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Charismatic Renewal as Twentieth Century Utopia: An Analysis of the New Jerusalem Community

Michael E. Weissbuch
Loyola University Chicago

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Michael E. Weissbuch has been read and approved by the following committee:

Fr. Thomas M. Gannon, S.J.
Chairman, and Director
Associate Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. John Hickey
Associate Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. Helena Lopata
Professor, Sociology, Loyola

Dr. Robert J. McNamara
Professor, Sociology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requiements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

Thomas M. Gannon, S.J.
Director's Signature

CHARISMATIC RENEWAL AS TWENTIETH CENTURY UTOPIA: AN ANALYSIS OF THE NEW JERUSALEM COMMUNITY

by

Michael E. Weissbuch

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment Of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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While many have been prophecying the doom of religion, a new movement of religious reaffirmation, the Charismatic Renewal, has gained a significant following throughout the world. The growth of new Christian communities has implications that reach beyond their being simply reflections of renewed religious commitment or examples of religion trying to fit the structural framework of modern society. These communities represent moves toward an existential communalism in response to what members perceive as societies shift toward more impersonalized and dehumanized forms of living. Hence, man's present quest for utopia reflects a desire to interact on a more personal level with his fellow men.

This study is an exploratory, descriptive study of New Jerusalem, a Catholic Charismatic community centered in Cincinnati, Ohio, with a range of 375-450 members. The sociological problem involved in this investigation is whether the New Jerusalem Community, a concrete manifestation of the Charismatic Renewal, is a model of twentieth century Utopian attempts. Also of concern is the structure and patterns that make up the life-style of community members and their implications for the community and society at large.

The field work technique might appropriately be termed "observer as occasional participant." This observational approach, coupled with "free-story" interviewing and a brief informational survey, constitute the complete methodological plan. In order to investigate New Jerusalem as a Utopia, two typologies were chosen as structures for the examination process:

1) The functional prerequisites of a society (Aberle, et alk, 1950)

are a continuation of Parsons' (1949) work and are applicable to smaller units of analysis, such as the community. This assumption, that utopian communities are microcosms of societies in general or of projected utopian societies, is critical in accepting these prerequisites as dimensions of analysis.

2) The commitment mechanisms Kanter (1972) refers to are continuance, cohesion and control. To commitment processes, one detaching and one attaching, accompany each for of commitment.

New Jerusalem has a charismatic leader, a young Franciscan priest, and the members claim to experience the gift of charisms such as prophecy and glossolalia. While a large portion of the membership lives scattered throughout Cincinnati, in the area around their headquarters members live in either mixed-sex singles household or extended families. Leadership is dominated by women, who also constitute the majority of membership of the community. The institutional church has lent support throughout the history of the group.

For several of the functional prerequisites (shared goals, control of disruptive behavior), New Jerusalem is dependent upon the outer society for structural guidance and enforcement. Lack of self-sufficiency in these areas means some loss of control of membership. Evaluation of New Jerusalem's commitment mechanisms show that its detaching characteristics (sacrifice, renunciation, mortification) are very weak. Two of its attaching mechanisms (investment, communion) are also weak, but the third characteristic, transcendence, rates very highly. The strength of the transcendence characteristic is due to the charisma of the leader. If transcendence were weakened with his loss to the group, there would be no single, strong commitment mechanism present. The community, however, is becoming increasingly bureaucratized and authoritarian. This enhances its chances of survival, for both Kanter and Gardner (1978) found that authoritarian religious communities have high rates of success.

New Jerusalem may indeed be a model; it seems to truly be a community of love and renewed religious fervor as intended.

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VITA

The author, Michael E. Weissbuch, is the son of William and Bertha Weissbuch. He was born July 22, 1947, in Baltimore, Maryland.

His elementary education was obtained in the public schools of Long Island, New York, and secondary education at the Great Neck North High School, Great Neck, New York, where he was graduated in 1965.

In September, 1965, he entered the State University of New York at Plattsburgh, and in June, 1969, received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in sociology. In September, 1969, he was granted an assistantship at Ball State University. In August, 1970, he was awarded the Master of Arts in Sociology

In September, 1970, he began his teaching career as an instructor of sociology at Valparaiso University. In September, 1972, he was granted a teaching assistantship at Loyola University of Chicago. In September, 1974, having completed course work and examinations at Loyola, he accepted a position as assistant professor of sociology at Xavier University where he is presently employed.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

During the past two decades, one of the primary topics of discussion in America has been the decline of religion. Cox (1965:1) noted that "the rise of urban civilization and the collapse of traditional religion are the two main hallmarks of our era and are closely related movements." Secularization and the rise of technocracy, along with a weakening moral solidarity in Western society, have been pointed out as indicative of the waning influence of religious values. Gannon (1973) speaks of the obviously increasing secularity of the United States as occurring despite data indicating a "continued vitality of religion" in this country. He states (1973:201) that "while a large number of the American clergy are activists who bring their religious principles to bear on the everyday lives of their people, the churches--and organized religion generally--appear to be increasingly out of step with the needs of time . . ." Berger (1961:34) states that "within the broad areas of political, economic and social life, religions appear to be of little relevance. The logic of policy and decision-making in these areas is overwhelmingly secular in character."

Paradoxically, while many have been prophesying the doom of religion, a new movement of religious reaffirmation, the Charismatic Renewal, has gained a significant following throughout the world. The growth of new Christian communities has implications that reach beyond their being simply reflections of renewed religious commitment or examples

of religion trying to fit the structural framework of modern society. The complexity of man's social life has increased, exacerbating problems of impersonality, anonymity, and "dehumanization." Gannon (cf. 1973), referring to the new "millennialism" among young persons, notes that "what moves these young people is only in part a desire for the simple life, religious ecstasy, and justification. There is a more desolate yearning to reduce the complexity of contemporary life to manageable form." Glock and Bellah (1976), in questioning the "epiphenomenality" of the youth counterculture of the 1960's from a 1970's vantage point, noted that numerous alternative life-styles survived that period. They (1976: Prefact) perceived that "there is precedent in history for movements that began in a call for political change to be later transformed into movements of religious innovation, . . ." In an era, however, of what had appeared to be growing secularization, increasing emphasis on religious revitalization seemed hardly in the cards. Yet dozens of new religious and quasi-religious movements, some attracting followers in the hundreds of thousands, have become a significant part of the counter-culture's heritage.

Efforts at establishing practical Utopian experiments have become increasingly appealing. While historically the Utopian attempts in the United States have been rather elaborate, since the advent of the "hippie" communes of the early 1960's the trend has been toward smaller, rather quickly conceived and executed communities. These communities represent moves toward an existential communalism in response to what members perceive as societies shift toward more impersonalized and dehumanized forms of living. Hence, man's present quest for Utopia reflects a desire to interact on a more personal level with his fellow

men. Do these charismatic communities then indicate that a return to religion, rather than simply socio-political disenchantment, is the foundation upon which new utopian attempts are being laid?

Most of the literature regarding charismatic renewal has been directed toward explaining the ideologies and theologies of the movement (O'Conner, 1971; Williams, 1972) or delineating the social characteristics of those belonging to the movement (Fichter, 1975). While the "intentional communities" or utopias of the 1960's and early 1970's have been studied to some extent, little has been written sociologically about the structures and life-styles of the new charismatic communities. We hold the view that these charismatic communities may be considered "utopian," and their emergence may have far-reaching implications for the future of our society.

Theory Orientation

The charismatic movement has culminated in the establishment of a number of covenant and non-covenent communities, (e.g., the New Jerusalem, Ann Arbor Group, etc.). Fichter (1975) claims that the original charismatic groups intended freedom and spontaneity as a basis upon which to grow, not organized structures. He notes, however, that the "cult of the Paraclete," as he refers to the movement, has met the worldly requirements for the spread of a social movement. These requirements include: (a) leadership, (b) an ideology, (c) a program, (d) communication, and (e) a favorable public image (cf. Fichter, 1975).

At the local levels, in areas where the movement has become strong, all of these functional prerequisites are clearly in evidence. Local leaders form the pastoral team under whose benign supervision the various service teams and ministries operate. A high level sub-unit is

the core community, which is made up of the more faithful and enthusiastic members and promotes Life-in-the Spirit and Growth-in-the Spirit seminars. The regular weekly prayer meetings are augmented by the monthly Day of Renewal and the occasional diocesan, statewide, or regional conference. The New Jerusalem community seems to have gathered a population of Christians seeking an elusive goal, that of a more perfect life through a reaffirmation of their faith. While New Jerusalemites may not necessarily view themselves as having established a "utopian venture," they appear along with the other religious communities, Christian and otherwise, to represent the newest attempts at establishing utopian settlements.

It should be clear that, in describing New Jerusalem as an utopian community, we are using the concept somewhat differently than Mannheim (1936) does. In differintiating "utopia" from "ideology," Mannheim suggests that a utopia not only transcends reality, but must be revolutionary when it does become reality. Important, however, is the notion that ideologies must become embodied in actual conduct, to have a concrete social form of existence, in order to be considered utopian. He states (Mannheim, 1936), "For the Sociologist, 'existence' is that which is 'concretely effective,' i.e., a functioning social order, which does not exist only in the imagination of certain individuals but according to which people really act. Every concretely 'operating order of life' is to be conceived and characterized most clearly by means of the particular economical and political structure on which it is based. But it embraces also all those forms of human 'living together' (specific forms of love, sociability, conflict, etc.) which the structure makes possible or requires; and also all those modes and forms of experience and thought which are characteristic of this social system and are consequently congruous with it."

Mannheim thus introduces two levels of existence in utopian situations: a "structural-functional level and a "communal" level. This distinction is pertinent to the present analysis. Blau (1965) also provides an additional clue by considering that organizations have different levels --each of which can be a focus for comparative analyais. Role analysis and structural analysis refer to attitudes and behaviors or structured form, and the suggested methodologies accompanying them are interviewing for the former and intensive observation for the latter.

Consequently, in order to investigate New Jerusalem as a utopian situation, two typologies were chosen as structures for the examination process: the functional prerequisites of a society (Aberle, et al., 1950) and the three forms of commitment espoused by Kanter (1972). The "functional prerequisites" are a continuation of Parsons (1949) works, and are applicable to smaller units of analysis, such as the community. This assumption, that utopian communities are microcosms of societies in general or of projected utopian societies, is critical in accepting these prerequisites as dimensions of analysis. The first section of analysis of New Jerusalem, therefore, will follow the nine functional prerequisites (see Chapter III).

Regarding the second step of the study, analysis of commitment, Kanter (1972) states:

> Commitment links self-interest to social requirements. A person is committed to a relationship or to a group to the extent that he sees it as expressing or fulfilling some fundamental part of himself; he is committed to the degree that he perceives no conflict between its requirements and his own needs; he is committed to the degree that he can no longer meet his needs elsewhere. When a person is committed, what he wants to do (through external feeling) is the same as what he has to do (according to external demands), and thus he gives to the group what it needs to maintain itself at the same time that he gets what

> he needs to nourish his own sense of self. To a great extent, therefore, commitment is not only important for the survival of a community, but also is part of the essence of community.

The three types of commitment Kanter refers to are continuance, cohesion and control. A particular orientation and two commitment processes accompany each form of commitment. The second section of analysis will deal primarily with these six commitment processes (see Chapter III).

Terminology

One of the most elusive terms in sociological literature is the term "utopia," for the word is used to describe both fanciful and actual states of affairs. While definitions of the term tend to be incomplete, the power of utopian thought and utopian movements have greatly affected our social existence. According to Tillich (1951), the root of utopian power "is the essential--the ontological--discontent of man in every direction of his being. No utopia would have power if it were exclusively economic or exclusively intellectual or exclusively religious."

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1972) defines utopia in a positive manner as "the imaginary society in which humankind's deepest yearnings, noblest dreams, and highest aspirations come to fulfillment, where all physical, social, and spiritual forces work together, in harmony, to permit the attainment of everything people find necessary and desirable." She speaks of utopian communities as being characteristically cooperative, self-chosen, and self-created. "Utopia (cf. Kanter, 1972) is held together by commitment rather than coercion, for in utopia what people want to do is the same as what they have to do; the interests of individuals are congruent with the interests of the group; and personal growth and freedom entail responsibility for others." Thus, two

factors--dissatisfaction with the present state of being coupled with an everpresent desire to strive for perfection in life--combine to form the primary characteristics of an utopia. A more explicit determination would be inappropriate, for the term, as shall be indicated later, may be used in a variety of ways.

Stephen Clark (1972) defined a basic Christian community as "an environment of Christians which can provide for the basic needs of its members to live the Christian life. As such it is the smallest self-sustaining unit of Christian living. In it, its members can find on a regular basis all they need for living the Christian life. Following this definition the term "community" will be used in this study to refer to two specific group situations. When used to indicate the "New Jerusalem Community," the unit of analysis includes all the committed and recognized members of the general organization. The term "Winton Place Community" refers to members of New Jerusalem who have moved to the area in which the organization is physically centered. Occasionally discussion will focus on the latter group, making this "community within the community" distinction necessary.

The last major term to be discussed is the word "charismatic." The community being studied is part of the movement known as the Charismatic church or Charismatic renewal. Fichter (1975) points out that American Catholic charismatics "focus their devotion on the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, the third divine person of the Trinity." Charisms are grace of powers granted to Christians in order to promote the good of Church. Clark (1972) remarks that "the charismatic renewal is a combination of a set of practices (praying with people to be baptized in the Spirit, praying with them for healing, speaking in tongues and

prophecy, spontaneous worship, etc.), and an informally structured type of meeting (the prayer meeting and the Day of Renewal)." According to William Olsen (1974) these "manifestations are to enable individual believers to fulfill their role (administration of gifts) in the Body, the Church." Donald Gelpi (1971) states as one of the principles for understanding and discernment that "the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit endow one with docility to the Spirit in acquiring the mind of Christ and in actively associating oneself with his messianic mission." The term, "charismatic," may also refer to exceptional or supernatural qualities attributed to an outstanding leader by the populace. This Weberian notion of charismatic leadership concerns the founder of the community, a person whose situation will be pursued in depth in the paper. Other terms peculiar to the New Jerusalem Community or to Catholic charismatics will be explained within the context of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature is directed at explicating two areas of information involved in this study. First, utopias will be perused from the early utopian writers to present-day utopian efforts. Second, a look at the charismatic movement in general, and the characteristics of Charismatics and their communities will be viewed.

Review of Utopias

History of Utopian Writing

Man has been striving for perfection in his life since he discovered the imperfection of it. Dissatisfaction with his present situation has led him to use his imagination to correct the situation. Utopian conceptualizations are configurations from the minds of various individuals bent on rectifying the inadequacies of the societies in which they lived. As Gallagher (1960: 6-7) observes:

> . . . moreover, the range of Utopian thought is as wide as human imagination. There is the dour and somber 'Christianopolis' written by the seventeenth century Lutheran school teacher, Andrea; and there is the 'Erewhon' of Samuel Butler, which is to Utopian thought and literature what Strauss's 'Til Eugenspiegel' is to music--an irrepressible imp of satan, half mythical, half factual, half serious, half laughing, but never so serious as when he is laughing loudest. There is Edward Bellamy's 'Looking Backward': 2000-1887, the work of a timid, retiring, obscure American novelist and newspaper man; and there is the arrogantly authoritarian work of a philosopher named Plato, whose 'Republic' projects a picture of a reconstructed Athens in which democracy has taken on the character of totalitarianism. Some Utopias, like that of Savonarola, are preached. Others, like that of Munzer, are acted out in the bloody revolt of peasants and miners.

Utopian schemes are, therefore, both imaginative and varied. A brief description of a modern Utopian perspective is, perhaps, apropos in order to attain the properly romantic mood which is de rigueur when perusing Utopian writings. The mood is aptly described by Kateb (1963: 47) when he states:

> Imagine a society in which all conflicts of conscience and conflicts of interest were abolished, a society in which all the obstacles to a decent life for all men had been removed . . . a society in which the resourcefulness of modern technology was put in the unfettered service of lessening labor and increasing and enriching leisure . . . a society in which peace, abundance, and virtue permanently and universally obtained.

For some people, a Utopian description such as the previous one is no more than a pipe-dream, but the authors' of Utopian works are most serious about their efforts.

According to Gallagher (1960: 8), "the Utopian thought of Moses and the early prophets of Israel was aflame with righteousness." The prophets were optimists (Hertzler, 1922: 47), "adopting progress for a watchword instead of conservatism." These prophets spoke of the ultimate triumph of righteousness and justice, centering around an ethical, social, political and cultural rehabilitation. The purpose of the prophets was to prepare the people for residence in the ideal future state, which centered about the Messianic Hope. Hertzler (1922: 49) characterized this as "the hope for the Messiah or coming Deliverer through whose instrumentality the glories of the future age were to be realized."

The next Utopian idealists to appear were the Apocalyptists. "Despairing (Hertzler, 1922: 50) of any such natural development and restoration as the prophets had foretold, they looked for a deliverance through miracle." Jones (1967: 427) notes that "apocalypse" is a trans-

literation of the Greek word for revelation," and that the Greek title for the Book of Revelation is the "Apocalypse of John." The Book of Revelation predicts specific events leading to the liberation of the Christians, the defeat of their enemies, creation of the new Jerusalem on earth, and the eventuality of a perfect Kingdom in heaven. The Jewish and Christian writers living between 210 B.C. and 1300 A.D., known as the Apocalyptists, created apocalyptical Utopian visions as a means of providing hope for peoples undergoing misfortune and persecution. While the Apocalyptists looked to miracle or divine intervention the prophets perceived an orderly, changing, progressive history--yet the intent, providing hope, was similar for both groups.

While the Apocalyptists were content to let fate, as they saw it, take its course, men such as Plato felt man both could and would do something about his fate. Plato, however, did not have much faith in the judgment of the individual, so he allowed for classes in his system, with the upper class giving supposedly benevolent direction to the lower classes. Mumford (1966: 5) notes that "Plato's ideal community begins at the point where the early Golden Age comes to an end: with absolute rulership, totalitarian coercion, the permanent division of labor, and constant readiness for war all duly accepted in the name of justice and wisdom." The Republic, once formed, appears to be a static society. This pattern of ceasing change once the structure is formed seems typical of Utopian attempts, particularly literary dialogues. With all of its faults, Plato's 'Republic' supplied the great archetype for Utopias. He showed how the state and the individual could be merged, as were the political and moral imperatives.

