theology that exploit and marginalize LGBTQ people, as crucial to US identity. As this project demonstrates, this has also had a critical influence on welfare provisioning and economic precarity in US society (DeFellipis, 2019; Goodin, 2001 and Schneider, 2006). This influence, while important in and of itself, also shapes how the United States approaches aid, economic development and social policy abroad. Dena Freeman notes how organizations like USAID or the US Department of State frame faith-inspired groups outside the United States in similar way to how they are framed within the United States (Freeman, 2012). Namely, as having a unique ability "do development differently" because their faith-inspired "ideas, values and worldviews" contribute to "societal change" (Freeman, 2012, p.4). Indeed, other scholars echo these same ideas, noting how development is often imbued with a belief that "poverty resulted from immoral behavior" (Formicola et al., 2003, p.174) and therefore only "personal renewal" (ibid) through Christian religion's unique ability to change people's lives, can eliminate poverty (Bettiza, 2019; Jones and Peterson, 2011 and van Dijk, 2012). Furthermore, we cannot ignore how the US frequently invests in Christian-inspired groups 'promoting development' even though these groups also have employed homophobic and discriminatory rhetoric against their domestic LGBTQ populations (Ambrosino, 2014; Cheney, 2012; Currier and Gogul, 2020).

This project therefore addresses topics (religion, welfare and LGBTQ identity) that are critical to development studies thus calling into question the United States position as a 'developed' country. However, its relevance is not merely topical. Rather, the ways in which the United States approaches welfare through conservative, Christian-inspired forms of neoliberal governmentality that try to create more deserving beneficiaries (Freeman, 2012; Katz, 1989 and Rose et al., 2006) also has a critical impact on its approach to international development. As one of the biggest funders of development projects abroad (UNDP, 2022 and USAID, 2020) recognizing and interrogating domestic welfare policies and logics can therefore open doors to better understand the intentional and unintentional impacts of these projects. While focused on the United State's, this research therefore addresses deomstic relationships between religion, economic provisioning and LGBTQ citizenship that lie at the root of the contradictions and forms of marginalization that are frequently criticized in US foreign policy and approaches to international development.

Keywords

LGBTQ Care, Affective Care, LGBTQ Advocacy, Social Reproduction, Christian-Inspired Provisioning, Welfare, Governmentality, Work, HIV, Oral History

Introduction to and Justification of the Research Problem

Government-provisioned welfare is a crucial mechanism for survival, community-reproduction and equity for low-income populations throughout the world (Esping Anderson, 2001; Ferguson, 2015 and Schneider, 2006). The United States government has generally given private, not-for-profit organizations a decisive role in providing public-welfare throughout its history (Cassanova, 1994; Coffin, 2000 and Garlington, 2015). As such, scholars point out how it is necessary to understand these organizations' direct provisioning efforts to individuals without material resources (Cnaan et al., 2010 and Schneider, 2006). Additionally, recent studies estimate that faith-inspired groups administer 40% of spending intended to "help people confront the numerous challenges of experiencing poverty" in the US (Queenan et al, 2021 p.3). However, beyond material-provisioning, faith-inspired groups and Christian-inspired groups in particular, have notable influence over US' society's moral and social fabric (Bane, 2021; Garlington, 2015; Goode, 2006 and Schneider, 2006). Therefore, to better position the welfare regime's historical and contemporary impact on US society, it is also necessary to consider the role that faith-inspired organizations play not only in filling gaps in public-provisioning, but also in shaping the guiding logics behind these efforts.

Gøsta Esping-Andersen's attempt to categorize and explain variations in welfare based on the extent to which a country "de-commodifies" labor or makes it possible to survive outside of paid employment (1990, p.15) usefully notes some of the causes of the United State's approach to welfare. Namely, the US welfare system was based on agrarian, private land-owners' political and economic interests (1990, p.15). These forces, Esping-Anderson argues, sought to limit taxes and government authority. As a result, they lobbied to minimize government welfare spending and offer only "modest" benefits (Esping-Anderson, 1990, p.26) that are "strict and often associated with stigma" (p.26). Put simply, in this context labor is highly commodified as individuals are not guaranteed social rights by virtue of their presence in the US territory but instead, must work to survive. Esping-Anderson therefore confirms that the government relies on the market to fill resource gaps for individuals experiencing poverty (1990, pp. 26-27). While subsequent sections will make clear how the causes and consequences of this "liberal" welfare system (Esping-Anderson 1990p.27) are certainly more nuanced (Aspalter, 2017; Garlington, 2015; Katz, 1989 and Schneider, 2006), Esping-Anderson's general classification of the US welfare regime as highly restricted and reliant on private organizations, remains apt even after his writing.

Most notably, the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act reenforced and transformed what Esping-Anderson (1990) called "liberal" characteristics of the US regime. According to President Bill Clinton who signed the bill into law, the Act's purpose was to "transform our broken welfare system by promoting the fundamental values of work, responsibility, and family" (Clinton White House, 2000). This frames contemporary welfare as a mechanism to propel families toward long-term survival through private employment (DeFilippis, 2012; Goodin, 2001 and Schneider, 2006). In reality, it enforces a regime that targets resources to Heterosexual and gender-conforming families deemed "deserving" (Katz, 1989) of welfare based on their willingness and ability to access employment and contribute to the United States economic growth (Goodin, 2001 and Schneider, 2006). As feminist critiques point out, this framing naturalizes 'work' as an individual and moral responsibility that offers the only mechanism for meeting collective material-needs (Weeks, 2011). Thus, employment, as well as US

welfare's effort to shift individual behaviors toward it, are ways of enforcing is a particular political project to uphold existing structures of power (Weeks, 2011).

Helping to enforce welfare's regulatory capacity, the "Charitable Choice Provision" in the 1996 law relaxed restrictions on government funding for faith-inspired social-service providers (Hall, 2016, p.23). Conservatives and progressives alike justified this Provision by framing faith-inspired groups (and especially Christian ones) as uniquely effective in providing resources in ways that make them less reliant on the federal government (Allard, 2009; Chaves et al, 1999; Farnsley, et al., 2004 and Saperstein, 2001). Thus, in addition to bridging a legal and political taboo regarding the United State's supposedly 'secular' identity (Cnaan and Boddie, 2002), Christian groups also became critically aligned with forms of "neoliberal governmentality" (Rose et al, 2006 referencing Foucault, 1997,p.68) seeking to transform individual financial behaviors through job-training, restrictions on consumption, prayer and family-planning, without challenging the systems and structures that cause poverty (Goode, 2006; Hackworth, 2012; Hennigan and Purser, 2018).

As was briefly illuded to, despite focusing on welfare's ideological and material impacts, scholars interested in privatized welfare do not center the interactions between LGBTQ people and Christian-inspired resource provisioning. This is particularly important given the fact that Christianity has historically marginalized and stigmatized LGBTQ people in ways that intersect directly and indirectly with neoliberal welfare reform (DeFilippis, 2012 and Human Rights Watch, 2018). For example, federal welfare programs are often limited to employed, married individuals or genetic kinship structures (Goode, 2006; Halberstam, 2007; Katz, 1989 and Schneider, 2006). In addition to directly limiting access to welfare for LGBTQ individuals who are apathetic about engaging with marriage due the fact that it was historically reserved for heterosexual couples as well as individuals who are unemployed, these restrictions build on historical efforts to regulate LGBTQ behavior. Anti-sodomy laws and bans on gender-affirming care, while notable, are just two of many such regulations (DeFilippis, 2012). Less direct but equally impactful, LGBTQ people are often marginalized from traditional forms of kinship due to the stigma conservative-Christianity assigns to LGBTQ identity (Ecker et al, 2017 and Lesley University, 2022). Ironically, because of this Christian-inspired stigma, they are often forced to turn to Christian-inspired organizations for resources. As such, and as subsequent sections will make clear, LGBTQ people are left out of dominant modes of private provisioning as well as Christian-inspired public safety nets (Goldstein, 2021).

However, LGBTQ people both disrupt and work within these systems to care for their communities (Bradway and Freeman, 2022 and Butler, 2002). From a material perspective, this is typically understood as social reproduction or the "biological reproduction of the labor force, both generationally and on a daily basis, through the acquisition and distribution of the means of existence, including food, shelter, clothing and health care" (Katz, 2001, p. 711). However, scholars also note how their focus on material care through family kinship fails to fully conceptualize social reproduction's multiple forms and social-locations (Andrucki, 2021; Bradway and Freeman, 2022 Elson, 2012 and Katz, 2001). Indeed, LGBTQ people often develop forms of social reproduction that are separate from material provisioning in birth-family homes (Andrucki, 2021; Smith, 2020 and Trott, 2020). Therefore, focusing on LGBTQ caregivers in public, Christian-inspired institutions as a particular subject position (Mitchell et al, 2003) demonstrates how some individuals utilize their experiences of vulnerability to subvert normative forms of kinship, provisioning and social reproduction dictated through "the power of neoliberal common sense" (Goode, 2006, p. 215). This attention to LGBTQ coalescence with and resistance to conservative-Christian, neoliberal provisioning systems thus provides insight into how we might reimagine dominant separations between care and work. In doing so, it provides both a theoretical as well as a

practical challenge to the marginalization of LGBTQ people in US welfare. Additionally, it challenges majoritarian desires to enforce employment and production as natural and moral components of economic relations in US society.

1.1 Research Questions

In exploring this context and the lessons it may reveal, it is useful to consider the following research question and sub questions**:**

1) To what extent do interactions between LGBTQ individuals and Christian-inspired institutions providing resources entail new interpretations of social reproduction that address structures of economic inequality and LGBTQ oppression in US society?

    a) How do LGBTQ people provision resources in Christian-inspired institutions to ensure social reproduction?
    b) How do LGBTQ people connect these provisioning efforts with the structures and systems shaping the public provisioning environment?

Before discussing the methodology, it is important to briefly explain some of the terms in these questions. First, I rely on how each narrators in this study self-identities to 'qualify' them as LGBTQ. While one individual I interviewed does not identify as LGBTQ, their interactions with LGBTQ individuals receiving care directly shape how they administer resources in Christian-inspired space. As such, their narratives offer insight into the ways that LGBTQ individuals influence practices of provisioning in Christian-inspired institutions. Second, and as will become clearer throughout this project, Christian-inspired logics are inseparable from the US's broader structures of provisioning and care. While I therefore define 'Christian-inspired institutions' as organizations led by ordained Christian leaders that utilize Christian churches as their primary organizing space, it is also clear how the narrators negotiate Christian logics outside of these organizations' physical spaces.

1.2 Methods and Methodology: 'Queering' the Gift of Oral History

Utilizing these definitions, this project builds on a history of Queer scholarship considering those individuals and communities "creating viable alternatives" (Graeber, 2004: 11–12 cited in Heckert, 2016, p. 52) to "offer those ideas back, not as prescriptions, but as contributions, possibilities – as gifts (Heckert, 2016, p. 52). These "gifts", in the form of Queer oral histories, reveal the ways in which LGBTQ people develop mechanisms of care that consider not merely the physical needs of marginalized communities living in poverty, but also the emotional and spiritual needs that emerge because of the oppression and vulnerability (Butler, 2008) they experience under a conservative-Christian welfare regime. By providing these forms of care in ways that contradict the conservative-Christian, neoliberal governmental logics that Christian institutions frequently reenforce (England, 2020 and Goode, 2006), they support a theoretical and practical critique of the structures upholding social and economic marginalization in US society.

The gift of LGBTQ experiences in hegemonic Christian-welfare environments, while crucial to begin exploring these questions, must also be cultivated in a way that respects and accurately considers these experiences. Indeed, Kath Browne and Catherine J. Nash ask, "Can we have queer knowledges if our methodologies are not queer?" (Browne and Nash,

2016, p. 2). While frequently understood as 'disruption', Browne and Nash argue that qualifying or limiting 'Queer' in this way pushes researchers into the very boxes they seek to challenge (p. 7). Instead, they ask authors reflecting on Queer methodologies to "enunciate clearly their own multitude of understandings for 'queer' within their research" (2016,p. 9). Thus, this approach leaves space to acknowledge how and where LGBTQ relationships and advocacy have failed to disrupt (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) or most critically and as Mahmood (2011) makes clear through her focus on Muslim women, exert agency by working *within* dominant institutions like religion. Using this openness as a starting-place is useful as it allows me to understand LGBTQ intersections with the conservative-Christian US welfare environment as not merely oppositional but rather, deeply relational.

I also sought to 'Queer' the methods to make them more accountable. To avoid reifying normative boundaries between the researcher and the 'subject' (Summerskill et al, 2016), I engaged in two months of volunteer work with numerous Christian-inspired organizations in Philadelphia during July and August, 2022. This allowed me to develop relationships with LGBTQ individuals providing care through Christian-inspired institutions. Often wearing a k-95 Mask given Covid-19 precautions, I cooked food, sorted clothing, attended church-services, filled out in-take forms, shared my feelings about Monkey Pox and even facilitated an art class. As a Queer person who grew up in a conservative-Christian community, I understand that these experiences do not exist in isolation but rather in relationship with each individual's social and personal context. Therefore, building on these relationships, I also utilized oral historical interviews, a research method with a long history of documenting LGBTQ experiences (Summerskill and Vickers, 2022) and political advocacy (Boyd, 2008 and Boyd and Ramirez, 2012) in relation to, rather than isolated from a narrator's broader life. In total, I conducted 7 oral historical interviews and listened to over 20 previously recorded oral historical interviews from Philadelphia's John J. Wilcox LGBTQ Archive at the William Way Center as well as the LGBTQ Religious Archive Network. After, I spoke with the archivists and settled on 5 previously recorded histories pertaining to LGBTQ interactions with Christian-inspired care-giving. In making this decision, I focused on the HIV-epidemic as a useful example of the forms of contention and cohesion between that occur between LGBTQ individuals and Christian-inspired institutions.

Additionally, Building on Queer and feminist approaches to interviewing (Golfin et al., 2022; Detamore, 2016; Summerskill at al, 2016 and Robinson, 2022), I relied on my relationships with and personal knowledge of the narrators to build more comprehensive and informed questions. Namely, I asked them for feedback and ideas, trying to privilege their experiences over my preconceived notions of US welfare, LGBTQ identity and Christianity. These efforts to develop relationships with the narrators by incorporating myself within Philadelphia's LGBTQ and Christian institutions also built on my 5 years living in Philadelphia from 2014-2019 while attending a Jesuit-Catholic university focused on Christian-inspired service (SJU, 2022).

Documenting their entire life-stories and embracing my own subjective relationship with these individuals as well as the topic helped me to better understand the ways in which LGBTQ identity, welfare and Christianity intersect in complex and contradictory ways. Shirleen Robinson notes how interviewing people with whom she was intimately involved "resulted in a greater sharing of feelings and fragility and an interview that is much more textured than an "outsider" interview would have been" (2022,p. 156). Indeed, other scholars point out how forming relationships may also help narrators avoid framing their stories to fit portrayals of events they think the interviewer or the society wants to hear (Severs, 2022).

Trying to move past an 'outsider' perspective also pushed me to reflect on my own experiences. Following from Jamie Heckert, this opened the possibility to embrace, rather than disregard, how reflections brought out through oral history are not one-way. Rather, interviews can be "a transformative space that changes both the interviewer and interviewee"

(2010, p.52). For example, when one of the narrators expressed how her fear of coming out in high school caused her to put pressure on herself to be a "perfectly high-achiever" (2022), I informed her about how I also grew up in a similarly religious-conservative town that led me to stay as busy as possible with sports, clubs and parties to cope with the stigma of my Queer identity. In building this solidarity, I felt closer with the narrator. In addition, we relieved some of each other's burden thus rendering the interaction mutually "transformative" (Heckert, 2010, p.52).

Acknowledging this relationality created an ethical imperative as well as a research opportunity to share my own intimate experiences throughout this writing (Detamore, 2016). This helps provides a more realistic depiction of the conversations. More specifically, because these narrators frequently shared their experiences only after I shared aspects of my own life with them, including some of my own memories better situates their words in their context. To demarcate where I am writing about my own memories, I include dinkuses in the form of three crosses (†††).

At the same time, utilizing my own experiences also created solidarity between myself and those narrators who I did not interview. Sharing my own encounters of vulnerability allowed me to reflect on the emotions these individuals may have felt sharing their personal experiences. Indeed, contrary to what may seem like a logical solution to LGBTQ tension within Christian-inspired provisioning, (not requiring LGBTQ people to engage with Christian-inspired institutions to survive) this projects' narrators demonstrate the need to *reengage* with our positionality and vulnerability. This process of reengagement, helps to move us toward healing and structural change. As such, I hope to embrace this example.

Finally, the individuals who I spoke with signed consent forms (Appendix 1) that gave them the opportunity to remain anonymous or consent to very particular 'potential uses' for their histories. For some narrators, remaining anonymous was critical to their safety. For others, documenting their stories was an act imbued with meaning, offering space to challenge the secrecy that often exists for LGBTQ people in Christian institutions. I also tried to limit the burden of the interview process, offering food, coffee and tea while allowing them to choose the space for the interview. Although each of my interview was different, I in Appendix 2, I offer an example of one of the interview questionnaires I used along with my notes during the interview. While a 17,500-word project is not sufficient to detail each individual narrator's complex story, in Appendix 3, I also include brief autobiography of those individuals who did not want to remain anonymous. When possible, this was done in conversation with the narrators.

In addition to sending thank you notes to all the individuals I interviewed, I also want to thank them again for honestly and self-reflexively exploring their lives in relationship with me.

