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THE MASS AS REFORMED BY
THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL:
RITUAL UNDERGOING CHANGE
IN ST. JOSEPH'S PARISH IN
OTTAWA

by

PAUL A. CUMMERGEN



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1. INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The study of ritual has traditionally occupied an important place within the sociology of religion. Particularly, where the sociology of religion and social anthropology coincide; or, where the sociology of religion is understood as a form of the sociology of symbolic systems.

A shortcoming frequently found in examples of both understandings is an inadequate account of the dynamic nature of social phenomena. More recent work within this tradition indicates that this shortcoming is not intrinsic, but can be traced to various contingent factors.

For example, the British "comparative method" in social anthropology eschewed "diachronic" studies on the assumption that such are impossible in societies that have no written history (Radcliffe-Brown 1977, Evans-Pritchard 1965). Further, this tradition has been especially associated with the study of societies in sub-Saharan Africa: frequently assumed to be particularly immune to change. Thus, in the development of accounts of the "structure" and "function" of social phenomena, social change has been relegated to a separate and subordinate status.

However, the study of social phenomena undergoing change may be particularly valuable. At least in theory, the

processes of change may highlight the social relations and mechanisms under study.

This is the case with ritual as with any other social phenomenon. In fact, given that ritual is, almost by definition, so resistant to change, one can claim that occasions of change are especially significant for the study of ritual. Be this as it may, studies of ritual under change have been relatively rare. Consequently, the tacit assumption that ritual can be studied as if it stands outside of time and change has gone unchallenged. It is to the credit of certain recent studies that this assumption has been laid to rest (Bloch 1986, Bourdieu 1977, Comaroff 1985). From an explicitly Durkheimian perspective, Steven Lukes' article (Lukes 1975) is seminal. Generally, such studies reflect a theoretical confrontation of Durkheim and Marx. It would be rash, however, to ignore the third member of the trinity, Weber (for instance, as interpreted by Turner 1981).

One study that explicitly confronts the question of ritual change only briefly adverts to the possibility of change due to "ideological" considerations (Firth & Spillius 1963). The present study deals with ritual change that, by contrast, seems to be driven largely, if not solely, by such considerations.

The present study attempts a description and analysis of changes in the ritual of the Roman Catholic Mass brought about by the Second Vatican Council. The focus is a particular parish in present day Ottawa and the habitual practices of this parish in regard to the manipulations of bread and wine (the primary symbolic elements) during this ritual.

Thus, while the origins of the reformed rite of the Mass in the Liturgical Movement (Bugnini 1990) and the debates of Vatican II (Barauna 1966) that produced Sacrosanctum Concilium (Simcoe 1985) are part of the necessary background to the study, they are not the focus. Likewise, the behaviours and dispositions of individual actors during any particular performance of the rite on a particular Sunday, while constituting the empirical observations on which the study rests, are not the primary focus.

Of any particular performance of the Mass in this parish, one can ask whether or not the behaviours and dispositions of the actors are typical - habitual. This is so in regard to the manipulations of bread and wine (specifically: during the offertory/preparation of gifts, the eucharistic prayer, the communion rite) as with any other element within the rite. Thus, the specific focus of this study is the habitual practices of this parish in regard to these aspects of the Mass.

The study attempts to understand and give an account of these ritual behaviours within the terms set by the discipline of the sociology of religion.

However, one may reasonably expect specification with regard to the term "understand". Depending on the theoretical perspective adopted, to understand may be to provide a description that is sufficiently "thick" (Geertz 1973); to lay bare the social functions of the ritual behaviours (Radcliffe-Brown 1948); to reduce the ideology represented in these behaviours to its socio-economic base (Bloch 1989). The literature abounds with exemplary studies following all of these approaches or combinations thereof.

The present study began in an attempt to gather data guided by little explicit theory other than Victor Turner's methodological dictum regarding the tripartite nature of source material ("three classes of data" Turner 1967 p20).

However, in the course of gathering material, a greater and greater appreciation for Pierre Bourdieu's approach was reached.

Thus:

"Understanding ritual practice is not a question of decoding the internal logic of a symbolism but of restoring its practical necessity by relating it to the real conditions of its genesis,

that is, to the conditions in which its functions, and the means it uses to attain them, are defined."

(Bourdieu 1977 p114)

In context, this statement may be read as part of Bourdieu's ongoing critique of structuralism in its most synchronic, Levi-Straussian form. However, it can also be applied to at least part of Victor Turner's project. Bourdieu's approach has been read as a relatively orthodox, though covert, Marxism (Ferry & Renaut 1985). Such an interpretation is too severely reductionist. It fails to take account of the care with which Bourdieu attempts to draw on not only Marx but Weber and Durkheim also, without falling under the spell of one or other of their "magic circles" (Bourdieu 1971).

Part of my project will be to apply the conceptual tools developed by Bourdieu without falling under the spell cast by his own work.

Methodology

The methodology of this study is as follows. The ritual of the Mass performed at St. Joseph's Parish was observed/participated in on a number of occasions. Specifically, in attempting to gather data for this study, this was done on several occasions over the period of a

year. On some occasions, the intent was to acquire a knowledge of the habitual practices of the parish. On others, observations were made in an attempt to answer specific questions thrown into relief by previous visits and study. Thus, for instance, while my original focus was solely the Communion Rite, reading Edmund Leach (Leach 1976) led me to attend to the Offertory/Preparation of Gifts as well.

I was already familiar with the Parish, having attended regularly as a member of the congregation some years previously. Further, as a "practicing Catholic" and a professional Church worker, I am regularly present (in varying capacities) at the weekend Masses of another Catholic Parish where I work and of which I am a member. Also, occasional visits to other churches, both locally and further afield, have helped to draw attention to the small but important variations in the habitual practices of various parishes.

As a further result of this ongoing "participant-observation", a number of questions were formulated. This led to the development of a questionnaire. This was administered to a sample of the parish population. Demographic data regarding the parish was gathered. Also, the opinions of parishioners were sought regarding those aspects of the ritual being studied. This was done through a series of questions which asked about the importance of the

practices to do with the bread and wine. The questions were formulated to highlight the fact that these practices marked a change from the previous practice of the ritual or were different from the current practices of other parishes. For each of these questions, respondents were invited to elaborate their response by making additional comments. 75% of respondents did so.

As a representation of the Parish, response to the questionnaire has been treated with extreme caution. Primarily, because the sample was not truly random. Secondly, because the response rate was low.

Early in the study, three significant groups were identified: (a) the Parish Team - those who form the staff, including the Parish Priest; (b) the Eucharistic Ministers - parishioners who assist with the distribution of Communion during the Mass; (c) the congregation at large. Thus, the questionnaire was mailed to these three groups on the basis of information provided by the parish. Eleven (11) questionnaires were mailed to members of the Parish Team (Parish Category A). Thirty-seven (37) were mailed to Eucharistic Ministers (Parish Category B). One hundred (100) were mailed to members of the general congregation (Parish Category C). These letters were selected at random from mailing lists provided by the Parish. This random selection was checked to ensure no duplication between Categories B and C.