After Palto, little was written in the area of Utopias, and

nothing that might be considered a major work, for nearly two thousand years. Augustine's "City of God" seems not to refer to an earthly typology of Utopia and the monastic, repressive enactments resulting from Savanarola's visions of the "theocracy" were patently coercive. From the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries notable treatises such as Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," Thomas Campanella's "City of the Sun," Thomas Bacon's "New Atlantis," and James Harrington's "Oceana" signaled a revived interest in, and a further foundation for, utopianism.

The most outstanding work was designed by More, who also invented the word "utopia." Hertzler (1922: 134-46) pointed to five principles of More's utopianism: (1) community of property, (2) political power vested in one person, (3) a state-controlled family as the basis of social organization, (4) an educational system and methods of inculcating morality, culture and social worth, and, (5) religious toleration. Within the thrust of these principles are found indications that More is in touch with reality--perhaps more so than many other Utopian writers. More espouses equal opportunity rather than guaranteeing social equality, noting the inevitability of individual and class differences. While the Syphogrants, representatives of the people, elected the ruler of Utopia, the end result was still autocracy rather than a pure democracy.

More was acutely aware of the problems of his time; moral and religious decay, poverty and class injustices. His book is truly a Utopian effort for he both critiques the then present state of affairs in England and offers solutions in the form of his new society. Frye (1967: 36) states:

> The implication seems clear that the ideal state to More, as to Plato, is not a future ideal but a hypothetical one, an informing power and not a goal of action. For More, as for Plato, Utopia is the kind of model of justice and common sense which, once established in the mind, clarifies its standards and values. It does not lead to a desire to abolish sixteenth-century Europe and replaces it with Utopia, but it enables one to see Europe, and to work within it, more clearly.

For Walsh (1962: 41), More's Utopia painted a "picture of a benevolent monarchy with some rudimentary checks and balances, with a fairly large amount of public control on the lower levels of government." More's "Utopia" reactivated interest in Utopian thinking and can certainly be considered a valuable classical work. The Utopians mentioned thus far were truly of the Age of the Renaissance, for they had no fear of departing from conventional paths of thought. "They had a new vision (cf. Hertzler, 1922: 179-80) of education as a great agency for social solidarity, a great opportunity ladder by which the lower classes were to attain heights formerly held by the privileged few, a great inculcator of a socialized ethic." These men recognized the need for unity in the State, catching the significance of the principles of social solidarity and social equality. "Suffice it to say, the early modern Utopians were men ahead of their time; they were prophets of an order which in many instances, is just coming into action."

The next literary representatives were the Utopian Socialists, their doctrines being products of the social forces of the nineteenth century; economic, political and social in character. Hertzler states (1926: 184), "For them, their ideal society was the result of conscious and arbitrary construction, to be superimposed on all." While not producing any single memorable literary work, the leaders of this Utopian movement--Fourier, Sant-Simon, Owen and others--created ideas upon

which future Utopian efforts were often founded. They believed man to be naturally good, that private property should be abolished, and that some form of religion was necessary. Unlike most of the earlier Utopian dreams, however, some of the followers of these philosophers attempted to enact their dreams. After the Utopian Socialists, few new Utopias were written. Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," H. G. Wells' "Modern Utopia," Theodor Hertzka's "Freeland" and, of course, Marx's writings on the concept of "Scientific Socialism," followed the Utopian Socialists and seem significantly different. The intent of these efforts seems to be the actual institution of their proposed systems. This, perhaps, the result of an ever-increasing activism by the forces of social protest. Having briefly discussed the rich literary heritage of "Utopia" the direction of this paper now focuses on examination of Utopian attempts in America. This, in turn, shall lead to discussion of the Catholic Charismatic movement that, in the form of the community of New Jerusalem, is the true focus of this research.

Discourse on Actual Utopian Communities from Point of the Utopian Socialists to Present

The history of American Utopian communities is a long and interesting saga. Many clearly identifiable periods of communitarian settlement have occurred since the first American utopian community. A Mennonite enclave, was established in 1663. Twenty years later the Dutch Labidists became the first utopian colony to declare equality of the sexes. In the early 1700's the community of Ephrata was established in Pennsylvania. This was an austere community, practicing celibacy and forbidding the use of medicines. The Ephratans worked hard and prayed often. "Discomfort (Holloway, 1966) was regarded as a

virtue. Mattresses and pillows, in particular, were regarded with especial loathing . . ."

The Shakers, one of the first major utopian groups, believed in the principles of shared property, celibacy, non-resistance, and separate government. Even today they are known for their "functional" furniture and regimented life-style. Despite restricting personal liberty and maintaining an authoritarian government, their positive contributions to the communal movement were significant. Holloway notes (1966) that "they were the first to show that communities could be prosperous, neat, orderly, and of long duration." The Shakers were tolerant of race and ethnicity and insisted on equality of men and women in all phases of social life. They provided a living model for numerous other utopian groups. Gardner (1978) points out that, between 1825 and the end of the Civil war, new utopian communities tended to be based on socialist political ideologies rather than religious beliefs, a drastic change from the earlier bases. The Owenites of New Harmony and the Fourierists constructed short lived colonies. The Shaker became an increasingly widespread group, and it became clear that the religious colonies fared better, in terms of longevity, than the politicall or economically based communities.

Robert Owen arrived in America in 1824, bringing with him many of the socialist political ideas becoming predominant in Europe. As the conditions of inequality became, as in Europe, increasingly clear with growing industrialization, segments of the society grew ripe for experimentation. At the community of New Harmony, Owen announed (Holloway, 1966: 104), "I am come to this country to introduce an entire new system of society; to change it from an ignorant, selfish system to an enlight-

ened social system which shall gradually unite all interest into one, and remove all causes for contest between individuals." Owen wanted to establish small utopian communities which would insulate his followers from the social environment that led to corruption. He believed in community of goods and human equality--but was unable to install a successful, functioning system in New Harmony to carry out his ideas. Lack of screening procedures for new members, lack of clear goals or development of a "we-feeling," and an inability to institute authority over commune members contributed to the community's quick demise.

One of the most famous utopian experiements was the Oneida community, a community where Utopian idealism stemmed from particular religious beliefs. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of Oneida, discovered and preached a new faith he termed "Perfectionism." The well-heeled adherents of Noyes established a community that included a balance of agriculture and industry for economic curvival. Charles Nordhoff (1966: 269), in compliance to his request for a definition of "Perfectionism" while visiting Onedia, received the following explanation: "As the doctrine of temperance is total abstinence from alcoholic drinks, and the doctrine of anti-slavery is immediate abolition of human bondage, so the doctrine of Perfectionism is immediate and total cessation from sin . . . Salvation from sin, as we understand it, is not a system of duty-doing under a code of dry laws, Scriptural or natural; but it is a special phase of religious experience, having for its basis spiritual intercourse with God." They believed in communism, holding it to be the "social state of the resurrection." Faith-healing was practiced and "complex marriage," the cohabiting for brief periods of any man or woman after gaining each others consent through a third party, dictated the structure of their

sexual relationships. Self-criticism and criticism by the community was considered to be part of an individual's spiritual growth. Oneida, despite being highly organized and containing a firm ideological foundation, went the way of most utopian ventures, disbanding its original structure in the late 1800's and becoming little more than a production company.

Between the 1870's and the 1920's a number of communal societies emerged with varying foundations and philosophies. Some politically inspired groups, often socialista in nature, appeared in the mid-1890's in response to the power of the "robber barons," along with the continuing proliferation of religious and ethnically based communities. Gardner (1978: 2) states that "the communal landscape was just as much a melting pot as America itself was becoming from the flow of immigrants. The communal geography now spread from coast to coast."

Other than the Catholic workers movement during World War II and the continued growth of the Hutterites (most successful communal movement of this century), relatively few Utopian communities were established between 1920 and 1965. Between 1965 and 1970, however, the communal structure in America exploded into history in a manner almost totally unexpected by society. Gardner (1978: 3) notes that "this surge came at a time when America had reached a level of wealth and material abundance greater than any other society had enjoyed before. Yet it was the children of that prosperity, those who were ostensibly its prime beneficiaries--the young white, educated sons and daughters of the middle- and upper-classes--who established and populated these small backwoods communities that in every way seemed to be the negation of their inheritance. These young communards were one of the leading edges of a generational

revolt the likes of which our country, and perhaps the world, had never seen before."

Perhaps the earliest antecedent of the communal movement was the "beat" generation. While a literary and romantically individualized movement rather than a social living experiment, the "countercultural" approach of Kerouac, Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti, and others, was a forerunner of the dissent of the 1960's. "The conformity (Roberts, 1971: 3) demanded by the larger American community was rejected by the beats advocacy of artistic integrity, voluntary poverty, and social disengagement." The American scenario for the beats was that of a nation oriented toward personal achievement and decidedly uninterested in social or political issues. A survey of American college youth (Jacob, 1972: 59), done in 1957, concluded that:

> . . . dominant characteristic of students in the current generation is that they are gloriously contented both in regard to their present day-to-day activity and their outlook for the future . . . American students are likewise dutifully responsive toward government. They expect to obey its laws, pay its taxes, serve in its armed forces—without complaint, but without enthusiasm. They will discharge the obligations demanded of them though they will not voluntarily contribute to the public welfare. Nor do they particularly desire an influential voice in public policy. . . . They are politically irresponsible, and often politically illiterate as well.

This hardly points a picture of a situation in which activism of any sort might take place. Melville (1972: 60) seems to capture the dilemma's of the 1960's:

> Things happened so quickly and changed so convulsively from 1964 to 1968 that it is difficult in retrospect to sort it all out. The combined effect of the war, the Johnson administration, the racial crises in the cities, and the failure of the universities to respond to student demands for full citizenship was to kill all the hopefulness of the civil rights era and to transform the protest movement into a radically disaffected insurgency.

As a reaction to these circumstances, the rural commune phenomenon (cf. Gardner, 1978) "was born of the convergence of two overlapping youth movements of the middle 1960's: the drug-based hippie culture and the student-based political movement joined in a shared vision of the apocalypes."

Kanter (1972) speaks of three major themes of commune-building: a period of religious basis, a period of anti-establishment basis, and a period, pertaining to the 1960's, of a psychosocial basis. The latter was a reaction to the alienation of the general society, an attempt by people to get in touch again with themselves and their fellow human beings.

The growth of the utopian movement in the 1960's was largely attributed to a reaction by youths to specific social and political upheavals: the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, assassinations of prominent political figures, and the advent of the drug culture. Whatever the impetus, the end result was the creation of thousands of rapidly-formed rural and urban communes, most of which faded quickly. Gardner (1978: 4) describes the situation starkly:

> The young people who turned their backs on modern society to form isolated rural communes were almost totally unaware of the communal history that had gone before, and they were not much interested. Nor, for the most part, were they motivated by any particular political or religious ideology, social tradition, or ordered set of intellectual ideas and principles. Instead, their retreat to the country was an intuitive response to the circumstances of their lives and times. For the children of prosperity who abandoned the cities in the late 1960's, America had passed beyond redemption into a complete social, political, cultural, moral, and ecological wasteland.

Most of the radical groups and personages of the 1960's are no longer an important part of the American scene. Many of the "hippies" are making their fortunes within the system, students seem more interested

in jobs than in protests, and only comparatively few of the anti-institutional utopias continue to thrive. Apparently the middle-class socialization process was stronger than the radicals and their parents realized. Recently, however, a new utopian movement appears to be emerging in America. Among many newly popular religious groups, including the "Moonies," the "Hare Krishnas," and the "Scientologists," the Catholic Charismatic Renewal seems to be generating communal groups that are indicative of a new wave of utopianism. Recent trends in religion in general, and the Catholic church in particular, seems to have created an atmosphere conducive to the emergence of innovative systems of religious practice.

Literature on the Charismatic Renewal

Current Trends in the Church

In the opening discussion of the "problem" of this study, mention was made of Cox (1965) contention that secularization was involved with the collapse of religion. Berger (1970) explains that, in order for Catholics to maintain their Catholic faith, they must exist in a social environment where their "primary" relationships are limited, by and large, to other Catholics. Due to the pluralization of urban society, the Catholic is unable to isolate himself in the womblike supportive structure of the Catholic community. He is constantly exposed to ideas contrary to his prior socialization and these ideas, without the protection of a purely Catholic enclave, cause him to question his faith. Secularization and religious crisis, then, are functions of this exposure to new ideas. Greeley (1969) challenges this thesis, pointing out that the countries having significant religious commitment involving organized religion seem to be the most religiously pluralistic. He notes that

rational man has the right of choice--intimating that he may simply reject notions foreign to religious commitments he has made.

Greeley does not claim, however, that no change has occurred within the Catholic Church in recent times. He has (cf. Greeley, 1972) stated that Catholic theology "shifts back and forth along the orthodox-liberal continuum." From a typology he devised to view trends in ritual and liturgy in the Church, he states (1972: 23-24) that Catholics appear to be moving toward a "Simple Church and Dionysian" trend. Citing Catholic Pentacostalism as an example, he describes Simple Church liturgy as ". . . informal, casual. . . . It represents a belief that God should be worshipped plainly, since elaborate ceremonial merely creates an artificial barrier that God does not need and man should not want." The Dionysian dimension ". . . stresses the fact that man is more than rational, more than intellect; . . . Dionysian liturgy, therefore, emphasizes the non-rational, the ecstatic, the emotional in man's prayer, arguing that man can only come in contact with the deity if he transcends the sedate rationality of his everyday life." Given the generally austere, restrictive picture that typifies Catholicism, one is led to wonder how such a trend might have come about.

Attempts at modernization in the Church are hardly new, but until Vatican II, and even after, the conservative elements in the Church were able to keep the "aggiornamento" from becoming too radical an exercise (cf. O'Dea, 1969; Berger, 1969; Bellah, 1976; Berger, 1970). Berger (1969: 170), referring to the decade following Varican I and the doctrine of papal infallability states that "the 'political' intransigence of the papacy, to be sure, was modified in the following decades, but the continuing 'theological' one was well expressed in the suppression of the

so-called modernist movement in the first years of the twentieth century. Particularly since Vatican II there has, of course, been a strong movement of liberalization in Catholic theology in various countries, but it may be doubted whether this will be able to go too far in modifying the profound conservatism within the institution. At any rate, until Vatican II the Church, by segregating itself and emphasizing the belief "differences" of their flock from the rest of religious society, maintained a rather isolated traditional position in a rapidly changing world.

The Second Vatican Council occurred during a period of positive movement for American Catholics. Anti-Catholic sentiments were at a low ebb as indicated by the election of President Kennedy, and Catholics were entering the middle-class at a steady rate. Catholics had difficulty perceiving themselves as subject to hostility from secularists or particular religious denominations, thus weakening their solidarity as a group. Referring to the Vatican Council, O'Dea (1969: 7) notes that "it stressed the freedom of the people of God, a Christian vocation embracing both the laity and their clerical servants, personal responsibility and the integrity of the individual conscience, an ethic of love rather than simple abstract moral laws, and numerous other elements of Christian tradition that the church universal had lost sight of in the years since the Reformation and that social conditions in the United States had further obscured. The Council weakened the de facto authority of the bishops by rediscovering the laity." Suddenly the layman was being encouraged to offer criticism and offer opinions after being trained in unquestioning obedience for most of his life. The Vatican Council's edicts came at an opportune time--judging from the frenetic reaction to the initiatives of the Council it might have been a very short time before

a serious lay revolt would have taken place. Roche (1970: 97) perceived that Catholics unfaillingly followed the dictums of their priests. In this, however, "they were running counter to the general mood of the society in which they lived, a fluid and mobile society in which the external pressures to conform are minimal." Having a voice in the decision-making process, and being "called into an active role" in helping the Church perform its mission has led to important lay attempts at innovation in the Catholic Church.

Glock (1976), referring to the notion of the youth counterculture of the 1960's as being the initiator of change, seems to feel that the counterculture was simply the visible presence of change already underway. He felt the contributions of the counterculture were the "all-encompassing character of its protest and the widespread experimentation with . . . alternatives . . . a remarkedly wide range of alternatives to conventional institutions, life-styles, values, mores, and folkways were proposed and experimented with." It appears that Catholics, particularly young Catholics, may be directing alternative efforts toward solving an apparent search for "inwardness and self-examination." Gannon (1973: 214) states:

> Movements like Catholic Pentecostalism, which remain affiliated with an established church, appear more likely to have long-range implications for the lives of their adherents and eventually affect the religious style of the larger church membership. Some scattered evidence exists to support this hypothesis in regard to Roman Catholicism. There is a drive to make social and political action explicitly meaningful in religious terms. There is a new concern with the spiritual life. Traditional elements of liturgy are being treasured once more. There is a concern for "roots"--scriptural liturgical, theological--more typical of the early '60's than the post-Conciliar period in Catholicism--and cultural roots as well, exemplified by a renewed interest in ethnicity and the distinctive experience of American Catholics.

Considering the above, it becomes imperative to locate the Catholic Charismatic movement in general and then, through the succeeding chapters, New Jerusalem in particular.

The Catholic Charismatic Movement

Classifying Catholic Charismatics as a group proved to be a complicated task. They are not truly a sect, for they have not rejected the authority of the Church. They are not cult-like for there is a central authority to be followed. Wilson (1978), in speaking of pre-sectarian forms of protest, uses as one of his classifications the term "collegia pietatis," or "schools of piety." He describes these collegia as "groups who desire to revive the church from within according to some principle they believe is shared by all sincere church members. Such groups have distinct separatist tendencies. Their members are likely to consider themselves a highly select group in the vanguard of the church. For its part, the church's elite is likely to try to control the group, either by ignoring it or by setting restrictions on its activities." Fichter (1975) recognizes the Catholic pentecostals as "prophetic, extraordinary, Spirit-filled people who are distinguishable from conventional Catholics."

The Charismatic renewal began in 1967, at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A small group of persons at the University "experienced a profound religious transformation in their lives. Above all, they were brought into real, personal contact with 'the living Christ'. This event was also marked by the appearance of charismatic activity like that known in the early Church: many of them received the gift of tongues, several received other gifts also, such as prophecy,

discernment of spirits, and the power of exorcism (O'Connor, 1971).