1.3 Placing the Research: Christianity and Philadelphia

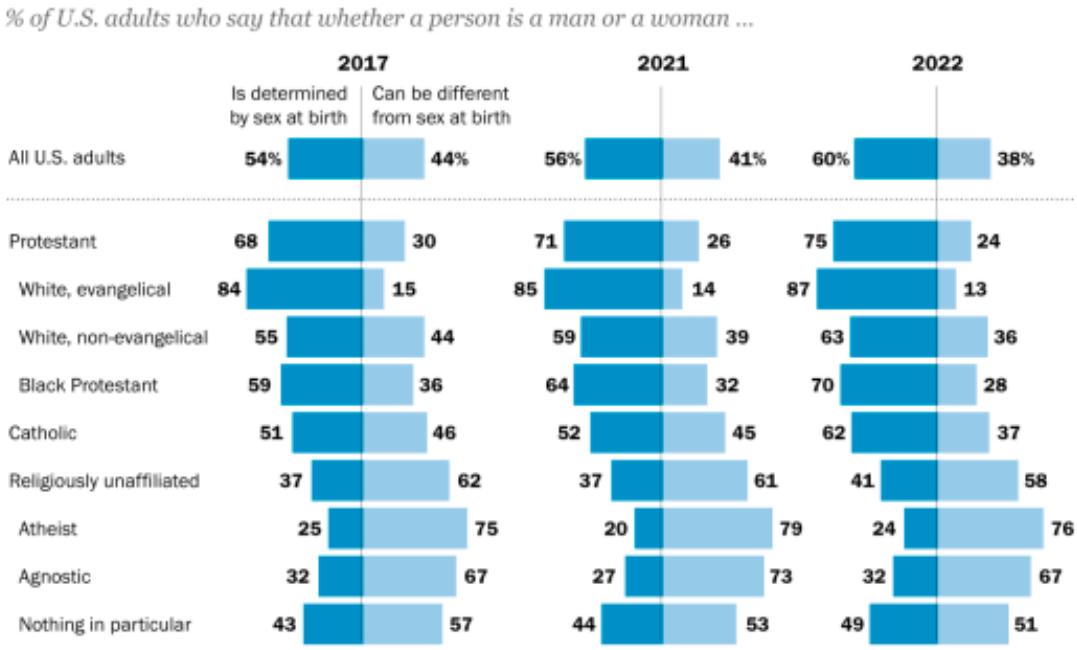
There are of course, a multiplicity of religions in US society (Pew Research, 2022) many of which also provide social services to individuals with resource needs (Einstadt, 1998). However, 64% of US residents and 68% of Philadelphians identify as Christian (Pew Research, 2022 and 2022b). As the dominant majority, 83% of Christian organizations provide social or human services like food, housing and clothing (Chaves and Eagle, 2016) thus demonstrating their material engagement with the city's needs.

Furthermore, we must also consider how specific Christian-inspired denominations engage with LGBTQ populations. The narrators in this study are part of or move between Catholic, Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian and Protestant denominations; each of which

have national and local policies limiting LGBTQ rights and privileges (Sandstrom, 2015). However, limited data exists regarding local variations in many denominations and even within the same denomination, views on LGBTQ inclusion vary widely by congregation. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, it is most useful to note variations in these traditions and influences as they pertain to each narrator's individual experiences.

Taking a more general approach is also useful because Christianity has notable overlaps across denominations. Namely, its focus on *reconciliation*[1] and widespread use of hierarchical governance leads a variety of denominations to draw sharp distinctions between right and wrong forms of sexuality, gender and kinship (D' Emillo, 2022 in conversation with John Marszalek). Indeed, US Christians are increasingly taking a more oppressive stance toward LGBTQ people, especially in Black communities where Christianity is an even more salient identity (Mahomed et al, 2021). More of these denominations are also pushing back against secular divisions between church and state, calling for the federal government to officially endorse Christianity as the national religion (Baylor, 2021).

Figure 1: Christian Views Regarding How Individual's Gender is Determined



Source: (Pew, 2022)

[1]A time when Christians 'confess' their sins to God vis-à-vis a priest. For many Christians, this is a sacred act that is necessary to be admitted to heaven (Genovesi, 2014).

Figure 2: Percent of Individuals Who Oppose Same-Sex Marriage in the United States (Categorized by Year, Race and Christian Denomination)

Year	White evangelical Protestants	White mainline Protestants	Black Protestants	Catholics	Unaffiliated
2015	24%	62%	34%	57%	82%
2016	27%	64%	39%	58%	80%
2017	35%	68%	44%	67%	85%
2019	29%	66%	NA%	61%	79%

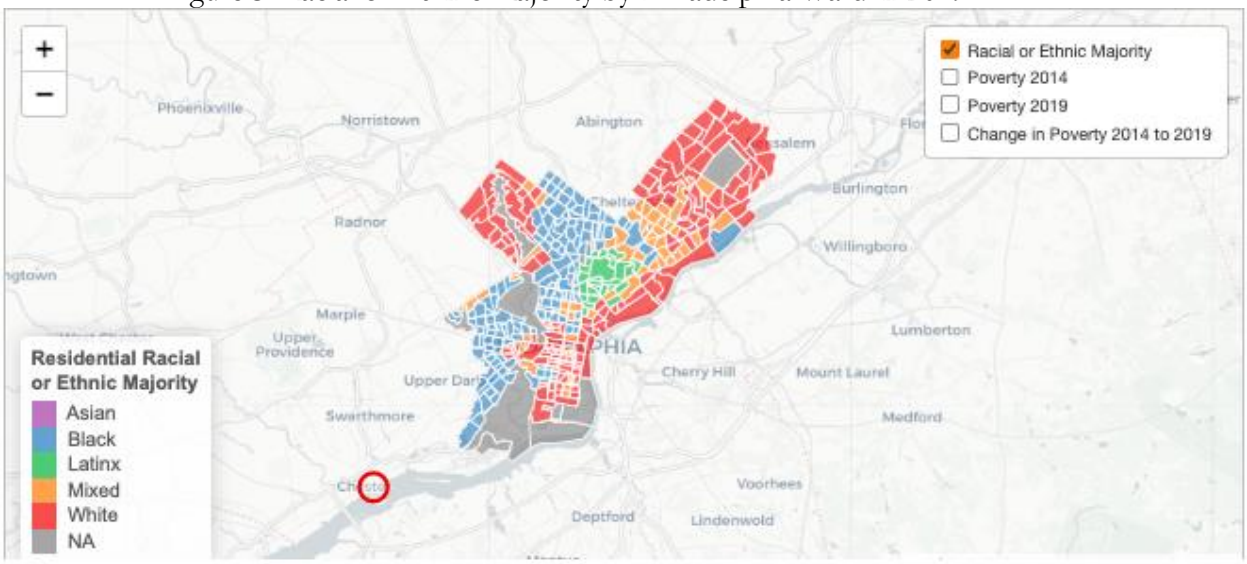
Source: (Pew, 2022)

Taken in unison, these trends help enunciate why, even in more progressive Christian congregations that may be affirming of LGBTQ identity, LGBTQ individuals frequently associate Christianity with marginality, discrimination and hatred (The Trevor Project, 2022). Through an attention to this context, we can begin to understand LGBTQ negotiations with Christian-inspired provisioning as acts of resistance and subversion.

Philadelphia is also uniquely situated for this project's focus on Christian-inspired social provisioning. As the oldest and poorest major city in the United States (Shields, 2020), years of racist federal housing and policing policies (Tay Soon Inn, 2022) exasperated poverty even before the 1996 Welfare Reform Act radically transformed the provisioning landscape. While this impact will be described in greater depth, it is useful to foreground a brief outline of some of these policies to again, explain the historical legacy that these LGBTQ narrators, many of whom are People of Color (or administering care to POC), are forced to contest and work within to alleviate a structure of violence and precarity.

Namely, when Black migrants from the South sought to relocate north in the early 20th century, many moved to major cities like Philadelphia (Tay Soon Inn, 2022). In combination with White landlords refusing to rent to black tenants, federal policies like red-lining valued homes in neighborhoods with larger populations of color at significantly lower prices than White neighborhoods (Wurman, 2021). As a result of this individual and structural racism, investment and wealth concentrated in White regions in Philadelphia (Crowder, 2020). Unsurprisingly, Figure 3 makes clear how despite the end of state-sponsored redlining in 1968 (2020), Philadelphia remains segregated on racial lines: a highly visible phenomenon as one lives in and moves throughout the city.

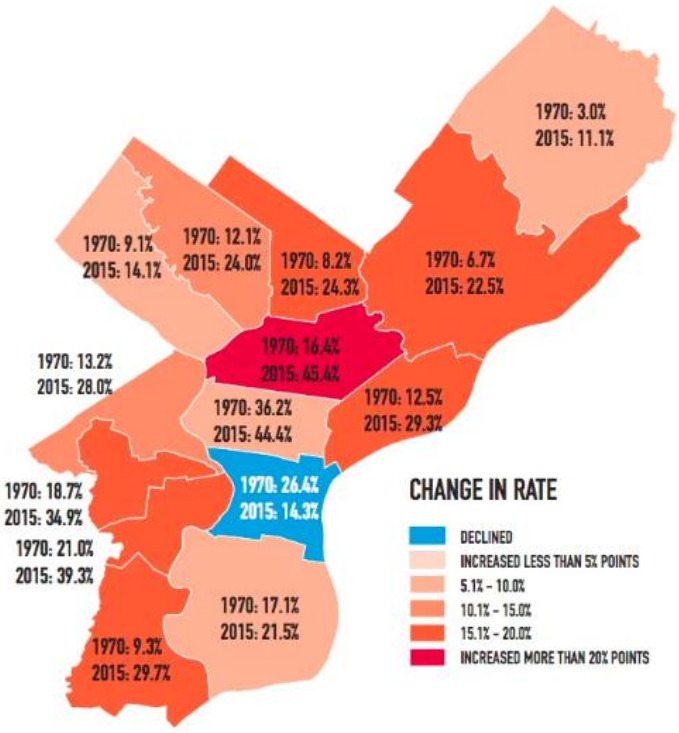
Figure 3: Racial or Ethnic Majority by Philadelphia Ward in 2019



Source: (Shields, 2020)

Unsurprisingly, efforts to segregate and value Philadelphia based on race had lasting impacts on poverty. While poverty has generally increased throughout Philadelphia since 1970, predominantly White neighbourhoods have experienced the slowest increase or even seen reductions in poverty (Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 4: Changes in Poverty Rates from 1970-2015 Divided by Philadelphia Neighbourhood



Source: (Urban Health Collaborative, 2017)

Furthermore, this makes it easier for the state to systematically target marginalized populations using violence. During the Reagan administration's 'War on Drugs' in the 1980's, Philadelphia, like many other US cities, mobilized its police to target Black neighbourhoods with brutal and often deadly tactics (Thompson, 2021). In fact, neighbourhoods with predominantly Black populations experienced 70% more random searches than White areas (Crowder, 2020, p.19): a disparity that has only worsened in the 21st century (Motley Junior and Joe, 2018).

Once again, focusing more specifically on LGBTQ people also illuminates how these disparities are not limited to, but certainly compounded by race. Numerous studies document how LGBTQ people are more likely to experience violence, harassment and discrimination from police (Wilson et al., 2019). However, while 13% of White LGBTQ individuals reported experiencing discrimination during their interactions with law enforcement, 25% of Black LGBTQ individuals reported the same (Mahowald, 2021). This statistic is likely higher in Philadelphia where racial disparities in arrests have exceeded the national average since 2000 (Goldstein, 2021 and Zheng et al.,2019).

While I will highlight additional nuances related to race and LGBTQ identity especially as they pertain to welfare policy throughout this project, this initial discussion begins to position LGBTQ people and especially LGBTQ POC attempting to provide resources in their broader social context. As the subsequent analysis will make clear, while many of these individuals connect with their sexual, gender, racial *and* religious identities and therefore do not view them in conflict, they recognize how the context they are embedded in does. As such, they negotiate their identities to provide material and affective care in Christian spaces. In this context and as will be made clearer, their efforts are best understood as radical acts of subversion which require them to simultaneously embrace and contest their own vulnerability (Butler, 2016). Put succinctly by Judith Butler(2016), in "this very domain of susceptibility, this condition of being affected… is where something queer can happen, where the norm is refused or revised" (p.19). It is to this interaction between susceptibility and revision that I turn to next.

"You are a Person"
LGBTQ Interactions with Material Resource Provisioning

When HIV cases hit epidemic proportions in the 1980's and 1990's, LGBTQ interactions with Christian-inspired care became more visible. In many ways predicting the contemporary crisis of welfare in US society, LGBTQ experience interacting with Christian spaces during the HIV epidemic make clear how Christian-inspired institutions, while contributing to LGBTQ vulnerability (Butler, 2008 and Spade, 2020) are also impacted through these experiences of vulnerability. More specifically, LGBTQ people recognize how Christian institutions provide access to critical resources as well as to the communities who need these resources. However, they also negotiate these institutions to avoid recreating traditional neoliberal welfare political decisions dictating financial independence and economic productivity as the goals of material care. Thus, rather than prioritize an economic return to the provisioning institution, they instead recognize how material dependency is a necessary part of human experience.

†††

Confraternity of Christian Doctrine

I read the welfare application. Under *required documents* I read: ***Proof of residency***.

I was staying with a teacher I met during my work at the local school…how could I prove my residency without a rental payment?

I sighed, looked in my refrigerator and saw a few pieces of bread. I thought about the church on Western Ave providing free meals on Wednesdays.

I looked back at the application "Expect a 6-8 week delay in new applications"

I thought back to Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) when my teacher accidentally read my name as *Danielle* and with this slip, brought laughs, jokes and comments from the other boys for days.

I didn't like those CCD teachers. They told me I could not receive communion unless I confessed my sins. They told me that certain families and relationships were 'right'. They told me that thinking about sex between two men is 'just wrong.' They told me that the poor need to pray more and work harder. They told me I needed to go to reconciliation when I sinned, or I would go to hell.

I took out the bread and snuck some peanut butter from my friend's cabinet. I hoped she would not notice.

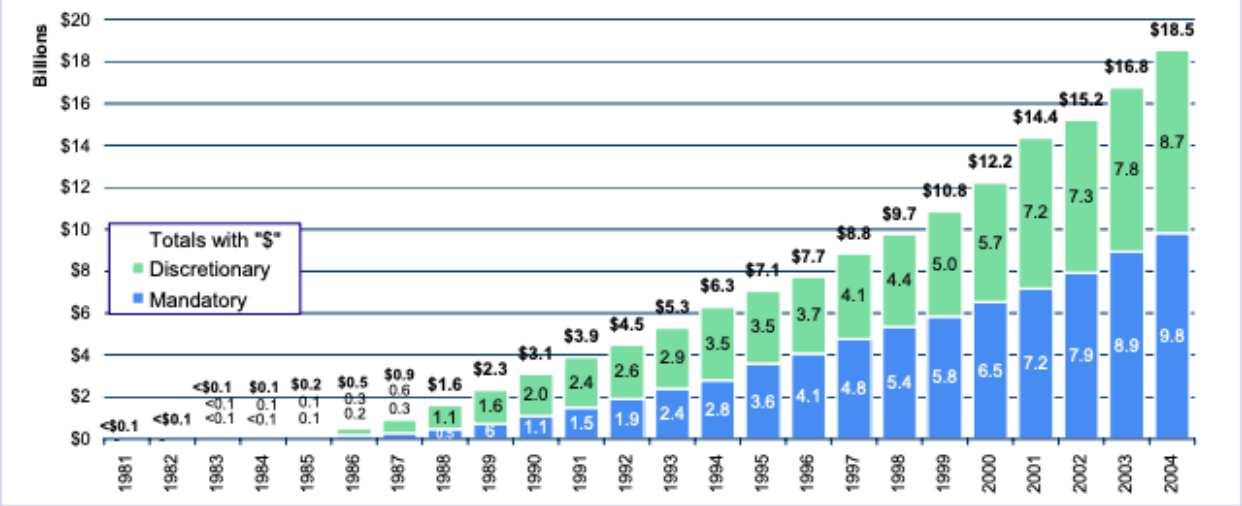
†††

2.1 Situating LGBTQ Interactions with Christian-Inspired Material Provisioning

Turning our attention to Jim Littrell, a White, Gay Episcopal priest, usefully demonstrates public disregard for People Living with Human Immune Deficiency Syndrome (PLHIV) due to the stigma associating HIV with LGBTQ promiscuity (Florêncio, 2018) as well as the interactions this inspired between LGBTQ people and Christina-inspired institutions. Indeed, Jim remembers a collective sense of anger in the LGBTQ community toward "a system, or set of systems, a government, a population who absolutely didn't respond" (John J. Wilcox Archive, 2017). Jim's frustration at these systems speaks to a larger context of government neglect. In the 1980's, "men who have sex with men" were diagnosed with HIV at nearly 5 times the rate as men having Heterosexual intercourse (CDC, 2001). As a result of this disparity, much of the public messaging, especially from Christian institutions deeply affiliated with local, state and federal governments (Dias and Graham, 2022; Le Beau and Moen, 2000), depicted HIV as resulting from deviant sexuality; namely, same-sex relationships as well as sex outside of marriage (Florêncio, 2018).

This association also empowered the federal government to do little to address HIV even though it was a leading cause of death in the United States throughout the 1980's and 90's (CDC, 2011). As figure 5 makes clear, federal funding to address HIV through direct care, prevention and treatment was practically non-existent.

Figure 5: Discretionary and Mandatory Federal Funding for HIV/AIDS



Source: (Summers and Kates, 2004)

While it is apparent that Jim was eager to dedicate his life to caring for and advocating on behalf of marginalized groups, the HIV epidemic sparked a new stage in Jim's commitment. Inspired by Bob Dewitt, the Bishop of Philadelphia who helped connect Jim with radical civil rights organizations like the Black Panthers, Jim began to view the church as a place where he could learn about and even support struggles for social justice through material resource provisioning (John J. Wilcox Archive, 2017). As such, he wanted to become an "unconventional Episcopal priest…organizing in Philadelphia around welfare rights" (2017). In this way, Christianity resonated emotionally with Jim because of its commitment to and therefore utility for, ensuring civil rights and economic stability for marginalized groups.

However, as a Gay man who came out after graduating from seminary, Jim was also explicitly excluded from serving in many Episcopal congregations in Philadelphia. This drove

him to network between Christian institutions as an outsider to provide material care. Jim first recalls partnering with 12 other community churches to develop "a program in Philadelphia called Voyage House… creating an alternative culture for kids who were on the streets" (2017). It did not take long for Jim to also reflect on his own experience of disenfranchisement as a Gay youth and recognize the need for or "a gathering place for GLBT kids" (2017) thus prompting him to create "the Attic"[2] in Voyage House's upper floor. Notably, Jim was not a pastor in these churches, nor was he a paid employee. His open sexuality made this impossible. Despite his numerous moments of exclusion, Jim continued to engage with these organizations due to their access to material resources as well as his love for Christianity (2017).

Around this same time, HIV also became more apparent in Philadelphia's LGBTQ community. As such, Jim remembers forming a "community we built ourselves because nobody else was doing anything" about HIV (2017). Jim supported this organization much like how he supported marginalized youth, namely by utilizing Christian-inspired institutions to provide food, shelter, sex-education and hospital-care. This experience is not unique and as more individuals encountered LGBTQ PLHIV, they too sought Christian-inspired mechanisms to fill physical resource gaps.

Namely, The Church of Saint Luke and The Epiphany was on of the only churches offering funeral services for members of the LGBTQ community who had died of AIDS (Bartlett, 2012 and Eisenstadt, 1988). It also raised 600,000 dollars between 1987 and 1990 to renovate the church and make it more capable of providing organizing space to groups like Dignity, the NAMES Project and ACT UP: all prominent national organizations caring for PLHIV and advocating for a more coordinated government response (Bartlett, 2012). LGBTQ PLHIV are also evident in the Church, with many of the pastors and fundraisers identifying as LGBTQ-Christians (John J. Wilcox Archive, 2022). Given the lack of public care-provisioning for LGBTQ PLHIV, these Christian networks filled gaps in care (Lewis, 2016) crucial to LGBTQ survival (Glordano, 1997).