<u>Parcat</u>	<u>Mailed</u>	<u>Received</u>	<u>% Return</u>
A	11	7	63
B	37	23	62
C	100	50	50
Total	148	80	54

Thus, a 50% return was achieved with Category C, 54% overall. As a consequence, the results have been used to provide descriptive data only. No attempt has been made to develop inferential statistics on the basis of the returns. Further, of course, the mailing list provided by the parish (of individuals and families registered as parishioners) does not represent the total congregation. One may consider those who register to represent a particular type of more committed parishioner.

Nevertheless, given these necessary reservations, the returned questionnaires, particularly those including written elaborations and comments, form a major source of information upon which this study is built.

Following the development and administration of the questionnaire, three personal interviews were conducted with members of the Parish Team. These were with the Director of Music and Liturgy, Jane Williams; the Parish Priest, Fr. Gerry Morris and the Director of Finance and Administration, Gary Byrne. In all cases, conversations lasting over one hour were recorded and transcribed. The interviews focused

on the individuals' roles within the parish. These interviews proved to be an additional source of valuable information. A fourth interview was conducted with a parishioner, Mark Ruml, who is a Eucharistic Minister and who was, at one time, the volunteer Head of Eucharistic Ministers.

Thus, the empirical data upon which this study rests is threefold: participant-observation of the ritual of the Mass; responses to the questionnaire; interviews with three staff members and with one key member of the congregation.

Review of Literature

No study is made in a vacuum. While the present study claims a certain uniqueness in regard both to specific focus and method, the ritual of the Mass has long been the subject of scholarly investigation.

A number of the masters of the sociological and anthropological traditions have considered the Mass (E.O. James, Malinowski, Van Gennep). A more recent treatment is provided by James Fernandez (1974) from a quasi-structuralist point of view. Fernandez is concerned to lay bare "the internal logic of a symbolism" (Bourdieu) and thus treats the Mass as a text, abstracted from any actual performance of the ritual involving concrete actors in their social setting. The same can be said of Duquoc's work (Duquoc et al. 1975), though in this case the approach is quasi-Marxist rather than quasi-structuralist.

A vast amount of material continues to be produced by Christian scholars in what has become known as Liturgical Studies (Bradshaw 1989, Thompson 1989). This field is still dominated by historical research, though more recently attempts have been made to study the changes in the Mass brought about in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. However, of these latter, few consistently apply the concepts and methods of the social sciences (though the influence of Victor Turner is clearly felt (Collins 1976)).

Recognition that the actual practice of individual parishes is the appropriate locus of study remains largely programmatic among liturgists (Irwin 1989) and sociologists of religion (Hesser and Weigert 1980). Likewise, recognition that the Mass, like any other ritual, should be studied as part of a fabric of intimately connected social relations is rare (Dinges 1987).

Certain studies, however, are worthy of particular attention.

As part of an anthropological study of convent life in England, Campbell-Jones (1980) provided a sketch of the ritual of the Mass as performed in specific settings and how variations in performance may be related to the ideology of the group and the nature of power and status relations within the group. Her paper is valuable for drawing

attention to the lack of uniformity with which the revised rite of the Roman Mass has been implemented since the Second Vatican Council.

A more wide-ranging interpretation of the ritual of the Mass in a specific setting (a parish in North-Eastern England) is given as part of Archer's (1986) account of the changes to Catholicism produced by Vatican II.

According to Archer, the "new Mass" was the product of academic debate among "liturgical administrators" inhabiting a "world of ecclesiastical bureaucracy". The reforms were not the result of attending to the needs of the laity, but rather, were imposed upon them, effectively disenfranchizing large groups of worshippers. The effect was that

"In English, the new Mass could no longer conceal the class commitment that lay behind its [apparent] neutrality... "

(Archer 1986. p142)

For Archer, the revised rite of the Mass has been the symbolic expression of, and indeed the means to achieve, the overt triumph of a middle-class Catholicism. In this view, one may speak of the embourgeoisement of the English-speaking Catholic Church at the hands of Vatican II.

As noted, Archer's remarks concerning the Mass form part of a larger project describing the life of a particular parish, exemplary for him of historical trends within English Catholicism. As a consequence, his account of the ritual lacks sufficient detail to support his assertions.

An earlier and more ambitious project is that of Michael Ducey (1977). He provides a comparative account of rituals in four parishes (United Methodist, United Church of Christ, Roman Catholic and Lutheran), all located in the same geographical area (Lincoln Park, Chicago) and drawing on the same social population (white, urban middle-class). The focus of Ducey's study is the relationship between changes in religious behaviour (specifically, the ritual of Sunday worship) and other social changes experienced by the individuals involved.

One virtue of this study is that it recognizes the importance of studying ritual undergoing change. Thus, in comparing his methodology to that of Victor Turner, Ducey claims only to have transferred the "site of investigation" from tropical village to American city. However, this change is highly significant

"One effect of this change of site
is to raise the issue of ritual
change and social change, not just
ritual and social change."

(Ducey 1977 p4)

According to Ducey, ritual change is to be understood as the means by which believers deal symbolically with social change in order to prevent that change from resulting in anomie. This is done predominantly through the development of "interaction ritual" (as opposed to "mass ritual").

"Mass ritual" has

"an audience that responds to the presentation of the sacred symbols as a unified body, a mass."

(op. cit. p6)

In "interaction ritual", on the other hand,

"participants do not merely react to the presentation of the sacred symbols but interact among themselves without the dominant initiative of religious specialists."

(ibid.)

His study has much less to say about the ritual at the Roman Catholic parish than the others. However, he recognizes that St. Clement's presents his account with a

problem. His study occurred just when the revised rite of the Mass was being introduced and so St. Clement's was undergoing ritual change like the other parishes. Yet, Ducey can find little evidence of "interaction ritual". The revised Mass, just like its Tridentine predecessor, is a "mass ritual". Why, given that they largely come from the same social milieu as the other parishes, did the Catholics of St. Clement's not respond to social upheaval and change through the development of "interaction ritual"? Ducey hypothesizes that interaction ritual did develop in small groups, such as the Young Adults Club, unofficially - even clandestinely. The Catholic parish, however, provides him with an exception because

"the centralized organization of the Roman Catholic church has a tendency to push back local innovation into a semi-clandestine state and leave the publicly Catholic form of ritual in the hands of experts who do not have roots in the local milieu in which the product of their reforms is enacted."

(Ducey 1977 p76)

One may wonder if this factor is adequate to answer the question set by Ducey's study, while nevertheless recognizing its importance.

While the present study focuses on the practices of a specific parish, it does so aware that these practices were not created *ex nihilo* by that parish. Their genesis and the conditions in which they function are intimately linked with the development of the revised ritual at the hands of others (Archer's "liturgical administrators"). As a consequence, an essential part of this study has been to determine the actors' understanding of the parish ritual in the terms set by the originators of the revised rite. The "vision" (or ideology) of those originators is of great significance. The degree to which this has been effectively transmitted to the "local milieu in which [it] is enacted" is equally significant.

This point is not lost on those responsible for the implementation of the revised rite. This is shown clearly by the efforts of the hierarchy of the American Catholic Church to assess the "success" with which the reforms of Vatican II have taken root at local level. These efforts are reported in the Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life.

