

and the comforted. These are personal orientations within the paradigm of reality the participants call the 'Life in the Spirit'. This perspective of reality if elaborated to demonstrate that it is a definition of the world, creating receptivity, expectations, and is self-validating.

On the basis of the discussion of the variety and the commonality between the prayer meetings, inferences are postulated that explain the appeal of the movement and its rapid growth.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Charismatic Renewal Movement is the name given to and adopted by the prayer groups that exhibit phenomenon traditionally associated with the Pentecostal Movement but have remained loyal to their parent Churches.¹ The Roman Catholic prayer groups have been called Pentecostal Catholics by Harrison² and O'Connor.³ These prayer groups can also be equated with the hidden prayer groups described by Gerlack and Hine.⁴ The phenomenon of the Pentecostal Movement that the prayer groups exhibit are: the ritual for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit; prayer meetings structured to foster what the participants call the Life in the Spirit -- "the sense of immediacy of the Spirit"⁵; and the fact that the participants experience, in varying degrees, the resulting gifts of the Spirit -- glossolalia (tongues), prophecy, discernment, healing, exorcism, faith, love, and wisdom; which are enumerated in I Corinthians 12: 8-10. There is a certain degree of tension between the 'spirit-filled' members of the prayer groups and

¹The prayer groups prefer the designation Charismatic in preference to Pentecostal, since they view themselves as different and in antagonism to the Pentecostal Movement. E.A.S. Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, November 19, 1974.

²M. Harrison, "Sources of Recruitment to Catholic Pentecostalism: A Middle Class Religious Movement," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, (February, 1973).

³Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, (Notre Dame: Ave Marie Press, 1971).

⁴L. P. Gerlack and V. H. Hine, People, Power, Change, (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1970).

⁵John R. Thompson, "Catholic Participation in the Charismatic Renewal Movement" (unpublished paper, University of California, Santa Barbara), p. 11.

the Churches, in which the action of the Holy Spirit is one of intermediacy through established rituals, but the prayer groups have not split from the Churches to establish sectarian movements, rather "it remains snugly and loyally within the bosom of Mother Church..."¹

Research for this thesis was conducted over a two year period, 1974 to 1976, with three prayer groups as part of the research project on "New and Para-Religious Groups in the Greater Montreal Area." These three prayer groups were: an anglophone Roman Catholic prayer group to be designated, for the remainder of this paper, as A.C.; a francophone Roman Catholic prayer group, designated as F.C. (the research with this prayer group was conducted by Paul Schwartz²); and an anglophone Anglican prayer group, designated as A.A.. The sectors of society that these three prayer groups represent are: A.C. is an urban church in a working class anglophone area; F.C. is in a poor economic francophone area in Montreal's east end; and A.A. is an anglophone church in a mixed French and English suburb of Montreal which reflects a middle and high income bracket.

The method of research was field research and in-depth interviews. Field research, utilizing the technique of participant-observation, focused on the weekly prayer meetings and other activities sponsored by the specific prayer meeting, such as peanut butter nights.³ The in-depth interviews were a standardized interview, that was applied.

¹J. H. Fichter, Catholic Cult of the Paraclete, (New York: Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1975), p. 33.

²I would like to thank Paul Schwartz for the use of his research material.

³A social event that began with a supper and concluded with an evening of teaching and witnessing.

to the entire research project, to which were added questions that pertained specifically to the Charismatic Renewal prayer groups, such as the individual's experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the gifts of the Spirit that the individual had received, memory healing, and what the statement, "we are priests to each other," meant to the participant. Interviews were conducted with randomly selected core members. The core was defined in relation to the degree of commitment and authority. The core membership was defined in the prayer groups as: the pastoral team and the Sunday evening covenant in the A.C. prayer group, the support group in the F.C. prayer group, and the leadership team in the A.A. prayer group. Two interviews were conducted with participants of A.C. prayer group who were not selected on this basis, rather the participants were selected by virtue of the fact that both individuals were from a Protestant background and chose to participate in a Roman Catholic prayer meeting in preference to a prayer meeting associated with a Protestant Church.

The Pentecostal phenomenon, of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, Life in the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit, are the unifying and cohesive force between the three prayer groups. This experience is of the immediacy of the Spirit -- a personal, immediate experience of the Spirit within the individual's life.

"An experience of faith in which Jesus becomes alive. I feel closest to him. Life takes on another meaning. It is a deep joy, emotional and a very deep peace which you know nothing can shake. The most important aspect is what it does for you. It deepens your life so you can live. So you can live a Christian life with others. This is the real purpose. You must be open to the Spirit."

¹E. A. S. Sandul, interview 102, held with member of A.C. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, March, 1975.

The prayer group is the 'community of individuals' who have experienced this in dwelling of the Spirit. The prayer meeting which is the experience of fellowship; the congregational aspect, is held on a weekly basis (the A.C. prayer groups has more than one weekly meeting, as there is the select Sunday evening covenant, a youth meeting and a covenant house). The articulated purpose of the meeting is to 'praise the Lord'.¹ The prayer meeting which can be fervent involves: the activities of praying, singing, Bible readings, testimonials, and sharing; the gifts of glossolalia, prophecy, healing, and discernment; and the rituals of the Peace of Jesus and communion. (Mass, in all three prayer groups, was conducted by a priest after the 'main' prayer meeting and always included the eucharist.)

The prayer groups are also similar by the fact that they are closely aligned with their church parish. Physically, the meetings occupied space in the church buildings and the mass was always held in the sanctuary. In relation to the authority structure, the leadership of the prayer meeting was in the 'hands' of the parish priest.

This close association with the church parish is evident in the fact that the members tend to belong to the prayer meeting that is in their church parish. This is evident on both the level of the prayer meeting and the individual. This relationship is demonstrated in the formation of the anglophone Anglican prayer meeting. The initial contact of the founding participants with the Charismatic Renewal Movement was via the anglophone Roman Catholic prayer meeting.

¹This goal, to praise the Lord, is usually reaffirmed at the beginning of the prayer meeting. An example by Sandul from the A.C. prayer meeting, January 20, 1976, is: "John gave the invocation. 'Sing a new song to the Lord. We are here to praise the Lord.'"

After a period of participation in the Catholic prayer meeting, to 'learn the ropes', the Anglican members began a prayer group in their own parish.¹ On the individual level, there is a tendency to 'convert' to the parish in which the prayer meeting is held, if the individual's involvement with the prayer meeting is extremely high, when the prayer meeting has become a focal point in the person's life. An example of this occurrence is one of the Protestants who attended the anglophone Catholic prayer group. The woman, who had been involved with the Presbyterian Church, stated that she would probably convert to the Roman Catholic Church if her involvement with the prayer group continued. She planned to enter a communal living arrangement with members of the A.C. prayer meeting. In a private conversation, a year later, she affirmed that she had joined the Roman Catholic Church.²

Although the prayer groups share a commonality of experience, ritual and alignment with the church, as a result of the variety that is evident in any form of religious fellowship, the prayer groups demonstrate varying degrees of differences. As Wach states:

It is important for one to realize that there are different ways to be 'religious', to know and to worship God: for in the area of expression between man and man even the narrowest religious fellowship show differences. The group as well as the individual will be religious in its own way. We are not talking here about 'heresies' but about the legitimate range of psychological and sociological differences.³

¹E. A. S. Sandul, interview 131, held with member of A.A. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, January, 1976.

²E. A. S. Sandul, interview 122, A.C. prayer meeting, May, 1975.

³Joachim Wach, Comparative Study of Religion, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 13.

The variations occur in the two dimensions of religious behavior, the communal and the personal dimension. These variations are the subject of this study: the various ways in which the prayer meeting and the individual perceive and act out their perception of what it means to be charismatic.

Viewed from the communal perspective, the prayer meeting has a relationship to its members, to the Church, and to society as a whole. The group is composed of individuals who share a common experience. The prayer meeting is a gathering of these individuals who have a specific intent, to 'praise the Lord'. The manner in which this intent is pursued and achieved differs with each prayer meeting. The meetings utilize the same forms, linguistic and ritual, though the degree of personal involvement differs. The role of the member's personal life can be sublimated or of importance. Although the immediacy of the Spirit, the direct availability of the Spirit to the participants of the prayer groups, is in conflict with the rationalized and mediated role of the Spirit in the institutionalized Church; there has been no split from the Church. This relationship cannot be viewed as the traditional role between the Church and a parish activity, rather it is a multifaceted relationship with a certain degree of tension. This relationship can be illuminated by an analysis of such variables as: the criteria of membership to the prayer group, the leadership and ritual. Secular and materialistic society is the 'true' antagonist of the prayer meeting and the charismatic individual.

The leader distinguished between secular society and Charismatic Renewal, on the concepts of original sin and death. "Secular society does not believe in

death. They feel that after death there is nothing... The Church has become confused because they tried to bridge the gap between secular society and their thought... We want to bring the world to Christ. We are not of this world but in it."¹

An understanding of the polemic between the prayer meeting and society aids in the understanding of the experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the "Life in the Spirit," which is a form of inter-relatedness similar to what Victor Turner calls communities. In regard to the individual, participants claim that the Holy Spirit mediates the relationship between them and society, and infuses their mundane life with meaning. The importance assigned to the Spirit is evident in the following quote from a participant of the A.C. prayer meeting.

"Let the Holy Spirit do your shopping for you and you beat the cost of inflation. My housekeeping budget has not increased in the last months." She spoke about the fact that, "we could not do it on our own."²

The range of variability is also evident on the personal dimension. The individual's experience is articulated within the doctrinal framework of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Life in the Spirit but as in all personal experience the variability of the experience can be immense. For example, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit can be either a dramatic revolutionizing experience, from a secular to a religious perspective, or a non-dramatic experience that confirms the prayer group's paradigm of reality, from a previously religious perspective to a religious perspective that accepts and expects the

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, April 29, 1975.

²Ibid., November 19, 1974.

indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Examples of this subjective perception of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit are:

Dramatic

"I had gone once to a prayer meeting. They were having a special session on Pentecost. I went to church (the mass after the prayer meeting) and the people were praying. I knew that I needed praying over but I did not know what I was going for. The people prayed over me and put their hands on me. I felt a great love. I cannot describe it. It was beautiful. I was rejecting tongues. I had heard them only once. I started speaking in tongues. I screamed in the church, 'Jesus, I love you.' It was like a rebirth. There was tremendous love. I was a new person. It changed things and it really happened. It was as if I met God."¹

Non-dramatic

"I just felt tired. It was emotional but no traumatic experience. In fact as I was going home I really wonders if I had received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. I was so tired. We (he and his wife) slept extremely well that night. There was no tongues. Maybe the peace of the Lord...Six months later, I received tongues and prophecy a year later."²

The experiences of the individuals are not uniform, rather each individual's experience is unique.

The potential immense variety of experience is comprehensible when the individual's rationale for involvement in the prayer meeting and what, the assurance, the individual receives from his/her involvement in the prayer group are delineated. This understanding can be obtained by the construction of case studies, based on the in-depth interviews; the development of a heuristic model that records the experiences and the responses of the individual to various factors; and on this basis Weberian ideal-types of the individuals involved in

¹Sandul, interview 109, A.C. prayer group, April, 1975.

²Sandul, interview 108, A.C. prayer group, April, 1975.

the prayer group can be constructed. This analysis will illuminate the variety that is evident in the rationale for involvement and the assurance the individual receives from the prayer group. It will explicate the ways that the prayer group fulfills the needs of the individual and the ways the individual can be charismatic.

An analysis of the variety evident in the two dimensions will illuminate the underlying commonality of the prayer groups. The commonality between the different prayer meetings will point to inferences that can be posited in relation to the sources of the appeal of the movement, and the reason for its rapid growth.

The second chapter is concerned with the prayer meeting, the communal dimension, and the third chapter is concerned with the individual's experience, the personal dimension.

CHAPTER II

COMMUNAL DIMENSION

Introduction

The Charismatic Renewal Movement has the unique feature that it has remained within the structure of the institutionalized Church. Charismatic Renewal is not an unified and structured movement; rather, it is a loose affiliation of prayer groups. A group belongs to the movement when it designates itself as a prayer group that is charismatic (when there are signs that the Spirit is indwelling). The indwelling of the Spirit is usually evident by the manifestations of the gifts of the Spirit, with the most visible gift being speaking in tongues.

In the movement, the phenomenon of the prayer meeting is the communal dimension of religious experience. The prayer meeting is the congregational component, the fellowship of spirit-filled persons, and the primary on-going activity that occurs on a weekly basis. It is, also, the primary identification unit for the person. The person identifies himself with a specific prayer meeting rather than the movement as a whole. This identification with a specific prayer meeting is evident in the following quote from the interview with a member of the A.C. prayer meeting.

"Yes, Charismatic Renewal underlies my entire life. It is hard to put in words...In the prayer meeting (stated specific name) I am in union with the Lord and my brothers. External circumstances cannot affect you if the union is there."

By analyzing this dimension, the prayer meeting, in relation to

¹Sandul, interview 102, A.C. prayer group, March, 1975.

its practical and theoretical plane a picture can be drawn that will illustrate the dynamics of the prayer meeting, the relationship to its members, the relationship to the institutionalized Church, and the variety of ways the three prayer groups differ in their pursuit of these means and goals. On the practical plane, the variables that are to be analyzed are: the structure of the group in relation to membership, the linguistic forms utilized in the prayer meeting and their relationship to the type of communication utilized by the meeting, rituals of the prayer meeting and the routinization of ritual, and the sources of the leaders' authority as either that of office or of message. On the theoretical plane, the prayer meeting will be analyzed in relation to Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*. This analysis will further explicate both the function of the prayer meeting and its relationship to the Church.

Prior to an analysis of the communal dimension, it will be informative to present a descriptive report, based on field research of a 'typical' prayer meeting for each prayer group.

Description of a 'Typical' Prayer Meeting

A.C. -- Anglophone Roman Catholic Prayer Meeting

The prayer meeting is held in the basement of the church. One observes upon entering that there are numerous people milling and talking, and there is a circle of chairs, four rows deep, occupying the major area of the room. A lady beside the door greets you and asks if you are a visitor and upon the affirmation, you are given a blue name tag for guests. There are also different colours for new members and older members. On the left side of the room, there is a literature table which displays numerous Catholic Charismatic publications, for

example, O'Connor's The Pentecostal Movement and the "New Covenant" that are for sale. In addition to the literature table, there is also a lending library, which is in a separate room. On each chair there is a song book that contains new folk songs, such as "Pass It On," and charismatic songs, such as "He is the King of Kings."

The meeting begins promptly at eight p.m. with a song led by the music ministry. This ministry is composed of a piano, two guitars, drums, a flute, and a choir of fifteen. Singing, the most predominant activity, is very lively -- everyone stands, sways, claps their hands or raises their hands. This pattern is the same for all of the songs with the exception of one.

There are approximately one hundred and fifty people attending the meeting. The proportion of female to male is three to one. At least half the group is over forty with a predominance of women over fifty. Only one quarter of the participants are between the ages of twenty-five and forty (this does not include the music ministry which is all under the age of thirty¹).

A woman in her forties (a member of the pastoral team) stands and gives the invocation:

"Sing a new song to the Lord. We are here to praise the Lord. In the power and the authority of the Lord bind the problems, anxieties, and evil. In the authority of the Lord cast these problems from us."²

After the invocation, the leader announces the Life in the Spirit seminar will be conducted in a separate room and the prayer meeting

¹There is a special youth meeting on Thursday evening.

²Sandul, fieldnotes, A.G. prayer meeting, January 20, 1976.

splits into two groups. Individuals who are new to the prayer meeting attend the seminars. This series of nine seminars, which instruct the individual in the meaning and teaching of the Charismatic Movement, are a preparation for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. This rite is conducted in small seminars, not in the primary prayer meeting. (A.C. considers teaching as its main function.)

"Those who are taking the new Life in the Spirit seminar can now go with their teachers and they will begin a new series of seminars. We must thank our leaders in the teaching ministry for the service of teaching they perform."¹

While these people, numbering approximately forty, leave for the seminar, the remainder of the group sings "Spirit of the Living Lord." This is the one song for which people do not stand or clap their hands; rather, it is sung solemnly, although most people have their hands raised. Although the singing of this song initially appears spontaneous, it is almost an established ritual as it occurs every week in the same manner.

After the splitting of the prayer meeting, the prayer meeting begins in earnest with the majority of people participating in some form. Everyone begins to pray. The English prayers consist of a brief statement that can be repeated, such as, "I love you, Lord Jesus." There is a stylized posture while praying -- the hands are raised just above the lap. The volume of the praying increases and it continues for four to five minutes and then, almost simultaneously, everyone stops. This praying as a group, in tongues, occurs three times during the

¹Ibid., January 20, 1976.

meeting.¹ Throughout the meeting, Bible readings are given by eight, to ten of the members. These readings are predominately from the Pauline letters; the synoptic gospels, and the Psalms. Each reading is followed by an explanation of the reading, a prayer and/or a confirmation statement -- "I also received that reading this week."

A prophecy is delivered by a lady in her fifties. She could be called the official prophet of the prayer meeting because the group is more receptive and responsive, saying, "Thank you, Lord Jesus," clapping their hands, and spontaneously singing to her prophecies more than to any other. The prophecy is delivered in English, always in the first person singular, and the structure is the same as a selection from the Bible. An example of prophecy is:

"My children, I am the light of the world. I am Lord of your light, I am Lord of your darkness. Do not probe your darkness. Do not probe the darkness of your brothers and sisters. I alone will probe your darkness. I alone will cleanse you until you are white as snow. I will cleanse you with hyssop and purify you. Your task is only to look at Me. Praise Me my children."²

Dispersed throughout the meeting are testimonials. These testimonials are short statements which are affirmations of the paradigm of reality, how the Lord has provided for the individual in every situation from getting stuck in the snow to healings. An example of a typical testimonial is:

"One day, I was cooking dinner and I was out of tomatoes. There was a knock at the door. A man

¹Although the activities of the meeting, such as praying in tongues, appear to be spontaneous, the meeting is in actual fact structured. The priest stated that "it took two hours of preparation for each prayer meeting." (Ibid., November 22, 1974.)