Although Queer studies privileges disruption as the most salient mechanism for LGBTQ people to exercise their agency (Mahmood, 2011), Jim's brief experience highlights a point that is key to this project: LGBTQ people are part of, not purely existing in opposition to Christian-institutions. As such, despite being exiled from the church, Jim demonstrates how marginalized groups often exert agency through their strategic interactions with the groups that oppress them. Indeed, Saba Mahmood (2011) calls us to pay attention to the ways in which Women and Queer people exert their agency by purposefully and skilfully maintaining relationships with religion as a key part of their identities. Simply contesting Christianity creates an incomplete picture of both the LGBTQ community as well as the Christian congregations in which they form relationships. In line with this analysis and apparent in Jim's experiences, LGBTQ people do not merely fight against Christian institutions as many Queer scholars seem to suggest (Schippert, 2011). Rather, to fully understand LGBTQ experiences providing care, developing advocacy and even subverting normative ideologies, it is important to start from a place that recognizes the importance of LGBTQ individuals committed to interacting with their Christian networks to exert forms of agency and survival.

In this way, these histories demonstrate that Christian-involvement in care, while necessary due to the government's failure to engage with HIV provisioning, were spaces of negotiation. Contrary to their rhetoric and public positioning against LGBTQ identity (Florêncio, 2018), Christian organizations were constantly "(re) negotiated and (re)

[2] The Attic is now known as the Attic Youth Center: one of Philadelphia's most prominent shelters and social service provisioners for LGBTQ youth.

constructed" (Munoz, 2016, p.62) as less heteronormative through LGBTQ experiences ensuring care for PLHIV. However, LGBTQ people like Jim also suffered immensely because of Christian-inspired institutions' demonization of LGBTQ people and alignment with neoliberal governmentality (Goode, 2006). Based on this brief description of the mutually impactful interactions between LGBTQ people and Christianity, I therefore position the narrators' experiences as dialogical moments of agency and vulnerability.

2.2 Vulnerability's Subversive Power: LGBTQ Experiences Contesting Conservative-Christian Welfare Provisioning

Within this complex interplay, LGBTQ people develop practices of material care that contest Christian-inspired material provisioning's alignment with neoliberal governmentality (Goode, 2006 and Rose et al, 2006). Relying on their own experiences of vulnerability within Christianity and the capitalist economy that result from their intersectional identities, the narrators refuse to conform to Christian-inspired material provisioning logics that privilege employment, independence and heteronormativity.

To begin, it is informative to focus on Messapotamia Leffae (Messy), a self-identified Queer, Transgender, Filipino-American, Christian who works as the Vice-President of the Episcopal Diocese of Philadelphia's LGBTQ committee. In this role, she relies on her vulnerability as a TransWoman of Color to embrace individuals who had been marginalized within the Diocese's networks of care. Recognizing gaps in basic needs like food, toiletries, and shelter in the community, Messy started an Episcopal feeding ministry in the low-income neighbourhood of Point Breeze (interview with Messy, August, 2022)

While Messy was working at the Ministry on a frigid night in December, a Woman ran into the foodbank crying and screaming. As other workers prepared to remove her, Messy rushed over and told the them that she would speak with the Woman. Messy quietly went over to her and invited her to sit down asking:

> What's your name, first of all? Are you hungry? Can we bring food? And so we started over with this girl, kind of calmed her down…she wanted to eat, she was hungry…my friend brought her this big slab of Shepherd's pie that I made. And she tasted it and was like, 'the shepherd's pie is perfectly seasoned…What is that? Is there cheese in there?' And I was like, the secret ingredient is Parmesan cheese on top of the mashed potatoes (laughter) (2022).

Messy's attention to detail in providing a material resource, while somewhat light-hearted in our discussion, is a moment of disruption from the efficiency-oriented approach to physical provisioning that resource-limited, not-for-profit organizations often engage in (Goode, 2006; Hennigan and Purser, 2018; Kingslover, 2012 and Manzanala and Spade, 2008). Namely, Michel Foucault's attention to governmentality as the "techniques and procedures for directing human behavior" (Rose et al, 2006, p. 83), offers a useful lens to understand how not-for-profit institutions are frequently forced to align closely with neoliberal logics of efficiency to fill the gaps left behind by the US government's limited role (Goode, 2006). More specifically, the 1996 Welfare Reform Act requires states to ensure that 50% of their welfare-recipients are employed by a private organization to qualify for federal funding (Schneider, 2006). Additionally, individuals convicted of a drug-related felony cannot receive benefits (Schneider, 2006). However, these conditionalities describe only the minimum requirements. Under the auspices that states like Pennsylvania are most capable of

reducing costs by delineating between those individuals deserving of government support and those individuals who are deserving based on their willingness of ability to find employment and align with dominant social norms (Katz, 1989, p. 1), the federal government gives states more freedom to administer welfare (Michopolas et al., 2003 and Schneider 2006). Building on their previous efforts to cut spending on health, food and housing benefits (Polazzo, 2013), Pennsylvania created programs like The Pathways to Independence: mandating individuals receiving welfare have a "self-sufficiency plan" as a prerequisite for receiving benefits (Schneider, 2006).

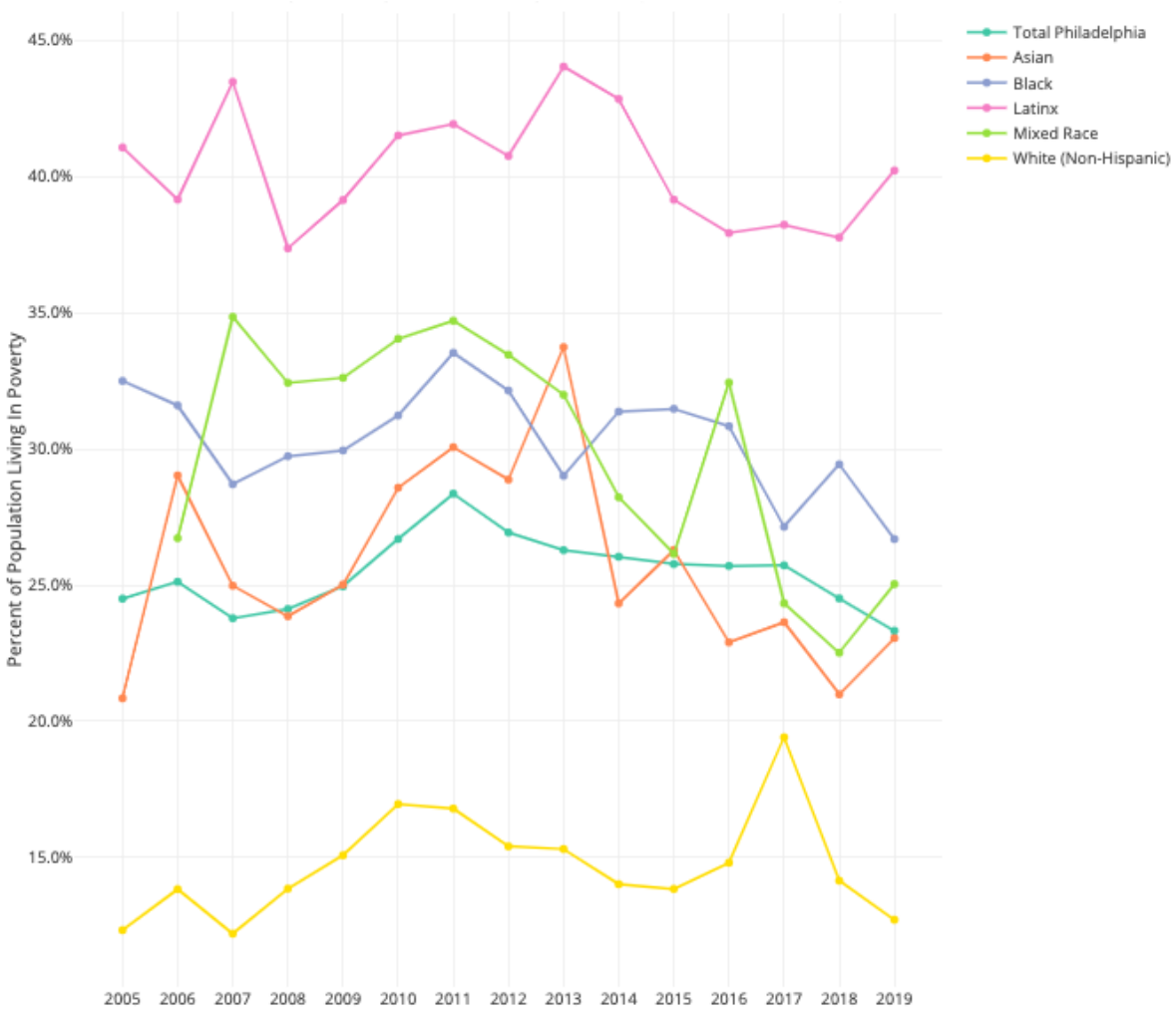
Notably, by linking provisioning with employment, the law directed spending away from Cisgender Women and the elderly and redirected it toward, married Cisgender Men (DeFillipis, 2012 and Schneider, 2006). National programs like Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) that were created by the law introduced dramatic cuts to existing benefits for low-income mothers (Michalopoulos et al, 2003). In addition, these benefits are time-bound; meaning they are limited to 24 consecutive months amounting to 5 years over the course of a recipient's life (2003). Equally relevant to this project, until 2013, LGBTQ partnerships did not qualify for benefits (Guillen, 2022). Still, these policies continue to privilege "traditional" married, partnerships for benefits (DeFilippis, 2012).

As various scholars (e.g Fischer, 2018 and Ferguson, 2015) point out, this "policy bias towards targeting in social provisioning" (Fischer, 2018, p. 10) to address resource-needs ends up "coopting social justice concerns" (Fischer, 2018, p.10) instead creating a moral-impetrative to transform individuals into more productive contributors to the economy. As a result, when competing for limited resources, not-for-profit organizations trying to fill resource gaps are frequently forced to replicate these same neoliberal logics. In other words, they must prove to donors and governmental agencies that they are transforming welfare recipients into more economically productive citizens (Manzanala and Space, 2008). This leads to policies like compulsory job-trainings, financial-literacy and family-planning courses as well as restrictions on purchasing decisions (Ferguson et al, 2007; Goode, 2006 and Mananzala and Spade, 2008) without any attention to the ways in which structures of inequality and government negligence may compound or even directly contribute to these needs.

I confirmed this stigmatizing focus on individual transformation in my field work. Especially in larger, explicitly conservative Christian organizations, I spoke with LGBTQ care-recipients who felt uncomfortable due to Christian service-provisioners requirements for daily prayer, volunteer work, job-readiness training separated by sex-assigned at birth or family-planning workshops (August 2022). Additionally, some of the leaders at these organizations would often give food or clothes without ever acknowledging the recipient or even become frustrated when they did not take their meal quickly enough. Again, these approaches are inseparable from a wider attempt to create more productive and deserving recipients that previous studies make clear are common within conservative-Christian and neoliberal provisioning logics (Goode, 2006; Hackworth, 2012 and Hennigan and Purser, 2018).

While some might distract from this critique of regulatory approaches to provisioning by pointing to Philadelphia's declining marginally poverty rates since 2011 as a reason to believe that the city is actually in the midst of a renaissance brought about by the 1996 Welfare Reform Act, figure 6 makes clear that poverty levels in 2019 were almost the same, and sometimes higher than they were in 2005.

Figure 6: Percent of Philadelphia's Population Living in Poverty by Race



Source: (Shields, 2020)

Additionally, in 2020, 78% of Black LGBTQ individuals and 55% of White LGBTQ individuals reported that discrimination has affected their ability to be hired. (Goldstein, 2021). In large part because of how necessary it is to work to survive in the United States, LGBTQ people experience poverty at almost twice the rates of their Cisgender and Heterosexual counterparts (Badgett and Schneebaum, 2019). In this way, poverty helps empower state-sanctioned violence against LGBTQ people and LGBTQ POC especially. Therefore, the focus on employment and financial literacy in contemporary welfare builds on, rather than addresses, systemic racism that leads to structural and economic violence against LGBTQ people and POC.

Although local and federal efforts at welfare reform have dramatically failed and indeed, exasperated resource disparities, in addressing these failures, Messy does not utilize the same approach by focusing on individual-transformation or resource-efficiency. Rather, Messy listened to the Woman and gave her the food she told Messy she needed. Furthermore, Messy spent hours chatting about their mutual interest in acting (interview with Messy, 2022). This led her to learn more about the woman's history of abuse and asked if the woman would like her to try and get in contact with a domestic violence shelter (2022). When the woman said yes, Messy called numerous organizations, finally finding one that could pick the woman up and give her a safe place to stay. When I asked what happened after the woman had finished eating and chatting, Messy paused, smiled thoughtfully and said, "that's a different

kind of joy that you seldom feel when you feel like nobody wants you around" (August, 2022). In this way, while it is accurate to view Messy's efforts as an attempt to fill urgent gaps in care, the way she filled these gaps is also crucial. Messy radically repositioned the Woman not as a 'problem-to-be-solved' but rather as a relational member of her community, capable of determining her needs.

While Messy's experience occurred during the winter of 2021, during a wave of Covid-19 infections, her approach to care through vulnerability has notable overlaps in 2022. Christina Joseph, a bisexual, Black, Haitian Woman, who grew up in a conservative-Catholic, Haitian community in Massachusetts, took a highly reflexive approach to ensuring she would not perpetuate the harm that her own religious upbringing did to her. After leaving a job working as a bartender in a casino because she felt like the work was pushing her cliental into addiction and precarity, Christina began running the meal-service as well as the shower and laundry area for people living in poverty at a Methodist Church in Philadelphia. I asked Christina what her goal is when providing these resources. Admittedly, I expected her to say something general about helping the person get back on their feet. Instead, she said:

> I really strive to remember everyone by name…I treat them with respect and acknowledge them when I'm walking in the door…just trying to acknowledge, 'you are a person, and I want you to know that you are a person…so not only to give you resources to support you and get you up out of homelessness, but also you feel safe to come to us… I want this to be a space where …you feel like a person and that you are treated with respect (interview with Christina, July, 2022).

Christina's efforts to create a sense of dignity for the individuals she meets through seemingly minor affirmations and acknowledgements, echoes Messy's approach. Both Women recognize how stigma and isolation are common feelings for the people they encounter. Indeed, as I observed Christina over the course of two months, she frequently spent close to an hour speaking to one or two clients, chatting about news events or her love for cooking. Furthermore, Christina, like many other narrators I listened to, noted with sadness but not surprise, how many LGBTQ individuals experiencing homelessness are often surprised to encounter welcoming Christian-identified organizations. Christina however, recognizes how harmful blaming LGBTQ individuals and POC for their economic precarity can be. Therefore, while she also explicitly struggles with her role in a "capitalist structure" (2022) that requires individuals seek help from private organizations, rather than the government, Christina makes a deliberate effort to avoid reenforcing this structure by demanding that individuals change their behaviours in return for the material resource she provides.

While an interesting shift away from Christian-inspired and neoliberal logics, it is also crucial to understand how Messy and Christina's approaches to care result from their positionality. Judith Butler grapples with positionality and power's role in our actions and relationships by bringing attention to the ways that marginalized groups not only resist their "vulnerability" (2016, p.1) but also utilize it's productive capacity to inform resistance to oppressive conditions (2016). However, Butler also leaves room for individual agency, noting how disruption through vulnerability only occurs when we put ourselves in a "deliberate exposure to power" (Butler, 2016, p. 22).

In many ways because of their experiences of shame and exclusion from their Church as well as their encounters with economic precarity throughout their lives, Messy and Christina decide to confront dominant approaches to welfare that ignore relationality in favor of efficiency. Namely, as a Queer, Filipino Woman, Messy did not view herself as capable of being a part of her Christian church and understood exactly how it felt when nobody wanted

her around in her Christian school, after-school activities, church or even in her own home (2022). When her parents suggested she become a priest and pursue abstinence, she was confused, noting how "keenly aware" (2022) she was that she didn't "look like a priest, which was usually like an older White man" (2022). Messy also experienced this exclusion in a more visceral sense, feeling like she could not reconcile being Queer with being Christian because of the words her congregation used to describe LGBTQ people. "I guess there was this kind of more internal separation from God that happened inside...Maybe I am like, there's something wrong with me…The word was abomination. Maybe I am an abomination" (2022). Similarly, Christina was one of two LGBTQ people and one of 20 POC in the numerous schools and churches she attended. Surrounded by hundreds of Cisgender, Heterosexual, White people, Christina remembers feeling isolated and confused(2022).

Messy and Christina therefore both understand how traumatizing it can be for a person or organization to demand changes in behavior or identity as a prerequisite for acceptance. They acknowledge the fear that many LGBTQ people have coming to Christian-inspired organizations. As such, they do not ask the individuals they encounter to behave differently. Messy and Christina simply seek to comfort them through conversation while giving the recipients the agency to decide what they need to feel secure and supported. Both Christina and Messy view their role as filling material gaps, not demanding behavioral changes geared toward increasing productivity. In doing so however, they also learn about the recipients and delve deeper into some of the underlying difficulties (like domestic violence) causing their pain and suffering. Rather than focus on their own efficiency at work or immediately referring the recipients to employment, financial literacy, or family-planning resources, they instead prioritize the human experience of suffering and ways they might still address this suffering through material provisioning rooted in relationality.

Messy and Christina's vulnerability as LGBTQ Women of Color also intersects with their experiences of financial precarity. As such, their views about material provisioning are also informed through this additional positionality. Intersecting with their LGBTQ and racial identities, both Messy and Christina remember experiencing financial precarity throughout their lives without having a family they could fall back on for material support. For Messy, this feeling was rarely far off; she worked for years in low-paying jobs that put her at the edge of survival (2022). During one of these moments of financial hardship, Messy was arrested for protesting Don't Ask Don't Tell, a presidential policy effectively banning LGBTQ people in the military from coming-out (2022). In this moment, Messy could not call her family and did not have friends with the financial capacity to bail her out. Fortunately, she received pro-bono services from a not-for-profit LGBTQ legal group but remembers feeling "a really terrible sinking feeling" that she was "really fucked right now" (2022). Christina felt similar fear during the Covid-19 pandemic when she experienced prolonged unemployment but felt uncomfortable turning to her family for support (2022).