From the perspective of the present study, the Notre Dame Study is especially significant. Published in fifteen reports between 1984 and 1989 (summarized in Castelli and Gremillion 1987), the study attempts a wide ranging and

comprehensive analysis of Catholic parish life in the United States of America. In the words of the first report, "an overall study of Catholic parish life" (Leege and Gremillion 1984) was attempted. Methods used included four separate questionnaires, administered to parishioners, parish priests, parish staff and parish volunteers; observation of parish liturgies; assessment of parish "structure" (committees, volunteers etc.). Interviews were conducted and historical monographs on parish life written. Part of the study assessed the degree to which the liturgical reforms of Vatican II had been implemented.

In their own terms, the conclusions reached by the study are of great interest. The clearest and most accessible treatment is provided by Raftery's (1987) study based on the data provided by the Notre Dame Study. One of Raftery's objectives was to

"interpret differences in the degree to which local parishes have adapted to the changes represented by Vatican II."

(Raftery 1987 p2)

She concludes that greater adaptation to Vatican II reforms is found in parishes that are large, urban and whose parishioners come from a high social class.

Of equal interest, however, is the underlying assumption made by the Notre Dame Study. It is assumed that adaptation to the reforms of Vatican II consists of a number of easily identifiable practices. The more that these are evident, the greater the degree of adaptation. In regard to the ritual of the Mass, adaptation is indicated by

"... the characteristics of liturgical celebration promoted by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, such as congregational participation, the awareness of the congregation as a community, attention to the fullness of liturgical signs... and the distribution of liturgical roles."

(Searle and Leege 1989 p2)

The Second Vatican Council is assumed to have produced a clear, consistent vision of what a Roman Catholic parish should be. The performance of the revised Mass will clearly embody this vision in a number of identifiable ways (Emminghaus 1978). The presence or absence of these identifiers is therefore evidence of the degree to which this vision has been communicated to and understood and implemented by the local parish. A "Vatican II Parish", therefore, is one where adaptation has occurred

successfully. One should note that the adequacy of this account has been questioned (see, eg. Duffy 1990).

Further, there is every evidence that the documents of the Second Vatican Council are the record of unreconciled differences and ambiguous compromise (Eugnini 1990, Kloppenburg 1966, McSweeney 1980). Since their publication, they have been consistently debated by competing groups, each claiming theirs to be the true interpretation (eg. Hitchcock 1974, see also Dulles 1988). Likewise, it is an impoverished account that portrays ritual solely as the embodiment of ideas that are grasped with varying degrees of clarity by the actors involved.

The oversimplification of the foregoing "vision" of Vatican II is thus obvious. However, the oversimplification is not my invention. It is at least implicit in the work of what Archer called the "liturgical administrators": those professionals responsible for the development and dissemination of the revised ritual of the Roman Mass. A major part of the present study is to investigate the ways in which the reality is more complex.

Theoretical Perspectives

Throughout this introduction, repeated use has been made of the term "ideology" and its cognates. Given the complex history of this term and its literature (Larrain

1979), it would be foolhardy to do so unwittingly or unnecessarily.

However, as has been suggested in the foregoing, the ideological function of ritual, or more cautiously, the intimate relationship between ritual performance and ideological production and reproduction, is very close to the heart of this study. Therefore, it is necessary to give some minimum account of the term's use here.

One may follow Geuss (1981) in distinguishing at least three ways in which the term "ideology" is understood: the descriptive, pejorative (corresponding to Thompson's (1984) "neutral" and "critical") and positive. Many authors use the term in one of these three ways consistently. Other authors, consciously or not, are inconsistent. Almost all authors treat ideology as something to do with ideas or systems of belief.

For example, Thompson states

"To study ideology... is to study the way in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination."

(Thompson 1984 p4)

Again, Geuss (1981) considers the various ways in which "forms of consciousness" can be false or ideological.

The work of Louis Althusser contains a consistent account of ideology that is unique in at least two particulars. The first is that Althusser uses the term to take account of all three uses (descriptive, pejorative, positive) noted by Geuss. Further, he does so consciously and consistently. Secondly, he recognizes ideology to have

"a material existence... "

(Althusser 1969 p165)

Human beings do not so much "think ideologically" as "live and act ideologically". Thus,

"Ideologies are not pure illusions
(errors) but bodies of representations
existing in institutions and practices..."

(Althusser 1975 p155)

Again,

"Ideas...[are] inscribed in the actions
of practices governed by rituals
defined in the last instance by an
ideological apparatus."

(Althusser 1969 p169-70)

While Althusser's account is not without serious problems (particularly the ideology/science distinction, not considered here), its value for the the present study is clear.

This recognition is not original, having resulted in a number of works by British sociologists in the wake of Althusser's brief monopoly on the social sciences during the 1970s. For a short time, his work made a different approach to the sociology of religion possible, advancing on the traditional concerns of social coherence, secularization and the demographics of denominational adherence (Turner 1983). Religion was treated as an ideological form with a material existence embodied in practices, rituals and institutions (eg. Abercrombie et al. 1980; Beckford 1989; Strawbridge 1982; Thompson 1986).

The full value of Althusser's work for the sociology of religion remains undetermined. For present purposes, it is sufficient to recognize the advances that his account of ideology represents on those of the sociological mainstream.

By far the most well-developed treatment of religion which takes these insights into account is to be found in the work of Pierre Bourdieu. It is unclear to what extent Bourdieu in any sense "depends" on Althusser (contra Ferry and Renaut 1985). However, Bourdieu's account of religion complements rather than contradicts Althusser's account of ideology.

According to Bourdieu,

"la religion est prédisposée à
assumer une fonction idéologique..."

That is to say,

"... fonction pratique et politique
d'absolutisation du relatif et de
légitimation de l'arbitraire..."

(Bourdieu 1971 p310)

However,

"Il faut se garder de confondre l'effet
de consécration [légitimation] que tout
système de pratiques et de
représentations religieuses tend à
exercer... avec l'effet de
connaissance-reconnaissance que
tout système de pratiques et de
représentations religieuses exerce
nécessairement..."

(Bourdieu 1971 p310)

Bourdieu distinguishes two characteristics of symbolic systems. One is the way in which all systems of thought and

perception necessarily produce a misrecognition of their own limits, confounding arbitrary limits with absolute limits, cultural limits with natural ones. The other is the tendency of such systems to exercise a legitimizing function in regard to existing power relations within social configurations. However, this tendency can also be exercised in the interests of groups seeking legitimation through the acquisition and manipulation of symbolic power. These distinctions (paralleling the various uses of ideology in Althusser) provide Bourdieu's account with superior explanatory power. This must be shown by the application of a conceptual framework, derived in part from his work, to the material of the study.

Hypothesis

As a preliminary, the hypothesis which I hope to develop and support, may be stated in terms taken from Bourdieu.

In the North American Catholic church, a new kind of church worker has emerged. Traditionally, a parish has been run by a parish priest, possibly with the assistance of another priest (a curate) and, often, a Director of Religious Education (usually a nun). In the wake of Vatican II, a new worker has appeared: the Director of Liturgy.

This has occurred in response to a number of factors. There are less priests (vocations having declined sharply).

The reforms of the liturgy have made the Mass "complicated". Whereas once, it was something that required only the (assumed) competence of one man and the compliance of everyone else, the reformed liturgy requires planning, coordination, the active involvement of many lay people in various ministerial roles and, therefore, their supervision. Further, "Liturgical Studies" has become a thriving academic sub-discipline which creates and sustains its own clientele. All these factors have played their part in the emergence of this new class of lay church professional.