²"Citadel," Newsletter of A.C. prayer meeting, p. 5.

was selling tomatoes. In the last two and a half years since I have given my life to Jesus, there have been numerous incidents that non-Christians would call coincidences. There have been too many incidents to be just a coincidence. God is looking after me."¹

These testimonials are highly stylized; they are delivered in the first person singular and the active agent is the Holy Spirit.

After an hour and fifteen minutes of songs, prayers, Bible readings, testimonials, and prophecies, the people from the seminar return. At this point the praise part of the meeting is completed and the atmosphere becomes more relaxed. The activities that occur in this last portion of the meeting are: presentation of theme, teachings, announcements, and prayer circles. The theme of the meeting is presented by either the leader of the meeting for that particular night or the leader of the group.

After this John summed up the meeting. "The Lord tells that we must bind our evil, that we must ask Him into our heart, and that He will give us many things. Now we see that the river is amongst us."²

A teaching is sometimes given which focuses on: the prayer meeting, the various ministries, the rituals -- the eucharist and the Peace of Jesus, the charismatic gifts, and pastoral counselling themes. An example of a teaching is:

"We are all parts of one body and the gifts we receive are to minister to that community body. I did not get the gift of healing because I was a nice holy guy, but to administer to the body of Christ. We should not be jealous of other people's gifts. I have a gift to help you and you have a gift to help me. We minister to each other."³

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, October 28, 1975.

²Ibid., January 20, 1976.

³Ibid., April 29, 1975.

The leader makes announcements of pastoral team meetings, Charismatic Renewal conferences, peanut butter nights,¹ retreats, and days of renewal. At this time, once a month, the drama ministry, composed of members under twenty who are predominantly children of the core members, present a short dramatization of a poem or Bible reading. The terminating activity of the prayer meeting is a small prayer circle, of five or six people holding hands, in which personal petitions are made. Intercession is limited to this portion of the meeting. The petitions can be categorized into three types:

- (1) concern for the individual,
 - (a) relationships, "Bring my nephew and his wife together as they should be."²;
 - (b) healings, "May the man's test show that he does not have diabetes."³;
- (2) social concerns, "For the starving in Vietnam."⁴; and
- (3) charismatic concerns, "May all priests at the parish

¹ Peanut butter nights refers to Saturday evening gatherings that begin with a 'potluck' supper of sandwiches. The gathering, designated as a social event, is really a teaching and witness session. One of these evenings was led by the 'Growth and Renewal' ministry, focused on the theme of marriage. The itinerary for the evening was: first, witness by members of the ministry to their ideal concept of a Christian marriage, the teaching aspects, and the manner in which the prayer meeting assisted them in understanding and implementing this conception; and second, witness by other couples as to the manner in which the prayer meeting has improved their marriage. These witnesses were approached to give their testimonials prior to the meeting. (Ibid., November 23, 1974.)

² Ibid., January 20, 1976.

³ Ibid., January 20, 1976.

⁴ Ibid., May 13, 1975.

become charismatic."¹

After each petition the members of the prayer-circle recite in unison, "Thank you, Lord Jesus." The signal for the dissolvement of the prayer circle is a song that originates with the leader of the evening.

After a short coffee break of about fifteen minutes, the members begin to move to the sanctuary of the church for Mass. Rather than describe the Mass in detail, the differences between a charismatic and a normative Roman Catholic mass will be delineated. The participants position themselves in a circle around the altar. Melodies for the liturgies of the normative Mass have been composed by the music ministry. Throughout the Mass there is frequent praying and singing in tongues. Between the consecration and the partaking of the host there is the ritual of the Peace of Jesus. This ritual involves embracing, kissing and wishing each person the "Peace of Jesus."² This ritual was later stylized; the kiss is given only to the individual beside you. The eucharist is given in two kinds³ by the priest and the pastoral team who form into a couple, a man and woman, and each individual dispenses either the bread or wine. The Lord's prayer is sung with everyone holding hands and forming one giant circle.

After Mass, healings are performed. In this prayer meeting the form of the healings have changed from a random form -- those who desired

¹ Ibid., January 20, 1976.

² The Peace of Jesus is a normative ritual in the Roman Catholic Mass since Vatican II but in the prayer meeting it is not only a ritual or a Sign of Peace; rather, it is an active symbol of the charismatic community which could be called the Kiss of Peace.

³ This is a unique feature of the charismatic mass because communion in two kinds is only given on special occasions, such as marriages, and distribution by lay people is infrequent.

healings, mental or physical, were prayed over by the healer and other people were allowed to join the healing by laying hands on the individual who was being prayed over, to a stylized form, the beginnings of the ritualization of healing. The healings involve only two individuals: the individual who has the gift of healing and the individual who desires to be healed. The healings occur in private, in a small room behind the altar. In this Mass, the development of ritualized activity is evident in the Peace of Jesus and the healings.

The atmosphere of both the prayer meeting and the Mass is one in which the individual has come to perform a distinctive type of activity, to praise the Lord, and the meeting attends to this activity with fervour and dedication.

F.C. -- Francophone Roman Catholic Prayer Meeting

Upon entering the meeting, held in the rear of the church, one is greeted by several people, who have taken the initiative to act as a welcoming committee. One is then introduced to the other members of the group. There are several rows of chairs which form a half-circle facing the back of the church. On one side is literature that displays Catholic Charismatic materials, Papal Encyclicals, Bishop's messages, Bible study, and theological books. At the front of the church the support group is meeting; this began one-half hour before the general prayer meeting.

As the people begin to sit down a woman passes out holy cards and song sheets. There are sixty people, fifteen of whom are males and fifteen of whom are nuns; the majority, eighty percent, are over fifty years old. The meeting begins with a hymn and then the animator or the leader of the evening (a member of the support group) delivers a

prayer or Bible reading. This Bible reading is usually the gospel or epistle of the day and is followed by a short sermonette.

The meeting has three distinct divisions: "one hour of praise and singing, then fifteen to twenty minutes of intercessions, then another fifteen to twenty minutes of testimonials.¹ In the praise section of the meeting the main forms of activity are: singing, praying, prophecy, and Bible readings. The singing, the most predominant activity in terms of time, consists of traditional pious hymns and Marian hymns, and is done without accompaniment. The prayers are verbal and in either French or tongues. Praying in tongues, as a group, is limited to one section of the prayer meeting, near the end, when the leader states that this is the time allotted for praying in tongues and everyone complies with fervour. While praying, the individual is in a stylized posture with her/his hands raised. The prayers in French are either short statement of thanks, "Thank you for a beautiful day,"² or spontaneous invocations of Jesus according to different titles and offices, for example, "Merci, Jésus, tu es Seigneur...Merci, Seigneur, tu es amour...Tu es le Fils unique du Père...tu nous as révélé le Père."³ Individual Bible readings, an infrequent activity, are usually from the Gospel of John. Prophecy, delivered in tongues, is interpreted immediately after delivery by one individual usually from the support group.

The second part of the prayer meeting is intercession. The

¹Paul Schwartz, fieldnotes, F.C. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, February 9, 1976.

²Ibid., October 27, 1975.

³Ibid., February 9, 1976.

prayers are of three main concerns; the individual, the Charismatic Renewal Movement and social action. Prayers for the individual focus on: first, health and relationships; for example, "For a woman's husband and son who won't go to church on Sunday,"¹ and second, on social action, which are initiated by the priest, for example, "...the earthquake in Guatemala and people on strike."² Some members have lists of who and what they want to pray for. After every three or four petitions, there is a sung response which is either a hymn or an established church liturgy.

The last part of the prayer meeting is the testimonial period in which people are more relaxed; for example, they may smoke cigarettes. The testimonials are given by individuals who go to the front of the group and for this activity they speak through a microphone. There are usually three or four testimonials per meeting and these can be categorized into three types: 1) specific incidents which confirm the value of prayer, especially in regards to healings; 2) life histories; and 3) confirmation of the charismatic position of one's life, experience reaffirms belief. Examples of each of these types are:

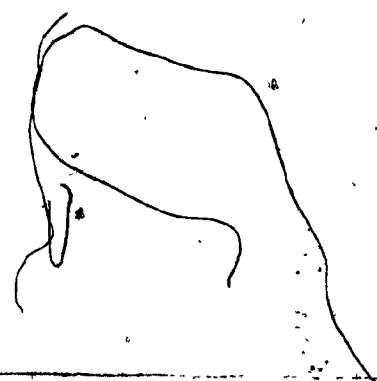
1. Specific incidents:

Older woman - "I don't want to leave tonight without recounting what I had this week. Last week I had a call from a lady, her eighteen year old son lost his job. He had a fight with the employer...and she needed the salary of her son, and she said to me, 'He has to get another job.' And I said, 'Why don't we pray that he finds one? He liked working there?' She said, 'Yes.' And I said, 'Let's pray that he finds one, and let's pray that he returns.'

In any cases, last Monday night I said that intention,

¹Ibid., October 27, 1975.

²Ibid., February 9, 1976.



that an eighteen year old boy was looking for work, and he needed it for his family. This afternoon the lady took the trouble of coming to my place to tell that he went to speak to the employer, that he listened a lot and that he rehired him...it's all you others who prayed for that last week..."¹

2. Life History:

Man in twenties -- J is a little nervous, but determined. He asks how much time he has, then begins describing his childhood and family situation, in chronological order, from about age five. He obviously intends to be quite thorough. Catholic family, a lot of church, but when a teenager became involved in gangs, a gangleader. Lots of fights, drinking, drugs. Then has a religious experience and the Virgin Mary became important for him. Tried to change his life. But interested in music, and found that the people he had to circulate with brought him back to his old habits. Says he was working in a record company and going quite strong. Then he lost everything one day. Another religious experience, decided to become an Apostle of the Lord, has felt the presence of the Lord ever since.²

3. Charismatic Position:

Older woman -- "...what I felt while praying just a little while ago. I was praying when, all of a sudden, my hands became sweaty, I cried, my heart skipped a beat. I look...in my sight...inside...I saw Jesus on the cross, like when I go to Notre Dame de Lourdes. I look at his face and I say, 'Lord, call me, I'm looking at you. Speak to me, I'm listening to you.' And the Lord made me understand that I was really selfish. I was thinking of myself, I was going to get grace from the Lord...I came to understand God should be served first..."³

The testimonials are highly stylized in language and the action is said to occur through the Holy Spirit with the individual as the recipient. Their function, a reaffirmation of the belief structure, is demonstrated by the fact that there is an established time for this

¹Ibid., March 8, 1976.

²Ibid., February 9, 1976.

³Ibid., March 8, 1976.

activity, and if there are no volunteers, the priest will encourage an individual he knows who has had an experience or he will recount an incident of healing that has occurred within the parish.

There are two striking traditional elements in the prayer meeting: confession ("The Sacrament of Pardon") and devotion to the Virgin Mary. During the prayer meeting the leader states that there is a priest available to hear confession. Throughout the meeting individuals leave to go to confession and then return to the prayer meeting. The majority of people partake of this sacrament. Mention of the Virgin Mary is primarily via the hymns, the reciting of the "Hail Mary," and through the "importance of the Virgin Mary in the scheme of salvation -- Mary is the one who gives Jesus to us, Jesus is the way to the Father."¹ These two key features of Catholicism, which are usually susceptible to the pentecostal influence, have not been eliminated.

The Mass is held in the front of the church with the people grouped on both sides of the portable altar and in the choir stalls. The Mass is the normative Roman Catholic Mass with three deviations. After the consecration there is a period of chanting in tongues that is very fervent. The Peace of Jesus, which follows, involves wishing "the peace of Jesus" and shaking the hand of every individual, not only the person next to you. The ritual is terminated by everyone joining hands and reciting the Lord's Prayer. Communion is then given in both bread and wine by the priest. The Mass ends with everyone singing.

¹Ibid., November 10, 1976.

After the Mass the majority of the group have coffee, the exception being the people who are prayed over the support group for healings. The manner in which these individuals present themselves to be prayed over is to speak with the priest prior to the meeting. The evening then ends.

The atmosphere of the group in general is very relaxed. The members are most fervent during the singing, especially the spontaneous songs, and during the praying in tongues.

A.A. -- Anglophone Anglican Prayer Meeting

Upon entering the church basement, where the prayer meeting is held, one observes several people sitting on a bench along one side of the room. The people are very friendly but there is no evidence of an organized welcoming committee. The chairs are arranged in a large circle that encompasses the entire room and to one side there is a literature table with material that can be borrowed. The literature is not selective; rather, there are various books and magazines donated by the members, for example, the "New Covenant," Anglican news magazines, Rex Humbert magazines, Catholic and Anglican charismatic books, books by C. S. Lewis, theology books, and books on Judaism.

The meeting begins at eight p.m. with the singing of two songs, which are accompanied by a girl in her twenties playing a guitar. The songs are folk songs and old favourites, such as, "The Prayer of Saint Francis" and "How Great Thou Art." During the singing everyone is sitting down and their sign of fervour, which is relatively infrequent, is clapping their hands. After the song, the leader of the prayer meeting for that evening asks everyone to introduce himself, stating his/her Christian name. There are thirty-five people at the meeting;

twenty-four are women and eleven are men. The age breakdown is: the majority, twenty-two, are over fifty years old; there are four in the forty to fifty range; four in the thirty to forty range; four in the twenty to thirty range, and one under twenty.

The invocation is given by a man in his forties (the meetings are led by the male members of the leadership team).

- "We are here to worship the Lord Jesus, the symbol of the Church."¹

The meeting has three parts, which are not completely separate as there is some overlap: 1) forgiveness, 2) praise, and 3) petition. The first part of the meeting is forgiveness:

"In the first part of the meeting, we ask Jesus for the forgiveness of our sins that block us from him."²

The statements that are articulated about sin are short statements of a general nature, rather than ones of specific incidents, for example, "Forgive me for not waiting for you to act through me but acting on my own,"³ and "Forgive my self-centeredness."⁴ These statements do not change dramatically from week to week, rather they are similar and are usually delivered by the same member. These short statements continue for fifteen minutes, at which time a priest, if present, gives absolution. The Peace of Jesus, which follows, involves embracing and kissing each person. This is done in an orderly fashion with two circles formed, going in opposite directions. The atmosphere during

¹E. A. S. Sandul, fieldnotes, A.A. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, September 17, 1975.

²Ibid., November 12, 1975.

³Ibid., February 25, 1976.

⁴Ibid., October 1, 1975.

this rite is very social and the cohesiveness of the group returns with the singing of a song, after which everyone returns to their chairs.

The second part of the meeting focuses on praising the Lord. This is achieved through Bible readings, testimonials, prophecy, prayers, and songs, with only a minority, eight to ten individuals, participating. The Bible selections, usually three, are from the New Testament and the Old Testament. The latter readings focus on the royal priesthood. Testimonials in this section of the meeting are thematically concerned with the charismatic gifts, and surrendering and giving everything over to the Lord. A testimonial concerned with the charismatic gifts is:

"I do not know why I am afraid to share this tonight with you; when I could share it yesterday. I thought speaking in tongues was phony and I did not like it. I asked the Lord for a sign, I said that if my friend spoke in tongues then I would believe. Well, my friend spoke in tongues on Tuesday. I thank the Lord for this sign. Now that I have shared this I am no longer afraid. I feel quite good."¹

The testimonials that are concerned with surrender are usually delivered in the form of a prayer.

"Thank you for my weekend skiing. I was worried about falling because of my operation and I heard a voice saying you are making a fuss because I was so afraid of falling. When I heard this I fell down and since I was not hurt, I was no longer afraid. Thank you for making me fall and being no longer afraid."²

Prayers are short 'Thank you' statements which are either testimonials or short statements referring to an incident or an individual; for

¹ Ibid., February 25, 1976.

² Ibid., January 13, 1976.

example, "Thank you for allowing me to be your instrument to quell someone's doubts,"¹ and "Thank you for Christmas with the children. Children really make Christmas."² There is very little praying in tongues, at the most three minutes by four people in the group. In the meeting there are generally one or two prophecies that are delivered most frequently in tongues, although infrequently they are delivered in English. The interpretation of the prophecy is an involved process that can take as long as twenty minutes, with several people stating their interpretation via statements, Bible readings and visions.

At this point a girl in her twenties gave a prophecy in tongues. (This girl is designated as M.) A lady gave a Bible reading. The leader said, "I think the Lord is trying to say that we must be like little children -- give up our burden and to to Him."

M: "I feel he is saying more."

Man: "He is saying that we must believe in Him. Put our faith in Him."

A lady reinterpreted the Bible reading (what Jesus told the men to say to John the Baptist).

Lady in forties: "We must love Him completely. He is love."

M: "What the man said is it. I also had a vision tonight. It was on the floor. There was pulsating lights that jumped about two and a half feet from the floor then was overcome by darkness. He is the light and we must not let our unbelief overcome it."

Lady in twenties: "I witness that but I saw it the other way. The darkness was overcome by light."

Man in sixties: "I saw the same vision as M."³

Throughout the meeting one of the core members is constantly making statements such as: "I feel some people have something to say about a healing,"⁴ and "I think the Lord wants to tell us

¹Ibid., January 13, 1976.

²Ibid., January 13, 1976.

³Ibid., September 17, 1975.

⁴Ibid., April 7, 1976.

something."¹ These statements, an example of the gift of discernment, are a useful technique to increase involvement of the participants because the suggestions always solicit answers which are usually from less involved members.

The last part of the meeting is intercession, petition. These petitions are most frequently concerned with healing.