In recognizing how 'work' was not enough to prevent their physical and economic precarity, Messy and Christina recognize how unattainable 'independence' is. Thus, they embrace a need for universal dependency, in which everyone is deemed as 'deserving' of material support. Reflecting on these experiences, Messy put it bluntly saying, "I don't think people should have to work to feel supported and really, like able to survive" (2022). Christina frequently echoed this view, questioning the failures in welfare that make her role as an emergency food-provisioner so critical to so many individuals in Philadelphia(2022). Remembering their own fears and exclusions, Messy and Christina contest a political scenario in which employment is viewed as more important than human life. Instead, they position basic material needs as a collective responsibility. James Ferguson (2015, p.51) similarly points out how contemporary justifications against redistributing material resources are predicated on the idea that full employment and production are primal parts of human existence. However, Ferguson, like Messy and Christina, endorses an alternative ontology in

which individuals inherently deserve a share of a country's economic resources by virtue of their humanity (Ferguson, 2015, p.41). Earlier feminist authors also made similar points, arguing that employment and independence are not natural conditions but instead, political choices that neoliberal governmentality frames as inherent (Weeks, 2011). Therefore, through their lived-experiences of economic vulnerability emerging from their positionality as LGBTQ WOC, Messy and Christina normalize dependence and try to offer resources in a way that positions everyone as deserving of resources regardless of their individual actions.

2.3: Queering Material Provisioning

Control over material care, as the feminist scholar Jacqueline Stevens makes clear, is a powerful opportunity to control relationships and ways of organizing society (1999). As such, the government and the church have "enormous investment" (1999, p.235) in directing this provisioning. Therefore, while dominant institutions seek to utilize material care to encode logics of heteronormative family-relations, efficiency and self-dependence, these narrators challenge these logics. Embracing their vulnerability demands them to administer material care in a way that is not cultivated for individual or organizational gain. Instead, their attention to relationality offers a radical shift away from the hegemonic systems of conservative-Christian governmentality entrenched in US welfare.

"That Started in the Pew" Embodied Experiences of Emotional and Spiritual Marginalization and Efforts to Address Them

While the previous narratives demonstrate how vulnerability informs these efforts to ensure and even universalize access to material needs, their vulnerability leads them to also prioritize subversive forms of emotional and spiritual care for LGBTQ people interacting with Christian-inspired organizations. By provisioning this care with an attention to the inherent human dignity of the communities they serve, these caregivers reshape how LGBTQ people understand themselves in connection with their Christian identities and histories. More importantly, this process challenges capitalist neoliberalism's distinction between social reproduction and work as private and public spheres of life. In doing so it makes clear how prioritizing employment is in the United States is a fundamentally political decision. Thus, it must be disrupted to cultivate structural change.

† † †

Center City, Philadelphia

Dragging their cart of items was tricky. It had a broken wheel and a hole. As we chatted, we sometimes had to lift the cart over a curb without causing a sock or bottle to fall out. As pedestrians nudged passed, muttering about the 95-degree heat[3] and the blockade we were apparently causing, I continued chatting with the 30-year-old, Queer person of color.[4] We had met while I was volunteering that morning. They asked for socks and then complimented my rainbow shoes; this led to a longer conversation and their decision to join me at an art exhibition about Queer Ecology later in the day.

As we walked after the event, they told me about how their confrontational approach to advocacy for LGBTQ rights caused city officials to stop inviting them to events like this. Soon they found themselves in financial precarity, only half-joking when they said, "For Queer POC, we are never far from homelessness"

We stopped, bought sandwiches and chatted more. I gently mentioned how I was taking time off work and had a limited budget. "Maybe we can try to keep it under 10 dollars?"

They grew agitated, rolled their eyes and mumbled something along the lines of, "Everyone thinks I have nothing. I have 3 bank accounts and 1000 dollars saved up. I could buy you 12 milkshakes once my phone is fixed" Caught off guard, I apologized, said this was not my intention and falling back on humor to break the discomfort I felt, pointed to the sign for Wawa's "Summer Siptopia" campaign[5] and said, "well I expect one of these *Snickers* shakes next time I see you!"

[3] Measured in degrees Fahrenheit

[4] Referred to as 'they'

[5] Wawa is a popular convenience-store chain in the mid-Atlantic United States. During the summer, they have special deals on cold drinks like shakes and smoothies.

Amicable again, we walked a few moments in silence. Suddenly, I asked about the broken phone. Again, they grew agitated and told me how were assaulted in the park while being called homophobic and racist slurs. Their phone, like their body, broke as they were kicked. A few minutes later, police yelled at them for 'sleeping' in a public park.

They had left a Christian shelter 3 days prior. They felt uncomfortable about praying before meals and the other male residents also "didn't like" their feminine clothes. This felt familiar. I didn't ask for more details. Instead, I grabbed their heavy cart and rolled it on one wheel it as they ate the sandwich.

† † †

A Secondary School in New Hampshire

They pinned me to the ground behind the church cafeteria. I mumbled. "What are you doing? Stop…"

"Get him!" they shouted back, laughter echoing in my ears. Out of the corner of my eye, I saw the religious education teachers glance at me then at each other uncomfortably. The boys coerced my hair from its typically well-combed position. It felt uncomfortable against my face. I felt a few pieces brush past my ear and fall to the ground beside me and a stinging sensation on my scalp.

"There. Now you don't look like Justin Bieber. He's such a fag"

† † †

The Psychiatric Ward

"You need the key hun!" the nurse attendant shouted.

She unlocked the cabinet, standing closely as I used my razor to shave then head for the shower.

Abomination

It was February, 2020. I was in court-ordered psychiatric care, with no understanding of when I might leave.

Outcast

Maintaining a sense of optimism often felt like a radical effort.

I wonder what they would do if I tried to run away…

Unloved

Only in hindsight, am I able to find a sense of gratitude. Healthcare is a privilege in the United States. The 14 days in an emergency room waiting for a bed in a treatment center taught me that. And while the staff in the ward did not always understand my identity and frequently lacked empathy, some of them gave me the mental health care I now know saved my life.

Unique

It is important to be careful when connecting trauma with maladaptive psychological coping mechanisms. Indeed, social and biological forces have a messy relationship. It is impossible to disentangle the two (Fausto-Sterling, 2001 and Fuentes, 2022).

But I also know that unless I am deeply cognoscente of how social, religious and political violence impacts me and my community's health, our survival can easily become focused on our individual deviance rather than the ways in which society frames us as deviant.

† † †

3.1 Emotional and Spiritual Care's Necessity for LGBTQ People

Rob Praino, knew from his 85 years of membership in his church, that publicly coming out as Gay would lead to exclusion and punishment. Indeed, throughout his 60 years as a priest, Rob witnessed the church continuously marginalize and remove individuals who publicly acknowledged their gender or sexuality outside of heteronormative binaries; a fact that was also apparent in Jim's narrative. At the same time and again speaking to the complexity of LGBTQ interactions with Christianity, he could not ignore the hope and care this community connected him with. For example, as a 7-year-old grappling with his father's death, Rob saw his Christian community embrace his family to provide material and emotional support. As such, Rob wanted to engage with his Christian faith and his sexuality but alternative denominations were similarly exclusionary toward LGBTQ people. When I asked Rob about this tension and why he decided to stay in the church, he said:

> The very church that taught me to love and accept all people became the church that would tell me that I was not wanted.... I loved the Church and never assumed that it was perfect. To what other church would I go?...I always decided that I would stay and do all that I could to save the Church from the bias and hatred. (Interview with Rob, August, 2022).

In recognizing his own suffering as well as the way in which LGBTQ people are marginalized across Christian denominations, Rob made a commitment to reveal his sexuality if confronted with an instance in which doing so was necessary to provide care: "that if anybody ever came to me… to say, 'I need counseling, I'm Gay'…I would have to tell them" (2022). In hearing this and reflecting on my own experiences growing up Queer in conservative-Christian institutions, I felt compelled to ask Rob what he said when this happened. Immediately, he looked me in the eye and said "you are okay. God loves you.

You're a child of God. And we don't understand all this right now. But I know you are loved by God" (2022).

Noting that it is especially challenging to subvert dominant associations between LGBTQ identity and deviance, Tim R. Johnston argues that structural and individual forms of affirmation are "essential to the development of any sense of self" (2016, p. 29). Johnston therefore positions the way that Rob utilizes his own pain to push back against these forms of stigma as not merely admirable but indeed, critical to LGBTQ well-being. Rob supports his LGBTQ congregants in valuing their own existence. Although this is not a material resource or a mechanism for creating structural change in how material resources are provided, Rob's affirmative words are best interpreted as imperative acts to address his congregant's emotional and spiritual needs. Simply put, they are forms of affective care.

Like Johnston, other scholars also emphasize how Rob's efforts to empower a new, affirmative narrative of LGBTQ identity within Christian institutions does more than ease emotional or spiritual pain. Rather, structural, institutional and individual trauma and precarity damages one's ability to exist; not only in relationship to themselves and others, but also by adversely impacting physical health. In studying the relationship between social reproduction, trauma and health in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (USA), Brenda Parker argues, "The direct and discursive experiences of neoliberalism, racism, violence, sexism, poverty, abandonment, and death are burdens literally 'carried' in the bodies of my research subjects" (2015, p.131). Indeed, studies focusing specifically on LGBTQ mental health bring to light how unsafety in public and private space has negative long-term health outcomes for LGBTQ people and create a need for what is often unpaid, affective care from other members of the LGBTQ community (Linander et al, 2019 and D.W. Sue, 2010). Transgender people are four-times more likely than Cisgender people to report experiencing violent crime (Williams Institute, 2021). Notably, only half of the crimes committed against Transpeople are ever reported (Williams Institute, 2021). LGBTQ POC and Transindividuals (of all races), face far higher rates of poverty, homelessness and joblessness (Brownsworth, 2020; Mananzala and Spade 2008 and Project HOME, 2022). Therefore, as feminist theorists frequently point out, the time and costs of care shift from the state to particular "subject positions" (Mitchell et al, 2003, p.418) who are frequently, already marginalized.

In addition to these individual and economic acts of physical and material violence, as Rob's and my own experiences begin to demonstrate, we must also consider forms of emotional and spiritual abuse emanating from conservative-Christian beliefs and welfare systems. While it is striking that 7% of LGBTQ men report experiencing conversion therapy during their lives, it is even more disturbing that nearly 81% of these individuals experienced this violent attempt to change their LGBTQ identity from a religious leader (Williams Institute, 2019). As a result of these embodied and emotional forms of trauma, LGBTQ people experience almost twice the rates of anxiety, depression and suicide as their Heterosexual and Cisgender counterparts (Marlay, 2022 and Torchinsky, 2021). Even LGBTQ individuals who are directed to institutions intended to alleviate these impacts on mental health often experience discrimination (Pilling, 2022). Emotional and mental trauma also impact physical health (Johnson, 2009, Johnson, 2015 and Sue, 2010) leading to a higher risk of life-threatening illness (Teagan, 2016). For these reasons, resulting from their embodied experiences of vulnerability, these narrators recognize a need to provide spiritual and emotional care for the individuals who they encounter in their work.

Christian leaders during the HIV epidemic also recognized the need for affective care, utilizing their own positionality to provide spiritual care rooted in reflexivity and relationality. William Hart McNicholas, a Gay, Catholic priest engaged with what he identified as a need for "spiritually-informed care" especially for people *dying* of HIV (William, 2019). Like Jim and Rob, William is acutely aware of how Christian stigma made it impossible for him to work with many conservative congregations. As such, he pushed back against this stigma

during the epidemic and told his congregants, "You're not going to get it [HIV] by them [PLHIV] sitting on the same bench as you do" (2019). He also continued to administer communion[6] to PLHIV. Considering how even in 2010, 36% of respondents living with HIV reported that health care professionals refused to touch them or used excessive precautions (Lambda Legal, 2010), William's effort to push back against harmful stereotypes and fears offered a radical act of solidarity that recognized LGBTQ and PLHIVs' dignity and need for spiritual engagement. It thus opened the possibility for greater social acceptance of these individuals.

William also visited PLHIV in hospital settings and again, in his awareness of how damaging encounters with conservative-Christianity can be to LGBTQ people, would remove his religious clothing so as not to trigger or scare the patients, most of whom were LGBTQ (2019). Remembering these encounters, William describes the need for emotional care for these individuals dying a slow, painful death.

> I'd say, what is it that you want from God and they'd say 'well, I would like my headaches to stop or I would like my diarrhea to stop or I would like to be completely healed of AIDS…or I would like to not be so terrified all the time…And whatever they would ask for, I would pray for" (2019).

William's approach to meeting his community's particular need for spiritual care emerged from his positionality. Closeted in a conservative, Catholic environment, William sought to provide comfort without replicating the exclusion and fear he expressed feeling from Catholicism (2019). For William, this affective care was as critical as any provisioning work he could do for PLHIV.

Debra James, a Christian deaconess and the director of one of the organizations I volunteered with during my field work, drew on her frequent experiences providing material resources for LGBTQ people as well as her knowledge of Christian theology to draw a similar line between emotional/spiritual trauma and the need for care. Debra identifies as a Heterosexual, Cisgender Woman and is a part of the same church as Rob. Like Rob, she has worked tirelessly for decades to demand equal participation for LGBTQ people in local congregations and the national Church (Interview with Debra, July, 2022 and Rob, 2022). When I asked about Debra's advocacy work in the church and what made her start thinking about LGBTQ exclusion given her upbringing in an economically-poor, conservative, Christian community, she told me about her friend's experience coming out in high school. This made her reflect on her friend's participation in the Church given its critical role in the community's identity. "I thought, well what would that look like? Because I would want my friend to come to church with me…how would my friend be welcomed?"

Soon after, Debra decided to work for the Church to provision resources to people experiencing poverty. Debra describes her friend's reaction as a" pivotal moment" in her life. More specifically, the friend expressed frustration at Debra. Debra remembers her saying: "I don't understand why you're doing this…I wouldn't be welcomed in the church…what are you going to do to change that?" (2022). As such, Debra decided she would not just work with the church, but instead, actively challenge its relationship with LGBTQ people. While I will discuss this more in subsequent sections, for not it useful to note how this relationship altered her view about the structural causes of LGBTQ trauma and economic precarity. During our conversation, Debra offered a passionate argument to support this view, saying:

[6] Catholics believe that communion is the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ. Consuming communion is the most important and sacred part of a Catholic service (Genovesi, 2022).

> When someone comes in the middle of active psychosis in the midst of a delusion…and the trauma trigger was their parents or priest who threw them out, or who told them that God did not love them or that they were an abomination because they were coming to terms with their sexual identity…as a…Queer person, that trauma triggers often a laden mental health breakdown that can send someone into life on the street. That theology, that liturgy, it matters because it translates into the folks that we see every day…That started in the pew. And if we can change what happens here [gestures to the church building], then we can shift the next generation to be in a different place (2022).

Indeed, Debra's relationship with her LGBTQ friend pushed her to recognize the need to not merely fill gaps in material resources, but also find ways to subvert and transform the forms of affective care that Christian-inspired institutions provide. Relying on her friend's experience and her knowledge of theology, Debra argues that Christian-inspired perspectives frequently push LGBTQ people into emotional and material vulnerability. To address this lineage, she argues LGBTQ people not only need material resources but also spiritual care that provides a radical alternative Christian-inspired ideologies.

Conceptions of Christian-inspired social-provisioning in policy literature tend to exclusively focus on the ways in which Christian institutions utilize spirituality to administer material resources in ways that make recipients more economically productive (Clarke et al, 2007; Cnaan et al, 2010 and Ferguson et al, 2007). However, the narrators make clear how LGBTQ experiences of vulnerability help spark forms of affective care that support the individual, rather than improve their economic potential. In doing so, they hope to affirm their experience of suffering and marginalization, intentionally opening room for healing and affirmation. Building on this point, the next section makes clear how these efforts question social reproduction's designation to private space (Katz, 2008; Smith and Winders, 2015) by embedding their 'private' relationships of solidarity in their work. In doing so, they create more effective modes of political advocacy to contest LGBTQ marginalization and the necessity that the US assigns to work for survival (Ferguson, 2015 and Weeks, 2011).

3.2 Lineages and Disruptions: How Affective Care Makes Social Reproduction Public and Work Political

These experiences providing and influencing care without instrumentalizing it for personal or institutional gain also exists in a lineage of unacknowledged care-work by Women, POC and LGBTQ individuals that the dominant society frequently undervalues and over critiques (Elson, 2012; McDowell, 1983; Smith, 2020 and Trott, 2020). These accounts bring to light how capitalism organizes economic and social relations in such a way that Women are expected to support the capitalist economy through the reproduction of human labor without compensation or support (Elson, 2012). However, feminists (e.g. Mitchell et al, 2003, p.416) also point out how traditional critiques of this structure continue to separate unpaid care in private space from paid work in public space (Rogan, 2019). By considering how private forms of care influence the ways in which care-provisioners administer affective resources in public, Christian institutions, the narrators in this section complicate social reproduction's separation from work. Like Mitchell et al. (2003), they call into question traditional critiques that, while positioning material provisioning in the home as crucial to economic production, still frame it as separate from production. Rather, affective care for LGBTQ individuals in private space is inseparable from, not merely contributing to, their paid work administering resources. Much like their experiences of material-provisioning, illuminating this disruption in their affective care opens space for these individuals to critique

the ways in which employment and independence are positioned as natural and indeed, of irreplicable importance in US society.

Anthony Carbone, a White guidance counsellor who identifies as Queer and works in Christian-inspired school systems, grew up in a conservative-Catholic household and attended Catholic universities for his Bachelors and Masters degrees (interview with Anthony, 2022). During these experiences, Anthony remembers relying on his Queer friends for affirmation. While still working through his relationships with his family, Anthony noted how these individuals helped him become more open in both his physical presentation and relationships. This, he makes clear, supports his current work by helping him to affirm his LGBTQ students as they work through their relationships with Christianity, LGBTQ identity and family.

> I had a student… who came into my office the very first day. And he's like, so your pronouns are in your email signature, and I see the outfit you're wearing, so am I in the right ballpark?...
>
> It was just nice that this opened the door for us to be able to talk about so many things that he needed to talk about… to know that I was able to make a space in the school where that might not necessarily exist (Interview with Anthony, August, 2022).

Anthony, in his role as a counselor, was not obliged to share aspects of his own identity and indeed, noted how he frequently felt uncomfortable or fearful doing so in Catholic-schools. In addition, he laughed as he noted how this usually meant he was spending extra time with students, making his work "less efficient" (2022). Despite this contradiction with conservative-Christian, neoliberal approaches to work, Anthony made himself vulnerable, providing affective care to alleviate the burden that Christian expectations for normative identity and conformity have on his students. This form of work therefore both relies on and builds ties of relationality that question the extent to which Anthony's affective provisioning is purely work or if it is also embedded in his private experiences receiving care. Namely, Anthony's Catholic community consistently made him feel scared of coming-out (2022). At the same time, he was frequently affirmed by his LGBTQ friends in college, making it possible for him to come out; a necessary precondition for the emotional care he now provides to his students.