Since 1967, the Charismatic movement in America and elsewhere has exploded in membership. Lane (1976) noted that by 1973 over 100,000 persons in America had joined the movement. The Second Vatican Council's emphasis on modernization and reorganization had a significant effect on the growth of the group. In 1969, a report on the movement was made before the National Conference of Catholic Bishop's Committee on Doctrine (see Appendix A), headed by Bishop Alexander Zaleski. The report was a positive exposition, noting that the movement was biblically based and theologically sound. Effort was made to emphasize that the members of the movement were less physically and verbally demonstrative than their Protestant counterparts. Caution was urged, however, and an attitude of watchful support was recommended.

Major Elements of the Movement

Baptism in the Spirit

A critical stage of goal-seeking for Catholic Charismatics in the "Baptism in the Spirit" (cf. Ford, 1971; O'Connor, 1971; Lane, 1976; Torrey, 1972; Gelpi, 1971). This baptism refers to an "indwelling" spirit of God, one which has both an "interior disposition and eventually some form of manifestation. Tim R. of New Jerusalem, referring to his experience stated, "I was suddenly at peace with the world and myself. There was no more inner turmoil, just a calmness, happiness. For the next week, everywhere I went I felt joyful. And I've been joyful for most of the last two years." The experience is brought on by continued participation in the prayer group, which hopefully "generates or induces" the experience, and serves as a legitimizing agent. Torrey (1972: 18-20) describes the baptism as being "not for the purpose of

cleansing from sin, but for the purpose of empowering for service." He also noted that the baptism is accompanied by a "great moral uplift."

O'Connor (1971: 132-33) speaks of the Spirit as having variant effects and forms for different people, making it difficult to determine exactly the process or point of Spirit-fulfillment. He does, however, describe two types of experience that occur with regularity:

> The manifest type is much easier to characterize, because it occurs at a definite moment in the form of a conscious experience. For example, sometimes while a person is being prayed over, he is filled with an overwhelming sense of the presence, power and love of God. He experiences great joy, but at the same time a deep peace. . . . The hidden type of baptism in the Spirit is so called because it is not marked by any conscious experience or charismatic sign at the moment of its reception (although these may come later). It often happens that a person, after being prayed over, says, "Well, nothing happened to me." But after the lapse of several days, he begins to realize that something has indeed happened to him. . . He may find himself filled with a deep new joy, peace and love; but these, instead of arriving in an avalanche, as in the first type, permeated his being gradually.

New members gain aceptance as part of the Charismatic community after experiencing this religious renewal and giving themselves up to guidance by the Holy Spirit. Harrison (1977: 35) describes life in the Spirit as "distinguished by intense personal piety, fellowship with other Pentecostals and receipt of the Charismatic (or Spiritual) gifts described in the New Testament." These charisms constitute the next element to be discussed.

Gift of Charisms

Reception of the Spirit is often accompanied by manifestation of one of the gifts or charisms of the Holy Spirit--in fact, the expression of charisms during prayer meetings is a distinguishing feature of Pentecostals. The most typical gift received is that of glossolalia, or speaking in tongues. Harrison (1977: 356) suggests that speaking in

tongues "entails uttering a flow of unintelligible syllables modulated as if they were English sentences. However, a very wide range of behavior is described as Tongues, and the experience may be restricted to private prayer." Other gifts such as prophecy, healing, miracles, or discernment may be received and manifested as well, but are less common than glossolalia.

Lane (1976) notes that the particular group determines the "intensity or visibility" of the glossolalic experience. The pattern of expression in tongues may be voluntary or involuntary--but there seems to be a discouraging of overt emotional displays associated with fundamentalist Protestants. It is an apparently uplifting form of prayer that may be used whenever the renewed person chooses. In large prayer meetings it may be manifested as a rhythmic chant or melody. The generating of these experiences are a major function of the structure that is the foundation of the Charismatic groups, the paryer meeting.

Prayer Meetings

To being with, the prayer meeting is generally the setting in which a new observer is introduced to the Charismatic renewal experience. O'Connor (1971: cf. Lane, 1976; Fichter, 1975) describes the meeting as a mode of worship combining freedom and community. People pray the way they prefer, but they pray together, each witnessing the other. The purpose is to "enter into and participate in this presence of Christ" as a community.

The patterns of prayer exhibited by Catholic Charismatics are certainly foreign to those conventional Catholics are familiar with. The meeting may include (cf. Fichter, 1975: 41-42) ". . . people raising their arms in prayer, clapping hands while singing hymns, giving testimony to

their personal religious experiences, spontaneously reading a passage from scripture or proclaiming a prophecy, murmuring ejaculations of praise and thanks to the Lord, and above all, speaking and singing in tongues." The meetings often include spontaneous manifestations of various charisms, giving them an unpredictable nature. Lay participation is encouraged and, typically, the latter part of the service will be interrupted by calls for song, askance that the group pray for an individual or someone experiencing the baptism in the Spirit. It serves as a weekly opportunity to engage in a communal outpouring of love and unity.

Trends and Traits of Catholic Charismatics

The seminal study of Catholic Charismatics was produced by Fichter in 1975. He examined characteristics and patterns peculiar to Charismatics in this country. Three heterodox beliefs (Fichter, 1975: 44-47) mentioned in the study are: (1) strong belief that the Second Coming is imminent, (2) belief in the certainty of salvation, and (3) belief that the Spirit "speaks to the heart rather than to the mind." Degree of acceptance of heterodox statements varies according to sex, age, occupational status, education and regionality. Indications are that those leaning toward heterodoxy are conservative in regard to progressive social change. Many lay Charismatics seem to be moving toward a return to the structure of the early apostolic community rather than toward modernization.

As the movement has developed over time the social class status of the membership has declined, with an ever-increasing percentage of blue-collar occupational types joining the movement. Educational levels have decline and more college-educated newcomers are from non-Catholic campuses. Most of the recruits are "born" Catholics and the movement clearly attracts more females than males. The question of participation

in social action programs is part of an ongoing debate. Apparently (Fichter, 1975: 93-95) many Charismatics view social action as a potentially devisive force, and thus prefer to concentrate on maintaining peace and harmony in the community. Perhaps the most significant finding is simply that there is tremendously increased participation in personal religious practice. For successful Charismatic communities it appears the Renewal is having effects on members which carry over even after they have moved from the community.

The literature on Utopias clearly places the Charismatic movement within its wide and flexible bounds. Based upon basic notions of "good" Christian behavior rather than political, economic or social priorities, the movement contains many of the features, such as experimental direction and radical life-styles, proposed in Utopian writings and enacted by Utopian activists over the centuries.

The literature provides a rich heritage of Utopian models, some far-fetched, others seemingly feasible. While enacting such fanciful constructions is a relatively recent phenomenon, the continuing prevalence of Utopian communities leads one to suspect that new forms will continue to rise in society. After the hectic, countercultural Sixties, when political communes were forming and disappearing literally overnight, it seems that society as a whole may be using this time of relative quietitude to examine its religious stance. For many, the problems of the Sixties are still unsolved and need to be dealt with in some new manner.

The Charismatic movement is part of what Bellah (cf. 1970) discerns as the "post-traditional world." Lane (1976: k75) attributes the rise of the movement to a countercultural dissatisfaction "both with the society as it has operated and with the attempts to reshape it from

within. It is clear that this double theme of discontent contributed to the rise of new modes of religious expression within Roman Catholicism." At this point in time, the movement as a whole indicates a clear connection with previous Utopian visions of change, particularly in terms of causation. Whether New Jerusalem meets the criteria of a Utopian community as well will be examined.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Purpose of Using Qualitative Research Techniques

Determining a research strategy for this study quickly led to questions about qualitative methodology. While the trend in sociology has been toward the collection of quantitative data, there are situations where qualitative strategies are more appropriate. Studies by Wirth (1956), Whyte (1964), Vidich and Bensman (1960), Selznick (1966), Suttles (1971), and others are examples of the depth of insight possible using qualitative, or a combination of qualitative and quantitative, methods.

In order to investigate topic areas about which little is known, many qualitative methodological techniques are particularly useful. As McCall and Simmons (1969) note, "participant observation is intentionally unstructured in its research design, so as to maximize discovery and description rather than systematic theory testing." This statement is significant in light of the New Jerusalem community, for little research has been done on the life-styles of non-covenant Catholic charismatic communities. These techniques provide opportunities to perceive whether expressed attitudes and beliefs are borne out in actual behavior patterns. If, for instance, there is an expressed desire among New Jerusalemites to live their lives as the early Christians did (referring to a life of poverty, prayer, etc.), it might be possible, using participant observation or interviewing techniques, to evaluate their degree of success in performing these acts.

Qualitative research is particularly useful in doing exploratory studies. Dean, et al. (1967), pointed out that "a major characteristic of observation and interviewing in the field is its non-standardization. In fact, it aims to make a virtue of non-standardization by frequently redirecting the inquiry on the basis of data coming in from the field to ever more fruitful areas of investigation." Among the advantages of participant observation and interviewing are these (cf. Dean et al., 1967: 22):

1. The field worker is not as bound by prejudgment; he can reformulate the problem as he goes along.
2. Using unstructured methods, the researcher can ease himself into the field at an appropriate pace and thereby avoid rebuff by blundering into delicate situations or subject matter.
3. The field worker can generally impute motives more validly by contrasting stated ideals with actual behavior, supplemented by the informants reactions to "feed-back."
4. Difficult-to-quantify variables are probably less distorted by unstructured observation and interviewing than by an abortive effort to operationalize them for quantification by a survey.

Participation Observation Methods

The actual method to be used in this study might more accurately be described as "observer as occasional participant." Visits to the community of New Jerusalem are to be frequent but non-systematic. While an informant has been assigned to the investigator by the community, it has

been made clear that there are no areas of information or personal contacts that are off-limits. The community has pledged complete cooperation in this effort.

There are a number of potential problems which need to be considered when using this approach. Labovitz and Hagedorn (1976) mention the lack of reliability resulting from random observations, overinvolvement clouding objectivity, and the possibility that the participant-observer's presence may sensitize the subjects, causing them to alter their normal behavior patterns. While the problems are significant, the advantages of this tehcnique seem to outweigh the disadvantages. Perceiving emotional reactions, noting the context in which the reactions take place, eliciting sensitive information if good rapport is established, and the advantage of observing the subjects over time cannot be discounted. The research methodology infludes the following strategies:

1. Interviewing members of the New Jerusalem community, using a relatively unstructured, "Free-story" approach. It is the intent of this non-directive approach to let the subject "take the bull by the horns." As noted earlier, trying to ask questions about a topic that is essentially an "unknown" may result in missing valuable information.
2. Examination of community documents, tapes, journals, etc. This background documentation is essential for writing and understanding the history and growth of the community.
3. Attendance at various events, meetings, and services. Seeing the community in action, whenever and wherever possible, should enhance the description of bureaucratic and living activities (see Appendix B).

4. General informational surveys. These surveys should elicit some basic information concerning personal data (occupation, age, sex) and interaction between members, as well as degree of participation in the community (see Appendix C).

Interviewing Techniques

Perhaps the single, most typical problem of in-depth interviewing is that of distortion of information. Cole (1976: 193) points out that "the subject may give the interviewer answers that he or she believes the interviewer wants to hear, or the subject's perception of "reality" may be severely distorted, or there may be significant discrepancies between the attitudes of the subject and the subject's behavior. . . . These problems are not at all insoluble, however. A good interviewer quickly gets a sense of whether or not the subject is 'leveling'." Part of the problem may be solved by the process of "triangulation." Triangulation refers to verification by interviewing numerous subjects who encounter the same experiences.

There will be some structure to the interviewing in that the conversation may be directed to probe notions about the following questions, deemed significant by the investigator:

1. What do you think is the purpose of New Jerusalem?
2. What is meant by the "community" of New Jerusalem?
3. What do you mean by "living as the early Christians did?"
4. What do you think New Jerusalem eventually will become?
5. Do you perceive New Jerusalem remaining a small community or growing into a larger organization?

Respondents quoted within the paper will be given pseudonyms (with a few exceptions). While the community has officially been declared

"open" to the investigator, precaution will still be taken not to violate sensitivities of the community or individual members.

Aberle's "Functional Prerequisites"

A brief look at the development and intricacies of structural-functional theory should help clarify the choice of "functional prerequisites" as a dimension of analysis. While a structural-functional analysis was just one of several possible perspectives from which to examine New Jerusalem as Utopia, it seemed a useful means of perceiving whether a community crosses the line separating ideological concepts and working realities.

Emile Durkheim (1969) was largely responsible for the emergence of the functionalist school of thought in distinguishing between function and cause of the division of labor. According to his interpretation, its function was the integration of society and its cause was an increase of "moral density," resulting from population pressure. With the advent of complex, highly differentiated societies which were mechanistically inclined, problems of individual adjustment arose. Utopian themes attempt to solve these problems, providing alternatives to a rapidly industrializing world.

Alfred Radcliffe-Brown (1952) used the term "function" primarily in its biological sense, as that which contributes to life. Like Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown argued that the nature of social and cultural phenomena could be explained only in social terms. Cohen (1968: 42) espoused three basic assumptions of Radcliffe-Brown: (1) "If a society is to survive, there must be some minimal solidarity between its members; the function of social phenomena is either to create or sustain this solidarity of social groups, or, in turn, to support those institutions which do this.

(2) Thus, there must be a minimal consistency in the relationship between the parts of a social system; (3) each society, or type of society, exhibits certain basic structural features, and various practices can be shown to relate to these in such a way as to contribute to their maintenance." Radcliffe-Brown analyzed social phenomena by showing how various practices resulted from certain structural conditions, how they contributed to their maintenance and to the solidarity of the social group as a whole. Therein is contained the functional element in his explanations.

Another noted anthropologist, Bronislaw Malinowski, equated the term "function" with purpose. His work with the Trobriand Islanders led Malinowski to a rigorous system of ideas. He assumed that all men have certain primary needs: e.g., food, shelter, sexual satisfaction, protection, etc., and that these needs are met by devising techniques for banding together, distributing food, having heterosexual relations, and so on. Secondary or derived needs are created by satisfying the previous needs: the need for communication produces language; awareness of the hazards of life gives rise to forms of ritual and belief, such as religion, which allay anxieties. More elaborate institutions are needed for satisfaction of new needs, which necessitates mechanisms for legitimation of authority, justifying the institutional frameworks. Annemarie de Waal Malefijt (1969: 85) states that "while Radcliffe-Brown saw social institutions mainly as parts contributing to the while, Malinowski considered society as something that can survive only if its basic needs are fulfilled. In an organism, nutrition, breathing, and excretion aid survival, but in a social system it is culture itself that is essential to life."

Talcott Parsons (cf. 1952: 20-21) espoused a "generalized structural-functional system" which simplified the problem of dealing with a complex of interrelated variables by grouping them and viewing them as constants within the system. This structuring enabled manageability of dynamic problems without complex mathematical analysis. After the static structural categories are decided upon, e.g., religion, they must be linked to the variable elements within the system. The concept of function, which provides criteria with which to measure the importance of structures, provides the link. Parsons' scheme is an action frame of reference from which motivation behind acts can be discerned, after the structure of the system has been formally categorized. Functional prerequisites are intended to facilitate comparison and more precise generalizations of how social life operates.

Robert Merton's (1968) interpretation is concerned with eliminating difficulties, as he perceives them, within functionalism. He insists that function has nothing to do with motivation, although descriptions of motivations must be included in data collection for purposes of functional analysis. Merton also points out that a concept of the needs of the social system is vital in analysis. Buckley (1957: 250) outlines Merton's suggestions thusly:

1. Usage of the concept of dysfunction to emphasize the possible negative effects of social items. To avoid confusing the subjective category of purpose or motive with the objective category of consequences or function, he suggests the concepts of "manifest" and "latent" functions.
2. To clarify the concept of functional prerequisites in

functional analysis one must:

A. establish definite types of functional requirement,

B. establish procedures for validating the assumptions of these requirements and,

C. provide an account of the structures that perform the functions.

At the present time, the concept of function is used in the sense of being "consequences" which may or may not be intended or recognized, and which may be eufunctional, dysfuncational or functional. Also, there are degrees of relevance of structures and functions for the social system. As some functions have little use for maintenance of the system, the major linking factor between structural categories and maintenance of a system is the concept of functional requisites, prerequisites, or imperatives. It should also be noted that different structures may fulfill the same requisite, or one structure may fulfill several requisites. A central part of the present structural-functional concept is equilibrium. This mechanistic concept implies that a balance of an aggregate of consequences tends to be maintained within a social system.

Utopian systems cannot exist in a social vacuum. They exist within a larger system or environment and must adapt themselves to the larger system. The structures functioning to maintain a social system must adjust to co-exist with the outer system for they function both externally and internally. Finding to what extent New Jerusalem affects, and is affected by the larger social system, and the implications of that relationship, is one possible thrust of the research.

As indicated earlier, the New Jerusalem community is being viewed as a microcosm of a small society. In order to insure its existence as a

functioning utopian venture, it must fulfill (Aberle, et al., 1950) the same functional requisites as any society. New Jerusalem will be examined to ascertain whether it contains adequate structures to accomplis the following functions (Aberle, et al., 1950):

A. Provision for (1) adequate relationship to the environment (defense) and (2) sexual recruitment and maintenance.

B. System of selection for (1) role differentiation and (2) role assignment.

C. Communication through (1) shared linguistic symbols and (2) good channels of communication.

D. Shared cognitive orientations.

E. A shared, articulated set of goals.

F. The normative regulation of means.

G. The regulation of affective expression.

H. Socialization.

I. The effective control of disruptive forms of behavior.

Kanter's "Commitment Mechanisms"

Commitment is probably the most critical variable for the functioning of this kind of social system. Kanter (1972) has noted three major aspects of social systems that necessitate and involve commitment: retention of members (continuance), group cohesiveness (cohesion), and social control (control). There are six commitment mechanisms attached to the major forms of commitment, and it will be these mechanisms, defined below, that will be used to evaluate the commitment level of the New Jerusalem community. As Kanter (1978) states, "A group has a number of ways in which to organize so as to promote and sustain the three kinds of commitment. For each commitment, it needs to set in motion processes that

reduce the values of other possible commitments and increase the value of commitment to the communal group--that is, processes both detaching the person from other options and attaching him to the community."

Continuance Commitment (Instrumental Commitment)

Sacrifice (detaching).--"Involves the giving up of something considered valuable or pleasurable in order to belong to the organization."

Investment (attaching).--"Involves the giving up of control over some of the person's resources to the community."