"For X priest's mother who is in the hospital with cancer and for him who must at this time of trouble give understanding to others."²

The petitions also are concerned with individuals.

"For all those individuals who come to the prayer meetings and their husband or wife does not. To alleviate this problem especially when there is much tension."³

There are testimonials of healing during this section of the meeting.

"The doctor told him (a man who had diabetes) to watch his diet. We did something better, we prayed for him. His diabetes is almost cured. When he went to the doctor's office he is usually scared, his legs shake. This time he decided to take my advice. Before he went into the doctor's office he prayed: 'Lord, I put myself into your hands.' When I went in I was no longer afraid."⁴

In this section of the meeting there is also sharing and discussions of topics raised in the earlier part of the meeting. An example of sharing is an older couple who read the letters they receive from their son, who is studying for the priesthood.

"Since he and his wife left the train, they have not had a cigarette. He is having problems with his

¹Ibid., February 25, 1976.

²Ibid., September 17, 1975.

³Ibid., November 12, 1975.

⁴Ibid., January 13, 1976.

studies and asks for your prayers."¹

The topics that are discussed can arise spontaneously from what has occurred in the meeting. Examples are prophecy and false prophecy -- whether J. Dixon is a false prophet²; and the covenants between individuals and the community of the prayer meeting, which is the second outpouring of the Spirit.³ The prayer meeting ends with a song. The most predominant activity of the meeting is singing; at some meetings fifty percent of the time is utilized in this manner.

There is a strong relation between this prayer meeting and the anglophone Roman Catholic prayer meeting. This Anglican prayer meeting is on the Roman Catholic prayer meeting mailing list for the newsletter and members of this meeting occasionally attend the Catholic prayer meeting. The origins for this prayer meeting are tied with the other prayer meeting as some of the core members first attended the Catholic prayer meeting and then formed this specific prayer meeting.

After the prayer meeting, there is a short coffee break and then the group moves to the front of the church for Mass. The description of the Mass will be limited to the differences between the normative Anglican Mass and the Mass held after the meeting. During the Mass there are prayers of intercession, which take the form, "For Fred (name of the individual), Lord in your Mercy," followed by everyone saying, "Thank you, Jesus." After the eucharist, which is dispensed by the priest only, the people who desire a healing go to the altar

¹ Ibid., October 1, 1975.

² Ibid., October 1, 1975.

³ Ibid., February 25, 1976.

rail, kneel down, and are prayed over by the priest: "In the name of Jesus Christ, I lay my hands on you that in His mercy He will heal you of all sufferings, wounds -- both mental and physical, and forgive you of your sins."¹ At the end of the mass the participants, in a circle holding hands, sing the Lord's Prayer. The priest delivers the closing benediction.

The general atmosphere of the evening is very relaxed. The amount of charismatic activity, tongues and prophecy, is very little and there is no compulsion on the participants to perform these acts; the exception is the leader who makes statements that precipitates activity; rather the atmosphere is relaxed with individuals sharing experiences and problems. The entire evening is best described as a 'middle of the week informal church service'.

Analysis of Prayer Meetings

Membership

These portraits of 'typical' prayer meetings are the raw materials for the analysis of the communal dimension. The prayer meetings are the primary 'on going' activity, the meetings are held on a weekly basis, and are the primary identification unit for the participants. Since the prayer meeting is the primary identification unit, it is necessary to understand each prayer meeting's definition of membership.

Membership can be defined as either close or loose affiliation with the prayer meeting. In these prayer meetings both extremes are evident. A close affiliation with the prayer meeting is evident in

¹ Ibid.; November 12, 1975.

the A.C. prayer meeting. To be a member of the A.C. prayer meeting, the individual must have attended the Life in the Spirit seminar, received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, be registered as a member, and participate in one of the ministries. The ministries are: 1) the service ministries, which include kitchen, maintenance, lending library, and books; 2) charity, which includes the sick, alms, teaching, and telephone; and 3) the celebrated arts, which includes music, arts and craft, typing, and newsletter. The individual is instructed in the 'theology' of the group, experience a bridge burning act -- the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and has continuing involvement through the ministries.

In the F.C. and A.A. meeting, membership is a loose affiliation; a close affiliation is evident only in the core membership. Although the individual can take the seminars and receive the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the criterion of membership is attendance at the prayer meeting -- those who attend are members and there is no other structured involvement such as the ministries.

The A.C. prayer meeting is a tightly knit unit with clearly defined membership. F.C. and A.A. have a membership that is loosely defined and does not centre around commitment. When membership is clearly defined, the involvement of the individual is channeled into a prescribed pattern of participation through particular ministries.

Membership, as a general category, must be distinguished from the core membership. The designation core applies to those members that are the most involved, closely affiliated, and have a position of authority. They have a certain amount of authority over the other members. That this authority is recognized, is evident by the fact

that each prayer meeting has a specific designation for the core membership: in A.A. the leadership team, in F.C. the support group, in A.C. and the pastoral team.

The selection of the core members and their degree of authority varies in each meeting. The leadership team, the name of the core group in the A.A. meeting, is composed of the priest, four men and three women. The criterion of core member is as loosely defined as the membership. Not all the core members have had the Baptism of the Holy Spirit or have charismatic gifts; rather the core is defined in relation to their degree of involvement, not their commitment. The manner in which the individuals become members of the leadership team has undergone a change from when the leadership team was first formed and the individual presented himself/herself as a candidate, to an intermediate period when the individual who was leaving appointed his successor, to the present time when the member is selected by a majority vote of the members of the prayer meeting. The individual members of the leadership team do not have specific tasks; rather the team functions as a whole. It is concerned with such issues as the direction the prayer meeting is taking, maintenance concerns (where the meeting is held) and days of renewal.

The support group, the core group of the F.C. meeting, is composed of individuals selected by the priest. The majority of the core members have a religious vocation, they are priests, nuns and brothers. Only two members of the seven are lay people. The support group pray over individuals and the priest designates specific duties for each core member, such as teaching the seminars.

The pastoral team, at A.C., is composed of nine people, four

men and five women. They have been selected by the pastoral team and/or the priest, or who have presented themselves as candidates because the Holy Spirit has instructed them to become members of the team. The criteria of core, as the criteria of membership, are both involvement and commitment. The core is composed of the individuals who excel in these two criteria. Each member of the pastoral team, in addition to the duties of the group as a whole, has a specific task; namely, the coordination of one of the ministries. By virtue of their position as coordinators of a ministry, the authority of the core members is greater in this meeting than in the other two meetings.

A demonstration of the authority of the core members is the teaching that is given at the end of the prayer meeting, which instructs the members of the group on issues that the core members feel are relevant. The development of a priesthood, individuals who form a distinct class and have authority as a result of appointment and/or charisma, is evident. The priesthood is a distinct class with a specific function and there is a comparison between the priesthood and the pastoral team. The pastoral team by virtue of their participation in the Sunday evening covenant, a select and closed prayer meeting, and their assistance to the priest in dispensing the eucharist are distinct from the general membership. They have a specific and distinct function via the ministries and the teaching which are to instruct the other members on doctrine, practice, and ritual. Although there is a development in this direction, it is not a true priesthood that challenges the structure of the Church.

The criteria of membership reflects the degree of structure within the prayer meeting -- structure as formal lines of communication.

When the criteria of membership is more demanding, requiring involvement and commitment, there is more evidence of structure. With increased demands the casual relationship between the prayer meeting and the participants become formalized, there are distinct lines of communication. The participant raises issues to their ministry leader rather than to the meeting as a whole.

The different lines of communication are evident in the A.C. and the A.A. prayer meetings in the manner by which teachings or discussions of other religious spokesmen who are not specifically designated as 'charismatic renewal' spokesmen are conducted. In the A.A. prayer meeting, a loosely affiliated membership with no distinctive criteria of involvement and commitment, the issue of Jean Dixon is discussed within the prayer meeting with several participants voicing opinions that are both pro and con. In the A.C. prayer meeting, which has a closely affiliated membership and exemplifies formal lines of communication, a teaching is given from the pastoral team stating the 'proper' attitude to David Wilkerson's¹ book, The Vision. The teaching stated that this book was not an authentic prophecy and should not be read, "Even if you want to read it for curiosity, do not."² Formalized lines of communication are evident when membership is explicated.

Membership and structure have a direct relationship and it is, therefore, necessary to explore their effects on the role of the

¹David Wilkerson's earlier publication, The Cross and the Switchblade, is considered to be a founding piece of literature for the Charismatic Renewal Movement. P. Gallagher, "Are You Ready," New Covenant, February, 1973, p. 13.

²Sandul; fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, November 5, 1974.

Charismatic Renewal Movement within the institutionalized Church. Since the movement has remained within the superstructure of the Church, there should be a relationship between membership in the prayer meeting and activity within the parish of the Church. This relationship can be demonstrated by analyzing the individual's involvement in the Church, specifically in parish activities, with the exclusion of attendance at mass since all participants of the prayer meeting attend mass regularly.¹

TABLE 1
PARISH ACTIVITY

	A.C. n=11	F.C. n=7	A.A. n=7
No parish activity	82% (9)	--	--
Parish activity	18% (2)	100%	100%

The members of the A.C. prayer meeting, with the exception of two people one of whom is involved in a Protestant Church, are not involved in any parish activity. The entire involvement of the individual is funnelled into the prayer meeting's ministries rather than the Church. The reverse is evident in the other two prayer meetings, where all members are involved in parish activity. These groups are closely aligned with the Church.

These relationships to the Church are exemplified in the interviews by the responses given to the question: Overall, how important

¹No charismatic prayer group would negate the sacraments of the institutionalized Church, especially the eucharist; rather a typical statement would be: "Then I began in Charismatic Renewal... Last May, I became a Catholic and now I thirst for communion. I take it every chance I get." (Ibid., November 23, 1974.)

is your involvement in this group to your present way of life? Does it somehow lie behind your whole approach to life?

A.C.

"I would say it is extremely important to both my wife and I right now. It lies behind it in so far as it is a means to obtaining a close relationship with Jesus Christ. Makes you more aware of what is happening to yourself and others because people will share their growth and you can share your growth with them. In sharing one becomes closer and closer to the Lord. That's the importance of the Charismatic movement."¹

F.C.

He sees involvement as his "concrete participation in a poor neighbourhood, in the life of the Church..."²

A.A.

"I think it was the catalyst to explore my own spirituality, in spite of the fact that I had sat in church for forty-five years. If the church is sterile, it does not give the feeling that there is this power and believing force. The prayer group makes you realize not to just sit on the edge of the stream but to get back in the water. Charismatic groups have their place but I think they will go. Awakening the Church to its lack of performance, when this is done Charismatic Renewal will disappear and the Church will be revitalized. If the charismatic movement does not get hung up on the gifts and forget the giver."³

These responses reaffirm that in the A.C. prayer meeting the concern of the core membership is the prayer meeting and their activity is channeled through the ministries rather than through the Church. In the F.C. and the A.A. prayer meeting, the concern of the membership is to revitalize the Church and the area of their activity is the Church. It is the prayer meeting that provides the impetus and meaning to

¹Sandul, interview 108, A.C. prayer meeting, April, 1975.

²Paul Schwartz, interview 932, held with member of F.C. prayer meeting, Montreal, Quebec, February, 1976.

³Sandul, interview 132, A.A. prayer meeting, March, 1976.

revitalize the Church.

Thus it can be posited that the degree to which the criterion of membership is specified, has a direct relationship to the structure of the prayer meeting. This in turn reflects the relationship of the participants to the institutionalized Church. The Church is the primary concern of those prayer meetings which do not have a specified criterion of membership nor a structure. The more specified the membership, both general and core, the greater the degree of structure in the prayer group and the lesser the degree of participation in the Church. Thus, the development of a structure within the prayer group is a factor that can separate the individual from the institutionalized Church. The focus for the participants becomes the structure of the prayer group, the ministries, and their energies are directed through these channels rather than the established structures of the Church.

Leader

The leader of the prayer group is a valid subject of study for two reasons. First, the history of the movement is that it was initiated by well-educated persons¹ and has remained within the Church; and second, the movement is not centered around one specific leader, therefore the leader of each prayer meeting may play a decisive role.

The leader in all three prayer groups is a priest and as a priest he automatically derives authority from his position within the institutionalized Church. Since the Charismatic Renewal movement has not negated the Church structure, this source of authority is always

¹ Refer to O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, in regard to the Duquesne Weekend where the Catholic movement is said to have begun, with faculty and students at the university.

evident. This is not the only source of authority, for the leader may also gain authority as a result of his own charisma. The charisma of leadership is defined by Weber's concept of the prophet, "a purely individual bearer of charisma, who by virtue of his message proclaims a religious doctrine or divine commandment."¹ The leader proclaims a 'new movement' and proclaims a 'new message' and from this proclamation gains authority. Thus, the authority of the leader can be derived from his position in the Church, from his office, and from his message. These two sources of authority cannot be held in equilibrium. Usually, there is a tension between the two sources.

The source of the leader's authority, whether it is one of message or office, can be explicated via two factors. These factors are: 1) the role of the priest in the prayer meeting in relation to the rituals of the Church, and 2) the importance of the leader as a factor in joining the group. If the authority of the leader is derived from his office, then his ritual role will be greater than if his authority is derived from his message.

TABLE 2.

RITUAL OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZED CHURCH
LIMITED TO THE PRIEST

<u>Ritual</u>	<u>A.C.</u>	<u>A.A.</u>	<u>F.C.</u>
Eucharist Consecration	yes	yes	yes
Eucharist Dispensing	no	yes	yes
Absolution	nil	yes	yes

¹Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, trans. by Ephraim Fischhoff, with introduction by Talcott Parsons (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 46.

In the A.C. prayer meeting the only ritual role limited to the priest is the consecration of the host; this ritual role is a normative aspect of the Church which if negated would signal complete alienation from the Church. The lay members participate in the other normative priestly roles and the role of the priest is minimal. Therefore, in the A.C. prayer group the leadership of the priest is not completely derived nor dependent upon his office but on his message. In the A.A. prayer meeting the ritual role of the priest includes all three rituals. Thus in the A.A. meeting the authority of the priest's leadership is derived from his office, his role as the dispenser of ritual. In the F.C. prayer meeting the normative rituals of the Church are limited to the priest, and his authority is also derived from office.

The source of the authority of the leader can also be analyzed in relation to the importance of the leader as a factor in joining the group. This is demonstrated on the interview by the question: Initially, what did you find especially attractive about the group? One of the possible choices was the leadership. If the leadership was attractive and stimulating, and a reason for joining the group, then it can be assumed that the leader is a charismatic leader and the source of his authority from his role within the Church is minimized.

TABLE 3

IMPORTANCE OF LEADER IN JOINING PRAYER GROUP

<u>Degree</u>	<u>A.C.</u> n=11	<u>F.C.</u> n=7	<u>A.A.</u> n=7
Most important	9% (1)	14% (1)	--
Very important	9% (1)	--	--
Important	64% (7)	--	43% (3)
Not important	18% (2)	86% (6)	57% (4)

Although only one individual out of the eleven interviewed in the A.C. group stated that the leadership was the most important aspect, 82% or nine out of eleven stated that the leadership was important to some degree. In the other two groups, where the leader derives his authority from his role as a priest, the responses were: in the A.A. prayer meeting 43% or three out of seven responses stated that the leadership was a factor, no one rated leader as a primary factor of the first or second degree, and in these cases the term leadership was enlarged to include other members of the group, not only the priest; while in the F.C. prayer meeting only one individual of the seven interviewed, 14% viewed the leader as a factor. Therefore, of the three groups compared, only the leader of the A.C. prayer meeting can be viewed in terms of Weber's charismatic leader. This leader acquires a greater portion of his authority from his message than from his position within the Church. Although in the A.A. and the F.C. prayer groups the leader derives a portion of his authority from his message, the major source is his institutionalized role as a priest.

The third distinguishing feature of the charismatic leader is "the response of the followers."¹ As there is no single leader of the movement, the charismatic leader's influence is related directly to each prayer meeting. The charismatic leader is the individual who has a following. Dorothy Emmett further delineates the charismatic leader in terms of their following into two types: 1) the prophet, that is developed by Weber, who possess an almost hypnotic power of

¹ Gerlack and Hine, People, Power, Change, p. 90.

personal authority inspiring devoted obedience, and 2) the 'charismatic' who strengthens those he influences, inspiring them to work on their own initiative. "The heightening of this inner power can be conveyed from one charismatic to another."¹ This differentiation of the charismatic leader is especially applicable to the prayer meetings because as indicated the leader's source of authority is two-fold. It is possible for a leader of a single group to fulfill all three criteria of the prophet type of charismatic leader -- have charisma, derive authority from his message, and inspire obedience.

Each leader of the three groups can be designated as one of the two types of charismatic leader. The leader at A.C. is the prophetic type of charismatic leader. The fact that the leader of the A.C. meeting inspires complete obedience is evident by the kind of pastoral advice he gives.

Father T. gave some pastoral advice. (It was decided that the book, The Vision, by D. Wilkerson was not to be read. The reason being that the ministries, for example, the music ministry, through which a person channels their ability, is to build the body of Christ. That the person and their gifts must be at the discretion of the community. Only the community can decide if the gift was right or wrong -- authentic.) "Since Wilkerson was not responsible to a community his visions are inaccurate. Even if you want to read it for curiosity, do not."²

The leader has the obedience of his followers and can dictate their practices and beliefs. This leader fulfills all the criteria of a prophetic type of charismatic leader, while the leaders of A.C. and F.C. groups are of Emmett's second type, they inspire their followers.

¹ Ibid., p. 38.

² Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, November 5, 1974.

That they inspire rather than dictate is demonstrated in the prayer meeting by the fact that the leader never dictates. He discusses and is constantly modifying his statements in relation to the opinions of others.

A.A.