Anthony's narrative speaks to what Bradway and Freeman call "kincoherence" (2022, p.3) which they use in their anthology to conceptualize "queer kinship" as "nonheteropatriarchal formations of belonging, decision making, and resource distribution" (referring to Rifkin, 2022,p.138) that operate outside of traditional "linear" logics of social reproduction (Bradway and Freeman, 2022, p.3). While disrupting normative relations, the suffix "coherence" also denotes how LGBTQ social reproduction replicates previous forms of LGBTQ relationality. More specifically, this social reproduction goes beyond material care to also replicate 'official and uncodified social bonds" (Bradway and Freeman, 2022, p. 3) like emotional and spiritual affirmation that remain "durable" with previous modes of LGBTQ social reproduction (2022, p.5).

From this perspective, Anthony's commitment to provide emotional affirmation through his employment responsibilities is contingent on his friends' previous efforts to support his identity. By building on, rather than merely disrupting his existing relationships, Anthony blurs binaries separating the vulnerability he experiences and care he receives in his private life from his subversive and deliberate decision to actively present his LGBTQ identity. These forms of relationality embed his private life in what is supposed to be his

public and therefore purely productive work caring for his students. As such, Anthony challenges dominant conceptions of social reproduction that isolate it to the private sphere.

Like Anthony, Christina's narrative speaks to LGBTQ kinship's coherence (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) and movement outside of normative binaries between social reproduction and work. In remembering her own experiences, Christina pays close attention to how emotional marginalization impacts the individuals she cares for. For example, Christina frequently speaks with people she knows from her Christian upbringing and notes how they extol her work with the Church based on their view that it is unattainably ethical and righteous(2022). However, Christina pushes back, challenging these individuals to think about how they impacted her own emotional well-being as a teenager and could have easily pushed LGBTQ people like her into the very forms of physical precarity she tries to address. "Because, if you're that parent who kicked their LGBT kid out, how are you helping the situation? You're creating this horrendous stigma… and, I want people to know, some of us are also still going through our own personal journey" (2022). This also begins to demonstrate how, like her experience with material care, Christina utilizes her own journey to recognize the affective care the LGBTQ POC she works with need.

More specifically, when I asked Christina about her "personal journey" (2022), she remembers how crucial it was for her to develop supportive and affirmative relationships with her Queer, Christian friends and colleagues to reconsider her identities. In fact, they caused her to reflect and think "maybe I should start rethinking this, like, maybe I should start getting more involved. Maybe I should kind of figure out my own relationship with God at this point and see where I am and how I feel?" (2022). Without these support networks, Christina does not think she would have shifted her career away from bartending and into a Christian-inspired provisioning role in which she is completely transparent about her identity. Furthermore, she recognizes how this transparency helps her care for LGBTQ resource-recipients at the church. Indeed, she smiled as she reflected on a time when she overheard a conversation between an LGBTQ 23 year old and her friend saying: "We found out you know, the manager is LGBT!...She made me feel welcome!"' (2022).

Thus, Christina relies on her vulnerability to recognize the importance of affective care. At the same time, she demonstrates how this care work is guided by her relationships with Christian, LGBTQ individuals who provide her with a model of care and empathy that empowered her to begin to consider her own relationship with Christian institutions. As a result of these overlapping and competing experiences of social reproduction, vulnerability and affective provisioning in her private life, Christina creates a more comprehensive provisioning environment in her public work. Christina's experience therefore highlights the "problematic categorical distinctions between the spheres of production and reproduction" (Mitchell et al, 2004, p. 417). Indeed, her experience questions the seemingly natural associations between unpaid material provisioning with the home as well as paid production with public work-places (Mitchell at al, 2004 and Oksala, 2016). While scholars also argue that work is only "relatively public" (Weeks, 2011, p.3) or 'more public' when compared to family life (Weeks, 2011), Christian-inspired provisioning 'work' is influenced by and a key part of the government's role in providing survival resources. Thus, this work is even 'more public' than an industry purely devoted to material production for financial gain. This small clarification aside, Christina's experience disrupting these artificial binaries between work and home, public and private, income and survival, emphasizes Week's main point: "that most are expected to work for wages or be supported by someone who does, is a social convention and disciplinary apparatus rather than an economic necessity" (Weeks, 2011, pp. 7-8). In this way, Christina's movement between work and affective care poses a challenge to the idea that work is a stable, natural or inherent category. Rather, by disrupting this separation, she brings to the fore how it is a political decision built on normative social relations (Weeks, 2011). While the US's conservative-Christian, neoliberal welfare regime

actively advocates to maintain these social relations, Christina's fluidity between private experiences of care and reifies the public space of work, subtly subverse the ways this binary normalizes hierarchy and reveres employment.

Naomi Washington Leapheart's work as a pastor further disrupts work by engaging in political organizing. Like Christina, this work is predicated on the "kincoherence" (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) and vulnerability (Butler, 2016) she experienced throughout her life. As a Queer Woman of Color, Naomi viewed the Baptist Church she grew up in as a place where Black Women like her grandmother could feel "seen and supported" (Religious Archives Network interview, 2019). At the same time, her experience in Christian school offered a very different lens. As a more conservative space, Naomi notes how their "insistence [was] on [personal] salvation, accepting Christ, becoming baptized" (2019). As such, Naomi remembers how "it was illegible to the people at my Christian school, that people could be something other than Heterosexual, identifying as something according to the gender binary" (2019). In this context, like Christina, Naomi was grateful for emotional and spiritual support from her LGBTQ friends of Color (2019). Namely, encountering LGBTQ POC in Christian institutions helped her "shed some of the anti-LGBT, anti-Woman, sex-negative, body-negative ideologies that I inherited from that religious upbringing" (2019). This led her to ask, "If I can't live fully, then how am I going to advocate for anybody else to be able to live fully?" (2019).

Stemming from her own experiences of vulnerability and subsequently, the kinship and relationality that helped challenge this vulnerability, Naomi became a pastor and is now the Director for Philadelphia's Office of Faith-Based and Interfaith Affairs. In these roles, Naomi remembers providing spritual care during Philadelphia's Transgender Day of Remembrance as well as during protests against economic inequality and cuts in government funding for education, welfare and healthcare. Like the previous narrators, this care through her public work as a pastor disrupts dominant binaries between social reproduction and work (Mitchell et al, 2004; Thorburn,2017 and Weeks, 2011).

> As pastor of this church, I came to know myself as a person who could do ... who was called to kind of public ministry for justice movements…because people in the movement still need pastoral care and they might not go to church to get that, but they will go to the protests. If I can be a person that they can talk to, I can walk alongside them at the protest, then I do that (2017).

Notably, Naomi does not emphasize her role as a form of transformative or even purposeful activism for social and economic equity. Instead, Naomi remembers how taxing it was to confront her own community and demand affirmation from her church (2019). As such, she also acknowledges how these protestors demanding recognition for their identities and experiences often need spiritual care. Thus, using her private experiences of vulnerability, in her public role as a pastor at a protest, Naomi replicates the spiritual care she valued in her own life. Like Christina's story, this calls into question how social provisioning is designated as private and work is designated as public. This supports the efforts some scholars make to reposition our reliance on work not as a natural, apolitical sphere in US society but rather as a highly political effort to maintain hierarchy (Ferguson, 2015 and Weeks, 2011).

Thus by focusing on particular subject positions in capitalist society, this narrative confirms the need to "maintain a more flexible understanding of the multiple forms the nexus between production and social reproduction can take" (Mitchell et al., 2004,p.106). In following this example and noting the "coherent" (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) affective provisioning that is necessary to ensure LGBTQ social reproduction, this section supports feminist and Queer critiques of the prominent assumptions designating social reproduction

as forms of unproductive, material care (Mitchell at al, 2003 and Oksala, 2016) and work as apolitical and economically-productive (Weeks, 2011). Empowering this critique is not only theoretically useful. It also allows these individuals to challenge how employment, productivity and heteronormativity are positioned as markers of 'good' citizenship (Katz, 1996; Smith and Winders, 2015 and Weeks, 2011). Instead they demand a society where these forms of conservative, Christian-inspired neoliberal governmentality do not determine if they deserve care. As such these subversions and disruptions allow them to form political efforts to contest contemporary welfare provisioning.

"Your Community's Dying"
Avoiding Mistakes of the Past in Looking to the Future

By highlighting interactions between LGBTQ individuals and Christian-inspired institutions providing care, this project has focused on illuminating how LGBTQ caregivers rely on their vulnerability and relationships of kinship to subvert hegemonic provisioning logics necessitating employment and efficiency. Additionally, their experiences receiving and administering care disrupt normative and frequently binary associations between social reproduction and work.

Using these insights, this section demonstrates how disrupting this separation by embedding relationality in their work makes it both necessary and possible to demand structural change. Far from only providing a more complex historical and theoretical perspective, blurring distinctions between social reproduction and work also challenges the narrators to recognize how their marginalization is rooted in efforts to target provisioning to the most deserving; a category they are frequently excluded from. Additionally, developing relationships of solidarity does not just motivate change but it also cultivates stronger forms of resistance. Thus, this affective and material care pushes them to recognize the structural causes of their oppression while also creating more comprehensive and accountable advocacy. At the same time, this advocacy also grounds their relationships by creating solidarity against a common exploitative and heteronormative economy and society. In this way, their approaches demonstrate how care and advocacy necessarily inform and support one another.

†††

"Providing" Care

It was 2014. I had just moved to Philadelphia and as part of my course-work, I volunteered with a Christian-inspired shelter providing meals for people experiencing economic precarity. As I handed out meals, my brain was somewhere else. I spent an hour choosing between two outfits for my shift. One: a flowery, tight, Women's jacket, with light-blue skinny jeans. The other: brown corduroys and a *men's* sweatshirt. I wore the sweatshirt, fearful of how people in my Catholic university and Christian service organization may perceive me. I felt uncomfortable and couldn't shake the decision from my mind.

As I carried some food to a table, I noticed one Woman falling asleep in her chair.

I was happy when the Woman perked up and went over. "M'am, are you finished with your food?" The plate was still full. She looked hurt. "Do I look like I'm finished?" she said. As a teenager, I was surprised by her reaction but walked away. When I came back again, the plate was almost empty. "Still working M'am?"

"Why do you keep bothering me?" This time I found myself feeling hurt.

"I'm sorry, I just am trying to do my job" I said quietly.

Without flinching, the human shot back, "My name is Jay and I use he/him"

I had no idea what to say. I thought it was exciting that people sometimes used pronouns different from the ones they are assigned at birth, but I also felt uncertain. Wasn't it better to keep my head down and not cause problems?

And yet, Jay was so confident, so powerful in demanding recognition and respect. I had never encountered someone with such a clear vision of who he was and what he needed. He was inspiring but I also felt scared.

I said sorry and walked away. I worked with this organization for a year and never saw Jay again.

I regret my eagerness to 'do my job' over my attention to his needs.

For my internalized Transphobia.

For my inability to acknowledge him even after it was clear I had made these mistakes.

I do not share this experience to make myself feel better. I share it to position the experiences in this section. As LGBTQ people, we often try to challenge injustice. Sometimes we replicate it instead. Recognizing this does not make our mistakes less damaging. But it should challenge us to think about how we might interrupt their causes and improve next time.

†††

4.1 Replicating Structures of Inequality

A key aspect of "kincoherence" (Bradway and Freeman, 2022,p.3) is its attention to *alternative* forms of social reproduction being produced through LGBTQ relationships over time. However, it also emphasizes coherence in how marginalization and violence is also reproduced. I therefore want to highlight "racialized and other exclusions that haunt figurations of queer kinship often seen as utopian" (Bradway and Freeman, 2022, p. 13) as a mechanism for demonstrating how these narrators also avoid replicating the "social, legal, and economic powers and institutions" (Butler, 2022, p. 26) they seek to disrupt.

Listening to Jim it was evident how racism abounded in the HIV movement. Jim remembers how "The formative energy for Action AIDS[7] came from that issue" (2017) namely, that of racial equity. Jose DeMarco, a Latino Gay man living with HIV, remembers similar dynamics catalyzing We the People's[8] collapse (John J. Wilcox Archive, Inerview, 2017) Although We the People was not a Christian-inspired organization, it provided crucial physical and emotional resources for PLHIV as well as advocated for changes in local, state and national HIV policy from the basement of a Philadelphia Lutheran Church. In addition, Christian leaders frequently led the organization's provisioning and advocacy efforts (John J. Wilcox, 2022). While I discuss We the People's approach further in the next section, for now it is important to note that the organization ultimately "imploded" (2017) over frustrations that We the People's leader was a white, Cisgender, Heterosexual Man.

[7] Action AIDS is a regional HIV not-for-profit (John J. Wilcox Archive, 2022)

[8] Archival accounts frequently refer to We the People as an extremely important community-centre for PLHIV focused on low-income neighbourhoods with predominantly Black and Latin-x populations

Similar oral historical accounts have pointed to a disregard for Black needs and interests in ACT Up[9] (Specter, 2021) as well as deliberate statements refusing care to POC (Royles, 2017). Others say HIV advocacy groups asked POC for multiple forms of identification to receive services; a practice these narrators note, was not expected of their white counterparts (2021). At the same time, other narrators highlight how despite being highly represented in the population receiving care, Transgender individuals were rarely given access to resources or decision-making spaces (John J. Wilcox Archive, 2020). Thus, these histories emphasize how even Queer kinship "operates as a key site of dispossession, exploitation, and struggle for racialized and minoritized social groups" (Bradway and Freeman, p. 17).

This exclusion is not a relic of the 1980s but instead continues to resonate in Philadelphia's LGBTQ community today. Namely, Philly Pride, the organization historically responsible for coordinating Philadelphia's LGBTQ pride parade in the past, disbanded in 2021 after posting Transphobic materials on Facebook, cultivating an environment of racism in the organization and continuing to lift the Philadelphia police into positions of power and visibility in the organization without an attention to the ways in which the police have mobilized against Trans-people and POC in the past (Rodriguez, 2022).

Similar challenges came to light during my volunteer work for this project. Even organizations that explicitly acknowledged the impact that conservative-Christian-provisioning can have on LGBTQ health had adversarial moments with LGBTQ individuals receiving care. When these individuals raised their voice or expressed anger at the organization in ways the staff viewed as disruptive, they were sometimes banned from returning for a month. While of course these responses are rooted in a desire to keep the staff and other care-recipients physically safe, this often felt contradictory, like an explicit movement away from the stated efforts at hospitality (field notes, 2022). Sarah Wilder, a Queer Woman of Color who I interviewed after serving free meals with her at various churches in Philadelphia, also recognized and expressed frustration at these contradictions. Aside from volunteering, Sarah also works full-time to support not-for-profit institution's financial development. Sarah frequently expressed anger at the hypocrisy she saw in many of these Christian organizations. Namely, and as my experiences in both LGBTQ friendly and conservative service-providers also brought to light, they provide charity for marginalized groups while ignoring internal exclusions or broader social or political change. Citing her experiences of misogyny and sexism even within spaces pushing for LGBTQ equality and racial justice, Sarah points out how it can often feel like you are making a difference when, in reality, the institution is actively preventing it.

> It's so easy to fatigue good staff that want to make these changes and disillusion them from the idea that they can have that impact then actively get in the way…They keep saying like, 'Oh, this is impossible because of XYZ' but it's really just because they don't want to give it the time of day (Interview with Sarah, July, 2022).

Based on this account and indeed, the other moments of violence and exclusion discussed above, there is a clear divide between the subversive methods of provisioning that these narrators demonstrate and these institutional realities that are a part of both Christian-inspired and LGBTQ organizations. Indeed, these examples denote various struggles prioritizing their community's needs. However, many of the narrators emphasize the ways in which embedding care in their work to demand comprehensive public provisioning allows them to avoid replicating similar structures of discrimination and marginalization. At the same time, they also make clear how this political advocacy makes their care more

[9] A National HIV Advocacy organization

meaningful. As a result of this dialogical relationship between care and advocacy, they offer more successful, sustained efforts at structural change.

4.2 Care, Work and Activism as Mutually Contingent in Cultivating Structural Change

Challenging dominant institutions' efforts to coopt vulnerability, Sarah Bracke notes how neoliberal ideology frames marginalization as useful for creating resilience. However, resilience only validates individuals who are willing to and capable of adapting to rather than contest, their oppression (2016). Resilience not only creates an ideal, passive subject. According to Bracke, it also exasperates existing challenges by "under developing the skills and capacities of imagining other possible worlds, as well as the agential modalities to pursue those imaginations" (p. 64). To escape these limitations, Kim Q. Hall, a feminist, Queer and disability scholar of philosophy instead argues that dominant religions should not include those whom they have excluded in the past without fundamentally changing the structures and ideologies which cause harm (2013). These institutions must instead give LGBTQ people "Access" (2013 p.169). This entails identifying "features that are central to negotiating and thus participating" while allowing "previously excluded groups to participate *and transform* how all participants conceive of and negotiate" these features (Hall, 2013, p. 170 emphasis added). In negotiating these institutions, Hall argues, LGBTQ people must actively refuse to mere inclusion (2013).

This approach brings to the fore how LGBTQ efforts to fill gaps in provisioning must be rooted in long-term structural change. However, the failures of HIV advocacy organizations, contemporary LGBTQ movements and progressive Christian-inspired institutions to address racist and transphobic exclusion, also points to the ways in which a desire for structural change is not enough. Rather, these narrators recognize a need to utilize their affective and material care to develop solidarity across identity groups when demanding these forms of access. Thus, blurring distinctions between social reproduction and work allows these narrators to advocate for structural change even after an institution or its leadership fail. Namely, they challenge Christian-inspired welfare regime's efforts to distinguish who is 'deserving' (Ferguson, 2015 and Katz, 1989) of care based on their employment (Weeks, 2011) or heteronormative relationships.

Returning to Jose demonstrates just how important networks of care and solidarity across seemingly different groups are to empowering sustained, political advocacy. Jose was not only a volunteer but also a paid employee and a PLHIV receiving services from We the People[10]. Through each of these positionalities, Jose, disrupts the distinction between social reproduction and work, thus producing the solidarity in his work-place that is useful for demanding the access to institutional structures necessary to ensure more comprehensive provisioning. Jose remembers sneaking away from operating the 'reception' desk to visit other PLHIV, viewing the experience as both working to provide physical resources to clients as well as emotional support to a friend.

> You'd sneak and try to do some laundry for them…or help them clean up you know, or fix a sandwich…Or just sit and watch tv with them, you know? But to me, I felt like I was really, really – not necessarily helping someone but just being there with someone I think meant so much to a lot of people.

[10] The same organization described in the previous section

> Especially when their families wanted nothing to do with them, and, you know, your community's dying. So I think it was good to have to other queer people come and sit with you and just hang out (2020).