Cohesion Commitment (Affective Commitment)

Renunciation (detaching).--"Involves giving up competing relationships outside the communal group and individualistic, exclusive attachments within."

Communion (attaching).--"Involves bringing members into meaningful contact with the collective whole, so that they experience the fact of oneness with the group and develop a 'we-feeling'."

Control Commitment (Moral Commitment)

Mortification (detaching).--"Involves the submission of private states to social control, the exchanging of a former identity for one defined and formulated by the community."

Transcendence (attaching).--"Is a process whereby an individual attaches his decision-making prerogative to a power greater than himself, surrendering to the higher meaning contained by the group and submitting to something beyond himself."

It is expected that groups developing structures to generate these processes will have stronger commitment than other similar groups, this commitment should enhance the organization's ability to survive. If New Jerusalem, in pursuing its ends, is able to accomplish the prerequisi-

and the commitment processes, it may then be considered "utopian" as a structure.

CHAPTER IV

NEW JERUSALEM COMES TO PASS

History of the Community Through Major Events

An historical description of the New Jerusalem Community seems appropriate at this juncture. The manner in which the community formed and developed may provide a critical clue for the direction of this research. In the fall of 1978, New Jerusalem had completed its seventh year as a congregation and moved from the status as a small prayer group to that of a large, highly-organized, stable and established living and prayer community.

What was to become New Jerusalem began as a small prayer group at Saint Anthony's Friary, Cincinnati, Ohio in 1971. According to a description in a New Jerusalem bulletin, "at a TEC (Teens Encounter Christ, an archdiocesan youth program) on November 5-7, 1971, the group experienced the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in a most wonderful and powerful way." News of these informal gatherings spread by word of mouth and more people began to attend. The meeting became much too crowded, and Father Richard Rohr, O.F.M., head of the group, saw the then Archbishop of Cincinnati, Karl Liebold, about a more permanent headquarters for the group. Father Richard explained to the Archbishop the experience of the group, hoping for support from the Diocese. A number of people throughout the community happened upon, that is, by randomly opening the Bible and reading a passage on the page, the same Biblical text, 1 Chronicles 28:20-21. The reading stated, ". . . Be strong, stand firm, be fearless,

be dauntless and set to work, because Yahweh God, my God, is with you . . . every willing man of any aptitude will help you in all this work." Community lore has it that the Archbishop, himself, drove around the city looking for a suitable home for the group, indicating that he was much impressed with the sincerity and spiritual strength of the membership.

The prayer group, now with nearly two hundred members, moved to Our Lady of the Angels High School in Cincinnati. Recruitment occurred by word of mouth, drawing many students from local high schools. The open Mass afforded an excellent opportunity for these teens to get together for prayer and other activities. On June 1, 1972, Archbishop Liebold died. On the day of the Archbishop's burial the community was informed that the Powell Crosley mansion, in the Western part of Cincinnati, was available to the group for their meetings. The mansion later became the site of many TEC retreats. Others in the group began working as a team, helping Father Richard, giving up their weekends and developing a sense of mission. Members became attached to the mansion, its quiet atmosphere conducive for developing comminity, describing it as a "womb" of sorts. During the summer of 1972, some of the member attended a conference of charismatic renewal groups being held at the University of Notre Dame. At that time, communal groups in South Bend, Indiana and Ann Arbor, Michigan were leaders in the movement. It was at this Notre Dame meeting that the notion of "households" was planted, to be sown later as one of the significant foundations of the community.

Soon after the conference, a "Core Group" was formed from among the larger membership. Led by Father Richard, this loosely organized group of eight to ten persons began to take the responsibility of running activities for the larger body. They heard complaints, made

certain that someone was available to lead the prayer meetings, and set up teachings. A Wednesday night meeting was set up so group members could talk as well as a larger prayer meeting on Fridays. The Wednesday group meeting at the mansion became the C.O.D. (Cost of Discipleship) and developed into the "small groups" later significant to the community. While at the mansion, the term "community" came into common use to describe members of the group and, within the setting of constant gatherings and prayer meetings, the structure of a "community" began to develop.

Because of the expanding numbers of people who joined the main group, the large Friday prayer meeting shifted to the gym at Ursuline Academy, a local womens high school. The age composition of the population was changing from a youth ministry to a mixture of youth and adults. With an increasing complement of new faces, relationships began to take on secondary rather than primary characteristics. The members were known as the Ursuline group or, informally, as "Father Richard's Kids."

While the Friday night masses and prayer meetings at Ursuline lasted until December, 1975, the group lost its headquarters at the Powell Crosley mansion during the month of April, 1973. Father Richard began to get the feeling that things were too comfortable at the mansion, and the group would have to move. Despite the warm atmosphere he felt it was not a place for the whole group. He soon got a call from the Providence Hospital administration asking the group to leave the mansion, which was owned by the hospital. Father Richard told of the closing at a C.O.D. meeting but noted a feeling he had of the groups' not being left high and dry. At the last liturgy in the mansion, just before Easter, Father Richard read to the group the New Testament verses from John 14:

Do not let your hearts be troubled. Trust in God still,

> and trust in me. There are many rooms in my Father's house; if there were not, I should have told you. I am going now to prepare a place for you, and after I have gone and prepared you a place, I shall return to take you with me; so that where I am you may be too. You know the way to the place where I am going.

This passage gave the group a sense of being led, of being taken care of, that assuaged the concern in the community about the loss of their headquarters. After April, 1973, Father Richard moved to Friarhurst (retreat house) on the east side of Cincinnati. The C.O.D.'s split into a few groups and met at individuals homes while everybody speculated about a permanent plan. On June 4, 1973, Archbishop Bernardin granted the community use of Saint Bernard's Parish facilities in the Winton Place area of Cincinnati. The facilities consisted of a small school and a large house. Though there are several stories about the choice of a name for the community, it seems probable that the group received its name from Revelations 21:2-45, in May, 1973. The reading states, "I saw the Holy city, and the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, as beautiful as a bride dressed all for her husband. Then I heard a loud voice call from the throne, "You see this city? Here God lives among men. He will make his home among them; they shall be his people, and he will be their God'."

The school and center in Winton Place had just been closed and were in terrible physical shape--needing not just cleaning but complete renovation. One person was appointed to be in charge of the renovation and most of the persons aiding in the effort were about eighteen years old. It was the first time many of them had to submit to a peers orders. They learned about authority and learned to work together. There was anger from some directed at those who did not work, but by the end of the project most of the "good-time" people had disappeared.

The "Core Group" was used to handling most of the community's problems and for discussion of issues. About 80 people, most under 21, attended the first official CORE meeting in July, 1973. A decision was made to distinguish between Services (outside community) and Ministries (inside community). CORE meetings became business meetings rather than a sharing, intimacy, or accountability to the community which was the original intent. It was then decided that the purpose of the organization was to share what was happening in everybody's lives rather than to discuss issues.

Summer, 1973, was a "summer of transition." The large C.O.D. membership from the mansion was made into the Core and small neighborhood C.O.D.'s. Each C.O.D. had a leader or head and anybody that chose to could join them. The purpose of these groups was to share life, to create intimate, primary relationships. At this point the community continued its process of solidification. A decision was made that Father Richard was not to be the only one to teach in the community, significantly increasing the involvement of many members.

The first official "household" was established in the office building (now Grey House) around September, 1973. It was called the "Men's Household" and four of the men staffing New Jerusalem, including Father Richard, lived there. A number of the original "renovation" group left --going off to school or the seminary and having, for the first time, to deal with separation--but all returned. Four months later, in January, 1974, an all-women household formed near Winton Place.

During January, 1974, the weekend gathering was held for the heads of the Ministries for purposes of further unification. Ministries were a big item then, the basic idea being that if one had a special talent,

one should find a ministry to work within. During the summer the ministries continued to grow and the members kept busy--working on building and giving retreats for different C.O.D.'s that came and lived together for a week at New Jerusalem. There was more spontaneous gathering-together, sitting down and praying together.

During the last weekend of August, 1974, the Service group went away for the weekend. They discussed forming a new leadership team and eventually decided to change to Pastoral and Service teams. The Pastoral team was to be a visionary, directing group--asking question about where the group was going and providing leadership. The Service group was to take care of practical problems in the community. A six-member Pastoral team was formed, working full-time, primarily out of their homes. People sought a spiritual director, a person from the pastoral team meeting with the individual once a month.

The ensuing months saw the growth of more households. In september, 1974, the first mixed household was started with four women and two men. On April 1, 1975, the first household outside the complex but in Winton Place, was established with five single women. Many people helped the household members move in and there was excitement and a feeling of anticipation in the air--hope that movement to Winton Place would soon occur on a large scale. Ministries continued to meet, with organizing activities and fellowship combined. During this period the first "Christian Living Situations" began. These situations were not the same as household--their headship was different, they were not appointed by the pastors, and they were not financially accountable to the community. In June, 1975, the people living in the center moved out and the Grey House became a permanent office building. A full-time maintenance team was established

and a trend toward increasing bureaucracy was noticeable. Bessy E. noted that "now when people called the center, they got a community secretary rather than any member who happened to be around."

Increasing organization was a major change and a number of people did not like it. The center was not simply for hanging around--a full-time staff of approximately twenty now ran the community's affairs. Most of the staff was young, some out of work or school, and they were coupled with a sprinkling of "religious" (priests and nums). To inaugurate their year of service, they went to John Quigley's (Pastor) cottage in Canada, to pray and to communicate with each other. Counseling was popular at this time, each member having a counselor to confide in. TEC retreats were no given by the full-time staff, not just Father Richard, indicating some delegation of authority. The Pastoral team kept busy setting up households, choosing residents from a long list, and choosing heads for the households. In the meantime, the Service team looked for new houses to buy and community members to buy them.

There began to be concern over the number of people coming down to St. Bernard's church for it seemed too small to hold the crowd from Ursuline. On December 19, 1975, the community was surprised by a position statement issued by the Pastors (see Appendix D) which asked the large membership to decide their degree of commitment thusly: "We are calling every member of the Body to seriously ask the Lord whether they are going where this community is going. Before you follow the Body to Winton Place, you must know from Him that He is specifically calling you to communion with this Body and to submission to this pastoral team . . ." Some of the members chose to stay with New Jerusalem while others chose to work in their own parishes.

In January, 1976, New Jerusalem started sending out traveling teams to give retreats. Father Richard, in particular, was in demand for speaking engagements. In the summer the leadership structure changed to a system of four pastors as responsible for running the community and Father Richard as overall head of the community. The Pastoral team was chosen on the basis of personality tests and they relieved Father Richard of most of the daily decision-making. Part of the leadership depended on availability and volunterism, with five coordinators doing administrative work--in charge of guests, bookkeeping and retreats. The Pastoral counselors were not to do "typical" individual counseling. The Pastoring was to be passed to the heads of the small groups who, in turn, passed it to others.

In July, 1976, the New Jerusalem Community sponsored the student section of a Charismatic Conference at Steubenville, Ohio. New Jerusalem provided teachings and set up workshops, the Pastoral team being delighted by the opportunity to state the thoughts of the community. More and more people were moving to Winton Place, but these were individuals and families living outside the households. In the late spring of 1977, the Pastoral team disbanded. Instead, Father Richard and John Quigley were appointed pastors, and they, in turn, appointed 25 people for full-time service to the community (Pastoral staff). The Pastoral staff has responsibility for particular areas and this led to some delegation of authority, but the two Pastors were still in charge.

Some of the other developments worth mentioning are: (1) the decline of the household system in favor of extended families, (2) continuing relationship with the Church through a liaison committee, (3) further outreach, even to foreign outposts in the West Indies, (4) an

ongoing organizational evaluation and (5) a covenant of sharing between the Saint Bernard Parish Community and the New Jerusalem Community. The many alterations in bureaucratic structure and life-style trends will be further chronicled in the study. At the present time, however, the community is thriving and ripe for investigation.

Description of Physical Community at Present time

Winton Place is a small, conservative German neighborhood on Cincinnati's West Side. Bordered by famed Spring Grove Cemetary, Winton Forest, factories and a major thoroughfare, the neighborhood appears clearly delineated from neighboring areas. The homes, businesses and churches in the area are old, and comprise a conglomeration of architectural styles typical of many Cincinnati neighborhoods. During the week the area tends to be quiet--few cars and few children to disturb the silence. The small shopping area in Winton Place has a rather depressed look. The few stores are generally empty, or populated by a few older adults who are there primarily to while away the hours.

One-fourth (Cincinnati Enquirer, 1976) of the 959 households in Winton Place are headed by retired persons, according to 1974 data from the Cincinnati Department of Urban Development. Sale price for homes in the area hovers between an average $20,000 to $25,000, making the area increasingly attractive to young couples. Winton Place is a deteriorating neighborhood, most of the homes, while well cared for, are still in need of considerable work. The households of the New Jerusalemites are in various stages of disrepair but are structurally sound. Scattered throughout the area, renovations are done as money become available.

The St. Bernard's Church, where New Jerusalem has its Wednesday Mass, gives the impression of being a small, missionary church--quaint,

not massive or cathedral-like. The exterior is a German-Swiss chateau facade, appropriate for a village atmosphere. The inside of the church is basic, simple. Built for approximately three-hundred persons, it projects a sense of intimacy. Gary T. noted that "it is people that make the place holy, not ornaments."

The Grey House serves as headquarters for the community and is generally the center of activity. It is a lovely, massive Victorian building, cheerfully, carefully, and skillfully modernized. Over the entry is the saying "70 times7"--the equation for forgiveness, and an appropriate saying for New Jerusalemites and friends. The house is filled with beautifully-made wall hangings, plants, and the sound of people hard at work.

It is difficult to fathom the future of the Winton Place community. It is a somewhat deteriorating neighborhood, the only real vitality being generated by the people of New Jerusalem. However, like many Cincinnati areas during the present housing boom, the low prices of homes in the area may entice a new influx of residents. The other possibility is a continuing migration of New Jerusalemites to Winton Place, wishing to be "where the action is."

New Jerusalem has had seven dynamic years of history. They have changed from a small, casual, sincere prayer group to a large, bureaucratized, thriving community, active in national and international outreach, having their own buildings, and becoming increasingly respected by the local institutional Church. To further identify and explain the growth of this community, three other aspects of New Jerusalem will be examined in the following chapters: the religious ideology, the bureaucratic aspects and the life-style of the community.

With discussion of these areas, a well-rounded picture of New Jerusalem should be obtained. This will enable analysis and evaluation in the final chapter that may help answer some of the questions raised in this study.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY

Traditionalists in the Modern Sense

Stephen Clark describes the basic Christian community (1972: 70-71) as being a social environment, organized, localized, unified and, of course, Christian. Kanter (1972: 72) speaks of community as being "based in part on the desire for strong relations within a collectivity, for intense emotional feeling among all members, for brotherhood and sharing." Sister Pat Brockman, O.S.U., a member of the New Jerusalem community, stated the following in an unpublished outline:

> In christian terminology, community is synonymous with common life. What is 'common' is what belongs to all, or belongs to the individuals but available unconditionally to all. The degree and quality of commonness designates the peculiar character of each style of christian community.
>
> In the primitive (christian) communities we see common life in its simplest and most essential form. Later institutionalization of community was understood as necessary in order to adapt to larger numbers and diverse cultural backgrounds with the result that essential principles became more difficult to identify and often were abused or distorted in the process.

New Jerusalem is an attempt to renew some of the facets of "primitive Christianity" within mass society. Father Richard talks about being "some kind of sign of corporate good to confront the corporate enslavement of the world." The model for this early Christian community of the faithful is found in Acts 2:42-47 and Acts 4:32-35:

> These remained faithful to the teaching of the apostles, to the brotherhood, to the breaking of bread and to the prayers.
>
> The many miracles and signs worked through the apostles made a deep impression on everyone. The faithful all lived together and owned everything in common; they sold their

> goods and possessions and shared out the proceeds among themselves according to what each one needed. . . . they shared their food gladly and generously; they praised God and were looked up to be everyone. Day by day the Lord added to their community those destined to be saved.
>
> The whole group of believers was united, heart and soul; no one claimed for his own use anything that he had, as everything they owned was held in common.
>
> . . . and they were all given great respect. None of their members was ever in want, as all those who owned land or houses would sell them, and bring the money from them, to present it to the apostles; it was then distributed to any members who might be in need.

The vision of New Jerusalem is that of a Body of people living fully and practically in a renewed Church. New Jerusalemites are the people of God, living together, being the Body of Christ, being the Church. Joan B. expressed it as "doing what Christ did. I die a lot, get resurrected a lot, share a lot, live a lot." The vision comes out of the "reality of life and also out of faith--which can't have an explanation because it is faith." While New Jerusalem is not the only way to be the Body of Christ, this particular group of people heard the "call" to be Christ in a certain way, and are tying to live it out as best they can.

One person described the Catholic Church as being calcified. New Jerusalem is working for the renewal of the institutional Church by serving as a model of the new Church, a pattern for the rest of the Church to see. The community must work at freeing themselves in order to reach their "fullest capacity to love and act to serve others."

Early on in this research the phrase, "living as the Early Christians did," became a focal point of investigation. Father Richard defines it as a "shared life centered in prayer and relationships with one another." As described in the Acts of the Apostles it refers to a life-style, fostering, in Father Richard's interpretation as Pastor of New Jerusalem, "a return to life-style Christianity rather than doctrinal Christianity

or Sunday go-to-meeting Christianity . . . which is how Western man really looks at Christianity."

The early Christians were Jews who experienced or heard something that led them to change their lives. Like these men, the New Jerusalemites hope to live differently from others, and to have people notice the differences, leading them to question their own lives. In practical terms, day-to-day living, there are numerous manifestations suggested or performed by the community. Several people mentioned a feeling against accumulation of goods because accumulation "can lead you to put your trust and confidence in what you have rather than who you are." Two rather well-heeled community members admitted that they had wrestled with this dilemma before deciding that "we didn't have to feel guilty for being paid well for using our skills."

Other suggestions regarding actualization of the "simple lifestyle" concept included "making the Lord present in your job," being a caring person to those around you, living frugally, and helping those needing aid. More concrete, tangible, exterior symbols involve persons giving up homes to move down to Winton Place, a changing neighborhood, students leaving college to enter full-time ministry, and the sharing of one's home in an extended family situation. Father Richard pictures Western man as having moved away from his roots, "moving the Gospel into the head" rather than the heart, and presenting New Jerusalem as an attempt to reverse this process by encouraging people to expose the essence of their "self."