The priest then read a reading from Ezekiel 37...R. reinterpreted the reading to fit with his prophecy of a second outpouring of the Spirit..."I have submitted myself to him (the priest). We meet once a month for the last three months...Jesus sent them out two by two."

Priest: "We must not forget our community, our group. One cannot work in isolation or in two's. We must have the larger prayer group." He kept apologizing to R. for making the addition and asked his permission.¹

F.C.

The priest reads from the text for the day and preaches a short sermonette on the theme...What is interesting is that R. jumps up to the mike afterwards and adds his own, more explicitly 'charismatic' remarks.²

The leader's authority is not one that evokes blind obedience, rather there is discussion and modification of opinion.

These sources of authority, of office or of message, further explicate the relation of the prayer meeting to the institutionalized Church. If the leader's source of authority is office, such as in the F.C. and the A.A. prayer meeting, then it can be assumed that the structures of the Church are reinforced rather than the separate structures within the prayer group. The group is within the structure of the Church. When the converse is applicable, the leader's authority is derived from message. This strengthens the structures that are

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.A. prayer meeting, February 25, 1976.

²Schwartz, fieldnotes, F.C. prayer meeting, February 9, 1976.

synonymous with the message, the prayer meeting, at the expense of the institutionalized Church. In the A.C. prayer meeting the only direct connection with the Church is the consecration of the eucharist.

Linguistic Forms

The third variable, on the practical plans to be analyzed, is the linguistic forms that occur in the prayer meetings. These are: prayers, Bible readings, prophecies, songs, and testimonials. It is of assistance to first distinguish between stylized and non-stylized linguistic forms. This distinction can be exemplified by an analysis of testimonials.

Testimonials can be classified as stylized and non-stylized. Stylized testimonials are of two types: affirmations of belief and life histories. Affirmations are delivered in the first person singular, describe incident in which the Holy Spirit is the active agent, and demonstrate how the Lord has acted in that incident and takes care of the individual in every situation. Although the testimonial is directed to the prayer meeting, the significance of the testimonial is to demonstrate the workings of the Lord, and the individual who delivers the testimonial is a non-active participant. An example is:

The nun, who led the meeting, gave a testimonial. "Bill wanted to say good-bye to the prayer group but he had to leave suddenly. He tried to get ahold of my telephone number to let me know but could not no matter how he tried. A couple from the prayer meeting went to Sunday mass and decided to go for lunch. They found a parking place across the street from a restaurant. You know how hard it is to find a parking place downtown. The Lord provided. At the same time, the Lord told Bill to go to the restaurant, even though he had packing to do. He met the couple in the restaurant and therefore, we got his message."

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, May 13, 1975.

The second type, personal testimonials, are life histories and personal experiences of revelation in which the individual is involved to a greater extent than in the affirmation testimonials. The personal testimonial, directed to the meeting, is exemplary of the action of the Holy Spirit within the life of the individual and the effect on the individual is of concern. An example of personal testimonials is:

"Sam, who I met four years ago on a train and found out that he lived on my street. We held prayer meetings on the train platform. For the last month, we have been getting together everyday to share and pray together. Then there is this guy here (the priest). I have met Charismatic leaders in Montreal and Vancouver and then this guy comes here to my church and jived down the block. The first time I met him, he said to me quite impromptu, this is what the Spirit has for you. I have submitted myself to him for the last three months..."¹

Non-stylized testimonials, which can also be called sharing, are not primarily concerned with the action of the Holy Spirit but with the everyday concerns and problems of the individual. The individual is an active participant; the concern is for the life situation of the individual. An example of sharing is:

"Last Wednesday, I asked for your prayers for me and my husband. Last Saturday, the Lord answered them. My husband and I talked. We communicated. All the bitterness came out. How he feels about the change in my life. Last Sunday, I took him the Bible. I realized that this was the first time that he had held a Bible since he was a young boy...Then on Monday, I brought him a book at the bookroom for people rediscovering Christianity. While I was doing the dishes, he was reading the book. He called me into the livingroom and said how this really touches him. It was the prayer of Saint Francis that we just sang."²

Stylized testimonials are structured, have a definite point of

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.A. prayer meeting, February 25, 1976.

²Ibid.

focus, and the involvement of the person is limited to an exemplary status. The concern is not with the person's problems or anxieties, rather it is the action of the Spirit. This form of involvement of the person will be called indirect personal involvement. The opposite is evident in sharing. Sharing is not structured and the concerns of the individual are a primary consideration. It can be viewed as an 'encounter' between the prayer meeting and the individual, where the main thrust is for group support for the individual rather than support to the group ideology, as in stylized testimonials. The form of involvement of person in sharing will be called direct personal involvement.

The distinction between stylized and non-stylized forms can be expanded to encompass all verbal activity in the prayer meeting. Prayers, songs, Bible readings, and testimonials -- affirmation and personal -- are stylized linguistic forms. Sharing is a non-stylized linguistic form. The utilization of these forms within the prayer meeting can be examined with respect to frequency, that is established in relation to two variables: the average number of times that a form is utilized by participants and the average amount of time that each form is utilized in a ninety minute prayer meeting.

TABLE 4

THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES EACH FORM IS UTILIZED^a

<u>Form</u>	<u>A.C.</u>	<u>F.C.</u>	<u>A.A.</u>
Stylized:			
Prayer, Glossolalia	5	1	1
Prayer, Individual ^b	20	15	15
Bible readings	9	1	5
Prophecy	3	2	2
Songs	10	15	15
Testimonials, Affirmation	3	2	0
Testimonials, Personal	1	3	3
Non-Stylized:			
Sharing	0	2	5

^aThese calculations are based on a mean of three meetings.

^bIn the enumeration of prayers, two types of individual prayers have not been considered. The first is the forgiveness prayers at the A.A. prayer meeting, because this type of prayer is limited to that particular meeting. The second type is prayers of petition that do not concern the individual who presents them and thus do not illuminate any kind of personal involvement. The types of prayers that are enumerated are: 1) prayers of petition for the individual praying; 2) 'thank you' prayers; and 3) prayers that follow other established forms, such as Bible readings.

TABLE 5

AMOUNT OF TIME FOR EACH FORM IN A NINETY MINUTE PRAYER MEETING^a

<u>Form</u>	<u>A.C.</u>	<u>F.C.</u>	<u>A.A.</u>
Stylized:			
Prayer, Glossolalia	15	3	1
Prayer, Individual ^b	20	20	15
Bible readings	15	6	11
Prophecy	3	2	10
Songs	30	35	30
Testimonials, Affirmation	5	5	0
Testimonials, Personal	2	15	3
Non-Stylized:			
Sharing	0	5	20

^aThese calculations are based on a mean of three meetings.

^bThe time utilized by all types of individual prayer.

Both variables of frequency, the number of times each form is utilized and the amount of time for each form, demonstrate similar results except for prophecy, Bible readings, and personal testimonials. The differences in these forms can be explained by the different approaches to them by the prayer meetings. A major deviation is evident in the amount of time (Table 5) that is relegated to prophecy in the A.A. prayer meeting. In this meeting prophecy is not delivered as an explicate prophecy, rather each prophecy includes a period of interpretation that is an involved discussion. In the A.C. meeting prophecy is delivered in English and there is no interpretation, and in the F.C. meeting the interpretation is given immediately after the prophecy by one individual. Bible readings occur least frequently (Table 4) in the F.C. meeting, where participation in this form is specifically designated to the priest. The difference in the amount of time utilized in stylized testimonials (Table 5) by the F.C. prayer meeting is a result of the fact that there is an allotted period of time, approximately twenty minutes, for this form. With the elimination of these differences which are a result of procedure, it is evident that Table 4 and Table 5 can be analyzed simultaneously.

The stylized forms that demonstrate minimal differences are songs and individual prayer. There is marked differences in the results of glossolalia, affirmation testimonials, personal testimonials, and sharing. Since the latter three are the same form with varying degrees of stylization, they should be viewed as a unit. The greatest differences are between the A.C. and the A.A. prayer meetings. The F.C. meeting has been eliminated because of the allotted period of time. In the A.C. meeting affirmation testimonials occur the most

frequent, three times, and consume the most amount of time, five minutes. Both these variables diminish as the degree of stylization diminishes until the frequency and time are nil in the category of sharing. The opposite is evident in the A.A. prayer meeting, where the frequency and time increases as the degree of stylization decreases. In these two prayer meetings stylized testimonials and sharing are in reverse proportion to each other.

Glossolalia, speaking in tongues, is most frequently utilized and consumes a greater portion of time in the A.C. prayer meeting as compared to the other two meetings. Glossolalia is a highly stylized form, that has as its focus to 'raise God' and since it is 'the voice of the Holy Spirit' the individual is not actively involved. Thus glossolalia, in relation to focus and involvement of the person, can be equated with stylized testimonials. Glossolalia and stylized testimonials reinforce the ideology of the prayer meeting. Glossolalia is a 'gift of the Holy Spirit' and as a charismatic gift it reinforces and confirms the self-concept of the meeting as being a charismatic prayer meeting. The reinforcing effect of glossolalia can be studied in relation to the percentage of individuals that participate in this form..

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS PARTICIPATING

	A.C. n=150	F.C. n=60	A.A. n=35
Prayer - Glossolalia	92%	91%	10%

In the A.C. and the F.C. prayer meeting the percentage of participants is 92 and 91, whereas in the A.A. prayer meeting the

percentage is 10. The fact that the A.A. meeting has the lowest percentage would suggest that in this meeting the self-concept of being charismatic and the charismatic ideology is the least reinforced. This assumption corresponds with the evidence that the A.A. meeting utilizes non-stylized forms to a greater degree than the other two meetings; the focus of the meeting is the encounter between the individuals -- group support is sought rather than giving support to the group ideology.

This discussion suggests the hypothesis that the degree to which the person's daily problems and anxieties are the concern of the prayer meeting is exemplified by the utilization of stylized and non-stylized linguistic forms. The utilization of a specific type of form reflects the degree to which the ideology of the prayer meeting is reinforced, and the degree of reinforcement denotes the existence of tension between the prayer meeting and the Church. Tension is defined in relation to degree of integration with the Church. If the prayer meeting can be viewed as a parish activity, then there is no tension and if the meeting is in conflict or competition with the Church as a medium for participation, then tension exists. The stylized forms that are exempt from this hypothesis are songs, individual prayer, prophecy, and Bible readings. The forms that are the barometer of this hypothesis are glossolalia and testimonials. Glossolalia is the highly stylized form of praying that does not allow for any attitude of expression of personal concerns. Testimonials may be subdivided according to the degree of stylization: affirmations of belief reflecting the highest degree of stylization and the least degree of direct personal involvement and sharing reflecting the least amount of

stylization and the highest degree of direct personal involvement.

In the A.A. prayer meeting the utilization of glossolalia and stylized testimonials is minimal, while sharing consumes a high percentage of time. Thus, there is a high degree of direct personal involvement and little reinforcement of group ideology which reflects little tension with the Church. This assumption is supported by the discussion on membership, where it was noted that the self-concept of the A.A. prayer meeting was to revitalize the Church and the prayer meeting could be viewed as a 'legitimate' parish activity. In the A.C. prayer meeting the utilization of the stylized forms of glossolalia and testimonials is very high. This would indicate a minimum of direct personal involvement. The group ideology is reinforced and this reflects a large degree of tension between the prayer meeting and the Church. In relation to membership, it was mentioned that the primary focus of the A.C. prayer meeting was as a medium through which the person could direct his activities and the only activities directed in conformity with the institutionalized Church was the Mass and the eucharist. The F.C. prayer meeting is not neatly tailored to this hypothesis and this is a result of the role of the Roman Catholic clergy in the prayer meeting. Although, the meeting has at its disposal the necessary forms to create tension with the Church, tension is minimal because of its integration with the Church via the clergy. (Five of the seven members of the support group are celibates.)

Rituals

The rituals that will be analyzed are those rituals that occur within each prayer meeting. This excludes the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the bridge-burning act, that occurs only at designated times.

The rituals to be analyzed are the Peace of Jesus and healings. The Peace of Jesus dramatizes the brotherhood/sisterhood of the members and the healings demonstrate the power of the Holy Spirit to react within the human domain and to enact miracles. Although the rituals denote the same act, the degree of routinization of the rituals varies in the prayer meetings.

Routinization "is a result of the process whereby either the prophet himself or his disciples secure the permanence of his preaching and the congregation's distribution of grace..."¹ Routinization is the transition from a fluid, impermanent state to a permanent state. In this process, which includes the ritual activity, the rituals become more stylized and their degree of symbolism increases. The ritual, initially a 'spontaneous' act without perimeters, is routinized into a stylized act within a definite perimeter. The terms of expression are limited. The stylized ritual still represents the feelings and meaning of the original 'spontaneous' act though its enactment is now symbolic. The socializing dimension of the ritual and its everydayness is minimized while the symbolic dimension is maximized.

In the A.A. and F.C. prayer meeting the ritual of the Peace of Jesus remains at a low level of routinization. The ritual's symbolic aspect of the brotherhood/sisterhood of the person via Jesus is enacted completely. The Peace of Jesus is a spontaneous and interpersonal act. Each person either shakes the hand of (F.C.)² or embraces and kisses (A.A.) every person at the prayer meeting.

In the A.C. prayer meeting the ritual of the Peace of Jesus has

¹Weber, Sociology of Religion, p. 60.

undergone the process of routinization. The Peace of Jesus was enacted in both the prayer meeting and the mass. In the prayer meeting the ritual was stylized:

"We should turn to person beside us who is a representative of humanity and shake his hand and wish him the Peace of Jesus."¹

Later, the ritual in the prayer meeting was eliminated and its enactment was limited to the mass. Initially, the enactment of this ritual in the mass was not as symbolic as the enactment of it in the meeting; it was the same as in A.A.: everyone embraced, kissed, and wished each person the Peace of Jesus. The routinization process is evident in the fact that the ritual was stylized and this stylization was a self-conscious act.

"Today's teaching is on the Peace of Jesus at mass. This does not mean that you have kiss everyone, or go to your friends because this causes confusion and leads to not concentrating on Jesus. Since it is not a period of socializing, we ask you to kiss the people on each side of you and thus, reach everyone."²

The action of the individual has become more symbolic -- by kissing the person beside you, you are symbolically kissing everyone at the meeting. The socializing dimension of the ritual has been minimized while the symbolic dimension of the ritual is maximized.

The second ritual to be analyzed is healing. The healing ritual in the A.A. prayer meeting cannot be considered in relation to the routinization process because the ritual is administered only by the priest. In the F.C. meeting the individual is prayed over by the support group, and this ritual has not undergone any change.

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, October 15, 1974.

²Ibid., September 23, 1975.

In the A.C. prayer meeting the routinization has been dramatic. Initially, the ritual occurred after the mass; the individual who desired a healing was prayed over by the healer, an individual who received the charismatic gift of healing, and other people participated in the healing by placing their hands on the individual. This type of informal healing has not been completely eliminated from the circumference of the prayer meeting but it occurs prior to the meeting, is limited in terms of participation to the core members, and is not viewed as a collective ritual but as a private concern. The healing ritual, that is, the normative ritual of the prayer meeting, has undergone a process of stylization.

The leader said that the healing ministry would no longer be at the altar; rather it would be in three separate healing rooms. "Each healing would be separate."¹

The healing ritual is enacted between two people without the involvement of the prayer group. Healing has thus become routinized activity -- a ritualized activity rather than a common occurrence.

Although in the A.C. prayer meeting the normative healing ritual encompasses both physical and psychological healing, there has developed a specific ritual of memory healing for psychological healings. Memory healing differs from the healing ritual in that the individual is not only prayed over but also includes an 'exercise' by which Jesus heals the negative memories of the individual. An occurrence of the ritual is in the session of the 'Life in the Spirit' seminars prior to the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. The leader asks each person to visualize Jesus, to concentrate on this visualization,

¹Ibid., September 9, 1975.

and to ask Jesus to heal them of any painful memories. The second part of the ritual is that the individual is led by the leader to concentrate on a certain time period in his/her life beginning at conception. The time sequence is conception, birth, one year, two years, five years, until the entire life span of the individual has been encompassed. Jesus heals the individual, either consciously or unconsciously, of any painful experiences that the individual may have had at any age.

"When the memory is healed the picture of what is healed comes to you. Sometimes it is very frightening. After the thought comes peace and you can talk about the incident without it bothering you in the past and it no longer gives pain."¹

"God lives in the eternal present -- it is as real and imminent to Him as it happens to us. We ask Him to walk back in our lives and heal our traumas of our life, year by year. It was quite dramatic and beautiful. It was done like the Lord was speaking. Even things I could not remember and no one else could know. As a little girl I loved flowers. My decision at sixteen that I would be independent and ask nothing from anyone."²

Memory healing is the elaboration and the stylization of one aspect of the healing ritual -- the psychological aspect.³

The structures, formal lines of communication and authority, are more firmly established as the degree of routinization increases. This assumption is confirmed by the degree of routinization of the healing ritual in the A.C. prayer meeting. The healing ritual has developed to the position where it has an established role for both

¹Sandul, interview 102, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1975.

²Sandul, interview 104, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1975.

³Memory healing is viewed by the prayer meeting as an alternative and in antagonism to psychiatry. Their rhetoric is: "God heals us very gently. What it would take two years with a psychiatrist, God does in one month and it is not painful." Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, November 19, 1976.

the healer and the participants. The individual can no longer feel that he/she has received the gift of healing at this moment and for this occasion but this gift is at the discretion of the pastoral team. Only it can confirm that the individual has received the gift of healing. Similarly, the participant must feel an acute desire for healing to enter the 'healing rooms'. The impromptness and the spontaneity of both actors are limited. The ritual has become stylized and firmly established as a ritual that reaffirms both the charisma, the ideology of the meeting, and the authority structure of the prayer meeting, the pastoral team.