Aside from reenforcing the need for emotional care for LGBTQ PLHIV, Jose challenges neoliberal distinctions between those individuals providing resources as upstanding citizens and those individuals taking resources as a burden, that George Klosko (2017) makes clear are frequently critical to welfare debates. Indeed, throughout Jose's narrative, it is impossible to separate his experiences receiving care as a PLHIV, from either his friendships or his care-work (Jose,2017). In developing this mutual solidarity through slow, and interactional work geared toward LGBTQ social reproduction, Jose created a network of individuals who were eager to address the injustices their fellow community-members experienced. Even though We the People had dissolved two decades prior, when Donald Trump was elected president, this network reconnected to ensure that conservative lawmakers in Pennsylvania did not cut public funding for HIV care or welfare provisioning more broadly.

> We put together a town hall meeting, two weeks after he was elected. And I invited the person that runs the city's health – AIDS health department… we're going across the state organizing. You know, we're getting people to lobby, write letters, stay on their congress people's backs. And hopefully vote them out next time (2017).

Jose's experiences providing and receiving care therefore created a community geared toward structural, political change. In this way, We the People built on a lineage of "mutual aid projects", a historical term that Dean Spade applies to contemporary organizations providing critical survival resources not in a hierarchical manner but rather through participation, solidarity and relationship (2020). Most importantly, Spade points out how mutual aid creates space for marginalized groups to consider the "conditions that produced your crisis" thus helping to break "stigma, shame and isolation" (2020, p.13). Indeed, Jose's experience aligns closely with Spade's theory of change. Although We the People collapsed, by creating a community built around relational work focused on provisioning, Jose was able to continue mobilizing his community to demand access to the political institutions failing to meet their collective survival needs. Thus, material and affective care allow advocacy networks to thrive even after institutions collapse or new forms of structural oppression emerge. From this perspective, LGBTQ work that prioritizes and relies on care is a necessary precondition to structural change.

Pam Ladds echoes the ways in which care inspires solidarity useful for creating more sustained advocacy. As a Queer therapist, Pam facilitated therapy sessions with PLHIV at We the People, often working with Cisgender Women, sex workers and Queer Women who all felt stigmatized and exiled from Christian-institutions based on their HIV status (2017). Surprising to Pam however, many of the Women developed a collective sense of agency and self-confidence by learning from the sex workers' experiences dealing with stigma.

> It was great! Because what they [the sex workers] had was self-respect, they knew how to be strong Women, and they could convey that. You know, Women were being told, "You must be a slut." Because, really there were only two ways that you could become HIV positive, you'd had sex, or you'd used needles. So the Women in the sex industry had a much more body positive image (2017).

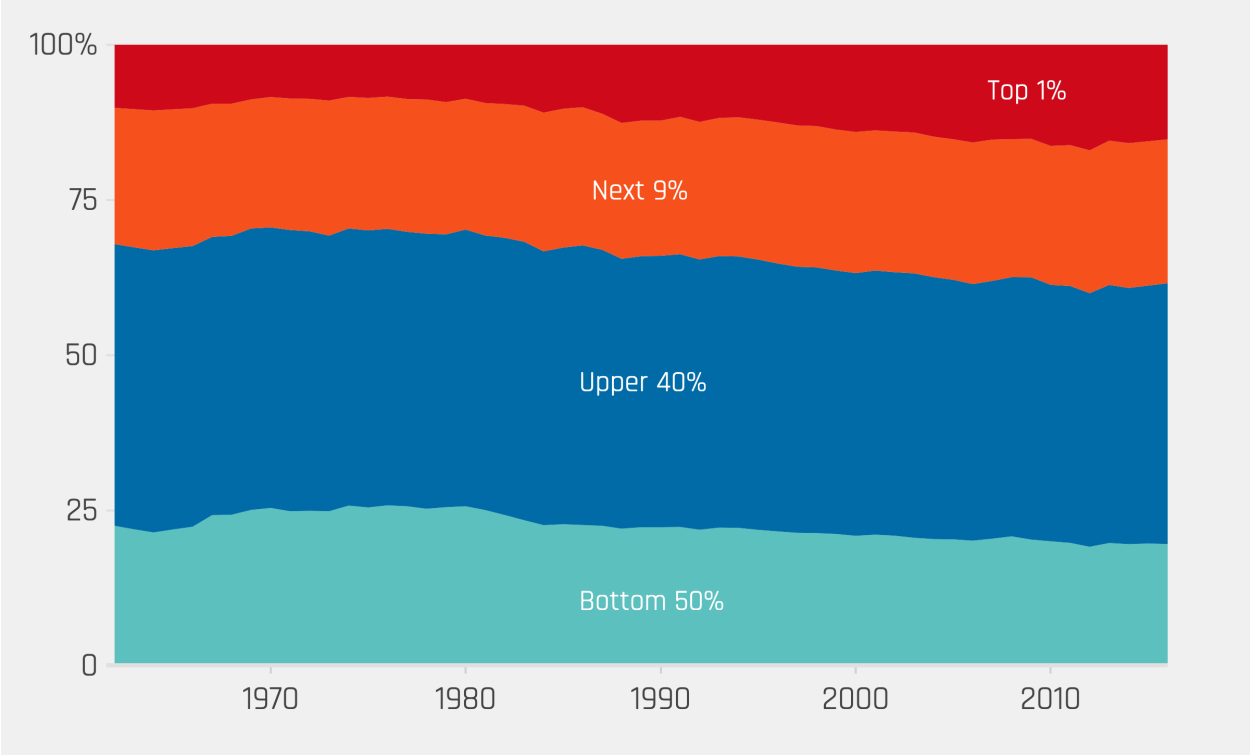
Pam notes how these relationships affirmed the Women thus pushing them to attend protests and "lay in the street" (Interview with Pam, 2020) to demand government sponsored

treatment for PLHIV. Like Jose's experience, Pam's network of solidarity built around the sex worker's vulnerability, allowed the woman to address their collective stigma as PLHIV. In both contexts, provisioning affective care ultimately gave PLHIV the opportunity to demand substantive forms of access that transformed material care for PLHIV from a charitable gift from Christian-institutions to a fundamental part of the public-provisioning landscape (Aizenman, 2019 and Densham, 2006).

Although these relational efforts to ensure universal survival resources rather than targeted welfare may seem utopian, Debra's experience further demonstrates how LGBTQ relationality effectively challenges targeted provisioning by creating solidarity around the conditions producing economic marginality across different groups. Again, Debra's LGBTQ friend's vulnerability helped her see how their mutual experiences growing up in deep poverty were not the same. Rather, as an LGBTQ person, Debra's friend experienced additional forms of marginality. Thus, Debra wanted to advocate for a more affirmative church while also pushing for universal welfare policies that would not exclude marginalized groups (2022). As such, she not only provides material and affective resources but also builds advocacy networks to address the structural causes of her friend's exclusion. Namely, she invites organizations run by and for LGBTQ people to utilize her church as an organizing space (2022). Furthermore, Debra works with pastors and religious leaders through what she calls, "relational organizing" (2022), coaching pastors from other congregations to change their policies marginalizing LGBTQ people (2022).

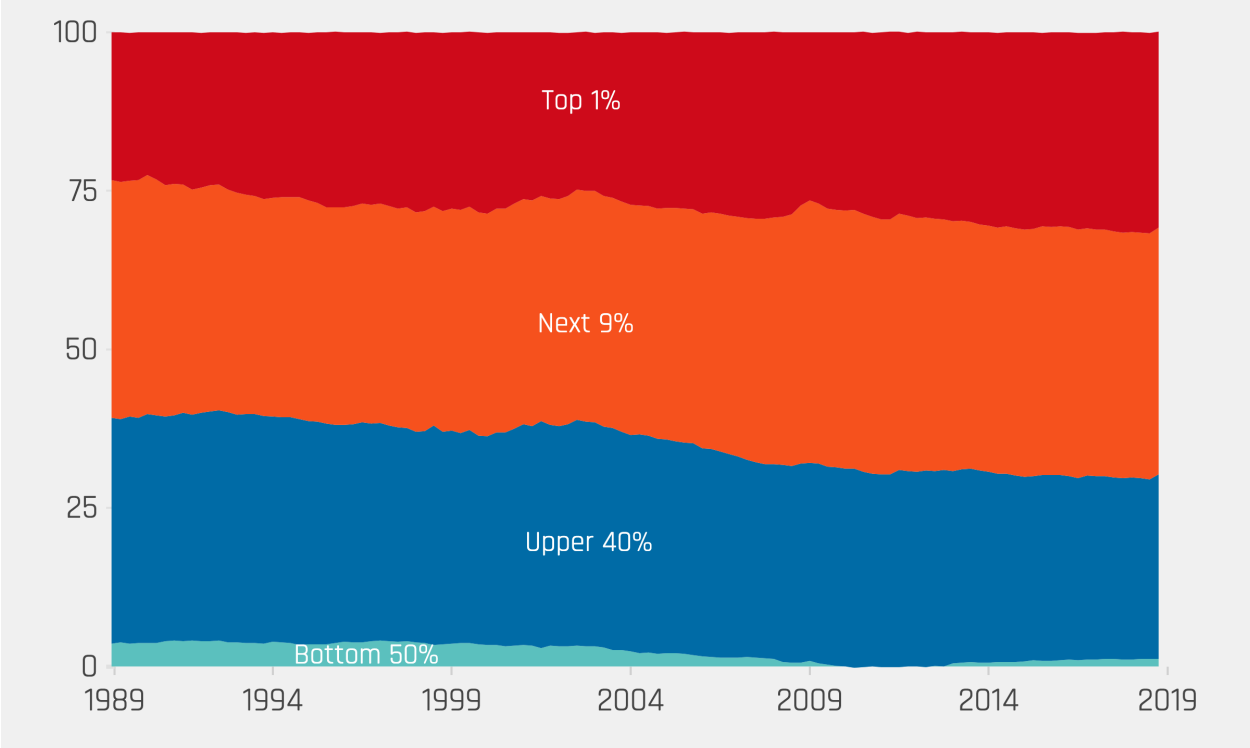
Additionally, Debra seeks to address the broader system of economic inequality that her friend helped reveal to her. Noting her desire for the government to meet peoples' survival needs, Debra argues, "I don't believe that there's not enough to go around. I believe that we don't allocate those resources in a fair and equitable way" (2022). Indeed, income and wealth inequality in the United States has grown since 1989, leading to disparities in life expectancy (Clemens, 2019), especially amongst LGBTQ people and POC (figures 7 and 8). This is also a reality Debra referenced frequently in our conversation and tries to address by inviting organizations lead by people experiencing homelessness into the Church as well as by advocating at the local and state level for universal welfare policies (2022).

Figure 7: Percent of post-tax U.S. national income earned by each income group



Source: (Clemens, 2019)

Figure 8: Percent of Wealth Controlled by income group



Source: (Clemens, 2019)

Emanating from her friend's experience of vulnerability, Debra therefore finds ways to not merely invite marginalized people into the church, but also works with them in solidarity. Doing so helps her to find ways to give them "Access" (Hall, 2011) to change the structures causing their oppression. Just as these efforts toward economic and institutional "Access" (Hall, 2011) are contingent on her relationships with LGBTQ individuals, they are also predicated on a broader network within Debra's congregation. She frequently works with her congregants to demonstrate how "what we do day to day…impacts our folks that are experiencing…trauma" (2022). As a result of these efforts, Debra's congregation voted to allow her to stage a sit-in at the Church's national conference. There, she demanded full inclusion for LGBTQ people through institutional apologies, a definitive role for LGBTQ people in Church leadership and affirmative action geared toward material and spiritual provisioning (2022). As the deaconess, these efforts were contingent on her congregation's support (2022).

While contingent on the care she receives and provides in her private life as well as her life as a public deaconess, these forms of advocacy are not unidirectional. Rather, Debra's experience also demonstrates how advocacy in LGBTQ life also leads to, rather than merely emanates from, better LGBTQ networks of care. This echoes Mark Rifkin, who usefully draws on indigenous and Queer scholarship to foreground "questions of governance" (2022, p. 155) rather than questions of genetics in defining kinship relations. This approach makes clear "the inadequacy of family as a way of characterizing the networks of interdependence, responsibility, and accountability they address" (Rifkin, 2022, p. 156). By rooting LGBTQ kinship in political advocacy rather than normative forms of genetic relationships, Rifkin helps to emphasize how LGBTQ kinship is not only grounded in the material reproduction of a labor force but more fundamentally, in demands for political change. Thus, care does not only lead to meaningful structural change. Advocacy also cements meaningful forms of care and relationality.

Indeed, in witnessing the activist organizations she invited to the church plan lobbying and protest efforts, members of Debra's congregation also decided to provide material resources like food at their organizing sessions (2022). In this way, witnessing these efforts for structural change challenged her congregation to administer material care to networks they were previously unfamiliar with. By directly incorporating her social reproductive care within the more public work she does, Debra simultaneously creates the conditions necessary to ensure structural change while also relying on this change to uplift how her networks connect and provision care to one another. Thus, Debra creates an environment of mutual aid (Spade, 2020) that necessitates LGBTQ care, work and advocacy as necessary to one another.

Messy similarly demonstrates the concrete ways in which advocacy and relationships of solidarity mutually support one another. As the vice-president of Episcopal Diocese of Philadelphia's LGBTQ committee, Messy worked with the committee to collectively "source values together" (2022) during the first meeting. They created a document outlining the behaviors and ideas they supported. This effort to better cultivate forms of community that do not replicate their own experiences of oppression, gave the committee the foundation to mobilize more effectively for institutional change. For example, the Diocese ignored their requests to include more inclusive imagery and language in a newsletter sent to all the Episcopal congregations in the state of Pennsylvania. The executive leadership also did not speak up when the national congregation rejected proposals allowing LGBTQ individuals to participate fully in the Church (2022). Recalling her committee's reaction to these moments, Messy remembers how sourcing their values allowed them to send out a firm response that acknowledged each of their members' experiences and emotions while drawing a sharp contrast between their resolute stance and the Diocese's.

> We really put our foot down to say, 'this is what we are about, but this is what our diocese is about'… we want to be included and allowed to participate fully in all the spiritual dimensions of the Episcopal Church…And so we're using this kind of critique of, of leadership, and turning that into, let's call others to join the ministry (2022).

Thus, in being explicit about the committee's needs and continuing to stay accountable to provide emotional care for one another, Messy created solidarity with other members of the diocese, bringing in more allies and supporters. At the same time, this widespread support for structural change and affirmation also made her committee feel "seen and supported" (2022). Like Rifkin and Spade, Messy therefore views her material and affective relationships of care as expanding due to their grounding in political acts (2022). At the same time, sustained relationships of care also contribute to more effective advocacy (2020). While accounts of LGBTQ care-provisioning are not idealistic and indeed, replicate systems of domination, these narrators' coherent forms of vulnerability (Butler,2016), care, solidarity and structural change are mutually contingent on one another. By recognizing this, they offer viable alternatives to the instrumental, efficiency-focused and targeted forms of welfare and institutional inclusion that assigns worth based on employment (Weeks, 2011), heteronormativity (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) or other forms of Christian, neoliberal governmentality (Goode, 2006).

"Hollow and Incomplete" Emphasizing Social Reproduction, Work and Political Advocacy as Inseparable in LGBTQ Life

To conclude, it is helpful to turn to Max Andrucki's analysis of Queer social reproduction. Andrucki argues that "queer social reproduction not only survives ongoing processes of neoliberalisation…but also emerges from it and is central to it" (2021 p. 1374). It is evident that LGBTQ people interact with Christian-inspired institutions in ways that challenge binary views of social reproduction (Mitchell et al.,2003). Namely, LGBTQ people exercise their agency by interacting with these networks to fill gaps in provisioning caused by targeted welfare provisioning. Because these efforts are rooted in their vulnerability (Butler, 2016) at the hands of Christian-inspired, neoliberal provisioning logics, these narrators disrupt typical forms of social provisioning which utilize governmental regulations (Rose et al., 2006) to reform individual behaviours and identities into those that are more 'deserving' of care (Goode, 2006 and Katz, 1989). For similar reasons, LGBTQ efforts at social provisioning also recognize and embrace the importance of administering affective care. In doing so, they demonstrate coherence (Bradway and Freeman, 2022) in their social reproduction; building on their experiences receiving affective care to shape their own approach to provisioning. Therefore, to return to Andrucki (2021 p.1374), LGBTQ efforts at social reproduction frequently respond in subversive and relational ways to the "processes of neoliberalism" in Christian-inspired space.

These coherent forms and challenges also make it possible for these narrators to work toward structural change. Utilizing their vulnerability to bridge social reproduction and work, they pose a theoretical question to the ways in which employment is reified and distanced from social reproduction (Weeks, 2011). In doing so, they also create a practical guide to structural change. More specifically, they reveal how sustained networks of advocacy that help LGBTQ people and people experiencing poverty "Access" institutional and structural change (Hall, 2013) both support and are contingent on relational provisioning (Rifkin, 2022 and Spade, 2020).

Debra highlights her belief in the utility of this model, pointing to exclusionary and limited policies as reasons why material and affective provisioning must be mutually contingent on advocacy. "I don't think people should have access to policy writing, if they are not fully rooted in community, because it is hollow and incomplete" (2022). Thus, Debra emphasizes the need for relationships of material and affective provisioning to build the solidarity that supports sustained advocacy against structures of oppression. At the same time, advocacy helps to fortify this solidarity. In making clear how they negotiate their vulnerability to resist conservative-Christian, neoliberal structures through care and care through resistance, these narrators offer gifts (Heckert, 2016) to future movements for equitable, inclusive, non-instrumental and universal welfare provisioning.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Consent Form Utilized for Oral Historical Interviews

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH (Confidential)

Oral Historical Study:

- Individuals Receiving Services from Faith-Based Organizations in Philadelphia
- Individuals Working to Provide Resources through Faith-Based Organizations

Daniel Soucy
Supervisor: Dr. Helena Perez Nino
569434ds@eur.nl

Purpose:
The purpose of this research is to document and gain a better appreciation for the experiences of faith-based organizations in Philadelphia. This research centers LGBTQ experiences and hopes to better understand and potentially complicate how researchers, popular discourse, government and organizations traditionally understand the interactions between faith-based organizations and LGBTQ people. Based on this understanding, this research hopes to also unpack the ways in which these relationships influence or dominant systems of care, social support and economic productivity in the United States.

Dan Soucy is pursuing their Master's in Social Policy for Development Studies from the International Institute of Social Studies. They lived in Philadelphia for 5 years as a student, volunteer and employee throughout the city.

Duration:
Participation in this study will consist of informal conversations regarding the way of sharing your responses that feel most appropriate and comfortable. While the researcher feels confident and excited about the possibility of conducting one or two, 90-minute interviews pertaining to your life history in the context of your interactions with faith-inspired organizations. However, if this does not sound acceptable, they are also open to alternative methods.