Links to the Mother Church

The linkage of New Jerusalem to the institutional Church, as represented by the Archbishop and other Church officials, has been consistently

positive. The formal relationship has been documented for several years in the form of minutes from meetings between the Liaison Committee (representing the Archbishop) and the Pastors and Staff of New Jerusalem. As noted in the history, Archbishop Bernardin was instrumental in helping New Jerusalem establish itself in the St. Bernard's Parish in Winton Place. The Archbishop, speaking to the membership of St. Bernard's Parish stated:

> As you know, New Jerusalem consists of a number of men and women who are committed to giving a greater witness to Jesus and His gospel by living in community as in the days of the early Christians. To the modern church, however, this is a new phenomenon which is not always understood and appreciated by all. New Jerusalem developed on its own, motivated by the sincere conviction of the people involved that they were responding to God's will as they understood God's will for themselves. I have now become personally involved with New Jerusalem as the Archbishop and I will soon appoint a Board of Priests to work with the community to make sure that it continues to develop in a way that is in accord with the Catholic teaching and tradition. The study of New Jerusalem . . . indicated that the community is basicslly sound. It also made a number of hopeful recommendations for the future. The members of New Jerusalem are in full accord with these recommendations and they will work with the Board in implementing them.

The aforementioned study, and the recommendations and responses resulting from it, set the tone of interaction between the Archdiocese of Cincinnati and the New Jerusalem Community.

The report itself gave information on leadership in the community, households, prayer sessions, and the community's relationship with the St. Bernard's Parish. Problems with the Parish, centering on parishoners fears of domination by New Jerusalem coupled with suspicions about the "household" living situations, were specifically noted. Concern was voiced about turnover at prayer meetings, the initiation process, and the need to encourage more participation from young marrieds with children. The review committee noted that the community "strives to

instill within its membership a deep commitment to the Church and submission to the local bishop's authority." Perhaps the most significant indicators of approval came in the form of three paragraphs concerning "underlying theological and Biblical rationale:"

> The basic doctrines on which the New Jerusalem Community rests are the Trinity and the Body of Christ. These doctrines are seen not only as intellectual beliefs, but also as saving mysteries and models for community living. In the articulation of these doctrines, we discovered no deviation from Catholic orthodoxy.
>
> The community places a strong emphasis on the gifts of the Holy Spirit, especially as these are listed and described in I Corinthians. While this emphasis is much stronger than in most Catholic communities, we found it in agreement with Catholic orthodoxy. There is . . . no fundamental problem with the community's theology or expression of it. In fact, we commend the community for discovering the life-giving power of basic Christian doctrines.

The overall impression was a decidedly positive one. The committee found the community existing well within the boundaries of the Church and doing good work.

The response of the Archbishop came in the form of some constructive recommendations. He recommended that a liaison Board, consisting of four persons appointed by the Archbishop and Provincial, be formed to facilitate guidance and direction, as well as continual evaluation. A one year moratorium on hosehold expension was placed on the community, the Archbishop expressing the wish that those already established be allowed to develop and stabilize. Concern, too, was expressed regarding the suspicion with which the sexually mixed households were surveyed, but in the ensuing years the Archbishop has been supportive of the community life-styles. Tact and caution were urged in continuing relationships with the parish along with the suggestion of increased communication between the leadership of both groups.

The response of the community to the Archbishop was swift and clear. The Pastoral Teams' response stated that "we accept the suggested guidelines and submit ourselves and our community to the Archbishop's pastoring." In the response was the first hint that the community was acutely aware of Father Richard's charismatic role. The Pastoral Team vigorously pointed out that there was much more sharing of pastoral leadership and responsibility than previously assumed.

Interviews with New Jerusalem members led to an interesting profile of community opinion on their relationship to the formal Church. Members agreed that they would obey any dictums of the Church but perceive faith as a deeply personal experience, not merely a following of rules. They suspected that, like the rest of the Catholic population, a certain segment might disregard teachings referring to birth control. It was also suggested that there might be disagreement as to the emphasis put upon different teachings. But, again, members emphasized that the "spirit" of the laws would be obeyed, and it was unlikely that there would ever be action taken opposing Church policy. When asked if they would disband if ordered to by the Church, the response was an immediate yes. One member pointed out that "what we are about is the renewal of the Church, not the survival of New Jerusalem." It was also suggested that some of the other charismatic groups might consider another response due to the fact that they are ecumenical groups and thus have the freedom to be somewhat more radical than New Jerusalem in their relations with the institutional Church.

New Jerusalem is not, then, a new Catholicism, but rather a more basic Catholicism, emphasizing basic human values. Several members expressed reservations about New Jerusalem taking a more widespread role

as leaders in the Church, the feeling being that, due to the type of experience involved, large numbers of Catholics would simply be unable to relate to the structure of the community. There is also a strongly held belief that teaching leadership must come from the institutional Church for full renewal. Perhaps community members are being too harsh on themselves. There is much diversity in the Catholic Church, among both priests and lay members, and they might very well wish an opportunity to share in a New Jerusalem type of experience. Still, the New Jerusalemites perception of themselves as simply one facet of the renewal probably accounts for their relaxed attitude toward submission to the institutional Church.

Purpose and Future Prospects of the Community

In responding to questions about purpose, the members of the community indicated many diverse attitudes and thoughts. Father Richard emphasized that nothing was pre-planned, that changes simply "happened." Thus, as each new stage became apparent, the membership would then reflect on it and find their present purpose. In general, however, Father Richard believed the purpose was to direct New Jerusalem toward being a "counter-sign or counterculture in which people are free to know themselves and be themselves, and know God and be in relation to God." Within this structure, then, the individual must find his own purpose, but for the group as a whole, their purpose is simply to "be the Church."

Some members took a more limited view, seeing the purpose as the formation of a family--a family taking a spiritual journey together, "existing to be together." A young teacher, George T., said "we should serve ourselves by creating a secure, affirmative environment. We need to (referring to the community) create a subsociety where there is a greater

chance of overcoming a developing sense of the bureaucratic society." This young man saw New Jerusalem as an integrational experience, a chance to become more aware of one's emotions. A new couple described New Jerusalem's purpose as providing "an available place for people to live together, love each other, serve each other and learn about the Bible, Church and Jesus."

One of the better-schooled, longtime members said the purpose was "simply to be." For the community to "be what it is called to be, which is the Body of Christ." She then claimed, "I don't see any distinction between who we are and why we are." The main purpose, then, was to be true to the vision, from which everything else would flow. Others saw the purpose as creating a concrete expression of the vision, a real seeking of renewal, "recreating the possibility of living in love in our time." This flexibility regarding the purpose of their existence seems consistent with the philosophy of the community--that of letting the individual find his own answers, and providing guidance if requested to do so. An overriding problem seems to be determination of whether New Jerusalemites will isolate themselves from the world or immerse themselves in it in oder to find answers to their questions.

The New Jerusalem Community cannot be described as particularly "future-oriented." Not more than 20 per cent of the respondents during the interview stage had any opinion as to the future of the community. Rena S. felt there was "no way of knowing what we will be. Perhaps a special parish. Maybe we'll lose the 'vision' and die in six months. The essence of New Jerusalem will be around even if it ends officially because the essence is carried around in the hearts of the people, not in the structure." One person saw the community splitting into numerous

small groups and going out into the parishes. Two new couples talked of gaining more credibility during each year of existence and eventually spinning off some satelitte communities in the city or throughout the state.

Several suggested that another stage of choice and commitment might ensue, forcing people not living in Winton Place to give up membership unless willing to move to the area. Most reacted negatively to any thought of expansion or further colonization, recognizing the small size of the community as a virtue. Father Richard stated that he was both "excited and scared" about the community. He believes New Jerusalem is an infant community which needs at least ten years of healthy existence and "faithful life-style" before the group earns the right to speak to much of the Church. New Jerusalem is still looked at as a fringe or radical group and most other Catholics expect it to fail. Father Richard simply hopes that, after ten years, "we are leading a faithful life where we have freed and healed some people."

CHAPTER VI

THE BUREAUCRATIC COMMUNITY

Leadership and Social Control Hierarchy

In discussing New Jerusalem as a bureaucracy, the first step should be to identify the type of leadership and social control present in the community. Etzioni (1964: 65) identifies religious organizations as being typically normative organizations. Control in such organizations occurs, as in the case of New Jerusalem, through the exercise of "normative power." This refers to the manipulation of normative symbols (prestige and esteem) and social symbols (love and acceptance) for social control. The use of normative power (Etzioni, 1964: 60) tends to "generate more commitment" than other forms of power. Etzioni (1964: 61) states that "the power of an organization to control its members rests either in specific positions (department head), a person (a persuasive man), or a combination of both (a persuasive department head). Personal power is always normative power; it is based on the manipulation of symbols and it serves to generate commitment to the person who commands it. Positional power, on the other hand, may be normative, coercive or utilitarian. Father Richard Rohr, O.F. M., chief pastor of the New Jerusalem Community, seems to fit the role of a "formal leader," that is, one commanding both positional and personal power.

Father Richard is clearly the charismatic (in the Weberian sense) leader of this charismatic community. He has been described in New Jerusalem bulletins as serving that Body "as unifier, principle teacher,

and apostle." Tapes of his teachings for the core of community ideology are sold by the St. Anthony Messenger Press, being in much demand throughout the country. Father Richard's role as charismatic leader becomes verbalized in his role as teacher, and he plays the role of "corporate personality"--holder of the vision and representative of the whole. As "unifier," his presence "gives affirming value, ties the community together." He has spent an enormous amount of time doing Outreach activities such as retreats, talks and teachings. "His teaching (from publicity bulletin) is based not so much on academic theology, however, as on his walk with the Spirit, and his life lived and shared in a Body of Christ."

In an interview with Father Richard, he expressed the thought that the formation of community was a great art, that there must be a situation of love and creativity to accomplish this task. He desires to create "unity" by appealing to a base so broad that it will be appetizing to all. One of the clearer indicators of Father Richard's importance to the community is attendance at the Wednesday Mass. When he was there, attendance was close to the capacity of the church, but when he was out of town and someone else held the Mass, attendance dropped off by more than a third. While somewhat difficult to describe, there is a totally different ambiance among the worshippers when Father Richard is present. Before the Mass, while awaiting the priest's entry, an unmistakable sense of excitement and anticipation infected the crowd. It was the same reaction one sees while waiting for any star performer to make an entrance. Father Richard is a powerful and manipulative speaker, but rather than coercing his audience or intimidating them, he enters the role of teacher with a most convincing sincerity, making his points in a gentle, concerned manner.

In casual interaction with the membership, both Father Richard and the other members take great pains to be relaxed and friendly, keeping the level of interaction one of apparent equality. Yet, the very forced casualness sets him very much apart, as do many other actions. In meetings or during casual conversations, little time goes by without mention of his name or reference to his teachings or to suggestions he has made regarding the topics being discussed. When questioning New Jerusalemites about Father Richard's role in the community, other members, particularly those in leadership positions, were quick to point out that there was much delegation of authority and that Father Richard's role was no more significant than their own. This simply was not the case, however, based upon observations made in the community. If anything, Father Richard is the one indispensible member, for there is no leader emerging who could possibly perform his role in the community.

Father Richard is acutely aware of the lack of emerging lay leadership. The community is female-dominated, but none of the females have the charismatic personality to handle the position. The women are the hardest workers in the community but they are an extremely nonplussed group, executive types, but not presidential material. Their domination at meetings is often so complete that, even if a number of male members are present, the males may say little, and what they say will be so soft spoken that it will have no effect on the proceedings. Many of the women in leadership roles probably would not have the opportunity elsewhere in their lives, and they seem to truly relish their jobs. Still, the ultimate word in the community, the ever reliable problem-solver, is Father Richard. While Father Richard has tried to wean others away from his authority. little is accomplished without his leadership and blessing. He spoke at

some length of the problem with dependent males in the community. "The males need to be liberated for they are really the enslaved." Father Richard credits Cincinnati's austere, German background with turning out non-affectionate, non-verbal young men, lacking in self-confidence and aggressiveness.

A major pastoral staff meeting that was attended exemplified many of the problems of the community. Joann H. pointed out that New Jerusalem has structure, system and process, but must concentrate on furthering flexibility. The issue being dealt with was that of a serious breakdown in communications--specifically the communicating of decisions by segments of the community leadership to others in the community. Some members were unclear as to whether their own group was a decision-making body. Mary J. said the problem was that of bureaucratization versus relaxed spontaneity. She stated that the staff suffered from "leadership avoidance," that members did not wish to admit that they do determine the direction of the community. John C. jumped into the conversation by pointing out that the staff was an advisory body coming together for discernment. Fran N. believed that "the community should have faith in the leadership and the leadership faith that the community has faith in them--faith that your own decisions are best for all the members because you love them all." Ultimately, at this meeting, as at most of the meetings in the community, nothing regarding communication was resolved. Nobody emerged from the meeting to take charge and it eventually ended when everybody was all "talked out."

Structural Change and Setting Policy

Over the past seven years a number of structural arrangements have been attempted to carry out the organizational needs of the community.

The following charts exemplify some of these efforts. Most of the changes resulted from change in the direction of the community. It should be noted that all the charts include, in some form, serv ie teams, ministries, and a pastoral staff or team. These will be discussed in the section on committees and activities but for the time being please note that the pastoral teams are involved in counseling, preaching and discerning while the service teams care for the practical needs of the community.

The ultimate authority in this structure was the Pastoral team. There were some ties between ministries and the Pastoral teacm. The Pastoral team was "all-powerful," but the service team, now responsible for administration of the physical community, had strong leadership as well. There was some authority problem in that the final authority was the Pastoral team but the Service team felt more "in-touch" with the other groups. FAther Richard became the general supervisor of the community during this period. Though the Pastors were responsible for all decisions, the rest of the community still regarded Father Richard as the "real" authority and final word.

More delegation of authority attempted but result is some confusion as to responsibilities. In the future there is hope for an even more compact staff. Presently, Father Richard is the "day-to-day" pastor. The Pastoral staff makes decisions regarding households, small groups and individual members.

Policies are set by various groups, but all new policy must eventually receive approval from the pastors. For any major change in overall community policy, the Archbishop must be informed through the Liaison Board or directly by Father Richard. Policies regarding business

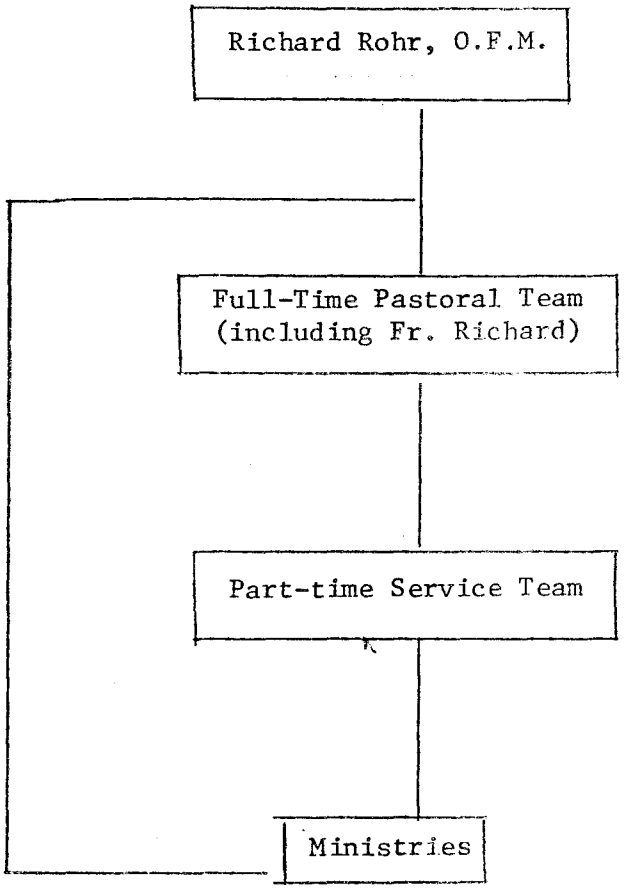

Figure 1. Oganizational Structure of Jew Jerusalem
Fall 1974

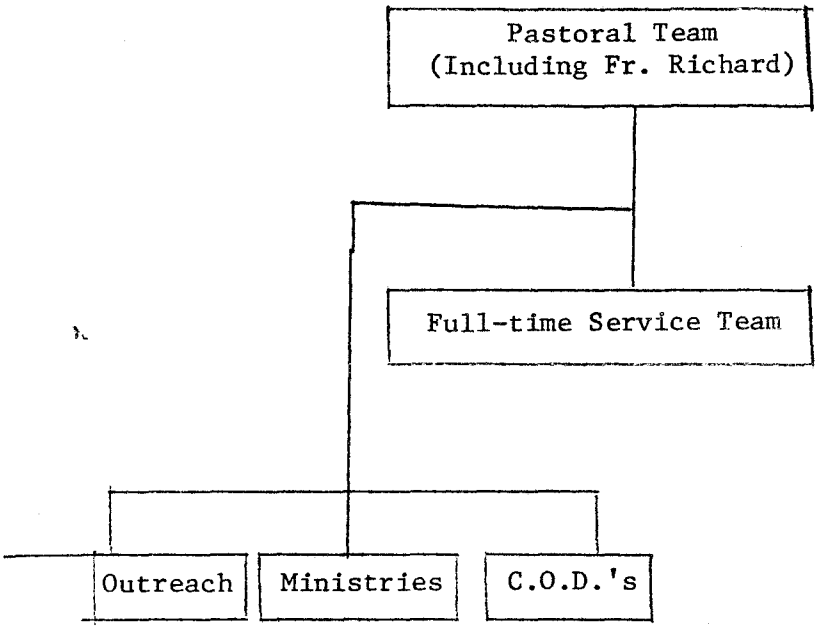

Figure 2. Organizational Structure of New Jerusalem
Fall 1975

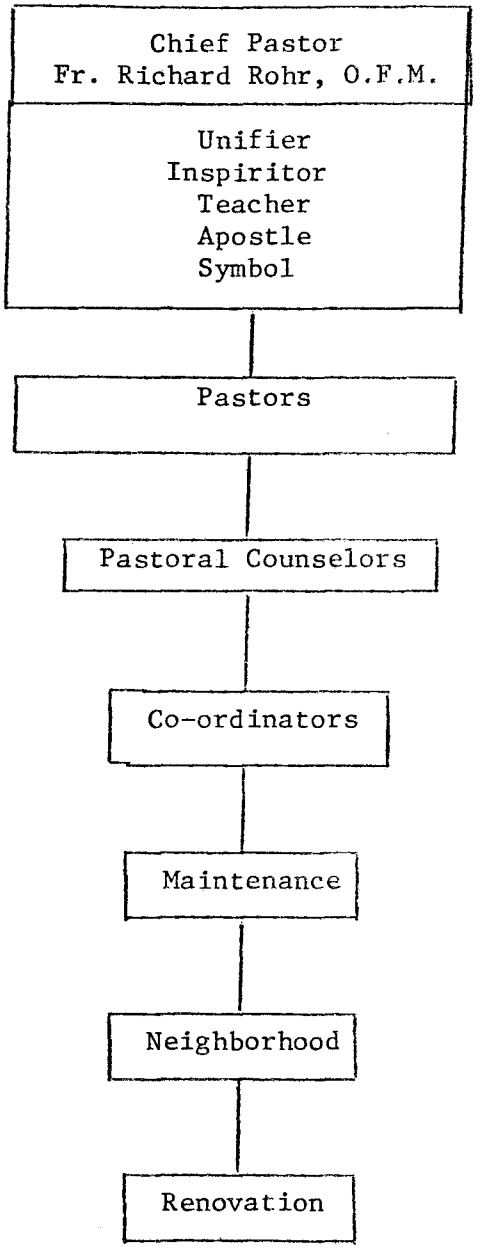

Figure 3. Organizational Structure of New Jerusalem, Fall 1976
(From official New Jerusalem Flow Chart)