It is the contention of this study that this change indicates a fundamental shift in what Bourdieu has called the champ religieux. For it is in the division of labour, according to Bourdieu, that the champ religieux finds the source of its relative autonomy vis a vis other champs. Thus, Bourdieu asserts that

"[Weber] trouve dans la genèse
historique d'un corps d'agents
spécialisés le fondement de
l'autonomie relative que la
tradition marxiste accorde...
à la religion..."

(Bourdieu 1971 p299-300)

Clearly, if the division of labour is implicated in the very constitution of the champ, any marked change in the

division of labour within the champ must affect its nature fundamentally.

At a general, abstract level, the changes in the ritual of the Mass reflect the implementation, to varying degrees, of the reforms of Vatican II. Still at this level, one may suppose that the greater the degree of implementation, the greater the degree to which the change in ideology manifested by Vatican II has been accepted.

However, at the concrete level to understand the changes in the ritual, one must seek (following Bourdieu) the real conditions of their genesis and the conditions in which their functions are defined and attained. Thus, I will argue, the practice of the ritual at St. Joseph's Parish provides a record of the means by which changes in the division of labour within the champ religieux have been made. The ritual of the Mass is at once the means by which the re-division of labour has been allowed to occur, the means by which it has been sustained and also its symbolic expression and legitimation.

Specifically, I will attempt to show how the ritual of the Mass as performed at St. Joseph's provides the means by which one can trace and recover the ways in which symbolic capital has been acquired, manipulated and re-distributed among the agents specialises of the champ religieux. This change within the "symbolic economy" has led to changes in the configurations of religious legitimacy - the ability to exercise symbolic power.

2. THE RITUAL: DESCRIPTION

Introduction

As already noted, the description of the ritual that follows is based, primarily, on participant-observation of a number of performances, supplemented by information from the returned questionnaires and the interviews conducted.

Participant-observation is a recognized method of inquiry in the social sciences. Its use has produced many studies (some now considered classics) over a long period of time. While this method of inquiry has its detractors (see McCall & Simmons 1969), I do not feel that it is necessary to justify its use in the present study.

However, it is necessary to give some account of the way in which the method has been used and the nature of the description which resulted. The first point may be dealt with by considering briefly the various relevant facets of the one who participated in and observed the ritual - myself.

The participant-observation was done unobtrusively. On all occasions, I took part in the ritual as a member of the congregation, doing nothing that would outwardly distinguish myself from anyone else. Further, I did so as one familiar with the ritual of the Mass, having attended many, many performances of the ritual over my years as a "practicing Catholic".

However, as is the case with anyone (particularly student) who observes an occurrence with the intent of

subjecting the experience to analytic description, I also experienced a sense of "distance" between myself and the ritual not normally experienced. Thus, as well as the "Mass-as-familiar", there was also the "Mass-as-object-of-study".

In addition, as a professional church worker, the planning, co-ordinating and implementing of the ritual is part of my regular work. So, particularly when I attend Masses at churches other than that where I work, I frequently find myself noting the small indicators that show that something has not gone as planned (usually not noticed by the congregation unless very marked). Or, I find myself judging the performance by some ill-defined quasi-liturgical (almost aesthetic - see Kavanagh 1982) standards that I have acquired over time. There is also, therefore, "Mass-as-object-of-professional-evaluation".

Finally, though of no less significance, as part of my academic background, I have studied many aspects of Catholic Christianity in detail (its history, theology, liturgy). On the basis of the returned questionnaires, in this regard I am no different from many other members of St. Joseph's congregation (many have studied at the University of St. Paul). However, this familiarity makes me very different from many social scientists who have studied ritual (eg Barth 1975, Lewis 1980). Their studies took place in contexts where the ritual was one among many aspects of the culture that were unknown, foreign. In the present case, there was no experience of a need to "decode" the ritual, or

to reconstruct a "theology" on its basis (as, for instance, Evans-Fritchard).

In fact, in the present study, it was the "everyday" (or at least "everyweek") occurrence that formed the problematic. The description of the ritual is the result of subjecting the familiar to unfamiliar scrutiny. A prerequisite of this is the partial rejection, or rather, setting aside ("bracketing") of the given meaning and reality of the Mass. Simply, this study is sociological, not theological.

These various facets of the participant-observer give rise to various modes of experience which inform the description.

The description is, however, extremely prosaic. The ritual is not that of a tribe inhabiting an isolated village in a remote part of the world. So, no attempt has been made to provide a full and exhaustive "reconstruction" of the performance on paper. Likewise, the relationship between the actual performances observed and the written directives and descriptions of the official Roman Catholic Church has been assumed. No attempt has been made to reconstruct a "logic" of the performance (its order, the inter-relationship of elements) in general, but only as it is pertinent to the concrete practices of St. Joseph's parish.

In general, the description concentrates on the actors who take part. It details their dispositions and

distribution through the space of the church, their movements and postures. They are referred to by their usual titles (eg. lector, eucharistic minister, etc.). In cases where there is no title, or where it was not discovered, I have invented one to avoid repetition of long descriptive phrases (eg. "basket holder" rather than "the actor who holds the basket and stands next to the actor reading the prayers during the General Intercessions").

These considerations, together with the focus of the study, result in the description being "thickest" at two points: the "offertory/preparation of the gifts" and "communion". Only on reflection do I realize that this might have been expected. In producing the description, however, this was experienced as somehow "inevitable" - a result of something intrinsic to the ritual as performed - rather than as a result of some conscious decision on my part.