Location:
These interviews will take place in person in the city of Philadelphia at a quiet location you feel most comfortable in. They will be recorded in private.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria:
Participants for this study are being recruited based on their involvement in or interactions with Arch Street Methodist Church. In particular, Dan is focusing on recruiting LGBTQ individuals engaged with or in this organization.

How You were Chosen

Participants were chosen through the interviewer's connections and unpaid work with a variety of Faith-based and LGBTQ supportive organizations in Philadelphia.

Use of Research Results:
The data obtained in this study will be used by the investigator to complete a research project for his graduate thesis. This thesis focuses on your responses from a historical perspective. However, with your consent, the researcher would also like to share your responses in a public platform or archive to ensure they are easily accessible to you and your communities. This data, with your explicit consent, may also be used in other publications, presentations and/or for teaching purposes.

Oral History Release Form

Date of Interview:

Speaker/ Interviewee:

Location of Interview:

Recorder/ Interviewer: Daniel R. Soucy

My initials indicate that Dan Soucy does NOT have my permission to make copies of the audio/video recording, photographs, and transcripts of the interview noted above for the following purpose(s). If I do mark one of the purposes with my initials, Dan Soucy may NOT utilize the interview for the stated purpose.

☐ for bona fide research purposes
☐ for educational use (in seminars, workshops, conferences or teaching)
☐ for broadcasting purposes
☐ for publication, including internet publication
☐ for public performance, display or exhibition
☐ for deposit in a research library or archive (including internet archive)

With the following provisions and restrictions:

I wish my contribution to be anonymous (mark yes if this is the case):

I wish the recording and transcript to be "closed" to other researchers for _____ years from the date of the recording

I wish the names of others to be changed/ rendered anonymous (mark yes if this is the case):

- Date:
- Address:
- Telephone:

Agreement
I have read the information provided above and voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form.

☐ I agree

Signature: _____

Appendix 2: Example Questionnaire

Messapotamia Lefae, Monday August 8th, 2022

Background Information:

1. Can you please start out by saying and spelling your name as well as how you identify (in a very broad sense of the word identify)

2. When and where were you born?

3. Is this where you grew up? Did you stay here or did you move around a lot?

4. What did your community look like?

5. How did this community make you feel?

6. Who was a part of your upbringing?

7. Did any sort of faith or spirituality inform your upbringing?

8. Are these the same communities you affiliate with currently? How have these communities changed?

9. Where/How have you learned about your faith and spirituality more recently? Was this important to you?

Work Life/Church Life

10. Can you please tell me a bit about your education and work history? Can you also explain your current role?

11. Do you see any overlaps between your previous experiences with work/education and your current work?

12. It sounds like your current role/your past positions are also important to you on a more personal level as opposed to purely professional. Is this true and if so, can you explain more about how this is the case?

13. Does any aspect of your identity inform your current work? Is this something you think about consciously or does it come up a bit more fluidly/naturally?

    a. Was your identity on your mind when you went on this work/education path? Is it something that you thought about when joining/pursuing a life in the Methodist Church?
    b. Does your identity ever intersect with the do? Why is this or this not the case?

14. Does your work require you to move through different identities or perhaps work with people who are less familiar to your own history and experience?

Work within the Episcopal Church

1. Can you explain how you first came to engage with Episcopal Church and perhaps how you came into your current work/role. (Please also explain what this role is/entails)

    a. Does this involve internal advocacy, external advocacy (change in the community), providing services/resources within or outside the congregation?
    b. Has this work been informed by other individuals in the community who you have learned from?
    c. What do you view as the mission/purpose of your work? What about the church's work more broadly?

2. What are some of the hopes you have for the work that you engage in?

3. What are some of the challenges you face?

4. Have you noticed any changes since you began engaging with the Episcopal Church? This can pertain to internal changes or external ones, ones pertaining to relationships/emotions or ones related to policies/processes.

    a. Do members of the general congregation or beneficiaries share their ideas with you? Do you feel connected with the broader congregation?
    b. Where do you think this change should/needs to take place? Individual, community, institutional, societal etc. level? All of the above? Anywhere else?

5. Do you collaborate with other organizations outside of the Episcopal Church? Where does collaboration occur? What issues/topics/needs?

6. Where does tension arise either within the church, the congregation, the broader Episcopal community or with your affiliation with other organizations?

7. Is there anything you try and do differently/change during your work here compared to other organizations which provide social services?

8. Is there anything you try to avoid when engaging on topics of faith?

9. What do you think the Church could use? Either in terms of resources or internal support? And perhaps equally as relevant, what do you think the Church is in a position to give or contribute to Philadelphia's community?

Additional Questions

1. Does your work professionally and within the Church frequently overlap? How so? (I know you mentioned in personal ways, I would love to hear more about this as well as any other examples of affiliation/collaboration)

2. More broadly, do you have any thoughts about the role of faith-inspired welfare in Philly? Do they provide services in a way you may view as unique or otherwise differently beneficial?

3. IS there anything you would like to add or that you think people misunderstand when they learn about your work, identity, role, history ETC.?

Appendix 3: Narrator Biographies

Jim Littrell (Oral History courtesy of the John J. Wilcox Archive):

Jim was born and raised for about 12 years in Lexington, Virginia. His father taigiht at the Virginia Military Institute and his mother was a French and English teacher. When Jim turned 12, they moved to his mother's community in North Carolina. As a predominantly Quaker community, this move allowed Jim to become interested in Christianity and social justice. Later, Jim went to college at a Presbyterian University whre he met an Episcopal professor which inspired him to join the Episcopal Church. After joining, he met Bob Dewitt who inspired him to become an unconventional Episcopal priest.

As he was struggling with coming to terms with his sexuality, Jim worked with various organizations providing counseling, material resources and community to youth experiencing poverty.He then moved to Buffalo, New York where he worked in an Epsicopal Church where he married his ex-wife and had a daughter. After a few years, he told her he was gay and they went through a divorce. However, they remained amicable and when his ex-wife and daughter moved back to Philadelphia, he was hired as the first executive director of, at first, the Philadelphia Gay Task Force.

Soon after, he became involved in HIV care and advocacy for organizations like the AIDS Task Force, Action AIDS, the AIDS Consortium and We the People. With these organizations, he provisioned material resources directly, did spiritual care and conducted education sessions with individuals in prisons as well as schools. Jim continues to provide care through numerous churches in Philadelphia and actively works to address social justice issues like racism, inequality and LGBTQ equity in Philadelphia.

Messapotamia/Messy Lefae:

Messi identifies as a Queer, Christian, Witch. In addition to working actively as the vice-president of the Episcopal Diocese of Philadelphia's LGBTQ committee, she also does marketing and public outreach work with the Diocese.

The daughter of two Filipino immigrants, Messy grew up in a Roman Catholic Church. While she experienced abuse from her sister, after graduating from high school, Messy

pursued a degree at Vasser University where she partook in advocacy, provisioning, theater and numerous student organizations. Messi also pursued education in a dance conservatory but dropped out after 2 years.

After dropping out, Messy returned to Philadelphia where she became actively engaged in HIV advocacy and fundraising, performing in major events like Gay-Bingo. Messi also frequently engages with the Radical Faeries, an LGBTQ community organization with spiritual tendencies.

Rob Praino (Rob chose to write his biography in the first person)

"I was the only child of two wonderful parents, born and raised in Philadelphia. My father died when I was seven, after suffering for several years from a rare disease, so my loving mother went to work outside the home and gave me a very nice life. I was educated in the public schools and earned a Bachelor of Science in Education, a Master of Divinity, and a Doctor of Ministry. Being an only child losing his father at such an early age, I asked many questions about heaven, God, and faith in general. I was raised in the Church and felt the call to ordained ministry at an early age. I was probably very successful in pastoring churches for 42 years in the Philadelphia area. at least most people affirmed me and my ministry positively. I always knew that I was different sexually, at times thought I was really abnormal, but never doubted that God loved me. I am retired now, have had a partner for 27 years, and have never made any public announcement of my sexual orientation, but never denied it either. Being in a church that did not approve of LGBTQ persons has been painful and difficult. I have fought hard to change the church's position, viewing this mission as a call from God."

William Hart McNicholas (Interview Courtesy of the LGBTQ Religious Archives Network)

William Hart McNichols has been "drawing and coloring in his room" since he was five years old. His parents Marjory Hart McNichols and Stephen McNichols welcomed him on July 10, 1949 at St. Joseph's Hospital in Denver Colorado. He was a member of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) from 1968 to 2002. He studied philosophy, theology, and art at St. Louis University, Boston College, Boston University and Weston School of Theology in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Father Bill furthered his art studies at California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland, California in 1977. In 1983 he received a Master of Fine Arts in landscape painting from Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York.

He was ordained in 1979 as a Roman Catholic priest by Archbishop James Casey in Denver, CO. From 1983 - 1990 he worked with the wonderful AIDS Hospice team of St. Vincent's Hospital in Manhattan, New York. During this time he also illustrated 25 books, mostly children's books for Paulist Press.

Sarah Wilder:

Sarah Wilder has lived in Philadelphia for 5 years, and attended the University of Pennsylvania. She currently works at a nonprofit in the city and has volunteered at a number of organizations, most notably with a church in Rittenhouse that provides clothing and meal services to those facing food and housing insecurity. She identifies as bisexual and comes from a first-generation immigrant family.

Sarah developed an interest in religious issues and studies in high school, after having gone to a combination of Christian, Catholic, Lutheran, and public schools throughout her education. Her own background was not Christian, rather her family raised her spiritually and culturally Hindu, though they did not enforce a strict religious upbringing. Her first awakening to issues surrounding religion came from the frustration she felt in experiencing religious bigotry while at school, and seeing the propaganda being taught at the Christian schools against other religions and people groups. Pairing this other social injustices and hypocrisies that she witnessed, it drove her curiosity in understanding the connections between religion, sociology, and psychology. As she came into her own Queer identity and independent voice, she especially saw the ways in which religion is sometimes weaponized against oppressed communities to reinforce power structures. While it has led to a complicated relationship with faith and organized religion for her, she still seeks meaning and community service, though it has added a level of nuance.

Naomi Washington Leapheart (Oral History courtesy of the LGBTQ Religious Archives Network)

Rev. Naomi Washington-Leapheart, a daughter of Detroit, is the Director for Faith-Based and Interfaith Affairs for the city of Philadelphia. In this role, she serves as a public facing leader, liaison and subject matter expert for the Mayor's Office on local and national matters that impact diverse communities of faith. She also manages the Mayor's Commission on Interfaith Affairs.

Naomi is also an adjunct professor of Theology and Religious Studies at Villanova University, with joint affiliations with the University's Center for Peace and Justice Education and Africana Studies program. In 2019, Naomi received the Pohlhaus-Stracciolini Award for Teaching Excellence, which recognizes an adjunct faculty member at Villanova who demonstrates a commitment to the life of the mind and to the well-being of students through teaching that is intellectually stimulating, challenging, and accessible, with efforts extending beyond the classroom.

Naomi was most recently the Faith Work Director for the National LGBTQ Task Force, the country's oldest national LGBTQ justice and equality group. In that role, she coordinated the Task Force's public faith messaging and advocacy and leadership development work in faith communities.

Before joining the Task Force, Naomi was a faith organizer for POWER, a multi-faith, multi-racial network of congregations in Southeastern and Central Pennsylvania. She also served as Co-Pastor and Minister of Music at the Wisdom's Table at St. Peter's United Church of Christ. An ordained minister, she earned the Master of Divinity degree from Lancaster Theological Seminary in 2016 and is proudly affiliated with the Fellowship of Affirming Ministries.

Naomi delights in singing with the Philadelphia Threshold Singers, an all-volunteer choir whose mission is to bring audible comfort and kindness to the bedsides of people living in hospice care. Since 2016, she has been a member of the Faith and Spiritual Affairs Advisory Board of the Philadelphia Department of Behavioral Health and Disability Services. From 2017 to 2019, she served as a mayoral appointee to the city's Commission on LGBT Affairs.

Naomi's work is included in the volume, *From Generation to Generation: A Commemorative Collection of African American Millennial Sermons from the Festival of Preachers 2010-2015* (Chalice Press, 2015). Her writing can also be seen on Medium, Religion Dispatches, and Rewire.News. She regularly preaches and teaches in diverse congregations around the country and has presented and lectured at national conferences and religious and academic institutions, including Vanderbilt University School of Divinity, Swarthmore College, Harvard University, Ithaca College, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, Wake Forest University School of Divinity, Chicago Theological Seminary, the American Academy of Religion, the United Church of Christ, and the International Council of Community Churches.

In 2019, Naomi was named one of 9 LGBTQ Faith Leaders to Watch by the Center for American Progress and was included in The Root 100, an annual list of the nation's most influential African-Americans, ages 25-45. Naomi shares her life with her wife and their curious, energetic, future-Oscar-winning teenager.

Christina Joseph:

Christina Joseph serves as the concierge for The Center Philadelphia, the not-for-profit branch of Arch Street Methodist Church. Prior to this, Christina was working in the hospitality and food industry, having completed her education in culinary arts. When she moved to Philadelphia, she got her start at the Center as a social work intern before moving full-time with the organization. She has recently returned back to school for her Bachelor's of Social Work with sights to finish in 2022 in order to move forward in her passion to support marginalized communities of color. In her personal time, you can find her at one of the many nearby restaurants as she figures out her way to eat around the world or plans her next big adventure to taste the real thing. Either way, she'll welcome you to her table.

Jose DeMarco (Oral History courtesy of the John J. Wilcox Archive):

Jose DeMarco grew up in West Philadelphia in the house that his grandparents and great grandparents had also lived in. Knowing from a young age that we is Queer, Jose remembers rebelling against the expectations that came with his tight knit family and predominantly Christian community. However, his mother was also empathetic, not letting his aunt force him to attend church as it made him uncomfortable.

Jose also learned a lot about embracing his identity from the gospel and soul era in Philadelphia in the 1970s and 1980s. Around this same time, he also attended Temple University in Philadelphia for three years and began hearing about and witnessing the impact of the HIV epidemic. Indeed, he remembers losing many good friends, his partner of 17 years and watching as so many people he had known in his LGBTQ community died around him. Jose was most active with We the People but continues to mobilize activism to support HIV care and more inclusive policies for LGBTQ people in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and

the United States more broadly. This work, he frequently notes, has connected him with a broad community of people from all walks of life who have been failed by the US social system.

References

Alcoff L.M. and Mohanty, S.P. (2006) "Reconsidering Identity Politics: An Introduction 1" Edited by Linda Martin Alcoff, Michael Hames-Garcia, Satya P. Mohanty and Paula >. L. Moya. in *Identity politics reconsidered*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–11.

Allard, S. (2009) *Out of reach: Place, poverty, & the new American welfare state*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Andrucki, M. J. (2021) "Queering social reproduction: Sex, care and activism in San Francisco" *Urban Studies*, 58(7), pp. 1364–1379.

Aspalter, C. (2017) "Welfare regime analysis: 30 years in the making" *International Social Work*, 62(1), pp. 76–88.

Badgett, M.V.L. and Schneebaum, A. (2014) "The Impact of a Higher Minimum Wage on Poverty Among Same-Sex Couples" rep. *The Williams Institute*, Los Angeles, California pp. 1–7.

Bane, M. J. (2021) *Who will provide? the changing role of religion in american social welf are*. Milton: Taylor & Francis Group. Available at: http://publ ic.eblib.com/choice/PublicFullRecord.aspx?p=6784218 (Accessed: May 12, 2022).

Bartlett, C. (2012) *A 'Love note' to the Episcopal Church of St. Luke and the epiphany*, *WHYY*. WHYY. Available at: https://whyy.org/articles/a-love-note-to-the-episcopal-church-of-st-luke-and-the-epiphany/ (Accessed: September 6, 2022).

Baylor University (2021) *Baylor Religion Survey*, *Baylor Religion Survey*. Available at: https://www.baylor.edu/baylorreligionsurvey/ (Accessed: August 16, 2022).

Boyd , Nan A. and Ramírez, Horacio N. R. (2012) "Introduction: Close Encounters: The Body and Knowledge in Queer Oral History" in Nan Alamilla Boyd and Horacio N. Roque Ramírez (eds.) *Bodies of Evidence: The Practice of Queer Oral History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 1–22.

Bracke, S. (2016) **"**Bouncing Back : vulnerability and resistance in times of resilience," in Butler, J., Gambetti, Z. and Sabsay, L. (eds.) *Vulnerability in resistance*. Durham: Duke University Press.pp. 52-75

Bradway, T. and Freeman, E. (2022) "Introduction Kincoherence / Kin-aesthetics / Kine matics" in Bradway, T. and Freeman, (eds.) *Queer Kinship: Race, Sex, Belonging, Form*. New York, USA: Duke University Press, pp. 1-22.

Brownworth, V.A. (2020) *New study shows roots of LGBTQ poverty and need for government data | Analysis*. [online] Pennsylvania Capital-Star. Available at: https://www.penncapital-star.com/civil-rights-social-justice/new-study-shows-roots-of- lgbtq-poverty-and-need-for-government-data-analysis/ [Accessed 22 Jul. 2022].

Butler, (2022) "Kinship beyond the bloodline" in Bradway, T. and Freeman, E. (eds) (2022) *Queer kinship : race, sex, belonging, form*. New York, USA: Durham: Duke University Press pp. 26-47.

Butler J. "Rethinking vulnerability and resistance**"** (2016) in Butler, J., Gambetti, Z. and Sabsay, L. (eds.) *Vulnerability in resistance*. Durham: Duke University Press. pp. 12-27.

Browne, K. and Nash, C. J. (2016) "Queer Methods and Methodologies" in Browne, K. and Nash, C. J. (eds) *Queer methods and methodologies : intersecting queer theories and social science research*. London: Routledge. pp. 1-24.

Casanova, J. (1994) *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: Chicago University Press).

Chaves, M., Konieczny, M. E., Beyerlein, K., & Barman, E., (1999) "The National Congregations Study: Background, methods, and selected results," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *38*, 458–476.

Clarke, G. and Jennings, M. (2008) *Development, civil society and faith-based organizations : bridging the sacred and the secular*. Basingstoke England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

CDC (2001) *HIV and AIDS- United States, 1981--2000*, *Centers for Disease Control and Prevention*. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Available at: https://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/mm5021a2.htm#tab1 (Accessed: August 6, 2022).

Chaves, M. and Eagle, A. (2016) "Congregations and Social Services: An Update from the Third Wave of the National Congregations Study," *Religions*, 7(5), pp. 55–55. doi: 10.3390/rel7050055.

Cheney, K. (2012) "Locating Neocolonialism, Tradition and Human Rights in Uganda's "Gay Death Penalty"" *African Studies Review*, *55*(2), 77–95. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43904823.