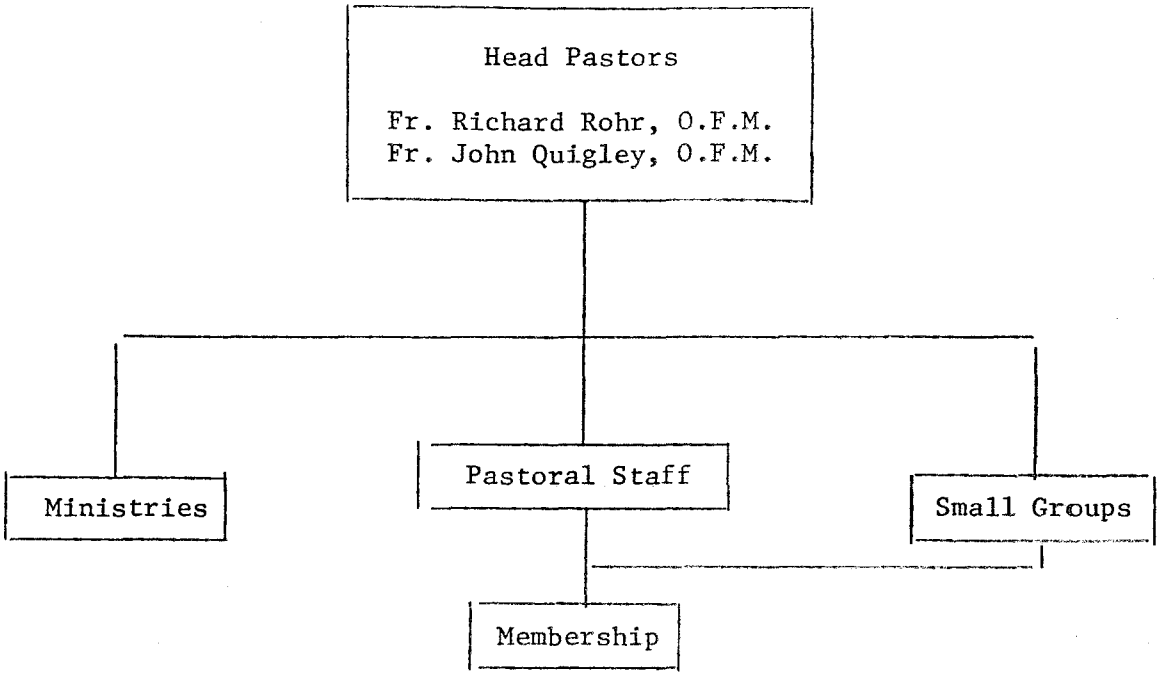

Figure 4. Organizational Structure of New Jerusalem Spring/Summer 1977

status and legal status, living situations and Small Group ministry, as well as policy regarding Outreach, are problems recently dealt with by the community. The most recent policy decisions have involved stances on the status of households (Chapter VII) and a covenant (Appendix E) with the Saint Bernard Parish. The renewable covenant established legal, spiritual, and practical boundaries for the two groups. Policy-setting is not a democratic process in the community and, in actuality, there is no voting mechanism at all. Groups under whose aegis the particular issue falls can propose policy, which is then approved or disapproved by the Pastors, who constitute the highest authority within the community.

Committees and Activities

It is difficult to account for the myriad committees and activities that make up the organizational New Jerusalem. New ministries constantly come into being as needs are perceived and met within the community. Attendance at a "state of the Community" meeting this past year revealed many of the committees and activities of the group, and an orderly documentation of that meeting is provided here as an introduction to community events.

The first discussion centered on the Pastoral Staff and its dimension of counseling. This staff, chosen by the Pastors, is assigned "to help keep Christ alive" in the community. The make-up of full-time counselors is based on a Conciliar model--a council of brothers and sisters to consult with for personal and group problems. While performing some of the tasks a parish council might in other places, the staff is different in that they are not elected and, unlike the typical monthly parish council meetings, this staff engages in full-time ministry.

Next, the activities of the Initiation ministry was explained to

the membership. Initiation was defined as "our project together, part of the lived life of this Body, and the most direct contact we have with others." Initiation could be called a "new Life Ministry," and it is the most involved thing done together by members of the community. The goal of initiation is enactment of the process of welcoming new people and incorporating them in the church renewal. Elements of this teaching concerns presenting potential recruits with some vision of a life together. The four "phases" of initiation (Appendix F) were briefly mentioned and the ministry head indicated that revision and review was an ongoing process. The lengthy (several months) process, which uses "The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults" as a "model for the journey into community," proceeds through stages of Inquiry, Transition, Choice and Communion. In a paper describing the process it is stated that "What we hope to achieve is a new synthesis of religious experience and life-style, of sacred and secular, of religion and life. . . . Our goal then is simply this: to help the person to conversion of life in the New Jerusalem community. Whatever form this conversion experience takes, it will be fostered and centered in the relationships in community." Father Richard noted that initiation is the "community passing on its own life," and introduced the Small Group ministry, next to speak, as "little churches" in the community.

The Small Groups grew out of a perceived need to establish an environment in which intense, primary interactions might take place. The Small Group head reported that New Jerusalem had been accused of becoming inbred and isolated--thus there was a need to do, to enflesh, what members claim they want to do. For New Jerusalemites, "theology becomes a reality in the small group." Areas of concern in running the Small Groups are threefold: (1) practical concerns--placing individuals in appropriate

groups, (2) headship concerns--determining what the group needs in terms of pastoring and discipling, and (3) concern about fragmentation due to the Small Groups. The call heard most from the groups was a need to direct energies toward prayer, which the headship agreed would be the new focus. At this juncture, Father Richard noted that tension existed between inreach orientation and outreach orientation.

Evangelization (outreach) has two main thrusts: first, the notion that each individual is called by the Lord to each particular place of involvement and, secondly, that this Christian life is actually being lived. Thus, New Jerusalemites, the entire community, are actually evangelizers by living the renewal. The evangelization ministry is responsible for the Mobile Ministry or Traveling Teams, and the CCD's given throughout the city. Talking with guests about the renewal is another responsibility of the group. Among the activities of the Traveling Teams are giving charismatic retreats, chairing conferences, visiting other "types" of communities (Mennonites) and giving parish renewals. Father Richard, of course, travels extensively both nationally and internationally for evangelization as representative of the community, but others are now found to be capable of handling similar assignments.

Pastoring was the next topic of discussion and the report began with a notation that counseling was occurring more universally at New Jerusalem. Pastors should be able to "understand, listen, and give advice non-directively in a basically one-to-one relationship." The next two groups reporting were the Neighborhood Ministry and the Guest Ministry. The former acts as a "visible catalyst" between New Jerusalem and the rest of the Winton Place Community. They minister to any persons in the area but concentrate on visiting and talking with the elderly. The

latter ministry cares for people visiting and observing New Jerusalem while seeking guidance for their own communities or aids persons trying to make a determination about joining New Jerusalem.

The final reports concerned the organizational status of the community and finances. One person suggested that "integrity" was needed in dealing with the parish, government and archdiocese. Some of the indicators of growing bureaucratic status were the acquisition of health insurance for full-time workers, tax exempt status, incorporation, and mention in the Official National Catholic Directory. The financial committee spoke of establishing spending priorities and instituting a new bookkeeping system.

The aforementioned meeting provides reference to a portion of the activities in which the membership of the community participates. Some of the other groups, ministries and activities in the community are listed below:

Groups and Ministries

Food Co-op	Serenity Group	Alcoholism Ministry
Liturgy	Greeters	
Music Ministry	Real Estate	
Married Couples and Children	Divorced and Separated Support Group	

Activities

Weddings	Community Dances
Community Retreats	Invited Speakers
Parish Festivals	Baptisms
Picnics	

Six months from now there may be five new groups and five old ones may

have disappeared. The community remains flexible, creating groups to meet new needs and phasing out those which are no longer useful. Serious questions about leadership succession remain unanswered and avoided, but the community will eventually have to deal with them.

CHAPTER VII

THE LIVING COMMUNITY

Households

Although a number of households have recently been dissolved at New Jerusalem, during the time of this research a range of 75-90 persons, or 20 per cent of the entire community, were involved in household situations. New Jerusalem has had all possible resident mixtures at one time or another; all-female, all-male, all-single, mixed gender single, and mixed single-married households. It is important to note that New Jerusalem is the only area among the Catholic population in the United States where a charismatic renewal group has been given buildings by an Archbishop. It is the only place that has households where males and females are living together while unmarried are supported by the institutional church (Archbishop Bernardin has come and blessed the community).

Using observations and a response to the Liaison Committee's request for an explanation of "households," an overview of structure and process will now be presented. It has been pointed out that the households were not originally planned, they were a spontaneous response "as a natural outgrowth of the deepening Christian Life in the Community, and at the inevitably communitarian impulse of the Holy Spirit." Expression of a portion of the memberships' desire for communality in a contemporary manner would be the focus, rather than achievement of a specific set of goals. If one were to seek a concrete accomplishment of household living, perhaps the system of sharing finances, which enables some members to be supported and engage in full-time ministry, would qualify

Those called to live in household form a collectivity within each household as well as a larger collectivity which includes the membership of all households.

In order to gain permission for membership in household, a person must first indicate some commitment by going first through the typical membership process; the Initiation Program, Small Group experience, and attendance at weekly masses, meetings and community activities. After undergoing a discernment process with the Pastoral Team, the individual may be invited to join a household. The discernment process determines whether, in the eyes of the Pastors, the applicant has reached a point of personal maturity and belief amenable with this type of living situation. Moving-in tends to be a household project and often serves as an enticing excuse for a celebration.

Most of the households have been, to some extent, renovated by community members. The houses are either owned by some members of the household, rented from a non-Community owner, or rented from a Community member living elsewhere. The group is completely responsible for maintenance, group needs (food, transportation, rent) and personal needs (clothing, toiletries, books) of the members. This is not to say that all items are "group-owned," for not all property is communally owned. The simple rule is "share what is sharable" within reason. Most of the houses are scattered throughout the Winton Place community but, because of the small area of the community, none are too far from the others. Another factor of note is that none of the houses are particularly opulent in nature. The homes, though old, generally are spacious, with many rooms, thus allowing householders some privacy.

The membership living in households represents an interesting section

of the community. Over 70 per cent of the household members are female and they average 24 1/2 years of age. For the rest of the community, only 57 per cent are female and the females average 27 years of age. The household males average 27 years of age while those outside the households average 29 years of age. The household group averages four years membership in New Jerusalem while the others average 2 1/2 years of membership. The householders have lived in that situation an average of 2 1/2 years. Most of the household members are single and have the same percentage of native Cincinnatians as the rest of the group, 66 per cent.

Finances are a critical aspect of the household system because they have the potential for being a major point of contention among members. Getting and spending income in a way that is satisfactory for all members seems a difficult task to accomplish. "Work" will be discussed later, but the structure for spending income is one particularly interesting facet of the household and needs to be entertained now. Most of the households nominate one or two members to collect checks and deposit them in a household checking account. Small allowances for individuals are common, but there may be a petitioning for additional funds if personal needs dictate it. Depending on the household, an individual or committee evaluates the merit of the request and decides whether or not to allocate the funds. Group needs are also met through the common fund--the money going to the person handling the specific task (shopping, house repairs). Some households help student members pay tuition, but others feel the individual should come up with private funds. Married couples generally receive a larger share of the pot and non-Community members (e.g., grand daughter of a married couple) may retain earnings if they wish. In one household, a new male member stated that one of the most difficult trials he had

encountered as a member was handing over his weekly paycheck. He felt a little resentment at having so little money in his pocket after working a long, double-shift week at a local hospital. It was observed that members ate well but plainly, and they seemed to develop skills at "scrounging" items, dipping into funds only when necessary. Despite the frugality concerning their own situations, they quickly opened their coffers to needy outsiders or needy families.

The "typical" day in households at New Jerusalem is little different than in any home anywhere--eating meals, going to work, and an occasional meeting to attend. Households average one mandatory business meeting per week, often combined with a prayer session. While the members eat few breakfasts together (with 50 per cent or more of the members present), the late meal of the day is taken as a group. It is a time of prayer and interaction, an ideal opportunity for the exercise of "community." Most households average two prayer meetings per week although in one household it is a daily matter in the early evening. The group activities of the household seem to be centered around activities associated with New Jerusalem--Mass, Small Group meetings, weddings, dances, etc., but in no way is participation mandatory. Though a member of the collectivity, the individual decides how his time might best be spent, for the individual does not necessarily give up his freedom to determine the best usage of his time.

Seeing the household group in action as a cohesive unit was one of the most rewarding benefits of this research. A household picnic was used to help the brother of one of the members during a time of depression and difficulty in his life. Though not a community member, this young man was welcomed with warmth and compassion into this particular household.

At the picnic, people went to great lengths to keep him amused, to give him someone to converse with, and to provide quiet, intimate counseling that he obviously sought. Household members worked smoothly as a team, slowly gathering this person into their fold and surrounding him with much love. This gesture showed that in this household at least, people had learned how to use their freedom to free others to seek the Lord.

Household members are held accountable to themselves, their fellow residents, and the entire community. Having been chosen by the Pastors to experience this living situation is an indication that those measuring commitment have agreed that they are worthy members of the community. While the commitment to households is viewed by most as a temporary stage in their continuing Christian development, others look upon it as a life-long venture. There is a clear pattern, however, of rather systematic turnover--some leaving the community, some being taken by marriage, or dispersing because they have outgrown the experience. There is another view of households, placing them within the general renewal of the church (Liaison Committee document):

> Within the Church and society at large, the households are a sign of the radical interdependence, unity, and mutual charity of the Christian life. They contribute to the "re-people-ing" of the Church, by demonstrating a totally encompassing Christian life-style which is lived and liveable by ordinary lay paople, not just by professional religious. New Jerusalem also views household living as a social action, an alternative life-style in a de-familied society, by which Christian family life is renewed, and through which formation for ministry can be achieved. Life in such a supportive Christian family environment is enabling men and women to reach out to others who are in need of the healing touch of Christ.

As mentioned earlier, after reaching peak growth about one year ago, there has been a drastic decline in the number of households. It was projected by the Community that the households might begin to specialize

in particular ministries, that a stabilization process was taking place that would guarantee adequate membership. This change will be documented further in the ensuing section, but suffice it to say that, at this point, the household as pictured here, seems not to have satisfied the communal needs of the New Jerusalemites.

Singles, Marrieds, Children and Work

This section, while to some extent general, is most often directed at those persons living within the confines of Winton Place (household and non-household members). Besl (1977: 60-61) discusses the meaningfulness of marriage as a sacrament for the community. She notes that for couples marrying in a typical parish, the celebrant often has little knowledge of the couple, and even relatives or friends may barely be aware of their existence. "The church is like a filling station where the couple comes to have their particular needs taken care of by the priest who dispenses his services." Support at New Jerusalem is at the maximum even before the marriage or engagement may occur. Counseling by the Pastors or household head begins when a couple begins to seriously consider marriage. Cloase participation by community members, constant sharing through discussion and prayer, allows for full communal mobilization for the liturgy at the wedding. Besl (1977: 62) states that "the wedding is not only a celebration of the couple . . . but also a celebration of all our lives. By this marriage in the Lord we know our life as a body will be enriched and furthered."

As noted earlier, the community is changing in that, rather than being based simply in young, single and mobile persons, New Jerusalem is attracting older, married persons, more stable in their home life situations (job, home). While older singles and celebrants comprised the top

of the community hierarchy, at the next level the heads of the ministries had always been young and single. It seems that the households were always changing because of the youthful make-up of the household membership. These young adults are fairly unstable due to the many career, marriage and personal identity decisions to be made. The center staff, too, has traditionally been young and single.

This situation has switched drastically, and the extended household, the structure replacing the earlier household situation, is an expression of this change. With a new influx of marrieds, couples are fast becoming more responsible in the community. People are unsure as to what a couple-dominated ministry might be like, for it stands to reason that these new members will have less time to spend on community commitments. One possibility is a growing part-time ministry, a situation calling for even more commitment on the part of members. Father Richard has noted that this new structure may be advantageous in getting people contacted during Outreach to relate to the New Jerusalem experience. Mixed households of singles seems overly radical to some, but with families entering the picture, the renewal might seem more like the rest of the Church world. Another problem that might be lessened is that of the non-New Jerusalemite residents, fear of "immoral" happenstances in the households. The "natives" interviewed were obviously afraid that their children might fall victim to New Jerusalem's influence and clearly mistrusted the motives of the community. While New Jerusalemites seem to have created a comfortable male-female interaction system, others are apparently uncomfortable with it.

The new extended families consist of a married couple as homeowners either renting or giving living space to one or two singles. Inviting

people to join one's family would seem to be an indication of strong commitment to the ideals of the group. Sharing between marrieds and unmarrieds as a family should enrich the experience of both sides. Perhaps some stability will be provided to the single person by the presence of a married couple.