The Physical Setting

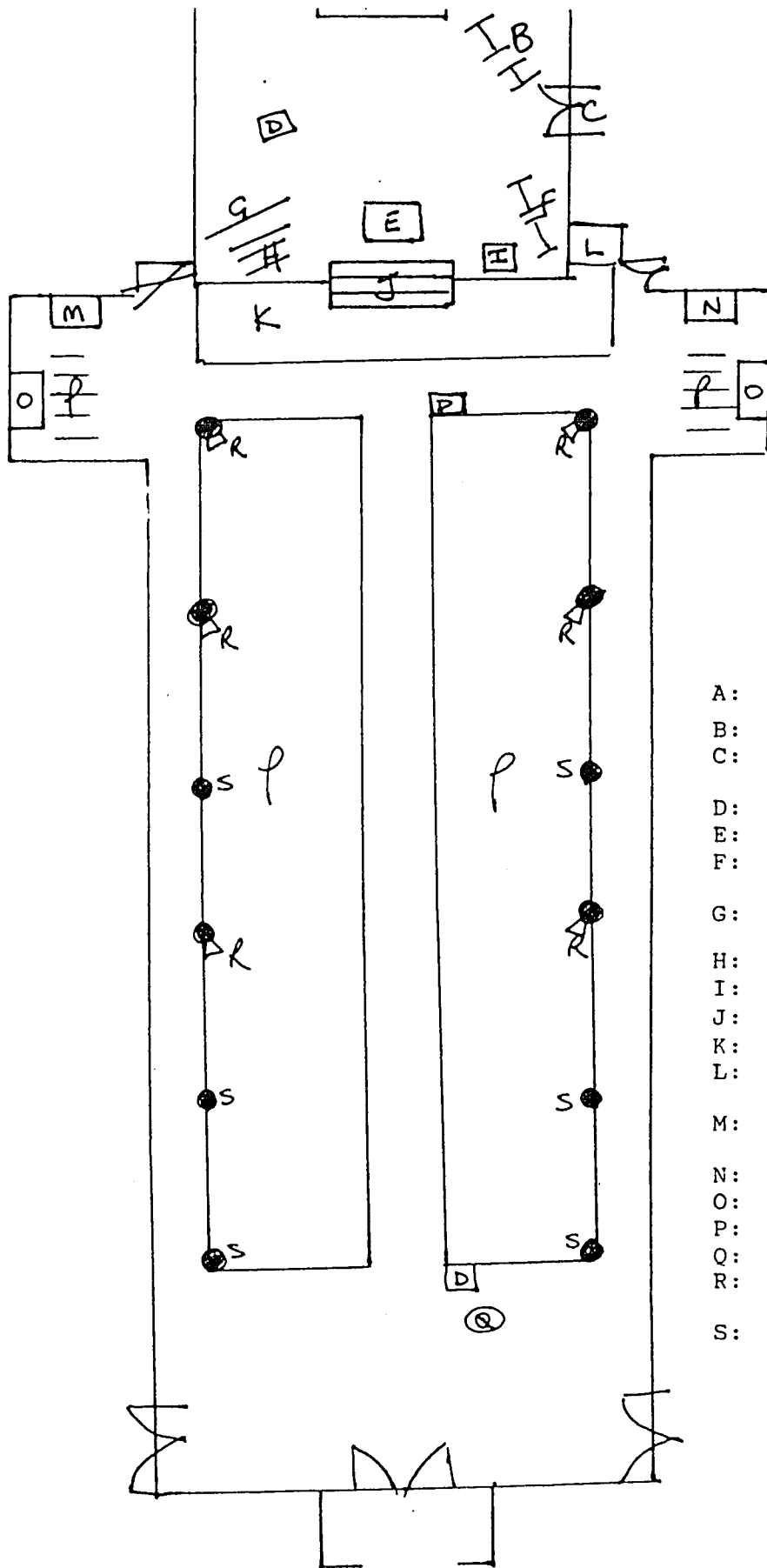
St. Joseph's Church is a large grey stone building which occupies the block between two streets close to the University of Ottawa Campus. The present building is about 60 years old, though a church has stood on this site for about 130 years.

The interior echoes the grey stone of the exterior. Large stone pillars divide up the body of the church. The walls are a pale grey-blue while the high ceiling is dark

wood. Stained-glass windows divide the length of the walls. The predominant colour is blue, in honour of the Virgin Mary, for this is the church of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.

The body of the church is occupied by 26 rows of wooden pews stretching across the width of the church, interrupted by a wide (approx. 8ft.) central aisle which leads to the sanctuary area. The brown wood of the pews is found also in the sanctuary, where dark brown is the predominant colour. The original altar (intended for the Tridentine Mass, in which the priest faced away from the congregation) was built against the back wall of the sanctuary. As part of the alterations made to the church to accommodate the reforms of Vatican II, this has been covered over with dark, wood panelling. This panelling is complemented by the sanctuary furniture (choir pews, priest's and assistant's chairs, a wooden altar) which is all dark wood.

The sanctuary area is clearly visible from the body of the church, being approximately four feet higher, reached by five marble steps. The sanctuary is the visual focus of the church because of its position, its height and, not least, because any banners or liturgical decorations tend to be placed there. A permanent feature in the sanctuary (functional rather than decorative) is a white projection screen hung above the choir benches on the left. The words of hymns and certain prayers said by the congregation are projected there during Mass by means of an overhead



Legend

- A: Old Altar
- B: Lecterns' Chairs
- C: Door to Sacristy
- D: Small Table
- E: Altar
- F: Presider's Chair
- G: Projection Screen
- H: Choir Seats
- I: Lectern
- J: Steps
- K: Level of Keyboard
- L: Statue of St. Joseph
- M: Altar with statue of Virgin
- N: Tabernacle
- O: Votive Candles
- P: Pews
- Q: Holy Water font
- R: Pillar with loudspeaker
- S: Pillar

Sketch of Church and Sanctuary Areas

projector which sits in front of it. A piano and an organ console used by the keyboard musician during Mass are directly below the choir benches. They sit on a marble floor, raised by one step above the floor of the church, in an area which, originally, was inside the communion rail (now removed). Below this step, between it and the first row of pews is an aisle (about ten feet wide) running the width of the church. This aisle divides the sanctuary area from the body of the church and its pews. At either end of this divide, to right and left, are two side altars. On the altar to the right is the tabernacle, marked by a red "perpetual lamp". On the left side, the altar is topped by a statue of the Virgin Mary. In front of each of these side altars is a small section of pews, used by those who wish to make their devotions. In each side, there is also a bank of votive candles of various colors.

Anyone sitting in the last row of pews is approximately 175 feet away from the ceiling in the sanctuary, 150 feet away from the front row of pews. While sight of the sanctuary area is relatively unobscured, amplified voices can be heard only with the aid of an electronic sound system, which amplifies voices and broadcasts them via six speakers which are fixed to the stone pillars in the body of the church. The sound system also uses a number of fixed and movable microphones. One is permanently fixed at the lector's stand; another is permanently fixed to amplify the voices of the cantor or choir. Another is placed so that it can be used by

those who read the "Prayers of the Faithful" during the Mass and by those who make any announcements at the end of Mass. Another microphone can be worn around the neck and is used by the priest from his chair and at the altar.

The pews in the body of the church can easily hold 200 people, though they are by no means filled during most Masses. Numbers vary with the time of year and the time of Mass. Weekend Masses are at 5pm on Saturday evening and at 9.00am, 10.15 and 12 noon on Sunday mornings (during the summer this changes to 9.30am and 11.00am).

Entry to the Body of the church is possible at a number of points. The main doors of the church are reached by a set of stone steps and open into a small vestibule. From the vestibule one enters the back of the church, looking down the length of the central aisle to the sanctuary area. The back of the church is an open space (approx. 75 by 100 feet) containing tables and display boards. Entry to this area is also possible by two side doors, one on either side. Those leave on the outside to a side wall running the length of the church on one side, and on the other to the church parking lot. There is another door on the sidewall side that leads to the church at the front, close to the sanctuary. Access to the sanctuary is possible either by the steps from the body of the church, or by a door on one side which connects the sanctuary with the sacristy. Before the beginning of Mass, people enter the church by all of these

doors. However, only those who will occupy a place in the sanctuary during Mass enter by the door from the sacristy.

The Human Setting

Given the limitations of the information from the returned questionnaires (noted above) one may, nevertheless, sketch a portrait of the congregation. It is to be noted that there are no apparent contradictions between the picture presented as a result of participant-observation and as a result of the questionnaire.