Routinization of ritual reflects the development of structure within the prayer meeting and since the prayer meetings vary in degree of routinization, their degree of structure also varies. The A.C. meeting reflects the greatest degree of routinization and has the greatest development of structure. The routinization of ritual which is initiated by the authority structure, namely the pastoral team, simultaneously legitimizes and reinforces this structure -- the structure gains strength. The A.A. prayer meeting reflects the least degree of routinization; the Peace of Jesus is a socializing act and the rite of healing is performed by the priest and thus reinforces the structure of the Church rather than the structure of the prayer meeting. The F.C. prayer meeting is in an intermediate position. There are the beginnings of routinization in the ritual but, as yet, they are not totally routinized. The support group, as a result of its close affiliation with the hierarchy of the Church, legitimizes its healing rite by means of both charisma and the structures of the Church with the emphasis on the latter. There are the forms of structure but this

structure is closely entwined with that of the Church.

Communitas

A form of interrelatedness, that is in antithesis to the largely bureaucratic and impersonal form of interaction that is evident in society and the institutionalized Church, is evident in the prayer meeting. Victor Turner has used the concept of communitas to describe this form of interaction which emphasizes communal, egalitarian, and personal forms of interaction.

Victor Turner states that there are two major 'models' for human interrelatedness. These models are:

1. society as a structured, differentiated and often hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions with many types of evolution, separating men in terms of 'more' or 'less'.
2. There emerges recognizably in the liminal period a society as an unstructured or rudimentarily structured and relatively undifferentiated communitas -- community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of the ritual leaders."¹

The characteristic feature of the first model is that human interrelatedness is based on the societal role of the individual. People thus relate to each other in a differentiated and hierarchical manner. This type of interrelatedness is normative within the institutionalized church -- there is a hierarchical division between the priest and the lay members that determines the mode of interrelatedness. The second model, communitas, is not influenced by societal roles: it is communication between equals, that "has an existential quality, it involves the whole man in his relation to other whole men..."²

¹Victor W. Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 96.

²Ibid., p. 127.

Although Turner first isolated this form of interrelatedness, *communitas*, in relation to rites of passage, he expands it and applies it to religious movements. In relation to religious movements he posites three types of *communitas*: 1) existential or spontaneous, 2) normative, and 3) ideological. Normative *communitas* occurs after a period of time when spontaneous *communitas* is organized into a perduring social system, the routinization of the *communitas* of the first disciples and followers.¹ Ideological *communitas* "can be applied to a variety of utopian models of society based on existential *communitas*."² These latter two are within the domain of structure; they are not completely devoid of structural elements but the goal of these structures is to preserve the existential *communitas* and to achieve the goals of the religious community.

The key to this differentiation of the types of *communitas* is existential or spontaneous *communitas*. Spontaneous *communitas* is "a phase, a moment, not a permanent condition"³ and within this moment the individual "seeks a transforming experience that goes to the root of each person's being and finds in the root something profoundly communal and shared."⁴ This experience is one of "unprecedented potency." Spontaneous *communitas* is a brief experience of a potent experience that is shared by a group of equals. The prayer meetings evidence expression of what Turner calls spontaneous *communitas*.

¹ Ibid., p. 133.

² Ibid., p. 132.

³ Ibid., p. 139.

⁴ Ibid., p. 138.

This form of interrelatedness Turner views as the phenomena that is the attribute of the persons who are of low status or position. Although Charismatic Renewal is not a movement of the low in terms of status and economic position, it is a movement of the low in relationship to the institutionalized Church, the low status of the laity.¹ In the Charismatic Renewal movement the possessor of charisma is no longer solely the institutionalized office of the priest. The laity now has access to it and their position is no longer one of inferiority -- they are now equals.

The first characteristic of *communitas* is sought in the prayer meeting; it is a transforming experience -- an experience of unprecedented potency. This experience can be seen as the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. Descriptions of the personal experiences of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit are:

"It was like a rebirth. There was a tremendous love. I was a new person. It changed things. It really happened. It was as if I met God."²

"...I knelt down beside the bed and prayed. I stretched out on the bed. Suddenly, I made the same sounds that I heard downstairs. A letting go experience with a tremendous sense of joy that I never experienced before. The experience of love. For the first time something was coming down on me with total selflessness. A tremendous coming out of myself -- like a great screen in a movie theatre raising, there was a whole new life, a love of the Spirit. I was not aware that you could live in and grow in...I wanted to share it..."³

The participants view their experience of the Baptism of the Holy

¹The movement has not grown as rapidly in the Protestant churches, such as the Congregationalist and the United Church of Canada, where historically the role of the laity has been one of active involvement and not one of subordination to the priest.

²Sandul, interview 109, A.C. prayer meeting, April, 1975.

³Sandul, interview 135, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.

Spirit as a rebirth -- a transforming experience.

The perimeters of the transforming experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit are expanded to what the charismatics call "the Life in the Spirit," a continual and daily experience of the Holy Spirit.

"It (the Baptism of the Holy Spirit) deepens your life so you can live a Christian life with others. This is the real purpose. You must be open to the Spirit."¹

The availability of the transforming experience is, thus, increased so that it may be tapped frequently. The potency of the experience of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Life in the Holy Spirit is dramatically validated, from the individual's perspective, by the gifts of the Spirit. The gifts of the Spirit increase the individual's experience of potency; his actions are no longer insignificant.

The second characteristic of spontaneous *communitas* is that it is communal and shared. The communal dimension is evident when it is noted that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, a personal experience, is expanded into the Life of the Spirit, a communal experience. The existence of the prayer meeting validate that the desired experience of "the Life in the Spirit," is communal and shared. The prayer meetings are the vehicles for sharing. An integral part of the rhetoric of the prayer meeting is that it is "the community" and that this community is necessary for the individual to continue in the charismatic experience.

The priest then added, "We must not forget our community, our group. We cannot work in isolation or in two's. We must have the larger prayer group."²

¹Sandul, interview 102, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1975.

²Sandul, fieldnotes, A.A. prayer meeting, February 25, 1976.

The importance of community, to the participants, can be further validated by an analysis of the responses of the interviewees to the question: how important is the goal to experience community?

TABLE 7
TO EXPERIENCE COMMUNITY

<u>Importance</u>	<u>A.C.</u> n=11	<u>F.C.</u> n=7	<u>A.A.</u> n=7	<u>Total</u> n=25
Most important	18% (2)	14% (1)	--	12% (3)
Very important	55% (6)	29% (2)	71% (5)	53% (13)
Important	27% (3)	43% (3)	29% (2)	32% (8)
Not important	--	14% (1)	--	4% (1)

Only one individual, 4% of the those interviewed, does not consider the experience of community as an important goal, whereas 96% consider this goal as important. For the participants the experience of community is actively sought. Community is a vital factor in the existence, the rhetoric, and the goals of the prayer meeting.

The prayer meeting exhibits the form of interaction that can be equated with spontaneous communitas. Spontaneous communitas is only a brief, momentary occurrence that may be subsequently routinized into normative communitas. Normative communitas presupposes that a permanence of spontaneous communitas is achieved -- that there is equality between members, that there is readily available an experience of potency which is communal and shared. Permanence of this form of interrelatedness creates structures of its own.

The achievement of the permanence of spontaneous communitas can be gauged by determining whether the societal role of the participants impinge upon the prayer meeting. If societal roles impinge, then the

form of interrelatedness which negates these roles, that is spontaneous *communitas*, is not achieved consistently. *Communitas* is achieved when the individual is in a betwixt and between position, when societal norms are transcended and the individual's societal role and its attendant concerns are inconsequential, left behind, and are, therefore, not a factor in his/her involvement and participation.

The achievement of this state in the prayer meeting can be verified by means of the linguistic forms that are utilized. As previously demonstrated there are two types of linguistic forms, stylized and non-stylized, that reflect two kinds of personal involvement, indirect and direct. Stylized linguistic forms, characterized by indirect personal involvement, are evidence of a betwixt and between state. The individual and his/her mundane concerns play no role in the prayer meeting; the societal role and position are negated; and any reference to the individual is mediated by the linguistic form rather than the societal role. The concern of the individual is not his life situation; it is the communal encounter. In non-stylized linguistic forms, characterized by direct personal involvement, the individual's societal position and role impinge on the prayer meeting. In the linguistic form of sharing, the individual's mundane concerns and thus the attendant societal role and position are a key factor. The individual is not in a betwixt and between state; rather sharing in the prayer meeting is a continuation of the societal mode of interrelatedness.

The linguistic forms utilized in the three prayer meetings reflect the frequency to which *communitas* is obtained. In the A.C. prayer meeting the type of linguistic form that is utilized to the

exclusion of the other is the stylized forms. Therefore, from this evidence it can be posited that *communitas* is frequently achieved. In the A.A. and F.C. prayer meeting where both stylized and non-stylized linguistic forms are utilized the interrelatedness of *communitas* is achieved but as a result of the utilization of non-stylized linguistic forms, it is not achieved with the same regularity and frequency as is evident in the A.C. prayer meeting.

A characteristic of normative *communitas* is the development of structures by which *communitas* can be guaranteed. The development of these structures is evident in the A.C. prayer meeting in the ministries. The ministries are a hybridization of the priestly role in the institutionalized Church: the individual is led by the Holy Spirit into a specific ministry; the ministries cover every aspect of the communal life of the group; and the ministries retain the same structure as the Church in that there is a coordinator who can be compared to a priest. The leader of the ministry is responsible to the pastoral team, that is composed of other leaders, who are his/her equal.

"At a retreat last year Father -- mentioned the idea of a pastoral team and asked if any of us were called. To let the Holy Spirit lead you. The Holy Spirit led me."¹

The prayer meeting via the ministries is establishing structures that are a hybridization of the structures of the Church in an attempt to develop normative *communitas*. These structures permit the prayer meeting to function on a day to day basis and are a routinization of spontaneous *communitas*.

The three prayer meetings exhibit incidents of the phenomenon

¹Sandul, interview 104, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1975.

of spontaneous ~~communitas~~ but there are differences in the achievement of permanent ~~spontaneous~~ communitas and in the establishment of the structures of normative communitas. A continuum of the degree of the establishment of normative communitas can be constructed with the two polar opposites of interaction, that of normative congregation and normative communitas. Societal and institutionalized church roles are the model of interrelatedness of normative congregation, whereas normative communitas is the routinization of the interrelatedness spontaneous communitas. Spontaneous communitas is located in the centre of the continuum because it is pivotal in the annihilation of the model of interrelatedness of the congregation and the foundation stone of normative communitas.

FIGURE 1

Degree of Establishment of Communitas

	A.A. F.C.	A.C.
normative congregation	spontaneous communitas	normative communitas

In the A.A. and F.C. prayer meetings spontaneous communitas is achieved but not with regularity as a result of the emergence of the societal roles in the non-stylized form of sharing. Although these two prayer meetings can be designated in the continuum between normative congregation and spontaneous communitas, this does not negate the occurrence of spontaneous communitas, which is a momentary event. In the A.C. prayer meeting the routinization of spontaneous communitas is commencing and there is an attempt to establish normative communitas.

The analysis of the prayer meetings in relation to the concept of communitas illuminates the key role that communitas plays. This key role is crystallized by the fact that the core experience, the Baptism

of the Holy Spirit can be seen as the transforming experience of *communitas*. Gerlack and Hine state that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is a bridge burning act and from this analysis, it is evident that this experience is also the very basis of the prayer meeting:

From this transforming experience derives the key elements of the prayer meeting: 1) the communal experience, articulated by the meetings as "Life in the Spirit"; and 2) the individual's experience of power, the specific incidences of which are called the "Gifts of the Spirit." These two elements demonstrate the *communitas* is an important factor in the rationale of the individual's participation in the prayer meetings. In today's society, composed of transient nuclear families, there is a definite lack of a communal feeling. The institutionalized Church has not adequately dealt with this problem and thus members of the Church, without eliminating their allegiance to the Church, have dealt with this problem by the establishment of the prayer meeting in which the key experience is communal.

"It is very central right now...I think I would always try to keep in touch with a community, either a prayer group or a smaller group, or if I went somewhere else I would try and start one. I am not sure that the prayer group would not disappear if the Church changed more -- there is a need for change."¹

The fact that *communitas* is the experience of potency that is sought is evident in the rhetoric that the prayer meeting is a return to the Early Church as described in Acts.

"Early Christian community -- we are called to that type of relationship with Jesus and one another."²

¹Sandul, interview 136, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.

²Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C., prayer meeting, October 5, 1974.

In the Early Church *communitas* as an experience of potency and power played a dominant role and this is the commonality of the past and the present. O'Connor draws the parallel between the ~~the~~ Baptism of the Spirit in the Early Church and in the present Charismatic Renewal Movement.

"Their (the apostles) baptism in the Holy Spirit was an interior experience of the power of the Holy Spirit filling and transforming them. So it happens also with most people today."¹

The result of *communitas* and its experience of potency is that the individual no longer feels powerless and at the mercy of overwhelming odds, such as institutions, society, and the world. Instead, the individual has a sense of power which is enhanced by its communal nature.

"Yes, because of the evidence in scripture. How the individual has had effects on events and on countries, for example, Jesus and Paul. God does pick individuals, for example, Freud, Marx and Luther. So much is done through a certain person...God has told us to pray and I do not think we realized how powerful prayer is in effecting historical events...The existence of the world system as we know it is influenced by individual prayer."²

The individual is no longer subject to the whims of fate. He/she now has control, even over bodily illness.

"I have hardly had a sick day since my Baptism in the Spirit. When I feel a cold coming on I simply pray about it and ask the Holy Spirit to expel the oppression the cold represents."³

The prayer meetings, specifically F.C. and A.A., retain elements

¹O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church, pp. 131-132.

²Sandul, interview 135, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.

³Ibid.

of the interaction that are indicative of a normative congregation but there are also elements of the interaction that can be described as spontaneous *communitas*. Although these prayer meetings are closely aligned with the parent Church and have the features of another parish activity, there is within the perimeter of the prayer meeting an experience of potency. In the A.C. prayer meeting the evidence of spontaneous *communitas* is frequent and there is a development to normative *communitas*. This development of normative *communitas* is evident in the structure of the ministries within the prayer meeting.

Conclusions

The analysis of the prayer meetings, the communal dimension, points to conclusions that can be made in regards to the relationship of the prayer meeting to the participants and to the institutionalized Church.

The prayer meetings can be seen as incidents of the type of interaction that is described by the concept of *communitas*. This form of interaction has as its basis an experience of potency and as its core a strong sense of a community of equals. It is an experience of potency and community that the prayer meetings give the participants. The experience of potency can be seen as the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and its continuing presence can be seen as the Life in the Spirit. The Life in the Spirit is the daily experience of the in-dwelling of the Spirit, the continued experience of potency, and the prayer meeting is the community in which spirit-filled persons interact so that the feeling of potency does not diminish.

"I find it hard to think that one can worship the Lord on the golf course. You need the atmosphere of the Divine Presence. You have to submit to some structure

of a community of believers, or you are going to be diffused."¹

The degree to which this form of interaction occurs differs in the three prayer meetings. Spontaneous *communitas* is evident to some degree in all the prayer meetings but it is the most consistently achieved in the A.C. prayer meeting. When this form of interaction is not consistently achieved, the prayer meeting is also a vehicle of sharing. It is an environment in which the individual can share his concerns and problems with a sympathetic and understanding group of people.

"I experience openness and fellowship, that I experience no where else except with my family... There are times when I have acted offensively. Realized afterwards, yet I experienced complete acceptance and forgiveness without asking for or deserving it."²

The rapid growth of the Charismatic Renewal Movement can also be viewed in relation to this train of thought. The rapid growth testifies to the fact that there was and is a feeling that the Church is inadequate in some form. R. Thompson posites that the inadequacy of the institutionalized Churches is "...the difference between faith as intellectual belief and faith as experience."³ This inadequacy has been filled by the prayer meetings through the experience of the interaction that is called *communitas*. This form of interaction with its feeling of potency cannot occur in a hierarchical institution, such as the Church, only in a group of equals as in the prayer meetings.

¹ Sandul, interview 132, A.A. prayer meeting, March, 1976.

² Ibid.

³ Thompson, "Catholic Participation in the Charismatic Renewal Movement," p. 7.

Spontaneous *communitas* is not in conflict with the structures of the Church, but normative *communitas* is in conflict as it develops structures of its own.

The variables analyzed point to the conclusion that there can be a development of structures within the prayer meeting. When membership to the prayer meeting demands both involvement and commitment, there evolves alternative structures and ministries through which the participant channels his/her activities rather than through the established, existing structures of the institutionalized Church.¹ This process is assisted by the "charismatic - prophet" leader whose source of authority is his message rather than his office in the Church. This validation of the charismatic message in turn legitimizes the construction of these structures within the prayer meeting. The routinization of ritual demonstrates the development of structure by virtue of the fact that the spontaneous rituals which are a result of the message become stylized and thus these rituals are established as the normative rituals of the prayer meeting. The stylized linguistic forms, such as testimonials and glossolalia, reinforce the rhetoric of the meeting and thus the structures.

¹The movement, specifically the Catholic element, perceives the tensions with the Church that can arise if the ministries are drawn to their ultimate conclusion, discipling. (This is not evident in the prayer meetings researched, but it has occurred in some prayer meetings in the United States, for example, The True House in South Bend.)

"When the shepherd is someone other than the disciple's own ministry a new line of authority is set up outside the established Church. Many clergymen fear that church members may be siphoned off through the discipleship teaching and members of the Roman Catholic clergy among others, have re-emphasized that Charismatic followers own first allegiance to the Church."

"Charismatic Renewal Movement is Facing Internal Discord Over a Teaching Called Discipling," The New York Times. September 16, 1975.