Increased numbers of marrieds means that there will be an influx of children into the community. Father Richard has some reservations about children for he fears they may cut down on the mobility of the community. Perhaps an indicator of whether children will be welcome is found in the ritual of baptism. Baptism represents another opportunity for the community to celebrate their "life together." During infant baptisms, and there were a number of babies born into New Jerusalem this past year, they (Besl, 1977: 62) "were attended not only by the immediate family, but by a representative portion of the community into which the baby is being baptized." The "spiritual family" of New Jerusalem welcomes the new member into their midst, "accepted as a member of the body of Christ, to be discipled as he grows by his parents."

At the present time there are no mechanisms in the community to handle a large number of children. Serious questions about induction and socialization must be discussed, but community members seem to avoid dealing with the problem. It is doubtful that the individual families will simply raise the children without indoctrinating them to some extent, and the situation of differential association with New Jerusalemits would seem to stack the odds for the childrens "voluntary" entry into the community. Whether they will be seen as a new source of recruitment is a matter the community must come to grips with.

Another significant facet of the community is work or occupations.

The variety of occupations and professions within the community is staggering. There are, however, some very clear trends. The most popular professional area is teaching, with engineering being another significantly large group. Using both Winton Placers and non-Winton Placers, the occupations break down this way: 16 per cent are in blue-collar jobs, 22 per cent are students, 46 per cent are white-collar workers, and 16 per cent claim "housewife" as their primary job status. Quite a few members of the Winton Place group belong to the full-time Center staff and a relative few are unemployed. Those with established "careers" seem less likely to take time off to do full-time ministry for a year or two, thereby leaving the running of the community in the hands of a select segment. The picture thus far is one of a most diverse and active community, one which is experimental and constantly adjusting as the situation dictates. The next section raises some more interesting questions about the present and future state of the community.

Winton Placers and Non-Winton Placers

Within New Jerusalem's definition of community, that being a "way of relating," any person contributing to that experience may be said to share a common life. In the future, however, sharing from afar may not be enough to satisfy community requirements. Father Richard cited centralization and localization as being desirable goals--along with calling all members to Winton Place. It is a sign of utmost commitment, a sign of a new value system for the community. On a practical level there is no distinguishing for individual members, but people clearly see the community as being "centered" in Winton Place.

Discounting full-time community workers, Winton Place residents average five hours per week working for the community while non-Winton

Placer average less than one hour. Non-Winton Placers belong to far fewer committees, and rarely head any ministries. They are older than the Winton Placers and have been members of the community a shorter time. Like the Winton Placers, the non-Winton Placers are largely native Cincinnatians (66 per cent), but while 70 per cent of the Winton Placers are females, only 57 per cent of non-Winton placers are female. When members of the community were asked about differences in commitment and participation they either adamantly claimed that "no differences exist" or pointed out two or three non-Winton Placers super-active in the community. It was a topic they were obviously uncomfortable with for it would be difficult to say, one suspects, that a segment of the community was not sharing as much as another segment. Participation in and leadership of Small Groups seems inadequate compared to the effort of others in the community. This is another problem the community must apparently resolve in the future, but one which might cause great discomfort when faced.

Hopefully, this chapter has provided a brief glimpse of the community as it is lived today. If one expected unusual, radical or illegitimate life-styles there should be complete disappointment. The community runs smoothly to the point of "dullness," with members leading "ordinary" lives within a some what "out of the ordinary" structural situation.

CHAPTER VIII

EVALUATION AND FINDINGS

The Functional Prerequisites of a Society

Though Aberle, et al. (1950) suggest that their list of functional prerequisites is not definitive, it is the most complete list yet formulated. The rationale for using this typology has been discussed in an earlier chapter, but the definition of functional prerequisites used for this study is, as yet, lacking. The definition is as follows (Aberle, et al., 1950: 100):

> Functional prerequisites refer broadly to the things that must get done in any society if it is to continue as a going concern, i.e. the generalized conditions necessary for the maintenance of the system concerned. The specific structural arrangements for meeting the functional prerequisites differ, of course, from one society to another and, in the course of time, change in any given society.

It is noted (Aberle, et al., 1950) that the above definition would logically precede the determination of "structural" prerequisites, which would explain how the functional prerequisites might be achieved. By examining each functional prerequisite in turn, in terms of the structures existing in New Jerusalem that satisfy them, a general picture of that community's "chances for survival" will be ascertained. It is also important to note that the definition of functional prerequisites will, at times, be used in ways more appropriate to this community's environmental situation. If alteration occurs it will be explained within the context of the structural analysis.

Provision for Adequate Relationship to the Environment and Sexual Recruitment and Maintenance

For New Jerusalem, this would include modes of "adapting to, manipulating, and altering the environments" in such a way as to (a) alter the environment when it becomes too hostile; (b) maintain a sufficient number and kind of members so as to function properly; and (c) pattern heterosexual relationships to insure opportunities and motivation for a sufficient rate of reproduction. If these conditions are not met to at least some extent, the entire organization would become extinct.

The bureaucratic organization of New Jerusalem has worked to meet the first requisite. The leadership engineered moves of the community when the environment became uninviting or uncomfortable (e.g., Powell Crosley mansion, O.L.A., Ursuline Academy). When the community found an acceptable place to stay and grow (Winton Place), efforts were made through ministries to placate hostile neighbors (St. Bernard's parishoners). This mode of adjustment has been timely and successful for the community.

To some extent the second problem is solved by a consistent rate of attrition, but at one point (December 19, 1975), position statement) the leadership stepped in and "pruned" the population down to those persons most committed to the renewal and the community. The third aspect of this prerequisite has, to this point, been inadequately dealt with by the community. While the households and the new influx of young marrieds provide (1) an ambiance for developing heterosexual relationships in the former and (2) a "fait accompli" in the latter, the community has perceived the Wednesday night masses as the primary recruiting and replacement mechanisms. At this point there are no definite plans or programs with regard to children produced in the community as potential recruits. It may be that "differential

association" would insure a large number of children voluntarily joining the Community, but there is no formal structure to guarantee this.

System of Selection for Role Differentiation and Role Assignment

Although voluntarism is the order of the day in New Jerusalem, specific role allocation is handled by various segments of the leadership (Pastors, Pastoral Staff, Ministry Heads). Motivation and training of individuals occurs as a part of the community life-style experience and are not problematic, but selection for role assignments is affected by the proximity of one segment of the population in the Winton Place area. Despite being in opposition to the group's basic values of communality and sharing, a discernable stratification system exists. Sex, rather than age differentiation is a factor. Except for the Pastors, women hold the most significant and prestigious roles in the community. The male membership, aside from being a numerical minority, is viewed unfavorably in terms of potential and production. In this community, power is the value that accrues to those of higher status. Certain privileges (private offices, titles, traveling opportunities) accrue to these individuals, but that is legitimized to the rest of the community because these persons have more responsibility. As the community changes, marital status may enter into classification, and place of residence, as mentioned previously, is a factor.

One factor seemingly absent from this scheme is coercive sanctions. While the Pastors may dismiss one from the Community, the formal power of other leaders is unclear. Another point worth mentioning is that, with all the organizational changes in structure that New Jerusalem has gone through, the same basic group has wound up in the significant, titled positions.

Communication Through Shared Linguistic Symbols and Good Channels of Communication

This prerequisite is a most interesting one as fulfilled by the New Jerusalem Community. The English language, of course, constitutes the basic shared linguistic system for the membership, but there exists an added dimension that enables communication to be more intimate than in other circumstances. There is a "language within a language" system that fosters unity of communication among New Jerusalemites, that is less available to outsiders. The system consists of the consistent use of phrases (e.g., Praise the Lord, Spread the Good News) and symbolic notations (e.g., get a reading) that are not commonly used in "secular" society, thus creating a more intimate system of communication for the membership.

As a corporate group, however, the channels of communication are simply a disaster. It is, perhaps, a function of the many organizational shifts by the leadership, but channeled interaction is clearly a major problem for the group. No single group has responsibility for creating a better system and, despite admonishments to the perpetrators of poorly channeled information, the relaxed, "let me share this with you since we've bumped into one another" attitude prevails.

Shared Cognitive Orientations

Without shared cognitive orientations, life would be a constant series of clashes and disruptions any time humans tried to interact in, adapt to, manipulate or predict social situations. Most of the orientations are formed prior to entry into the community, for they are learned as a member of mass society. But there is a certain amount of orientation peculiar to the particular situation that members must orient or reorient themselves to in order to live together.

As new members are exposed, through initiation, teachings, sermons, or simply systematic interaction, to the orientations of the community, re-definition of situations previously assumed as "givens" occurs. Part of the process is orderly, calculated, but another segment of orientation occurs as a latent function of living in the community. As the new members understand the philosophies theologies, and/or ideologies involved in the movement, he is better able to define situations in a manner similar to other community members.

A Shared, Articulated Set of Goals

This prerequisite causes serious structural difficulties on two levels in the Community. General societal goals such as national supremacy, individual economic success, academic achievement, etc. have considerably less meaning to this community than they might to the population at large. Because of the rangs of goals available in society, some humanistic, social action goals might present an option on which New Jerusalemites could focus their attention, but, judging from past performance, the community members are not particularly interested in pursuing any goals outside of their religious renewal. Basic community tenets such as frugality, sharing, and equality seem quite out of step with the thrust of society. It appears that society is returning to a "getting ahead" mentality (occupationally oriented) after being directed at "getting along" since the late 1960's. Without a common societal goal focus, there would necessarily need to be a very directed goal orientation on the community level.

In an earlier chapter, in discussing vision, purpose and future focus, it was readily apparent that there is a wide range of goals within the community. Even the leader of the group, Father Richard, had difficulty pinning down any particular goals--espousing instead some vague phrases

about being "some kind of corporate good . . ." If there is a structure within the community where there exists shared, articulated goals, it would be in the Small Groups. These groups are designed to foster intimacy, personal knowledge, and sharing, in the hope that commitment to a shared life will grow. Short-term goal direction is satisfied in doing ministry work, but the young community seems to be in a formative stage regarding structuring of shared goals. It is critical that the community eventually find a specific direction for there are many competing groups in society which covet enthusiastic, motivated individuals--the kind of person now gravitating toward the community.

The Normative Regulation of Means

Since most New Jerusalemites work outside of the community and pursue some personal goals, they are subject to instruction about, and enforcement of, legitimate means by society. Practicing Christianity as they do, community members are more likely to adhere to the rules than the general populace. Learning how to achieve goals is part of one's life experience in society, but one always has a choice of following legitimate or illegitimate means to achieve goals.

"In ritual and initiatory activities" it is important that procedures be "normatively specified." Aberle, et al. (1950: 108) claim that "what is indispensible is simply that socially accepted directives for ceremonial and symbolic action exist." Ritual and initiation both play an exceptionally significant role in the community scene. New Jerusalemites find great richness in the rituals of weddings, baptisms, Masses, etc. Both the institutional Church, and the community's ministries (particularly initiation) are responsible for fulfillment of these functions. Christian ethics are also responsible for directing members toward legitimacy.

The Regulation of Affective Expression

Most affective expression occurs within the community among members or within families (including households). The community monitors most of the behavior, for affective expression is singularly important in New Jerusalem. Hugging is the common form of greeting one another in the community, often accompanied by a kiss on the cheek. Physical contact is an expected part of the life-style in New Jerusalem, but it often makes outsiders quite uncomfortable. Even unknown guests are often hugged in welcome--and are bewildered as to their own expected behaviors. Members of New Jerusalem do not raise their voices or act angrily toward one another, at least not in public gatherings. At difficult meetings, one could sense the rising tension as members fought for self-control. New members seem much more inclined to argue than older members, but they quickly learn that members are to keep cool under any circumstances.

Community members often get caught up, and become visibly emotional at Mass, especially if expressing a gift of charism--but they are rarely as uninhibited as Protestant Pentecostals. If observed closely, the experiencing of charisms appears closely controlled, with members nearby negatively sanctioning overtly demonstrative behavior with sharp looks or clearing of the throat. Glossolalia, supposedly a spontaneous experience, occurs at regular times during the Mass, and sounds much like a well-orchestrated chant. Now that more children will be in the community, a new functional dilemma is posed for New Jerusalem. Considering the constant, visible affection shared by members toward each other, the family unit will have to work especially hard to convey a "special" affectional aura to their children. In an expressive, openly emotional group like New Jerusalem, the requisite takes on a particular significance.

Socialization

This is one task that is definitely not left to chance in the community. Most of the new recruits are socialized to some extent by being Christians--they are aware of the theology, symbolism and ritual to some degree. The initiation ministry carefully socializes the recruits to understand the social heritage of the Charismatic movement in general and New Jerusalem in particular.

While receiving formal teachings in initiation classes, the recruits also begin to be socialized in the Small Groups. Community lore, outlook, biases and terminologies are discussed as the person becomes a "member" of the group, internalizing the norms of his new family. While the emphasis is on adult socialization or re-socialization now, in the future, child-rearing will become more and more significant, for children will be the community's future.

The Effective Control of Disruptive Forms of Behavior

Other than dismissal by the Pastors from the Community proper, there are no structural mechanisms to deal with violent outbursts. The local police would be the only structural mechanism, other than ostracism or isolation (both mild sentences) to handle matters involving severely disruptive behavior.

Commitment Mechanisms

In the chapter on methodology, the six commitment mechanisms were defined in very basic terms. Before evaluating New Jerusalem in these terms, it is necessary to further determine some of the characteristics and social practices to be looked for in societies exhibiting these patterns of conduct." "Commitment mechanisms (Kanter, 1972: 75) are

specific ways of ordering and defining the existence of a group. Every aspect of group life has implications for commitment, including property, work, boundaries, recruitment, intimate relationships, group contact, leadership and ideology . . . the strength of a group and the commitment of its members will be a function of the specific ways the group is put together.

"Sacrifice" involves giving up something to become a member, making membership more valuable, meaningful. Sacrifice represents a trusting of group motives and goals, and sacrificing for a cause may make it "sacred and inviolable." Abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, coffee, meat, drugs, etc., is one form of sacrifice. Sexual abstinence was required by many successful communities for at least some time during the year. Forbidding luxury items, or enjoyable pasttimes, was common in the nineteenth century utopian communes. Austerity serves as a sacrifice mechanism and the vow of poverty is common in many American utopian communities. "Hard work and non-indulgence" were meant to keep communities unified, with constant struggle being a commitment-raising exercise.

"Investment" involves tangible resources like income, and intangible resources such as "time and energy." Kanter (1972: 80-81) states that "Utopian communities thus should not have non-resident members, who can share in an organizational benefit without active participation . . ." Most of the successful (surviving more than sixteen years) groups in Kanter's sample had some kind of investment mechanism: tithing, turning over property to the community, or required donations by members. Commitment is increased by these mechanisms--because one owns a real share of the community. Irreversibility of investment was also a process employed by successful communities--defector or seceders not being reimbursed when leaving.

"Renunciation" is a detaching from relationships detrimental to "new group" cohesion. Any loyalties interfering with complete interdependence of community relationships are regulated. "Renunciation (Kanter, 1972: 83) may center around relationships in three categories: with the outside world, within the couple, and with the family. Communities of all sorts regulate or take a stand on these relationships in some way."

"Communion" is a basic commitment to participate in a collectivity. "Connectedness (Kanter, 1972: 93), belonging, participation in a whole, mingling of the self in the group, equal opportunity to contribute and to benefit--all are part of communion." Homogeneity of members, referring to common religion, social class, educational background or ethnicity, enables communitarians to more easily share the "common experience." Communal sharing and communal work are further attaching activities in the community. Regularized group contact, referring to organized activities that bring individuals into continued contact with other members, provide an excellent opportunity for participation. Group ritual, including communal songs, community celebrations, and religious rituals, promote group unity and affirmation.

"Mortification" reduces individuality and causes the member of identify his 'self' only with the group. "Mortification (Kanter, 1972: 105) . . . facilitates a moral commitment on the part of the person to accept the control of the group, binding his inner feelings and evaluations to the group's norms and beliefs. . . ." Confession and mutual criticism, making one's life an "open-book" to the community, help detach one from the outside society. Negative sanctioning by public embarrassment or dismissal was another moritification process mentioned. Spiritual differentiation, which is stratification based on superior

morality, or de-individuating mechanisms like uniform dress, are also used to destroy the individuals concept of uniqueness and privacy as a person.

"Transcendence" refers to the development of "institutionalized awe." Transcendence may be transmitted through "charisma," " a felt connection with a central and meaningful feature of existence," which is generally connected with the presence of charismatic leaders (common in Utopian community). Institutionalized awe, then, refers to the transference of charisma to the community, "a sense of rightness, certainty, and conviction that promotes transcendence and surrender to the source of power." Institutionalized awe through ideology, and institutionalized awe through power and authority, are the primary processes of becoming transcended. Ideology legitimates demands made on members by "reference to a higher principle," giving meaning to the demands, like "the will of God." Authority and leadership are often found in charismatic leaders "who represent for their followers the greatest growth to which a person could aspire." An authority hierarchy usually aided the leader, often isolating him from the membership, and thus perpetuating the aura of awe and mystery surrounding him.

Mystery was another transcendental characteristic, with decisions sometimes being based on revelation or inspiration. Guidance, or routine schedules, or a specific program of behavioral norms were typical of highly transcendent communities. They shield the membership from "disruptive innovation," and insure execution of the communities will. Ideological conversion or faith is necessary to give the community meaning and legitimacy. Kanter (1972: 122) says that "agreement, shared belief, and common purpose are indispensible to the creation of transcendence." Tradition, the last transcendence-facilitating characteristic,

is particularly useful for those communities created from prior organizations. It provides continuity in terms of custom, habit, and general familiarity with ideology, and should make the transition easier for both creators of communities and new recruits.

Evaluation of New Jerusalem in light of the above terms will include a general rating of the community's adherence to the mechanisms. Kanter made it clear that for her, commitment was the key to survival for utopian communities. Thus, groups developing "concrete organizational strategies around these processes--commitment mechanisms-- . . . should generate a stronger commitment than can those without such strategies." Using Kanter's (1972) 101 concrete manifestations of the six mechanisms as a guide, New Jerusalem is evaluated forthwith.