St. Joseph's parish is anglophone. While some parishioners may be bilingual, one hears English spoken before and after Mass as people gather to talk or to greet one another in passing. The Mass, of course, is conducted in English. There are a few non-Caucasian faces in the congregation (Latin American, African, Asian) but St. Joseph's is predominantly white. There are many more women than men (75:25 on the basis of the questionnaire). A few of those women are religious sisters, recognizable by their dress. On the basis of the questionnaire, members of the congregation are slightly more likely to be single than married. Those who are married tend to come to church with other family members. However, almost half of the congregation come to church alone. The largest number of people (27%) are between 35 and 44 years of age, though slightly smaller numbers are between 25 and 34 (22%)

between 45 and 54 (19%). Taken together, therefore, almost 80% are between 25 and 54 years of age. There are only few younger adults and few seniors, though they are there. One questionnaire respondent volunteered the information that

"I was baptized in this church in 1916."

Table of Questionnaire

Respondents by Age Group

<u>AGE GROUP</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
24 or under	2	2
25 - 34	16	22
35 - 44	22	27
45 - 54	15	19
55 - 64	11	14
65 or older	11	14

(Percentages given in whole numbers.)

A significant number of children attend with their families, particularly at the 9.00/9.30am Sunday morning Mass. During the school year, a "children's liturgy" is conducted during this Mass. The children leave the Mass to be instructed separately before returning for the Liturgy of the Eucharist.

Some members of the congregation live quite close to the church, either in Sandy Hill or in the Centretown area. Others, however, travel a considerable distance to attend St. Joseph's, taking perhaps more than 30 minutes by car for the journey. Given the close proximity of other Catholic churches (St. Brigid's, St. Theresa's and St. Patrick's are all within walking distance of St. Joseph's), one may say that almost the whole congregation expresses some measure of positive choice by coming to St. Joseph's rather than another parish. The degree to which this "positive choice" entails what may be described as "commitment" is, however, arguable.

One of the underlying assumptions of this study is that, at least to some minimal degree, the parishioners of St. Joseph's have chosen this as their church. In late twentieth century Canada, it is clear that Sunday church attendance is only one option among many - one can stay home, go out to a leisurely brunch, or take part in some recreational pursuit. However, of more importance for this present study, in an urban setting such as Ottawa, those who do attend church are presented with the choice of which one

to attend. Thus, people who go to Mass regularly may in fact not attend a particular church regularly. They "shop around", or go to a church that has a Mass schedule that suits them. Or, they may attend a particular parish only as long as a certain priest is there, leaving when he does, possibly to follow him to his new appointment. (One respondent explained that his family no longer went to St. Joseph's - "we went when --- was pastor".)

The questionnaire, however, provides evidence that the parishioners of St. Joseph's tend not to do this. Over half of the respondents (51%) have been attending for over five years. Another 35% have attended for at least one year. However, this is an occasion when generalizing from the questionnaire returns is least justified. People who have been attending for less than a year are probably less likely to have found their way on to the Parish lists. So, the means used to distribute the questionnaire tends to produce a picture of a stable parish congregation, whether this is completely justified or not.

Initially, I had hoped that the questionnaire would enable me to draw conclusions about the reasons that people have for going to St. Joseph's. However, the questionnaire was not successful in this regard. All respondents volunteered information about why they attend St. Joseph's and certain responses were more prevalent than others. Thus, for example,

68% of respondents say they attend because they like the music.

72% say they attend because St. Joseph's embodies their idea of a Christian community

75% say that they experience community when they attend.

On the other hand, only 21% say that they attend because they have many friends in the congregation. Given that almost half of the respondents attend alone, this may indicate that "community" is a major factor in many people's experience of attending Mass at St. Joseph's. Without further evidence, however, this remains conjecture.

Further, the majority (57%) spend no time at St. Joseph's beyond 5 or 10 minutes before/after Mass. On the one hand, one may be tempted to conclude that it is therefore the Mass itself - the way the ritual is performed at St. Joseph's - that attracts people, since this is the totality of their experience of the parish. On the other hand, however, one may question whether the "positive choice" expressed by their attendance is an indicator of any "commitment" to St. Joseph's or to anything that it might be thought to represent. This question is at the heart of the study, since it raises the issue of how and to what degree the ritual embodies and communicates an ideology. Nevertheless, almost 20% of respondents spend more than one

hour per week at St. Joseph's apart from attending Mass. As will be discussed in more detail below, this provides a significant indicator of commitment to St. Joseph's and the "vision" of Roman Catholicism that it embodies.

Another extremely significant characteristic of St. Joseph's congregation is shown by the returns to the questionnaire. Almost half (45%) work in occupations described as "professional" (eg. engineer, teacher, doctor). Half have at least a Bachelor's degree from a University. 34% have a higher degree (Masters or Doctorate). St. Joseph's parishioners are thus extremely well educated relative to the population at large. If one accepts the following definition that

"[the professional middle class] can be defined... as all those people whose economic and social status is based on education, rather than on ownership of capital or property."

(Ehrenreich 1989 p12)

then St. Joseph's is clearly a parish of the middle classes.

The Ritual

St. Joseph's is a Roman Catholic Church and so when one attends Mass there, one attends a ritual performed according

to the Roman Rite revised by the Second Vatican Council. Theologically, one attends the same ritual that is performed throughout the Roman Catholic world. Specifically, one attends "the same Mass" as can be attended at any other Roman Catholic Church in Ottawa, at least according to most (though not all) Catholics and certainly according to the officials of the Roman Catholic Church.

As observed in performance, however, the ritual is "the same" only in its most general structure and, arguably, at this level of generality, it is also "the same" as many non-Catholic rituals (for instance, the Anglican Service of Communion).

The ritual of the Mass performed at St. Joseph's is unique to St. Joseph's in a number of respects. It is the contention of this study that these respects are significant, not incidental. Thus, the following account of the Mass draws particular attention to the ways in which it differs from the Mass at other churches. Nevertheless, it is recognized that there are many very close family resemblances.

It is an assumption common both to anthropologists (Turner 1967) and liturgists (Taft 1979) that the ritual of the Mass can be thought of as a series of units out of which the total ritual performance is made. The revision of the ritual at the hands of Vatican II saw a re-ordering and changing of these units - a point explicitly recognized by, for instance, The Order of Mass Study (N.C.C.B. 1985).

The revised order of the ritual is dealt with in the General Introduction to the Roman Missal (GIRM), originally printed at the front of the new Sacramentary and since published separately (reprinted again in Simcoe 1985). While some liturgists consider the GIRM to be an imperfect and, now, outdated set of directions, it nevertheless remains one of the few "official" descriptions of the ritual. It therefore remains a valuable text. A description of the ritual performance at St. Joseph's may be enlightened by reference to it.

Beginning

On entering St. Joseph's before Mass begins, one finds the lights on and music playing. The lights are suspended from the high ceiling and provide a small degree of extra brightness, particularly at the front of the church. The music is recorded, played through the sound system. It is quiet, orchestral or choral.

Singly, or occasionally in pairs, people arrive and take a place in the pews. Some sit, while others kneel, using the kneelers attached to the front of all the pews. Occasionally, people greet one another, stop and talk quietly. Other individuals appear through the doors nearest the sanctuary area, perhaps carrying some object to be used in the ritual. They walk purposefully and disappear again, their task accomplished. More people arrive, especially

larger, family groups, perhaps with small children. These, like most of the congregation, arrive very close (5 minutes or less) to the beginning of Mass. The volume of sound in the church rises, but only minimally, with these arrivals.