This development of structure is evident only in one prayer meeting, the A.C. meeting. This prayer meeting can be viewed as existing in tension with the institutionalized Church, with the only remaining tie being that of ritual, the eucharist, and the form of mass. There is a possibility that unless corrective measures are pursued, this prayer meeting could split from the Church because all the structural elements of a separate institution -- lines of communication, leadership, ritual and liturgy -- are visible. The Church has met the challenge of this prayer meeting by eliminating a key factor in the development of structure, the leader. The leader, priest, was transferred.

"We usually keep our prayers of petition for the end of the meeting, but tonight I ask you to keep Father (the leader) in your prayers, in your heart, because tonight he is beginning his first prayer meeting in his new parish."¹

In the other two prayer meetings, F.C. and A.A., this development of structure is not evident; they are closely related to the institutionalized Church. The prayer meeting is a loose affiliation of members in which the concerns of the participants are shared and of importance. The rituals and linguistic forms reflect this attitude of sharing and interpersonal involvement. The leader's primary source of authority is his office. The relation of these prayer meetings to the institutionalized Church is one in which there is no tension. The prayer meeting could be viewed as a parish activity for those who desire this type of activity with its close interpersonal relations and renewal of faith. This latter type of prayer meeting is probably

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, January 20, 1976.

reflective of the majority of prayer meetings and of the position of the general membership as opposed to the core members of the A.C. prayer meeting. This type of prayer meeting is also the type the Church is striving to maintain as reflected by the transfer of the prophetic leader.

CHAPTER III
PERSONAL DIMENSION

Introduction

The Charismatic prayer groups are self-consciously religious groups. The experience that the individuals seek is a religious experience, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the Life in the Spirit -- the experience of the divine as immanent. The analysis of the communal dimension demonstrated that on the communal level these experiences can be defined in relation to the concept of *communitas*, the intense experience of a community of equals. These experiences also have a personal dimension, the experience of the divine as immanent reflects a personal encounter between the person and the divine. This encounter is articulated by one of the participants as:

"I discovered the other part of me, discovered a presence, another personality that is there in my spirit, that has come alive. God has come and lives side by side with me. My body is the temple of the Holy Spirit."¹

The personal dimension, the ramification of the prayer meeting in relation to the individual, is the concern of this chapter.

The underlying assumption is that the individual perceived a lack in his/her life situation prior to involvement in the prayer meeting and that participation in the meeting has filled this lack. Thus, the statement can be made that the individual participates in the prayer meeting for a reason. There are a variety of reasons for participation and the purpose of this chapter is to explore this variety.

This analysis of the individual dimension proceeds through three steps. The first step is the case studies, which are portraits of the

¹Sandul, interview 135, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.

participants constructed on the basis of the in-depth interviews. The case studies reflect the person's life history, the experience of the prayer meeting from the initial encounter to current involvement, and the role the experiences of the prayer group, such as the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, and its hermeneutic has had on the individual's personal values and outlook. The second step is the construction of a heuristic model that records the responses of the individuals to various factors. This model demonstrates that there are differences in the responses of the individuals, and that there is a commonality in each individual's responses when compared to other's responses. The commonality of these responses suggests that Weberian ideal-types can be constructed. These hypothetical constructs are developed by crystalizing various factors in the heuristic model so that these factors reflect an ideal-type. These ideal-types will demonstrate the various types of individuals, in a crystalized form, that belong to the prayer meetings. These constructs do not necessarily describe a specific individual, rather they are a model, to which the individual can be compared.

From this analysis of the personal dimension, certain attributes of "the Life in the Spirit" will be illuminated. This paradigm of reality is a re-orientation to the world and contains a sense of expectancy.

Case Studies

The construction of the case studies of typical individuals involved in the prayer groups is based on the in-depth interviews.¹

¹Case studies of all the individuals interviewed have not been constructed, rather those constructed were limited to individuals that exemplify the extreme responses to various factors.

The interviews were limited to the core members of the group and thus, the analysis is biased in the direction of the core. Since the core members can be seen as religious virtuosi, these individuals exemplify the 'ideal' of the prayer meeting.

The case studies are constructed by posing specific questions and retaining the uniqueness of each individual and his/her experiences. The specific questions posed were: 1) how did the individual become involved in the prayer meeting; 2) what effect or change did joining the prayer group have on the individual; 3) what does the individual hope to achieve as a result of his involvement in the group; 4) what does the group mean to the individual; and 5) to what extent has the hermeneutic of the group become incorporated into the cognitive processes of the individual. On the basis of this format, the following case studies were constructed.

Janet (Pseudonym)¹

Janet, a young woman of thirty-years, has been a member of an anglophone Roman Catholic prayer group since 1971. Janet, one of eleven children, was born and raised on a farm in the Maritimes. Although her father was a member of the Salvation Army, she attended mass at the Roman Catholic Church with her mother until the age of thirteen when her involvement with organized religion became minimal because of the emphasis on punishment, "God will get you for this." In grade eight, at the age of fourteen, she quit school and until she was twenty she lived "off and on at home." At twenty, she had a child and moved to Montreal (as did her parents who were now separated). During this

¹Sandul, interview 103, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1975. (All quotes are from this interview.)

period of her life her values were "that I wanted big diamonds and fur coats."

Just prior to her involvement with Charismatic Renewal, her husband had been sent to jail and she was extremely depressed. "At that time I was close to a nervous breakdown with my husband in jail." She began to attend Church. "I had returned to the church in the fall of 1970 after having been away for thirteen years." At this time she heard of the charismatic prayer group "through the A.C. (her church) parish." What initially impressed her was the "folk mass, that it was a young way of worshipping." At first she was hesitant and distrustful of some aspects of the group. "I started in the back row." "At first I thought the Kiss of Jesus was terrible until I learned that we were brother and sisters of Christ and it did not stop at the church door." At Lent she received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and "I began taking communion and confession." The Baptism and an experience she had, transformed her outlook towards herself. "It made me think of myself in a different way. Before I did not care what happened to me. Now I take care of myself." The transforming experience is demonstrated and reinforced by the fact that she was helped by Jesus to quit smoking.

"I told Jesus, on the Easter Lent weekend, that I need your help for the weekend to quit smoking. I could not smoke after that. A superior power kept me from lighting a cigarette."

In addition to the transformation of her self-opinion these two experiences, the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and its reinforcing experience of quitting smoking, had numerous consequences. Her opinion of organized religion changed. "I had been a God fearing spirit, afraid of punishment. In Charismatic Renewal I learned he (Jesus) was a friend, brother, protector, and lover. The casual relationship grew into a

love affair." "I understand more that the church must include doctrine." Her friends changed. "I eventually lost contact with people who were not Christian. I became involved with Christians. Non-Christians embarrass you. You cannot say 'Praise the Lord' without embarrassment." Her values changed. "I did things for others that I would not usually do. I began to think of others." "Now if I had money I would do things differently. I used to think that happiness is eating but that is not so, you cannot live on bread alone. I now get more satisfaction reading and learning about the Lord." These changes are most dramatically reflected in the area of education and occupation. Until two years she worked as a waitress but now she is attending school to complete her high school credits and she plans to pursue the career of nursing. Initially, Janet returned to the church and joined the prayer group because she felt depressed and was searching for a way to cope with her problems. The prayer group not only gave her support but also changed her lifestyle and orientation.

Janet's goals that she wants to attain, both through the prayer group and in her own life, are articulated as: "to be a better person in the eyes of God, to be Jesus like" (goal through the group), and "You can have anything in life if you are open to the Spirit. The goal is achieved by listening and being open to the Lord. To be Jesus like" (personal life goals). This goal to be like Jesus or to do the will of God, reflects a 'hard line' charismatic position. For Janet the charismatic position has become part of her own personal goals (in addition to becoming a nurse).

Janet's method for attaining this goal is based on the belief that "you must die to yourself. The more you die to yourself the more

you can hear the Lord and His Spirit move within you." The techniques that she utilizes to attain the goals are: 1) prayer: She prayed at the beginning of each interview session for "Jesus to help me in the interview and for Him to guide the interviewer in her writing."; 2) worship: attends mass daily; 3) fasting: "Coordinate the kitchen ministry, and I fast and pray before, so money will not be spent unwisely."; 4) service to others: "I am aware of other people. Love your neighbour as yourself is the whole aim of Charismatic Renewal."; 5) hearing the experiences of others in the prayer group: "the meetings are sources of power. The People of Joy give power and strength you need to go through the week."; and 6) the charismatic gifts or gifts of the Spirit: "Prophecy, there is a beautiful feeling afterwards. You have to die to yourself and let the Lord take over. It is learning to walk, talk and toilet train. The Lord blesses me with my fruits." These techniques, which assist Janet in her attainment of her goals, focus on the relinquishing of the self and allowing the Spirit to move within; the active participant is God and the individual is passive, taking action only after the sign has been given. "At the conference I received the gift of tongues. It was between me and the Lord. I was crying and feeling good. God opened the door and I opened myself." The fact that she does not act until she receives a 'sign' is demonstrated in her response to the question: Would you participate in a group to effect economic change? "I would have to listen to the Lord to be sure. I would search and ask the Lord. If it was the answer or not, He would let me know."

For Janet, the prayer group and the charismatic gifts are an integral part of her life. The group "is my whole life and all my

actions are as a result of the group or should I say the Lord." The charismatic manifestations are a decisive confirmation of the paradigm of reality that she has accepted and within its perimeter she interprets her experiences. The fact that the charismatic gifts are confirmations is evident in her articulation that "the Baptism of the Holy Spirit (received March, 1971) became official in 1973 with the gifts of tongues." The experience that she interprets with the aid of the charismatic paradigm is a deliverance from a sexual demon, which explained sexual oddities that occurred to her. "In a crowd I was frequently pinched...Father ___ told me it was the spirit of sex. It had entered me when I was born. Father ___ did an exorcism and the attacks were over." The charismatic gift of exorcism explained the experiences and removed the evil. She stated that she has the gifts of tongues, prophecy, faith, loving, discernment, and healing. For Janet, the charismatic gifts are important and these are integrally tied to her concept that "you must die to yourself" -- by dying to yourself the gifts manifest themselves.

For Janet, the prayer group generated dramatic changes in her life: her attitude to herself and others improved; her life goal came to include the goal of a career as a nurse; and she began to direct her own life. These positive self-affirming changes were accompanied by a passivity of the self in relation to God, "the Lord is the chief and we are the Indians." God is the active participant in the diad. Only after Janet receives confirmation from God does she act on it.

Jeff (Pseudonym)¹

Jeff, a sixty year old man, is a member of an anglophone

¹Sandul, interview 181, A.A. prayer meeting, January, 1976.
(All quotes are from this interview.)

Anglican prayer group. He grew up in "a small French Canadian village in which there were only eighteen to twenty English families." As a child he went to the Anglican Church, "with my family." At the age of twelve, he went to boarding school and continued his education at McGill University, studying engineering, until the war interrupted his studies. After the war he married, worked as a sales manager in various engineering companies, and renewed his involvement with the Anglican Church.

In 1968, he was dissatisfied with his work situation, which is exemplified by the statements: "as an engineer I was not fulfilled" and "I had been a heavy drinker." At this point, he did a dramatic turnabout in regards to his occupation and became the manager of a book store, although it necessitated a decrease in income. One of the results of this turnabout was that he became more involved with the church, especially in "the aspects of worship." This involvement was through the service guild -- "assists in the eucharist," being a sub-deacon -- "layman who assist the clergyman," and as a lay leader -- "I am licensed. I take services in smaller churches."

Jeff's perspective of his involvement in the prayer group is expressed in the following statement: "Belonging to Charismatic Renewal has opened a vision to me how to live and when I tested it I found it more satisfying than the way I was living before." From this statement, it is evident that prior to his involvement in the prayer group, he was searching for a meaningful pattern on which to base his life. Although he had changed his job and was more involved with the Church, he did not feel completely fulfilled or satisfied. In this search for a meaningful pattern on which to base his life, he

experimented with the occult, the ouija board, and the Spiritualist Church. Now through his charismatic perspective he views this experimentation, specifically the ouija board as: "There is no way that the spirit was a good spirit. There was nothing deifying." In his search he was not alone, rather he was accompanied by his entire family, his wife, two daughters, and their husbands, who at this time are involved in the Charismatic Renewal Movement, though in two different denominations, Roman Catholic and Anglican.

His interest in Charismatic Renewal began with his work. "I came in contact with the movement in the book store. We were ordering books so I began to read them." This interest was increased by the attitude of his family. "My whole family was talking about the movement. At one meal my children said, 'Dad, you must know of a group because of your work at the book store.' I knew Father ____, so I asked him about a meeting." Initially, he was attracted by the fact that "here were Christians who had a different attitude to faith because there was a capacity to be more loving Christians. There was a concern for others that was not put on. It was sincere." The entire family took the Life in the Spirit Seminars at the Roman Catholic prayer group. "Then we decided we wanted to take it to our own denomination." Thus, the entire search and the ensuing involvement with the prayer group was conducted in an atmosphere of mutual encouragement and support from his family.

Not only did his family situation encourage and lead to his involvement in the Charismatic Renewal Movement but at the present time, his family is developing into an important aspect of his involvement. They meet on a weekly basis.

"My second daughter and her husband felt the need to develop a relationship in a smaller group where there is a security to open deep hurts. The four of us do meet one evening a week. This is a recent development. There is an intimacy not possible in a larger group."

His family situation was crucial to his initial involvement and after six years of involvement with Charismatic Renewal, he is directing his energies into his family circle.

The prayer group is more than just an example of the ideal Christian life, rather it is the focal point, the medium through which Jeff's ideals can be achieved. "I am at a very happy point in my life. To be part of the community (the prayer group) is a needful part. I need it and am concerned with it from week to week." The goals he wanted to realize as a result of his involvement with the prayer group are: 1) "personal growth and knowledge and meaning of my faith"; 2) "better understanding of personal relationships"; and 3) "I want to deepen my own spiritual life wherever it leads." His goals are directed towards the 'ideal' Christian life.

The manner in which these goals can be achieved are through personal endeavour and reflecting, the example of others, and ritual. Personal endeavour and reflection are exemplified in the techniques of adherence to moral principles -- "I had to be shown, I had to make my own mistakes including moral ones," fasting, prayer, and service to others. The example of others is via testimonials, hearing the experience of others -- "If someone talks about something happening to them or of significance to them ... Belief in God is built on faith. What God does I accept in faith." The ritual aspect is worship which he considers "an essential part of my life. I experience it. If

I do not go (mass), I am aware something is missing." The basis for his belief that these techniques assist him to achieve these goals is: "I have experienced it. Prayers are always answered." Jeff does not consider the charismatic gift crucial for attaining these goals, "tongues are on and off. It is not a must." Although he states that he has several gifts of the Spirit, tongues, prophecy, teaching, discernment, healing, what he considers most important is that "I find it easier to love people."

For Jeff, the pursuit and attainment of the ideal is primarily on intellectual achievement. The ideal is based on an intellectual acceptance; "The full capacity of the mind can only grasp this, I have seen a perfect life that is totally loving. I take His manifestation of what a perfect life is in Jesus." The pursuit of the ideal is based on knowledge, especially self-knowledge.

"If I am aware of everything in myself then a higher state of consciousness will be there. I believe if you can destroy it, the ability...to take an instant dislike to people, if you can calm that part of you, you are open to the goodness of others...Know yourself."

This knowledge must also be action, it is not intellect in a vacuum, rather it is the integration of knowledge of the ideal and self-knowledge in a dynamic unit, the individual. "I am patterning my life on how I see Jesus. It is in my mind more day by day." At the base of this understanding is faith. "What God does I must accept on faith, including the more spectacular things like healing." "I have a belief that if my spiritual life were better then control over my personal life and relationships would be better." The spiritual is not isolated nor dependent on the charismatic gifts, rather it is the union on the

intellectual plane of spiritual ideas with secular knowledge, which produces the crystal clear image. "Memory healing is both psychological and spiritual." The ideal is achieved through the combination of the spiritual, intellectual, and act.

The prayer group provides an example of the ideal Christian life that Jeff hopes to attain. The group is both a focus and medium through which this ideal can be achieved. This achievement is not divided into spiritual, experiential, or intellectual components, rather it is a combination of all three and this combination can only be secured through effort on Jeff's part.

Michel (Pseudonym)¹

Michel, a priest in his mid-thirties, is involved in the prayer group that is associated with his francophone Roman Catholic parish. Michel, a Quebecois, left the Université de Montréal to enter the religious community of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and was ordained as a priest in 1971. After his ordination, he requested his present parish in a francophone low income area of Montreal.

When Michel first entered the religious community, he experienced a happiness and peacefulness with the world. "When I entered the Oblates of Mary Immaculate community in 1967, I was especially happy with the community living there." But after his ordination, during his involvement with his parish, this feeling diminished to the point where:

"I was on the point of leaving the parish after three years of involvement because I always found myself blocked in my efforts to involve people in anything other than social-engagement type of activities."

¹Schwartz, interview 931, F.C. prayer meeting, January, 1976. (All quotes are based on this interview.)

It was this sense of frustration and lack of fulfillment that sparked his interest in the Charismatic Renewal when he "heard of the movement through priest-friends who were passing through Montreal."

"Initially, he was frustrated with his work in the parish. People were socially involved but there was no way to involve others in any 'spiritual' level. He saw Charismatic Renewal as a possible link between the social and spiritual."

Michel's predominant consideration was his work situation, his vocation of the priesthood. This vocation had to fulfill more than mundane and organizational concerns to be satisfying.

His concern with the integration between the spiritual and the social led him to discuss the question of a prayer group with other members of his religious community and parish.

"In the fall of 1974, got together with some people to talk about Charismatic Renewal group possibilities. Enlisted the aid of Brother R., a member of the O.M.I. community with the subject, as a 'guide' since he had already been active with Charismatic Renewal. They then familiarized themselves with it. They then started meetings in their own parish."