Sacrifice

New Jerusalem ranks extremely low in evaluating this mechanism. There are no real abstinences for the community other than drugs. Celibacy was not demanded, and the life-style could hardly be described as austere. There are many signs of prosperity and abundance among the membership, and though the members work hard, they also indulge themselves when possible.

Investment

Another extremely low rating here, with one qualification. There is no formal signing over of property and no necessary financial contribution, but there is much voluntary financial giving and, in the households, it is mandatory. However, there is much participation of non-members allowed and this, along with the lax attitude regarding financial investment, justify the low rating.

Renunciation

The community scores exceptionally low here as well. Insulation in geographic and social terms is minimal, there are no cross-boundary controls with the outer society, and there is no renunciation of the "couple" or "family." The only renunciatory characteristic found is the religious jargon of the community, and even that is not a factor for most visitors.

Communion

Communion commitment rates as average for New Jerusalem. The group is fairly homogeneous, and rates well in ritual (group singing) and communal labor. Communal sharing is low for it contains categories referring to property being signed-over at admission, clothing and personal effects owned by the community, and all legal titles being in the name of the community, not the individual--New Jerusalem practices none of these. Concerning regularized group contact, while New Jerusalem allows its members privacy, has no communal dining halls, and does not insist that two-thirds of the day be spent with other members, they do have regular group meetings.

Mortification

Another average rating here, and again little consistency. There is some mutual criticism and confession (Small Groups), but no formal surveillance mechanisms. Sanctions are minimal (as is deviancy) and deindividuation in terms of communal dining halls or uniforms is non-existent. There is spiritual differentiation in the learning of rules, instruction in community doctrine (initiation), and a formal probationary period.

Transcendence

The evaluation here is "very high," the only commitment mechanism consistently prevalent in the community. Every qualification of institutionalized awe (ideology) is met, from ideology explaining the essential nature of humanity, to possession of special powers (charisms). Almost all of the qualifications for institutionalized awe (power and authority) are met, the exceptions being that the community may recall the leaders, and that there are a few special forms of address for leaders. In guidance, ideological conversion and tradition, the community also rates highly. It would be difficult to score higher in this category, so it can be assumed that control by the group over the individual is significant.

A Model for Utopia

According to the definitions presented earlier in the paper, those of Kanter and Mannheim, New Jerusalem qualifies as a "utopian" community. All the ways that communitarians like to idealize life--perfectability, order, brotherhood, merging of mind and body, experimentation, and the community's uniqueness--are notions that are part of New Jerusalem's own world view. Despite this, New Jerusalemites adamantly refuse to consider themselves a "utopian" venture.

Father Richard described utopia as an "unreal separation from what's really happening, separation from the pain of human relationships, from the pain of living. We should not deny or run from our pain but share it." Sister Pat professed herself as having "no faith in utopias, but utter faith in New Jerusalem as it is." Others claimed that "utopia" could never exist, or that the only utopian characteristic of New Jerusalem

is its communality. Perhaps the clearest delineation of how utopia is regarded in New Jerusalem comes from Jan M., who, when asked whether New Jerusalem is a utopia said: "I would hope we're more realistic than that. Utopia is seen as perfection, a perfect society, state--and that's not possible in the human condition. Within that parameter, no--but it's the best way I've found to live. . . . Perfection is hurt, pain--not all happiness and light--and I wouldn't want it to be. Part of growth as a person comes from pain."

At the "structural-functional" level of analysis, New Jerusalem clearly has some problems. For several of the prerequisites, New Jerusalem is dependent upon the outer society for structural guidance and enforcement. Lack of self-sufficiency in these areas means some loss of control of membership. Still, all the prerequisites are met for the membership and the community can be declared functionally sound. As come of the latent problems manifest themselves, New Jerusalem, as in the past, will probably adjust and create appropriate structures to serve the membership.

Judging from the evaluation of New Jerusalem's commitment mechanisms, this community is doomed to extinction in the near future. It's detaching characteristics are very weak, and its attaching mechanisms, even with strength in transcendence, are barely stronger. A major problem involves transcendence and the leadership at New Jerusalem. What would happen to the community if Father Richard would leave? His personal charisma, coupled with the institutional charisma of the community seems to be the foundation of the structure. If transcendence were weakened with the loss of the charismatic leader, then there would be no single, strong commitment mechanism present. One suspects the

community would have difficulty surviving this development. Gardner (1978: 244) notes that all Kanter's successes were authoritarian religious sects, and most of the failures were secular anarchies. Gardner, in his own work, found that many modern rural communes broke this pattern since, up to 1973, the longest lived communes were "free-form" anarchies. He admitted, however, that as the prosperity of the 1960's diminished, these anarchist communes began to change in the direction Kanter had predicted.

Two of the factors that Kanter emphasized, investment and mortification, clearly had a relationship to communal sirvival. Both religious and anarchist groups surviving the early 1970's promoted these two characteristics as part of their structure. Gardner (1978: 246) pointed out that communal sharing and hierarchical organizations were "more positively related to success in the 1970's than in the 1960's." This indicates that Kanter was correct in predicting increasing structure over time. The more rigid authoritarian groups seem to be surviving better than the individualistic anarchies, particularly authoritarian religious communities. As noted earlier, New Jerusalem is showing continual signs of becoming ever more bureaucratized. This bodes well for its survival according to the data gathered by Gardner.

While Kanter speaks of commitment, Zablocki (1973) identifies a conflict between freedom and community as the primary communitarian dilemma. Contemporary communards wish to surrender neither their independence nor the comforts of home. Zablocki (1973: 311) notes that ". . . this type of family feeling is possible if the self dies and is reborn. Many communes recognize this in speaking of the necessity of ego transcendence. But the old self--the grasping, jealous, isolated

ego--refuses to die of itself, and few commune members have the determination or faith to kill it." Gardner noted the same dilemma and found an indication of it in his examination of the "children of prosperity" (modern communards). He pointed out that communal sharing and ownership of land was the only true communistic feature of most modern communes. But voluntarism was the means by which other forms of communal sharing were accomplished. Gardner writes (1978: 245) that ". . . the children of prosperity's needs for privacy and personal autonomy apprently ran deep. The level of sharing typically diminished over time if the group survived. In essence, modern communards were always individualists more than communalists."

Wilson (1978) hypothesizes that "although there are elements integral to the utopian quest, its objective expression is influenced by its social milieu. Wilson talks of two other significant changes in utopias: (1) increased emphasis on personal growth within the group rather than on the salvation of the whole group and, (2) membership in modern communes as having a temporary, transient quality--resulting in high membership turnover. Piecing Wilson's thoughts together with Kanter's and Gardner's insights on the commune movement, it appears that New Jerusalem may indeed be a model. It may be the flexible, unrestrictive, interdependent (with society) model of a modern urban community.

All of the above questions about commitment, usefulness as a utopian model, and longevity do not address the entire situation. New Jerusalem, for the time being, is a happy, thriving community. It seems to truly be a community of love and renewed religious fervor as intended. This community has changed so much during its brief existence that it is difficult to evaluate it in any framework. Questions of leadership,

commitment, finances and life-style must yet be answered. Yet, the growth of New Jerusalem and communities like it must be carefully observed--for they are, perhaps, the concrete manifestations in which societal and personal dissatisfaction are now being expressed.

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APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON DOCTRINE OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS

November 14, 1969

The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church in the U.S.A.

Beginning in 1967, the so-called Pentecostal movement has spread among our Catholic faithful. It has attracted especially college students. This report will restrict itself to the phenomenon among Catholics. It does not intend to treat classic Pentecostalism as it appears in certain Protestant ecclesial communities.

In the Catholic Church the reaction to this movement seems to be one of caution and somewhat unhappy. Judgments are often based on superficial knowledge. It seems to be too soon to draw definitive conclusions regarding the phenomenon and more scholarly research is needed. For one reason or another the understanding of this movement is colored by emotionalism. For this there is some historical justification and we live with a suspicion of unusual religious experience. We are also face to face with socially somewhat unacceptable norms of religious behavior. It should be kept in mind that this phenomenon is not a movement in the full sense of the word. It has no national structure and each individual prayer meeting may differ from another.

Many would prefer to speak of it as a charismatic renewal. In calling it a Pentecostal movement we must be careful to disassociate it from classic Pentecostalism as it appears in Protestant denominations.

such as the Assemblies of God, the United Pentecostal Church, and others. The Pentecostal movement in the Catholic Church is not the acceptance of the ideology or practices of any denomination, but likes to consider itself a renewal in the spirit of the first Pentecost. It would be an error to suppose that the emotional, demonstrative style of prayer characteristic of the Protestant denominations has been adopted by Catholic Pentecostals. The Catholic prayer groups tend to be quiet and somewhat reserved. It is true that in some cases it has attracted emotionally unstable people. Those who come with such a disposition usually do not continue. Participants in these prayer meetings can also exclude them. In this they are not always successful.

It must be admitted that theologically the movement has legitimate reasons for existence. It has a strong biblical basis. It would be difficult to inhibit the work of the Spirit which manifested itself so abundantly in the early church. The participants in the Catholic Pentecostal movement claim that they receive certain charismatic gifts. Admittedly, there have been abuses, but the cure is not a denial of their existence but their proper use. We still need further research on the matter of charismatic gifts. Certainly, the recent Vatican Council presumes that the Spirit is active continuously in the Church.

Perhaps our most prudent way to judge the validity of the claims of the Pentecostal Movement is to observe the effects on those who participate in the prayer meetings. There are many indications that this participation leads to a better understanding of the role of the Christian part in the Church. Many have experienced progress in their spiritual life. They are attracted to the reading of the scriptures and a deeper

understanding of their faith. They seem to grow in their attachment to certain established devotional patterns such as devotion to the real presence and the rosary.

It is the conclusion of the Committee on Doctrine that the movement should at this point not be inhibited but allowed to develop. Certain cautions, however, must be expressed. Proper supervision can be effectively exercised only if the bishops keep in mind their pastoral responsibility to oversee and guide this movement in the Church. We must be on guard that they avoid the mistakes of classic Pentecostalism. It must be recognized that in our culture there is a tendency to substitute religious experience for religious doctrine. In practice we recommend that bishops involve prudent priests to be associated with this movement. Such involvement and guidance would be welcomed by the Catholic Pentecostals.

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

POSSIBLE EVENTS FOR OBSERVATION AND/OR PARTICIPATION

I. Wednesday Masses

II. Initiation--Phases I-IV--Teachings and Discussions

III. Staff Meetings

IV. Small Group Meetings

V. Ministry Meetings--Alcoholism, Music, Maintenance

VI. Food Co-operative

VII. Daily Office Work

VIII. Households and Christian Living Situations

IX. Evangelization Team

X. Parish Festival

XI. Weddings

XII. Major Business Meeting

XIII. Any Other Appropriate Events or Meetings

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

GENERAL INFORMATIONAL SURVEYS

Household Survey - New Jerusalem

Household name_____

Household location_____

When was this household established?_____

Number of male adult members_____

Number of female adult members_____

Number of married couples_____

Number of children in household_____

Is a formal household meeting held each week to discuss household business?
(Circle one) YES NO

If response YES to the previous question, how many meetings are there each week?_____

How many members are employed full-time outside of the center?

_____

Briefly describe how the household funds are collected and distributed--for both household and personal needs (Use back of page if necessary)

How many times a week does the household eat breakfast____and the evening meal____together? (At least 50 per cent of members present)

How many times a week (excluding business meetings) does the household pray together? (At least 50 per cent of the members present)_____

Any further explanations regarding above questions:

New Jerusalem
Personal Survey - Household members

Household name_____

Sex (M or F)_____

Age_____

Length of time living in household as a member of New Jerusalem_____

Length of time in present household_____

Total number of households lived in_____

How long have you been a member of New Jerusalem?_____

Primary vocation or occupation_____

Religious preference previous to joining New Jerusalem_____

Are you a native Cincinnatian?_____

List memberships on New Jerusalem committees or other activities in which you presently participate:

How many hours per week (approximately) are spent working for the New Jerusalem Community (outside of paid positions and the small groups)

_____

Do you live in Winton Place?_____

Sex (M or F)_____

Age_____

How long have you been a member of New Jerusalem?_____

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX D

NEW JERUSALEM COMMUNIQUE OF DECEMBER 19, 1975

"For the Lord has not chose this people for the sake of a place, but the place for the sake of the people," 2 Maccabees 5:19 was first received on January 29, 1973 when the Lord first called this nomadic people from the mansion. That journey was to lead us to Winton Place and St. Bernard parish, where the Lord has continued to teach us and for m us into a people.

He has told us that it is not enough ti give ourselves, we must learn to share ourselves; He has told us that true communion and fellowship need to be grounded in stable and honest relationships; He has taught us about the support system called the Body of Christ; He has called us to accontability and responsibility for one another; He has taught us to integrate our lives and to put them in one place--accessible and "in the light"; He has put us under His Lordship by giving us shepherds and teachers; He has called us to be free and obedient people capable of hearing His call and responding in faith; He has given us twelve physical households as a sign and a commitment to the building of a spiritual house; and He has named us after a city He has called us New Jerusalem. He has loved us with a mighty love!

And in obedient faith we have therefore come to the following discernment about the next stage of our journey:

We must witness to a continuous life-style and not just a weekly prayer meeting. Our lives must praise God and not just our prayers.

We will have a weekly community Eucharist at 7:30 p.m. on

Wednesday evenings at St. Bernard Church in Winton Place. This will end around 9 p.m. and still leave time for fellowship, prayer, or even C.O.D.s.

We will have a weekly prayer meeting (praise and faith-sharing) on Sunday evenings at 7 p.m. in St. Bernard Church in Winton Place. This will be over around 8:30 and will still allow time for prayer and healing ministry, planned community fellowship, and other activities.

We are calling every member of the Body to seriously ask the Lord whether they are going where this community is going. Before you follow the Body to Winton Place, you must know from Him that He is specifically calling you to communion with this Body and to submission to this pastoral team (for now: Fr. Richard Rohr, Br. Pat Brockman, Stephen Kroeger, Fr. John Quigley, Sr. Roberta Tenbrink, Timothey Freeman.)

New Jerusalem is not St. Bernard parish. We need their approval and invitation to use their church facilities. Many of our community members are also members of the parish, and we hope to be a sign of Christ in their midst--but we ask everyone to re-commit themselves to their Sunday Eucharist in their own geographical parish--and there to be used as a leaven and servant until God calls you elsewhere.

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX E

COVENANT
BETWEEN SAINT BERNARD PARISH COMMUNITY AND NEW JERUSALEM COMMUNITY

WE BELIEVE IN THREE PERSON, EACH UNIQUE AND DIFFERENT, WHO ARE ONE IN GOD: THE FATHER, THE SON, AND THE SPIRIT.
THE SON, OUR LORD JESUS, PRAYED THAT WE, THOUGH MANY, MAY BE ONE. HE HAS ALSO GIVEN US HIS HOLY SPIRIT SO THAT WE MAY IN FACT BE ONW: ONE BY HIS BODY, WHICH IS THE CHURCH.

BECAUSE we, St. Bernard Parish Community and New Jerusalem Community, both belong to one Body of Christ, a Church composed of many smaller communities; and,
BECAUSE we reverence the deep bonding that exists between us, flowing from our common Catholic tradition; and,
BECAUSE we are both here together in Winton Place by God's grace and design; and,
BECAUSE we desire to seek ways to minister to each other; and, together to others as Christ; and,
BECAUSE we recognize that we are different communities, each with unique gifts and concerns; and,
BECAUSE we deeply believe in the theological and practical necessity or our mutual cooperation, not only for ourselves, but for the larger Church:

WE SOLOMNLY COVENANT AND PLEDGE:

1. To support our common pastor, Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, who is the visible sign of our unity.
2. To respect our communities' different gifts, concerns, and missions, while striving to protect and preserve what we have in common.
3. To encourage a deepening understanding of each other through regular dialogue and joint endeavors.
4. To pray for and with each other.
5. To have our presence in the neighborhood be a witness to our unity in Christ.
6. To share our responsibilities, joys, and burdens; for example:
   a. Visiting the sick, elderly, and shut-ins.
   b. Educating the young.
   c. Working together in programs for the betterment of the local community.
7. To share facilities; specifically:
   a. New Jerusalem will have the primary use of the two-story brick school building (745 Derby), the old convent (736 Circle), and the old rectory (733 Derby), providing for the insurance, taxes (where applicable),

utilities as greed upon, the decoration of, and the general upkeep of these buildings.

b. St. Bernard's Parish will have the primary use of the new rectory (740 Circle), the Annex (744 Circle), and the Church (735 Derby), being responsible for insurance, taxes (where applicable), utilities as agreed upon, the decoration of, and the general upkeep of these buildings.

c. New Jerusalem Community will have the use of the Church for worship services, and the use of the Annex as agreed upon. St. Bernard's Parish will have the use of the convent and school buildings as agreed upon.

d. Cost of major repairs and improvements on buildings will be discussed by both communities.

e. Both communities will cooperate in using the facilities officiently and responsibly, conserving God's gifts to us of human and natural resources.

8. That, because St. Bernard's Parish has built and maintained the parish facilities over the years and during this period has incurred a debt, New Jerusalem Community will financially support St. Bernard's Parish with a minimum contribution of $2,400.00 per year.

9. To review this Covenant every two years.

APPENDIX F

together, meditating on the Gospel, sharing the Eucharist, and performing works of charity . . . As a result, the relationship of the neophyte and the rest of the faithful becomes easier and more beneficial." At the end of this phase we hope that the person will be involved in the community in a profound way, sharing life with many brothers and sisters. The structured program is completed. We believe that it will give the person a way to enter into the faith community which is New Jerusalem.

I. Inquiry
   A. Message: The meaning of New Jerusalem, our life and worship
   B. Duration: Variable
   C. Format: Introductory talk. Information Stand

II. Transition
   A. Message:
      1. Good News
      2. Salvation history of New Jerusalem
      3. Salvation history of individual or family
   B. Duration: Variable: 4 weeks--?
   C. Format: Four teaching sessions and sponsor contact

III. Choice
   A. Message:
      1. Personal salvation
      2. Gift
      3. Communion
      4. Commitment
   B. Duration: 4 weeks
   C. Format: Four teaching sessions, sponsor contact, discussion groups. Liturgy: fourth week

IV. Communion
   A. Message:
      1. Church
      2. Growth
      3. Prayer
   B. Duration: 9 weeks
   C. Format: Teaching sessions, every other week, discussion groups. Liturgy: ninth week.