The imminent start of Mass is marked by a number of occurrences. The recorded music changes to the chiming of bells. People start to enter the sanctuary by the door from the sacristy. The musicians and singers thus walk diagonally across the sanctuary to take their places (right back to left front). The "lectors" - those who will read the scripture selections from the Lectionary - take their places against the back wall of the sanctuary on the right. Finally, the priest and the "Celebrant's Assistant" take their places on the right at the front. Immediately before the beginning of the rite, the priest, standing, makes a brief announcement and invites everyone to stand up and to greet those close to them in the pews. A few seconds of subdued murmuring by the congregation follows as they turn, possibly to shake hands with someone they have arrived with, or to stretch across an empty expanse of bench to reach someone several pews away. This first communal, "unofficial" act is followed immediately by the Sign of the Cross.

Everyone in the church is standing now and they continue like this for the "Penitential Rite". The priest reads a prepared text from a plastic binder. This binder is held for him by the Celebrant's Assistant. The reading is followed by congregational singing (led by the cantor/choir)

of part of the hymn "Father, I have sinned". The words of this song are projected on the screen above the choir benches. At some Masses, this is followed by the Gloria. After this, the priest says "Let us pray". He then reads a text from the binder. At the conclusion, the congregation says "Amen". The priest then asks everyone to sit, to "celebrate the word of God".

According to the official morphology of the Mass provided by the GIRM, the "Introductory rites" are concluded at this point. What follows is the next major section of the ritual: the "Liturgy of the Word". In performance, this point marks a distinct change also. The major change is one of posture. While all have been standing, for much of what follows, nearly everyone will sit. Until the gospel reading, only those performing a specific ritual task will stand. The congregation, upright, vocal and responsive during the "introductory rites", becomes sedentary and passive as they listen to a series of verbal presentations.

This break in the ritual, prescribed and performed, is also an appropriate point to pause in the description. A number of actors have been introduced that require further description. Other actors make their appearance later in the ritual, but description of these will be left until those points in the account.

The Actors Involved

There are usually two lectors. They sit next to one another in their allotted seats at the back/right of the sanctuary, except when they, individually, walk forward to stand at the lectern to read the Old Testament or the New Testament ("epistle") reading. When they have finished, they return to these seats where they stay until after the "Prayers of the Faithful" (General Intercessions). When they read their allotted text, they stand. At this time all other sanctuary-actors and the congregation are seated. At all other times, the lectors adopt the same posture as the congregation. They do not wear clothing that distinguishes them in any way from members of the congregation, though (excluding the summer months) male adult lectors are more likely to wear a tie than are male adult members of the congregation. Lectors were observed to be male and female, both adult and child, though more often adult.

The musicians sit together in a bank of pews on the left side of the sanctuary. The keyboard player sits below (as already described). At some Masses, other instrumentalists are also present (guitar, violin). These sit with the singers. Among the singers is an individual who deals with the overhead projector. When this person enters the sanctuary, he/she does so carrying a box containing the "overhead slides" needed for the Mass. The singers - choir members - are both male and female, predominantly young

adult (children sing at the 9.15/9.30 Mass). They tend to be dressed in a manner similar to that of the congregation. However, in the winter months, they are without coats, having removed them before entering the sanctuary. Members of the congregation are likely to retain their outdoor clothing during Mass.

During the ritual so far described, the posture of the musicians (instrumentalists excluded) is the same as that of the congregation except during the responsorial psalm, when they stand, all others being seated.

The priest sits in the "Presider's Chair" on the right/front side of the sanctuary. The priest is always male, adult and wears the distinctive "vestments" of Roman Catholic clergy. He stands in front of this chair for the whole of the "Introductory rites" and then sits (having first invited all others to do so) before the first (Old Testament) reading. During the two readings and the responsorial psalm, he sits. For the gospel acclamation he stands (as does everyone else) and for the reading of the Gospel, he moves to the lectern where he stands.

The Celebrant's Assistant sits in a seat next to the priest at his right. On all occasions observed, the Celebrant's Assistant was a female adult. Several different individuals were observed in this role, most of whom wore plain single-coloured skirts and white shirts or blouses. Her posture during the "Introductory Rites" and the "Liturgy of the Word" is the same as that of the priest. When

standing, she remained in front of her seat. She did not accompany the priest to the lectern.

One other sanctuary-actor requires description. This is the choir leader. This person is a female adult. Frequently, though not always, it is Jane Williams, the parish Director of Music and Liturgy. She stands in front of the choir directing them, but frequently turns to face the congregation, encouraging them to participate in the singing with arm and hand gestures. The posture and dress of the choir leader is similar to that of the singers.

Preaching

Leading the choir is not the only role that Jane Williams fills during the performance of the ritual. In order to describe this, it is best to resume the description of the Mass.

Both Sacrosanctum Concilium and the GIRM mention the importance of the homily as an element of the Mass. The homily occurs after the reading of the Gospel and before the recitation of the creed. During the homily, the homilist stands, everyone else sits. The homilist is usually the "Presiding Celebrant" - the priest who performs the other priestly functions during Mass. However, there is a long-standing Roman Catholic tradition of the "visiting homilist" - a priest who comes only to preach (for instance, a missionary on a fund-raising visit) while another priest

performs all the other priestly functions in the Mass. For a number of years at St. Joseph's, Jane Williams has been a regular homilist. So, when she is choir leader, she walks across the sanctuary to the lectern after the priest has read the Gospel, returning to her position with the choir after giving her homily. Alternatively, she appears from the sacristy after the Gospel, disappearing again after the homily.

In the last few years, as a result of change in official church policy, a change has occurred in this practice. Because Jane Williams is not a priest, she is not permitted to preach. Thus, as a compromise, when she does preach the homily, she does so before the first reading. On these occasions, the Gospel reading is followed immediately by the recitation of the Creed, or when this is omitted, by the "Prayers of the Faithful". In either case, her movements and posture relative to others remain the same.

My understanding of these changes are based on conversations with members of St. Joseph's Parish staff, including Jane Williams. The point seems to be that by having her preach at a time during the Mass other than that prescribed (by the GIRM, for instance), some kind of "legal fiction" can be maintained whereby, she can continue to preach, while at the same time "not really preach".

After the homily, the priest invites everyone to stand and the creed is recited. At some Masses, this is omitted

and everyone is invited to stand for the "Prayers of the Faithful". This element of the ritual involves two new actors. One reads the prayers, the other stands beside the prayer-reader holding a "prayer basket". These actors are usually female adults, though, on occasion, I have witnessed males and children (though never two children together). They are dressed like other members of the congregation except when one or both are religious sisters and are dressed recognizably as such. They appear from among the congregation, from the pews at the front right hand side of the church. They take places facing the congregation on the steps up to the sanctuary. Thus, they stand higher than the level of the keyboard player, lower than that of the sanctuary-actors.

The priest introduces the prayers by reading a text from the plastic binder (again, held by the Celebrant's Assistant). The prayer-reader then reads a prayer from a sheet held by her/him after which the priest reads a short "refrain", to which the congregation respond. Both refrain and response are projected on the screen above the choir. The last prayer read makes reference to the "prayers in our prayer basket". At this, the basket-holder raises the basket slightly. After this, the priest reads another, concluding prayer to which everyone responds "Amen". The basket-holder then turns and places the basket next to the altar before returning to the pews with her/his partner, whence they

came. At this point, everyone sits down again, though in some cases only briefly.