The prayer group was formed.

The prayer group provided Michel with assurance in his vocation, that his vocation is now fulfilling, and it has removed his doubts.

"I found support against doubts in the group, in seeing the influence of the group on individuals, in about ten cases or so."

"I see things accomplished through prayer."

"The action of the Spirit in life, is objective, can be verified."

"He can feel the validity in his own renewed self-confidence, had heard of success in testimonials."

The importance of the prayer group in this certitude is reflected in his comment referring to the prayer group: "They have an experience

in common where I feel group support." Michel feels that his capability in his vocation has improved since the prayer group began.

"There is a change with my opening to young people. I am more free in front of others. I am no longer paralyzed, for example, in front of young delinquents."

The prayer group has revitalized Michel's belief in his vocation and thus, he now finds his work easier.

Michel does not distinguish between himself and his vocation or role as a priest, rather the two are completely combined. This integration is evident in the goals that he wants to achieve through the prayer group and in his own personal life. These goals are: 1) through the group, "A new way of exercising ministry, to push the gospel in the life of the community and to recreate community, a church in this sector of Montreal"; and 2) personal goals, "to recreate the human and Christian fabric of life in the city." His primary concern is the fulfillment of his vocation and his self is viewed in terms of his vocation.

Michel does not limit his goals to either the prayer group or the parish, though these are his immediate concerns, he sees these goals on a global scale. "I feel a greater involvement on global level since Charismatic Renewal. I see more often the global context of mankind."

Michel was extremely involved with the Roman Catholic Church throughout his life, as exemplified by his choice of the priesthood as a vocation. But as a priest Michel felt unfulfilled, the organizational and social aspects of the priestly role submerged the spiritual dimension. This unfulfilling situation was remedied by the prayer

group, which is "the link between secular life and spiritual life." The prayer group provided Michel with the assurance that his vocation was meaningful and fulfilling and thus, his work improved. Michel views the prayer group as the "undergrids of my ministry right now." His area of action is not limited to the prayer group or even the parish but has a global concern. His mode of action is no longer to solely emphasis social action concerns but is a combination of the charismatic concern with the spiritual aspect united with social action. "Foresees a more social action for the prayer group. He receives support in what he saw as M. L. King's emphasis on changing the self before changing the world."

Susan (Pseudonym)¹

Susan, a member of an anglophone Anglican prayer group, is a fifty-six year old widow. She was born and raised in Québec, in a Protestant family. She attended church with her mother but when she began university, "I began to question my beliefs or what I thought." This questioning was not a rebellious negation of religion, rather it was an intellectual pursuit. "I began to read more philosophy and felt a need to sort out my own ideas. My husband felt the same way. Everything we read in the forties and fifties raised more doubts than anything else." This questioning process was accompanied by a withdrawal from the church. "We were not regular church goers. Trying to hang on to our childhood religious beliefs. I did not want to let them go but I could not booster them up." In the sixties she and her husband, a doctor, began to attend church again, "was perfunctory." She was

¹Sandul, interview 136, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.
(All quotes are based on this interview.)

Table 8 demonstrates that the response of these selected individuals are different to each factor, that there is no commonality between the responses of the individuals with the exception of the factors: the necessity of the prayer group and basis for belief that the methods work. The responses to the factor that the prayer group is necessary to achieve means and goals are all in the affirmative. The aspect that does vary between the individuals is the degree of necessity. The degree varies from essential to a needful aspect that is not absolutely necessary. The concern of Susan is not with the Charismatic prayer group but with a group in which experiences could be shared and support is received, and any group that encompasses this dimension would suffice. The responses to the factor, the basis of the belief that the method works, are all experiential. The elaboration of the type of experiential evidence varies in accordance with the goal the individual seeks.

The fact that there is no commonality between responses to the same factor is evident in the remaining factors. An example of this is the responses to the factor that is concerned with the individual's motive for participation in the prayer group. The responses cover the entire gamut from concern with the meaning of vocation (Michel) through concern with specific events (Janet) to the understanding of spiritual life (Jeff) to support (Susan). This variety is evident in the responses to all the other factors.

The commonality between the factors is not the responses to each factor but the responses of each individual to the factors. A common thread is evident throughout the responses of each individual. Michel's common thread can be stated as the meaningfulness of his

vocation, Janet's as concerned with specific experiences which exemplify the will of God, Jeff's as knowledge and understanding of the spiritual life, and Susan's as support. The degree of commonality is increased when the factors are considered as clusters that demonstrate a specific trait.

The first cluster that emerges is the factors that denote motive, goals, and how they will attain these goals. This is evident in relation to Jeff, in that all the factors are related to what he refers to as knowledge of the spiritual life -- this phrase is reiterated in the response to all three factors. This interrelatedness is also evident when these factors are viewed as a process. This process is motive-means - goals. It can be understood by a comparison to Niebuhr's paradigm of man-the-maker. The activity of man-the-maker is described as: "to act with the purpose of a desired future state of affairs in mind, and knows also how important it is to inquire into the fitness of the steps taken moment by moment in his movement toward the desired goal."¹ This paradigm demonstrates the interrelatedness of these three factors, the motive or purpose is dependent on the analysis of the ends and means.

The source of responsibility of the individual's action must be considered a separate factor as a result of the fact that it reflects the basis on which decisions in regards to action is made. God is the basis of the decision process in the interpretative network of Janet and Michel; the self does the will of God and the self is viewed as the instrument of God. Jeff perceives himself as the vessel

¹Niebuhr, The Responsible Self, p. 50.

of God; the interpretative network is constructed on the basis of knowledge received from the divine but the individual is still accountable for his action. Susan does not perceive the self as acting in union with the divine; rather her concern is for communal support.

The charismatic gifts reflect the unique feature of the prayer groups. Whereas the responses to the necessity of the prayer group were all affirmative, there are differences in the responses to this factor. The responses of Michel and Janet are that the charismatic gifts are important and validate their experiences, the means and goals; Jeff's view of the gifts is that although he has received the gifts they do not legitimize his experiences. Susan has not received any of the gifts and has no desire to receive them and does not consider this a deficit.

Although the factor, means of gaining assurance, is closely related to the cluster of motive, means and goals, the common thread is reiterated, it must be considered separately because the possession of this assurance distinguishes the religious virtuosi from the other members. The concept of religious virtuosi distinguishes Janet and Jeff who have gained means of assurance through experience and knowledge, while it presents problems in relation to Michel and Susan.

Michel, by virtue of his role as a priest in the institutionalized Church, receives the status of a religious virtuosi from his priesthood but he also receives personal assurance and status from his role in the prayer meeting. This problem of institutionalized virtuosi and charismatic virtuosi reflects the two components of the religious virtuosi, the personal certitude of salvation and the status accorded to the virtuosi by the prayer group.

The religious virtuosi who work methodologically at their salvation were now given a distinctive religious status within the community of the faithful, and within this circle they attained a degree of honour appropriate to their status.

On the personal level, the means of assurance Michel derived from his institutionalized role was not total as he was disillusioned with the priesthood prior to his involvement in Charismatic Renewal. The assurance he obtained as a result of his involvement in the prayer meeting reinforced the assurance that was derived from his vocation as a priest. His ministry was again valid and meaningful. The status the prayer meeting confers on the religious virtuosi distinguishes between the virtuosi who obtains assurance solely in relation to his role within the Church, and those who have the assurance as a result of their involvement in both the institutionalized Church and the prayer group -- the priest versus the charismatic priest. It is the latter who exemplifies the highest ideal of the prayer group.² The recognition by the prayer group of the two forms of religious virtuosi, with the virtuosi of the charismatic prayer group as the 'highest form', suggest that there is a distinctive type of virtuosi in relation to the Charismatic Renewal Movement. This type of virtuosi is possible because the movement is only partially distinct from the institutionalized Church.

Susan presents a difficulty in the opposite direction because she cannot be classified as a religious virtuosi. Although the status of a virtuosi was conferred on Susan as a result of the fact that she

¹Weber, Sociology of Religion, p. 162.

²The status accorded to the solely institutionalized virtuosi is not completely eliminated. A complete negation of this status would signify total alienation from the Church.

is a member of the leadership group in the A.A. prayer meeting, she does not exemplify the criterion of a virtuosi, who work methodologically at her salvation.¹ This lack is substantiated by comparing Susan's responses to the responses of the other three case studies. These three case studies all demonstrate a concern with a basis of personal legitimation through some consistent form of action, whereas Susan's only concern is with the existence of a group in which she feels close, secure and cared for. That comfort is the primary concern can be seen in Susan's responses. She does not have any gifts of the Spirit and does not consider this a deficit. She feels that the prayer group could be eliminated as her concern is with a support group rather than doctrinal concerns. Susan's orientation is to gain support from the group rather than pursuit of any goals. Susan's position reflects the general membership rather than that of a religious virtuosi. Although not a religious virtuosi, an analysis of this type of individual does increase our understanding of the prayer group.

The commonality evident in the responses of the individual and the isolation of clusters of factors leads to the assumption that on the basis of this heuristic model, Weberian ideal-types can be constructed. The construction of these hypothetical constructs is the concern of the next section.

Ideal-Types

Weber's description of his ideal-type is:

An ideal-type is formed by the one-sided accentuation.

¹Refer to Chapter Two for the requirements of core membership in the A.A. prayer meeting. Commitment is not required.

of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent concrete individual phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified analytical construct. In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality. It is a utopia.

The heuristic model demonstrated that the commonality of the responses of the participants to certain factors was the continuity in the participant's responses, thus it can be utilized as a guideline in the construction of the ideal-types. The heuristic model also provides the girders for the ideal-type in the cluster of factors. The ideal-type will necessitate that the responses to these factors are crystalized -- that a consistent and logical pattern for each type is formed. The construction of these ideal-types makes it possible to compare the individuals to the models and thus to understand the relationship of the individual to the prayer group and the rationale for the individual's involvement.

There emerges from each of the case studies a distinct type of individual when the concern of the individual is delineated. The primary concern of Janet can be seen as with discrete events, Jeff's concern as understanding spiritual life, Michel's as his vocation, and Susan's as support. On the basis of these types of concerns, four ideal-types can be constructed. These are: 1) the charismatic, called such because of the attitude to the charismatic gifts and the complete acceptance of the charismatic hermeneutic, 2) the knower, as a result of the concern with knowledge, 3) the vocation seeker, concerned with

Weber, "Objectivity in Social Science and Social Policy," *Methodology of Social Science*, trans. ed. Edward A. Shils and Henry A. Finch. (New York: Collier-MacMillan), p. 90.

vocation, and 4) the comforted, whose quest is for support. The factors that are guidelines are: 1) the objective of participation which is an amalgamation of the factors that relate to motive, means and goals in the heuristic model; 2) the source of the individual's responsibility; 3) means of gaining assurance; and 4) attitude to charismatic gifts.

TABLE 9

IDEAL-TYPES

Ideal-Type	Objectives of Participant	Source of Responsibility	Means of Gaining Assurance	Attitude to Charismatic Gifts
Charismatic	Feel powerless and concern is with specific and discrete events.	The self is surrendered to God. Self is an instrument of God.	A self-validating religious experience.	Extremely important. Validates.
Knower	Life is incomprehensible. Knowledge and understanding of spiritual life is sought.	God is source. Individual is accountable. Self as vessel of God.	Knowledge and understanding.	Important. Emphasis on nondramatic gifts.
Vocation Seeker	Justify and fulfill their vocation.	Self is surrendered to God. God reinforces the individual into action.	A fulfilling and meaningful vocation.	Important but role is de-emphasized in favour of Church doctrine.
Comforted	Personal support.	No source, self is important in so far as it is comforted.	Cared for and wanted.	Important only that they reaffirm person is cared for.

The names of the ideal-types are chosen because of the primary concern and are arbitrary.

The primary concern of the ideal-type called the charismatic is not with a comprehensive philosophical view of his/her existence and the world, but with discrete actions. The person surrenders the self to God; is an instrument of God. As a result of doing the will of God in each specific situation; he/she gains assurance that he/she will achieve the goals he has delineated. The charismatic gifts confirm that the participant is doing the will of God and thus, he confirms his assurance. The charismatic can be compared to Weber's world-rejecting ascetic who "is primarily orientated to activity within the world. Only activity within the world helps the ascetic to attain that for which he strives, a capacity for action for God's grace." It is only through action in the world, doing the will of God, that the charismatic receives his/her assurance. The charismatic can be considered the ideal of the prayer group since his/her life and his/her actions are at the will of God -- 'the Life in the Spirit has permeated every aspect of his/her personality'.

The focus of the ideal-type of the knower is knowledge and this focus is evident in all the factors. Here the objective and the means of gaining assurance is understanding, which assumes the form of a comprehensive philosophical view. The knower views the source of responsibility as God. The knower's interpretative network, the basis of his interpretation for actions and responses, is the philosophical conception of spiritual life, but he assumes responsibility for the consequences of his own action. This differs from the charismatic in which all aspects of responsibility is relinquished to God. The self,

¹Weber, Sociology of Religion, p. 169.

is a vessel of God not in relation to the avoidance of action, but in relation to the goal of mystical knowledge which is: "...the perception of an overall meaning in the world."¹ The knower receives his knowledge as a gift of grace. It is the possession of knowledge, as an understanding of the faith, that assures the individual that his goals are being achieved. For the knower, the charismatic gifts reinforce his position but the primary concern is with the non-dramatic gifts, such as, knowledge, faith, and love.

The prerequisite of the ideal-type called the vocation seeker is a religious vocation within the institutionalized Church. The quest of this ideal-type is a reaffirmation of this vocation, to quell doubts that have arisen in regards to it. He attempts to find reinforcement via the prayer meeting for his/her vocation. When vocation is reaffirmed, action in the world is directed by God and the self is viewed as an instrument of God. The reaffirmation of the vocation is when the vocation is seen to be meaningful and validated. The immediate goals have been achieved and the individual receives his assurance from this attainment. The vocation seeker's attitude to the charismatic gifts is modified by his position in the institutionalized Church; the gifts are important but do not negate the sacramental and mediated charism of the Church.

The comforter seeks only one goal, that of comfort. There is no methodological pursuit or plan of salvation, the concern of the individual is not soteriological or goal orientated, rather it is an immediate concern with overwhelming circumstances that can be nullified

¹Ibid., p. 170.

by a group which he/she close to. The charismatic gifts are only important to the degree of the value the prayer group places on them. If the gifts are a criterion of membership, they are important to the individual who envisions himself as part of a community. If the gifts are not a criterion of membership, their importance to the participant decreases. This ideal-type reflects the least amount of change in life situation and cognitive processes when compared to the other ideal-types.

The function of the ideal-type is an attempt to analyze the individuals who are involved in the prayer groups. From the research of the three prayer meetings there emerges from the innumerable variety of psychological possibilities four ideal-types. These ideal-types obtain their means of assurance from the areas of action, knowledge, vocation and comfort. These four ideal-types will aid in the analysis of the personal dimension of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. Individual participants can be compared to these ideal-types. This attempt is demonstrated by the presentation of the following case study and an analysis of it in relation to the factors that define the ideal-types.

Paul (Pseudonym)¹

Paul, an engineer in his mid-forties, has been a member of an anglophone Anglican prayer group since 1971. He was born in Manitoba and by the age of thirteen both his parents had died. This entailed a dramatic change in his life, which was accompanied by a strong feeling of aloneness. "I was too young. I went off to school. I had no one

¹Sandul, interview 135, A.A. prayer meeting, April, 1976.
(All quotes are from this interview.)

to share these things with (his feelings and activities). My aunt and uncle I saw just on holidays and they are not the type I could talk to."

A result of these feelings of aloneness was that Paul became involved with the Church.

"I had lost my parents and plunged into a private school with chapel every morning and church three times on Sunday. I found a great deal of comfort because it (the church) made me feel close to my parents."

Paul's involvement with the organized church never experienced a complete estrangement, rather it continued through university, "I was involved with the Student Christian Movement," and in his later life.

"I was looking for something for a long time that was like that commitment of the Early Church in Acts. When I looked at the Church I did not see any similarities... the sixties were a steady secularization of the Church... By the end of the sixties, I was not even praying any more and, pretty well, saw the fruit of my membership in the church as being an active person in local organizations and supporting good causes. I ended by being president of the Home and School... I did not realize that I was going down a road that did not lead to joy or power in the life of the Christian community. The life of the Christian community was secularized."

Paul's first encounter with the Charismatic Renewal Movement was via a booklet by O'Connor on the Catholic Pentecostals. This booklet was given to him by a fellow member of his parish, who approached Paul with the intention of forming a prayer group.

"This movement came along within a whole group of civil rights workers. Despite all good efforts there was no power or joy. You can help people but not convert them to Jesus. They settled down to pray for the renewal. I read this. It was parallel to where I was at. I said WOW! ... I really wanted the Baptism of the Holy Spirit promised pretty badly. It was like coming home -- this is what I had been looking for all these years."

For Paul, the prayer group was the end of a quest. It revitalized his spiritual life. "I was searching, my experience did that (revitalize spiritual life)."

Although Paul's Baptism of the Holy Spirit can be categorized in terms of conversion as the non-dramatic type because he was initially within a religious perspective, it had a transforming element that cannot be negated. This transformation in Paul's life is best exemplified by his description of the Baptism and his actions after the Baptism of refusing a transfer, although he may have been unemployed.

Baptism of the Holy Spirit:

"I remember he prayed for us to be baptized in the Spirit...I went to bed. I stretched out on the bed. Suddenly I made the same sounds that I heard downstairs. A letting go experience with a tremendous sense of joy, I never experienced before. The experience of love, for the first time something was coming down on me with total selflessness. A tremendous coming out of myself...there was a whole new life. A love of the Spirit. One I was not aware of that you could live in and grow in."