Clarke, G. and Jennings, M. (2008) *Development, civil society and faith-based organizations: bridging the sacred and the secular*. Basingstoke England ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Clinton-Gore Accomplishments Reforming Welfare by Promoting Work and Responsibility (2000) *National Archives and Records Administration*. National Archives and Records Administration. Available at: https://clintonwhitehouse4.archives.gov/WH/Accomplishments/welfare.html (Accessed: June 6, 2022).

Cnaan, R. A., & Boddie, S. C. (2002) "Charitable Choice and Faith-Based Welfare: A Call for Social Work" *Social Work*, *47*(3), 224–235. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23717983

Cnaan, R. A; Boddie, S. Kang, J. and McGrew, C. (2010) *The other Philadelphia story : how local congregations support quality of life in urban America*. Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press (The City in the Twenty-First Century).

Coffin, B. (2000) Where religion & public values meet: Who will contest? in Bane, M *Who will provide? The changing role of religion in American social welfare* Thiemann (eds.), Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Correa, S.& Jolly, S. (2008) "Development's encounter with sexuality: essentialism and be yond" in *Development with a Body: Sexuality, Human Rights & Development* pp. 22–41.

Crowder, J.A. (2020) *The Case for Housing Justice in Philadelphia*, *PolicyLink*. Available at: https://www.policylink.org/sites/default/files/pl_report_phila-housing_092520_a.pdf (Accessed: September 1, 2022).

DeFilippis, J.N. (2012). *Common Ground: The Queerness of Welfare Policy*. [online] S&F Online. Available at: https://sfonline.barnard.edu/a-new-queer-agenda/common-ground-the-queerness-of-welfare-policy/0/ [Accessed 22 Jul. 2022].

D' Emillo. J in Conversation with Marszalek , J. (2022) (Podcast) Available at: https://newbooksnetwork.com/memories-of-a-Gay-catholic-boyhood (Accessed: October 17, 2022).

Densham, A. (2006) "Introduction: Politics as a Cause and Consequence of the AIDS Pandemic." *Perspectives on Politics*, 4(4), pp. 641–46. *Available at*: http://www.jstor.org/stable/20446271. Accessed 1 Nov. 2022. (Accessed 1 August 2022).

Detamore, M. "Queer(y)ing the Ethics of Research Methods: toward a Politics of intimacy in researcher/researched relations" (2016) in Browne, K. and Nash, C. J. (eds) *Queer methods and methodologies : intersecting queer theories and social science research*. London: Routledge. pp. 41-54.

Elson, Diane. (2012) "Social Reproduction in the Global Crisis: Rapid Recovery or Long Lasting Depletion?" in Utting, P. S. Razavi, and R. Buchholz (eds), *The Global Crisis and Transformative Social Change*, London: Palgrave, pp 63-80.

Eisenstadt, Elizabeth Rev. 1988 "AIDS and Religion: The Philadelphia Response" *Report for the Philadelphia Commission on AIDS Leonard Davis Institute of Health Economics.* John J. Wilcox LGBTQ Archive.

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. (1990) "The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism" In *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* pp. 9–34.

Farnsley, A.E. (2004) *Rising expectations : urban congregations, welfare reform, and civic life*. Bloom ington: Indiana University Press.

Fausto Sterling, A. 2000, "Dueling Dualisms" in Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality, New York: Basic Books, pp

Ferguson, J. (2015) "Give a man a fish : From patriarchal productionism to the revalorization of distribution" in *Give a Man a Fish: Reflections on the new politics of distribution* pp. 35–62.

Ferguson, K.M. et al. (2007) "Outcomes evaluation in faith-based social services: Are we evaluating faith accurately?" *Research on Social Work Practice*, 17(2), pp. 264–276.

Fischer, A. (2018) *Poverty as Ideology: Rescuing Social Justice from Global Development*

Florêncio , J. (2022) *Homophobic and moralistic images of 1980s still haunt our view of HIV – that must change*, *The Conversation*. Available at: https://theconversation.com/aids-homophobic-and-moralistic-images-of-1980s-still-haunt-our-view-of-hiv-that-must-change-106580 (Accessed: November 7, 2022).

Formicola, J. R., Segers, M. C. and Weber, P. J. (2003) *Faith-based initiatives and the bush admin istration: the good, the bad, and the ugly*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield. (Accessed: May 6, 2022).

Freeman, D. (2012) *Pentecostalism and development: churches, ngos and social change in africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fuentes, A. (2022*) Race, Monogamy, and Other Lies They Told You, Second Edition, Busting Myths about Human Nature.* Oakland: University of California Press

Garlington, S.B. (2015) *The Role of Religion in Social Welfare Provision and Policy: Congregations in a U.S. City* . dissertation.

Genovesi, V. (2014) Theology 154 Lecture: The Sacraments *Saint Joseph's University.*

Goldstein, J. in Conversation with Mos Coane, M. (2022) (Podcast) Available at: https://whyy.org/programs/radio-times/ Accessed 17 October, 2022.

Goode, J. (2006) "Faith-Based Organizations in Philadelphia: Neoliberal Ideology and the Decline of Political Activism" *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 35(2-3), pp. 203–236.

Goodin, R. E. (2001) "Work and Welfare: Towards a Post-Productivist Welfare Re gime" *British Journal of Political Science*, 31(1), pp. 13–39.

Graeber, d. (2004) *Fragments of an Anarchist Anthropology*. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Guillen, Lina. "Federal Marriage Benefits Available to Same-Sex Couples" *NOLA*. Available at: https://www.nolo.com/legal-encyclopedia/same-sex-couples-federal-marriage-benefits-30326.html. (Accessed: 1 November 2022).

Hackworth, J. R. (2012) *Faith based : religious neoliberalism and the politics of welfare in the united states*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Hall, K. Q. (2013) "Philosophy, Religion, Race, and Queerness: A Question of Accommo dation or Access," *Philosophical Topics*, 41(2), pp. 157–173.

Golfin, D.F. Rusansky, T and Zantvoort, F. (2022) "Interconnected Experiences: Embody ing Feminist Research with Social Movements" in Harcourt, W; van den Berg, L, Dupuis, C and Gaybor, J. (eds) *Feminist methodologies: experiments, collaborations and re flections*. Cham: Springer International Publishing AG (Gender, Development and

Social Change Ser). Available at: https://public.ebookcent ral.proquest.com/choice/Publ icFullRecord.aspx?p=6882491 (Accessed: October 1, 2022)

Heckert, J. (2016) "Intimacy with Strangers/Intimacy with Self" in Browne, K. and Nash, C. J. (eds) *Queer methods and methodologies : intersecting queer theories and social science re search*. London: Routledge. pp. 41-54.

Hennigan, B. and Purser, G. (2018) "Jobless and Godless: Religious Neoliberalism and the Project of Evangelizing Employability in the US" *Ethnography*, 19(1), pp. 84–104. doi: 10.1177/1466138117719094.

Human Rights Watch (2018) *'All We Want Is Equality' | Religious Exemptions and Discrimina tion against LGBT People in the United States*. [online] Human Rights Watch. Available at: https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/02/19/all-we-want- equality/religious-ex emptions-and-discrimination-against-lgbt-people.

John J Wilcox Archive (Accessed in 2022) *William Way LGBTQ Center*. Philadelphia, PA

Johnson, R. (2015) "Grasping and Transforming the Embodied Experience of Oppres sion" *International Body Psychotherapy Journal*, 14(1).

Johnson, K. Visualising mental health with an LGBT community group**:** method**,** process**, (**affect**)** theory (2021) in Reavey, P. (ed.) *A handbook of visual methods in psychology : us ing and interpreting images in qualitative research*. Second edn. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Johnson, R. (2009) "Oppression embodied: Exploring the intersections of somatic psychol ogy, trauma, and oppression" *International Journal of Body Psychotherapy, 8*(1), pp. 19-31.

Jones, B. and Petersen, M.J. (2011) Instrumental, Narrow, Normative? Reviewing recent work on religion and development. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(7), pp.1291–1306.

Katz, B. and Carnevale, K. (1998) "The State of Welfare Caseloads in America's Cities" *The Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy*

Katz, C. (2001) "Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction" *Antipode*, 33(4), pp. 709–728.

Katz M (1996) In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America, 2nd ed. New York: Basic Books.

Kingsolver, A. (2012) "Neoliberal Governance and Faith-Based Initiatives: Agentive Cracks in the Logic Informing Homeless Sheltering in South Carolina's Capi tal" *Rethinking Marxism*, 24(2), pp. 202–214.

Klosko, G. (2017) *The transformation of american liberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lambda Legal (2010) *Lambda Legal's Survey on Discrimination Against LGBT People and People Living with HIV*, *Lambda Legal Publications* . Lambda Legal. Available at:

https://www.lambdalegal.org/sites/default/files/publications/downloads/whcic-report_when-health-care-isnt-caring.pdf (Accessed: October 3, 2022).

Lewis T.O. (2015) "LGBT-Affirming Black Churches' Responses to the HIV/AIDS Crisis" *Journal of Religion & Spirituality in Social Work: Social Thought*, 34:2, pp. 140-157.

Linander, I. *et al.* (2019) "(un)safe Spaces, Affective Labour and Perceived Health among People with Trans Experiences Living in Sweden" *Culture, health & sexuality*, 21(8), pp. 914–928.

Mahmood, S. (2011) *Politics of piety : the islamic revival and the feminist subject*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press. doi: 10.1515/9781400839919.

Mahowald, L. (2022) *Black LGBTQ individuals experience heightened levels of discrimination*, *Center for American Progress*. Available at: https://www.americanprogress.org/article/black-lgbtq-individuals-experience-heightened-levels-discrimination/ (Accessed: June 6, 2022).

Mananzala, R. and Spade, D. (2008) "The Nonprofit Industrial Complex and Trans Resistance" *Sexuality Research & Social Policy*, 5(1), pp. 53–71.

Marlay, T.F. (2022) *Regardless of household type, LGBT adults struggled more with mental health than Non-LGBT Adults*, *Census.gov*. The United States Census Bureau. Available at: https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2022/06/lgbt-adults-report-anxiety-depression-during-pandemic.html (Accessed: August 29 2022).

McNeal, K. E., & Brennan, S. F. (2021) "Between homonationalism and Islamophobia: comparing queer Caribbean and Muslim asylum seeking in/to the Netherlands" In R. C. M. Mole (Ed.), *Queer Migration and Asylum in Europe*, UCL Press, pp. 162–183.

Michalopoulos, C., Edin, K., Fink, B., Landriscina, M., Polit, D. F., Polyne, J., Richburg-Hayes, L., Seith, D. C., & Verma, N (2003) *Welfare Reform in Philadelphia: Implementat ion, Effects, and Experiences of Poor Families and Neighborhoods* Accessed at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2717015.

Mitchell, K. Marston, S.A. and Katz, C (2004) "Life's Work: An Introduction, Review and Critique" in Mitchell,K. Marston, S.A. and Katz, C. (eds.) Life's Work: Geographies of Social Reproduction Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell Imprint. 10.1002/9781444397468 pp 1-24.

Motley R.O. Jr., Joe S. (2018) Police Use of Force by Ethnicity, Sex, and Socioeconomic Class. J Soc Social Work Res. 2018 Spring;9(1): pp. 49-67.

Munoz, (2016) "Brown, queer, and gendered : queering the Latina/o "street-scapes" in Los Angeles Queer Methods and Methodologies in Browne, K. and Nash, C. J. (eds) *Queer methods and methodologies : intersecting queer theories and social science research*. London: Routledge. pp. 55-67.

Parker, B. (2015) "Reproduction…Amplified" In Meehan, K. and Strauss, K. (eds.) *Precarious worlds : contested geographies of social reproduction*. Athens: University of Georgia Press (Geographies of justice and social transformation, 25). pp. 118-139.

Pew (2022) *Religious landscape study*. Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project. Availableat:https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/religious-landscape-study/metro-area/philadelphia-metro-area/ (Accessed: August 6, 2022).

Palazzolo, N. (2013) *Philadelphians campaign against welfare cuts, United States, 1996-1997 | Global Nonviolent Action Database*. [online] nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu. Available at: https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/philadelphians-campaign-against-welfare-cuts-united-states-1996-1997 [Accessed 22 Jul. 2022].

Project Home (2020) Policy Priorities in 2019*, Project HOME*. Available at: https://www.projecthome.org/publications/project-home-policy-priorities-2019 (Accessed: May 6, 2022).

Oral Histories Database. *LGBTQ Religious Archives Network*. Available at: https://www.lgbtqreligiousarchives.org/oral-histories (Accessed: November 6, 2022).

Queenan, J., Grunert, P. and Murphy, D. (2021). *Collaborating to accelerate social impact Elevating the Role of Faith-Inspired Impact in the Social Sector*. [online] Available at: https://www.bridgespan.org/bridgespan/Images/articles/elevating-the-role-of-faith- inspired-impact/elevating-the-role-of-faith-inspired-impact-in-the-social-sector-jan- 2021.pdf [Accessed 12 May 2022].

Rose, N., O'Malley, P. and Valverde, M. (2006) "Governmentality" *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2(1), pp. 83–104.

Rifkin, M. (2020) "Beyond Family: Kinship's Past, Queer World Making, and the Question of Governance" in Bradway, T. and Freeman, E. (2022) In: Bradway, T. and Freeman, (eds.) *Queer Kinship: Race, Sex, Belonging, Form*. New York, USA: Duke University Press pp. 138-159.

Robinson, B. A. (2020) "The Lavender Scare in Homonormative Times: Policing, Hyper-Incarceration, and Lgbtq Youth Homelessness," *Gender & Society*, 34(2), pp. 210–232. doi: 10.1177/0891243220906172.

Saperstein, D. (2001) "Appropriate and Inappropriate Use of Religion" in E. J. Dionne and Ming Hsu Chen, eds., Sacred Spaces, Civic Purposes: Should Government Help Faith-Based Charity ? Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Social Science, 2(1), pp. 83–104.

Sandstrom, A. (2020) *Religious groups' policies on transgender members vary widely*, *Pew Research Center*. Pew Research Center. Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/12/02/religious-groups-policies-on-transgender-members-vary-widely/ (Accessed: November 6, 2022).

Schippert, C. (2011) "Implications of Queer Theory for the Study of Religion and Gender: Entering the Third Decade," *Religion and Gender*, 1(1), pp. 66–84. doi: 10.18352/rg.8. Schneider, 2006

Shields, M. (2020) *Economy League - The Changing Distribution of poverty in Philadelphia*, *Economy League of Greater Philadelphia*. Available at: https://economyleague.org/providing-insight/leadingindicators/2020/12/16/phlpov19 (Accessed: June 1, 2022).

SJU (2020) *Saint Joseph's University*. Available at: https://www.sju.edu/ (Accessed: July 2, 2022)

Smith, C (2003) Introduction: Rethinking the Secularization of American Public Life in Christian, S. (ed.) *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularization of American Public Life*. Oakland, California: The University of California Press.

Spade, D. (2020) *Mutual aid: Building Solidarity during this crisis (and the next)*. New York, NY: Verso.

Sue, D. W. (2010) *Microaggressions and marginality : manifestation, dynamics, and impact*. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley.

Summerskill, C., Tooth Murphy, A. and Vickers, E. (eds.) (2022) *New directions in queer oral history : archives of disruption*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Tay Soon Inn, T. (2022) *Why leave the South for West Philadelphia? West Philadelphia Collaborative History*. Available at: https://collaborativehistory.gse.upenn.edu/stories/why-leave-south-west-philadelphia (Accessed: November 6, 2022).

Teagan, K. (2021) *How trauma affects health and health care*, *Center for Health Care Strategies*. Available at: https://www.chcs.org/understanding-trauma-affects-health-health-care/#:~:text=Conditions%20linked%20to%20trauma%20exposure,and%20other%20mental%20health%20conditions. (Accessed: September 2, 2022).

The Trevor Project (2022) *2022 national survey on LGBTQ Youth Mental Health*, *The Trevor Project*. Available at: https://www.thetrevorproject.org/survey-2022/ (Accessed: August 1, 2022).

Thompson, D. (2019) *How America Lost Its Religion*. [online] The Atlantic. Available at: https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2019/09/atheism-fastest-growing-religion- us/598843/.

Torchinsky, R. (2022). In Texas, an unrelenting assault on trans rights is taking a mental toll. *NPR*. [online] 25 Feb. Available at: https://www.npr.org/2022/02/25/1082975946/anti-trans-bills-texas.

Trott, B (2020) "Queer Family Spheres: The Reproduction of Queer Life" *Journal For Digi tal Cultures* 6, pp. 1–14. DOI: https://doi.org/10.25969/mediarep/13849.

Urban Health Collaborative, (2017) "Neighborhood poverty and health in Philadelphia" *Drexel University* [Preprint]. Available at: https://drexel.edu/~/media/Files/uhc/briefs/UHC_Data_Brief_Number_2_April_1_2019.ashx?la=en (Accessed: October 10, 2022).

Weeks, K. (2011) *The problem with work: feminism, marxism, antiwork politics, and postwork imagin aries*. Durham: Duke University Press. (Accessed: November 6, 2022).

Williams Institute (2020) "LGB people who have undergone conversion therapy almost twice as likely to attempt suicide" *UCLA School of Law: Williams Institute*. Available at:

https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/press/lgb-suicide-ct-press-release/ (Accessed: July 6, 2022).

Williams Institute (2021) "Transgender people over four times more likely than cisgender people to be victims of violent crime" *UCLA School of Law: Williams Institute*. Available at: https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/press/ncvs-trans-press-release/

William Way LGBTQ Center's John J. Wilcox Archive. Philaelphia, PA.

Wilson, B.D.M., Badgett , M.V.L. and Choi , S.K. (2019) LGBT Poverty in the United States: A study of differences between sexual orientation and gender identity groups. *UCLA School of Law Williams Institute.*

Wurman, T. (2021) *Philly's Housing Crisis & The Black Community: The case for penn to step in*, *34th Street Magazine*. 34th Street. Available at: https://www.34st.com/article/2021/08/upenn-housing-initiative-rent-eviction-crisis-zoning-racist-segregation-redlining-home-ownership (Accessed: August 6, 2022).

Van Dijk, R. (2012) Pentecostalism and Post-Development: Exploring Religion as a Develo pmental Ideology in Ghanaian Migrant Communities In Freeman, D. (2012) *Pentec ostalism and development : churches, ngos and social change in africa*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Zeng, Z., Minton, and, T. and Carson, A.E. (2019) *Incarceration trends in Pennsylvania - Vera Institute of Justice*, *Incarceration Trends in Philaelphia.* Available at: https://www.vera.org/downloads/pdfdownloads/state-incarceration-trends-pennsylvania.pdf (Accessed: June 6, 2022).

UNDP. *Top contributors: United Nations Development Programme* (2022) Available at: https://www.undp.org/funding/top-contributors (Accessed: September 4, 2022).