Action After Baptism:

"Shortly after I received the Baptism of the Holy Spirit, the whole section (of his job) was transferred to Kingston. Because of my involvement, I felt that I could not leave. I asked if I could be left in Montreal. For three or four months I had no assurance I would be given a job. A great test of courage. I looked at it as an objective event... I got away from the oppression that the family has instilled -- success, get ahead, social acceptability. I lived from week to week, in love with the church. I wanted to be around the building."

To Paul these two experiences, the first, a transforming experience and the second, an affirmation of his experience, were both acts of faith.

"Experienced when I declined the transfer and could be unemployed.

God gave me the gift of faith. I do not worry. I knew I would be all right."

The goals that Paul wanted to attain as a result of his involvement in the prayer group and his personal goals are:

"The Baptism of the Holy Spirit has put me in a situation where I am being taught to rest in the Lord, wait for instructions and not set up goals. One's disobedience and rebellion becomes the biggest sorrow because there is this incredible life and source of power when one walks in the Spirit...In order to life closely with this presence becomes the goal. To rest in, wait for instructions, and to obey is the goal. That is the death of the self-will and ultimately the death of the self."

These goals, the classical charismatic goals, can be summarized as: 1) to do what God tells me to do; and 2) to experience the indwelling of the Spirit. Paul's ideal portrait of the achievement of these goals is the Early Christian community in Acts.

The means that Paul utilizes in the achievement of these goals are intrinsically related to the goals themselves. When asked what techniques he found most useful, his response to the probes was to reformulate the technique to conform with his ideal of faith and its association with the death of the self, "the ego has to be crucified." This reformulation is evident in the response to the probe: Service to others.

"The absolute basis but I would say in the context of the faith. I would see it as operating from an openness to other's position. The willingness, the ability, the power to be patient, and be with those who I otherwise would not have patience to be with, in contrast to doing good by helping others seen as earning one's way into heaven. We are so naturally selfish and deprived, we are not going to be reconciled to God through good works -- only reconciliation to God is through the blood of Jesus."

Fasting is not seen as a method of self-discipline but rather as an external dramatization of an internal event. "To the extent that it

dramatizes this whole process of self denial and surrendering oneself." Although Paul does view these techniques as a means to an end, the means are so permeated with the ends that there is not accurate separation of them.

Paul views the prayer group as the communal dimension of his relationship with the Holy Spirit.

"I would see -- God says love thy neighbour as they self -- the experience of loving others is very much wrapped up with the prayer meeting. For me it is the first experience of loving others, caring about them. Close enough to them to share with."

For Paul the communal dimension as the second commandment extends it to include the entire Christian community. "I find that my focus, much more than it used to be, is on the Christian community rather than on family."

As a result of his 'new life' Paul has experienced the fruits and gifts of the Spirit. The fruits are faith and the gifts are: "tongues, the greatest gift ever given to me"; "healing, I have exercised it on myself. We have laid on hands, once or twice immediate healing. I have not a great deal"; miracle, "the rain stopping a sign to the weekend that it was an important event in the eyes of God"; wisdom, "I have been right on some occasions than I would normally be"; and interpretation of tongues, especially in prophecy, "I do not have the clarity of a prophecy rather reporting thoughts that come into my own head."

Paul's situation is unique because although like most charismatics his closest friends are involved with the prayer group, his wife is not involved. She has tried to dissuade him from joining the prayer group.

"My wife is fairly impatient with the whole thing. She would see it as a senseless enthusiasm, see it as being religious which to her is a very tiresome sort of concept and a nuisance to live with."

Prior to Paul's conversion to Charismatic Renewal, he could be classified as a 'typical' parish member. The Baptism of the Holy Spirit was experienced by Paul as justification by faith, in the classical Lutheran sense, "the only reconciliation to God is through the blood of Jesus." He is attempting to live this act of faith on a daily basis. Every obstacle, including the impatience of his wife, "the family has gone on well," is overcome by the Holy Spirit. For Paul, the gift of the Holy Spirit, especially tongues, are of vital importance, and this is demonstrated by the fact that it was not the actual act of the Baptism that was transforming but it was the gift of tongues.

An analysis of the case study of Paul in relation to the factors that elaborate the ideal-types produces the following results.

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF PAUL

Objective of Participation	Source of Responsibility	Mean of gaining Assurance	Attitude to Gifts
1. Revitalize spiritual life.	Death of self-will and the self.	Experience of faith in discrete acts. Refusing transfer.	Important. Validate experience.
2. Do what God tells.			

A comparison of these responses to the four ideal-types demonstrates that Paul's orientation is closest to that of the ideal-type identified as 'the charismatic' (refer to Table 9). One response of

Paul's, his objective to revitalize his spiritual life, does not correspond to the charismatic ideal-type; rather it approximates that of 'the knower'. The remainder of the responses correspond to those of the charismatic, not the knower. Paul's second objective is to do the will of God, and the self is viewed as an instrument of God. The decision making process is in the 'hands' of the Spirit, as the self must die. The means by which Paul gains assurance is through discrete acts. The charismatic gifts are seen as a tool of validation. Therefore, although he articulated the goal to revitalize his spiritual life, his primary goal is not knowledge, rather it is to do the will of God and this is achieved through discrete acts. Paul's orientation reflects the ideal-type of the charismatic.

Conclusions

The communal rituals and the hermeneutic of the prayer meetings defines the experiences of the individual within the concepts of the 'Baptism of the Holy Spirit' and the 'Life in the Holy Spirit'. For the participants, the Life in the Spirit, is seen as the action of the Holy Spirit within the life of the individual. An example of the Life in the Spirit is:

...I had to do something about my studies, or give them up. I finally reached the point of giving them over to the Lord. If he wanted me to, I would give up my studies, but all the signs seemed to point to continuing them.

In this chapter, the personal dimension, the individual's orientation within the board category of the Life in the Spirit was illuminated by an analysis of 'what' the person hopes to attain as a

¹Pat Bourgeois, "Another Step," The New Covenant (February, 1973), p. 15.

result of his involvement in the prayer group. Each person interviewed articulated goals and objectives that he hoped to attain as a result of involvement. By analyzing these goals and the manner in which the person gained assurance that these goals were attained, it was possible to construct Weberian ideal-types. These ideal-types reflected the variety of orientations that were evident within the prayer meeting. The ideal-types constructed were: the knower, the charismatic, the vocation seeker, and the comforted. These orientations are a crystallization of personal experience. From this analysis of specific experiences, it is possible to imply certain attributes to the concept of the Life in the Spirit.

The Life in the Spirit is a perspective of reality, an orientation to the world -- the way in which the person perceives his existential and religious reality. It is a conception of the 'ideal life' in which commitment to and receptivity to the Holy Spirit are central. To 'live in the Spirit' is think first about God's purpose not individual needs.

Situation: Mr. and Mrs. J. have been coming to the community meetings for almost two years. Lately they have not been coming -- 'It just doesn't do anything for us anymore'.

Analysis: Another relationship pattern that we bring from the world is relating on the basis of need. This couple related to the community on the basis of personal felt needs. When their needs are not being met there anymore, they left. That is a bad relationship; the right kind of relationship is one of commitment that does not depend on whether one's own needs of the moment are being taken care of.

The hypothesis, that the Life in the Spirit is a definition of

¹ Kerry Koller, "Christian Personal Relationships," The New Covenant, (December, 1973), p. 8.

the world, is reinforced in the literature which refers to the persons prior to involvement as "sons of darkness" and those who committed themselves as "sons of light."¹ Pre-involvement is a definition of reality that is contrasted with the definition of reality after involvement. The participant has a 'new way' by which to define his existence and the world. This redefinition is poignantly demonstrated by the following quote.

As for God's power in my life, I did notice quite a change. I can honestly say I am more aware of God's totally sovereign power that I every was before. But my questions and dissatisfaction still remain. In fact, I am probably more dissatisfied now than before, but somehow this is a good dissatisfaction.²

The specific problems and needs of the individual are redefined by this 'new' perspective. In this instance the questions and dissatisfaction no longer have the connotation of negativity, but have through the 'new definition' become right. The Life in the Spirit is a manner of perceiving and reacting to the world that is a 'new' definition when compared to the pre-involvement of the person. This definition is not a solution to immediate needs and problems (this does not negate the fact that many of the participants belong to the group because it is a source of support), rather it is a reinterpretation of the person's problems.

This perspective of reality also contains a sense of expectancy. The individual expects certain feelings, behavior, and results from this definition of reality. This expectation can be explored in relation to

¹B. Ghezzi, "Jesus, the Light Shining in the Darkness," The New Covenant, (June, 1974), p. 5.

²David Mangan, "Only a Beginning," The New Covenant, (February, 1973), p. 9.

the gifts of the Spirit and prayer. When the gifts of the Spirit are viewed within this framework, they dramatically validate the sense of expectancy. The gifts of the Spirit occur only after the person has received the Baptism of the Spirit, and the individual expects, as a result of the hermeneutic of the group, to receive them. The individual opens himself to this experience and assumes that as a result of the baptism he will receive them.

The sense of expectancy is also evident in relation to prayer. When the individual prays for a specific occurrence or that a sign be given, the expectation is that the event will occur. This expectancy was articulated by a participant in the anecdote that: "I wanted to go for a holiday to my godmother's. I needed X plus \$50.00. I said, 'God, I need your help if you want me to go.' I received a chèque for \$100.00.¹

This perspective of reality contains a 'fail-safe mechanism', that when the expectations are not fulfilled the perspective of reality does not have to be abandoned. This mechanism is illuminated by the description of the 'proper' attitude when a healing has not occurred.

I have absolute confidence God answers my prayer, whether I see the results or not. Because of his wisdom, which so far surpasses mine, I trust that he understands, even when I don't, every motive, every circumstance involved in my prayer for this healing of a particular person. Because of my ignorance I sometimes pray for a mistaken thing, or in a mistaken way, so I do not see the results turn out as I think they should. But these will turn out as God in his wisdom sees best.²

The lack of fulfillment is not a result of the wrong perspective, rather it can be attributed to various factors. These factors are: 1) that

¹ Sandul, interview 134, A.C. prayer meeting, March, 1976.

² Fr. F. MacNutt, "The Faith to be Healed," The New Covenant, (December, 1973), p. 19.

there may be a fault in the method of procedure; 2) that the event prayed for may not be the right event or the appropriate request; 3) that the person does not see the results as he is incapable of knowing the will of God; and 4) that this may not be the appropriate time for the event to occur.

This definition of reality, the Life in the Spirit, is an orientation to the world that includes the element of expectancy. The participants expect certain results from the performance of certain procedures, their dedication, and their fervour. If the expected results are not obtained, there is no necessity to abandon the perspective because the failure can be attributed to magical causes, the difference in gnosis, and a time differentiation.

Within the orientation called the Life in the Spirit, there is a means of validating this perspective. The discussion of the ideal-types stated that the gifts of the Spirit validated the experiences of the participant. The primary source of validation is the prayer meeting. (The heuristic model of the case studies demonstrated that the existence of the prayer meeting was an essential aspect of the individual's attainment of goals.) The function of the testimonials in the prayer meeting is to validate the perspective of reality. They affirm that the expectancy of the individual has been fulfilled. An example of the validation evident in testimonials is:

"During the holidays I was working in a hospital, long hours. I was exhausted to the point where I could easily make a mistake, which could have been fatal. I went to my office, I prayed, 'Jesus, I give everything over to you. My exhaustion and my work.' After this I found myself completely renewed with energy. We must give everything over the Jesus."

¹Sandul, fieldnotes, A.C. prayer meeting, January 5, 1976.

The Life in the Spirit is an all encompassing definition of the world by which the individual redefines his life after his involvement. It includes a sense of expectancy and a source of validation. The construction of the ideal-types reflected the individual's orientation within this perspective of reality.

CHAPTER IV

INFERENCES

The analysis of the research with the three prayer meetings, has demonstrated the diversity evident in the prayer groups but it has also pointed to the commonality between the prayer groups. The commonality of the meetings on the communal dimension is the feeling of power and the community of equals. The degree and the pursuit of these common features differ (spontaneous *communitas* and normative *communitas*) and the relationship to the Church differ as a result of the attainment of these common features (the development of alternate structures). The personal dimension demonstrated the variety of orientations within the prayer meeting but the personal orientation is within a common perspective of reality, the Life in the Spirit. On the basis of the analysis of the commonality and diversity of the prayer groups, it is possible to draw inferences that are applicable to the Charismatic Renewal Movement as a whole. The inferences are in relation to the appeal of the movement and its position in regards to the institutionalized Church.

The appeal of the movement can be illuminated by an analysis in which the prayer meeting and society are viewed as polar opposites. The commonality of the prayer meetings is accentuated and society is viewed as a unit. This consideration of the prayer meetings and society as polar opposites crystalizes the implication, that in relation to certain factors, the two provide alternates. The factors are: feelings of power, modes of interrelatedness, the basis unit of interaction, and definitions of reality.

TABLE 11
POLAR OPPOSITES

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Society</u>	<u>Prayer Groups</u>
Power	Powerless	Powerful
Interrelatedness	Hierarchical	Equals
Basis unit	Nuclear family	Community
Reality	Multiplicity	Unified

Society is often viewed as bureaucratic, impersonal, and distant, and often as a result individuals perceive themselves as powerless and ineffectual in regards to effecting change. The form of interrelatedness which is normative in society is stratified and based on status. It is hierarchical. The basic social unit of society is the 'nuclear family'. The person's intimate interaction is limited to this sphere. Society does not provide an uniform perspective by which the individual can orientate himself to the world, rather there is a multiplicity of philosophical positions, such as Marxism and Utilitarianism.

The prayer groups, when viewed as the polar opposite of society, can be seen as providing the participant with alternatives to these factors. The comparison of the prayer meeting to Victor Turner's concept of *communitas*, illuminated the idea that the prayer meeting and its related experiences, especially the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and the gifts of the Spirit, are a source of feeling of power. The individual no longer perceives himself as powerless, rather he feels that he can effect change. (In the rhetoric of the movement, the changes occur at the direction of the Holy Spirit.) The form of interrelatedness, again viewed in relation to the concept of *communitas*, is one in which the participants are equals. There is no hierarchical basis in relation

to this form and the hierarchical form of impersonal interrelatedness that are evident in society are excluded. The prayer meeting is the community of equals, that can be viewed in opposition to the basic social unit of society, the nuclear family. Community is a key aspect. In this community, the individual's form of interrelatedness is that of an equal is extended beyond the perimeters of the family to include a large number of people, the prayer meeting, with whom he identifies and can be intimate. The meeting offers the person a unified and cohesive definition of the world. This perspective can be equated with the Life in the Spirit. This unified orientation redefines the individual's existence and problems, defines the individual's expectations, and is validated by the community of equals.

The movement can be seen as providing the person with an unified orientation to the world within a community of equals where the individual has a feeling of power. These attributes are an antithesis of those that are evident in society. The individual feels that he is no longer at the whims of the 'fates' or in darkness but is now directed by an 'all powerful force' and emerged into light.

These factors of power, equality, community, and a unified perspective of reality are the appeal of the movement. The potency of this appeal, which is in antithesis to society, is a factor in the rapid growth of the Charismatic Renewal Movement. Statistics of the rapid growth are:

At the National conference of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States the number of participants have increased from 90 people in 1967, to 150 in 1968, 450 in 1969, over 1,300 in 1970, 4,500 in 1971, 12,000 in 1972 and 20,000 in 1973.¹

¹ New Covenant. April, 1973, p. 7.

Another contributing factor to the rapid growth of the movement is the diversity that is evident between prayer meetings and in the individual's relationship to the group. This diversity of the prayer meeting has been presented in relation to the variables of membership, utilization of linguistic forms, the routinization of rituals and the leadership. The prayer meeting may strive to reinforce its own structures, or it may be a group in which the person feels secure, loved, and comforted, a parish activity type of group.

The 'Life of the Spirit' for the participant is a definition, a perspective of reality, that is all encompassing. The persons reinterpret their problems, anxieties, and needs in the terms of this perspective when they are committed to the prayer meeting and have accepted its paradigm of reality. Within this paradigm, the participants have an expectation that a certain attitude (being receptive to the Spirit), behavior (being led by the Spirit), and actions (for example, prayer) will yield a certain type of results, for example, a healing. This orientation to the world is in turn validated by the results that are received. Testimonials are the forms by which the confirming results are articulated. If the desired results are not received, the paradigm does not have to be abandoned, since within the perspective there is an elaborated rationale for the lack of results. This lack can be attributed to magical causes, the difference in knowledge between God and man, and a time differentiation.

The 'Life in the Spirit' is the all encompassing definition of reality within which the participants formulate their own personal orientations. The personal orientation is exemplified by the ideal-types. The individual may belong to the prayer meeting to fulfill the

goals: doing the will of God in discrete acts as evident in the ideal-type of the charismatic, revitalize spiritual life as in the knower; seek meaning and validation for his vocation as in the vocation seeker; or simply, belong to a group where the person feels a part of the community, cared for, and receives comfort and support as in the comforted. The 'Life in the Spirit' is an all encompassing perspective of the world in which the person pursue his/her own orientation.

The variety that is evident in both the prayer meeting and the personal orientations is a major factor in the appeal of the movement. The movement has the commonality within a board framework, but within this framework the group and the individual can express their own idea of what it is to be charismatic. These are legitimate variations that express the individual nature of the experience. An analogy to this is that the forest is specified by the movement, but the group and the person select their own trees.

The movement as stated in the analysis of the communal dimension, has not severed its ties with the institutionalized Churches. An inference that can be drawn from this fact is that the movement, after the dissipation of its initial fervour, have become a legitimate parish activity. This tendency is evident in the concern of some of the participants to 'revitalize the Church'. The prayer group could become intimate groups where the individuals could share their concerns and feel that their spiritual lives were meaningful.

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