The Gifts

The next element in the ritual is beginning and, though it will last only a short time, it involves many actors and much movement both in the sanctuary and in the body of the church. This is the "Offertory" or, to give it the name preferred by the GIRM and liturgists alike, the "Preparation of the Gifts".

The priest and, following his example, the congregation sit down. The choir-leader and the musicians become animated, opening their binders to find the piece of music they will sing. The choir-leader checks with the keyboard player, hushes the choir members with a gesture and, standing, they begin.

At the same time that this is occurring, other individuals have risen from their places in the congregation and gone to the open space at the back of the church to get baskets. They then walk quickly and purposefully to different parts of the church and begin to pass their basket along the pews. Some members of the congregation put in money, either loose or in a "collection envelope" before passing the basket to their nearest neighbour. Others take the basket and pass it on without making a contribution. Considering the amount of space involved, the whole process

of "taking up the collection" occurs quickly. Those who take part in this - the basket carriers - were observed to be adult males, generally, though not solely, older rather than young adult. The general movement is for them to work towards the back of the church. When they have completed their task, they walk to the open area at the back of the church where the contents of their baskets are amalgamated into one or two baskets. Often, in my observation, a member of the pastoral staff or another individual was present at the back of the church to co-ordinate or oversee this process. This individual then carried the one or two baskets containing the whole collection to the front of the church down the side aisle on the right side of the church, disappearing through the doors at the front of the church. However, this did not occur until a number of other events had taken place.

At the same time that the choir is beginning its performance, the lectors, who have been seated at the back/right of the sanctuary leave their places. They do so, either by the door into the sacristy or by walking forward and then down the steps from the sanctuary to take places in the pews with the congregation.

While this is happening, the Celebrant's Assistant rises from her seat and walks diagonally across the sanctuary to a table at the back/left. From this, she takes a number of objects and places them on the altar. This takes her more than one trip since the objects are: a candle

(placed on the altar, front/left), a white cloth (technically, a "corporal", spread on the altar) and a cup (a "chalice" made of glazed pottery). She also places the plastic binder open on the altar.

Meanwhile, three other actors are waiting at the back of the church. They have appeared, like the basket-carriers, from among the congregation and come to this place. They have picked up objects from a table standing against the back of the last row of pews and are now waiting in the central aisle to go forward to the sanctuary. One is holding a small, square, light coloured basket containing a number of flat, round breads (each about 1/2" thick and perhaps 6-8" in diameter). Another is holding a squat, clear glass flagon containing red wine. The third is holding yet another basket (much larger than the others) containing groceries (canned and packaged goods).

When they, or the individual supervising them, judge the Celebrant's Assistant to be sufficiently advanced in her tasks, they begin a quick, purposeful journey down the length of the centre aisle, entering the sanctuary area without pause and placing their "gifts" on the altar (in the case of the bread and wine) or on the floor beside it (in the case of the groceries). These actors are adults, both male and female. In my observation, it is only when they have completed their task that the collection begins its journey down the side aisle, whether or not the collection has been completed ahead of the Celebrant's Assistant. On other

occasions, two individuals (usually those who have carried up the bread and wine) assist the Celebrant's Assistant in her tasks. They set the altar with the chalice, cloth and candle, which they take from a small table covered with a white cloth that stands against the front row of pews on the right of the central aisle. In this case, the Celebrant's Assistant's function is to bring the binder to the altar and to arrange the various objects in the correct configuration on the altar. Also, in either case, she takes from the table at the back-left of the sanctuary, a small glass pitcher containing water. She adds a small amount of water from this vessel to the wine in the flagon and to the chalice, having first poured a small amount of wine into the chalice.

When all these things have been accomplished, the priest rises from his chair, where he has been sitting throughout these activities and dons the microphone worn around his neck. Accompanied by the Celebrant's Assistant, he takes his place at the altar, facing the congregation across it. The choir is finishing, or has finished its performance. Then, the priest, referring to the plastic binder reads a text - the "Prayer over the Gifts". The congregation, which has been sitting since the end of the "Prayers of the Faithful", stands.

This whole complex of actors and actions has possibly taken three or four minutes at most.

The Liturgy of the Eucharist

The "Liturgy of the Eucharist" has begun. Everyone in the church is standing (except for the keyboard musician) and, with a few exceptions, will remain so until after communion. What follows immediately, the "Preface" and the "Eucharistic Prayer", consists of a series of verbal (both spoken and sung) performances involving three groups: the priest and his silent companion, the Celebrant's Assistant, the choir and the choir-leader, and the congregation.

After the three-fold exchange between priest and congregation, the priest begins to read the text of the "Preface" - a prayer addressed to God. Typically, the priest raises his eyes from the plastic binder frequently, looking out towards the congregation. Given that the texts of the Prefaces often have a decidedly didactic tone, this leads to the impression that the priest is addressing the congregation.

The "Preface" ends with the singing of the "Holy, Holy". The singing is led by the choir. The choir-leader turns to face the congregation, encouraging participation with arm and hand gestures. Apart from the keyboard musician, seated with her back to the congregation, the choir-leader is the sanctuary-actor closest to the congregation throughout this part of the ritual.

At the conclusion of the "Holy, Holy", the priest continues his recitation with the "Eucharistic Prayer",

referring again to the plastic binder. Throughout the church, perhaps a handful of the congregation kneel, making use of the kneelers, while the majority continue to stand. The priest's recitation is animated by a number of gestures of hand and arm, indicating the bread and wine in front of him, making the sign of the cross over them with his right hand and then taking first the bread and then the wine during the "words of consecration". Generally, he holds both at about chest height and turns slightly to right and left in a gesture of "showing" them to everyone present. After this, the recitation continues, to be interrupted once more by the sung "Proclamation of the Mystery of Faith".

Most of those who knelt at the end of the "Holy, Holy" are standing again. The priest takes the bread and wine again at the end of the "Eucharistic Prayer", holding them in front of himself as before, while saying the concluding text ("Through him, with him..." etc.). The prayer concludes with the singing of "Amen", the words of which are projected on the overhead screen (as has been the case with the "Holy, Holy" and the "Mystery of Faith").

Communion

The "Amen" marks the end of the "Eucharistic Prayer". The "Communion rite" follows. While part of the "Liturgy of the Eucharist", according to the GIRM, the "Communion rite"

is a distinct part of the prescribed ritual. Again, this prescription is evident in the performance.

There follows another period of movement and change, both in the body of the church and in the sanctuary. With the "Amen", there is a sense of ending. In the congregation, while they remain standing, there is a general "shuffling" and stirring as people who have stood in one position for some time breathe more deeply, cough and shift from one foot to the other. In the sanctuary, new actors appear. These are the Eucharistic Ministers. They enter the sanctuary either up the steps from among the congregation or through the door from the sacristy. They form a line along the back of the sanctuary. They are adult, predominantly older rather than young and predominantly female, though not solely. They are dressed indistinguishably from members of the congregation. There are ten or twelve of them.

Two of these new arrivals, having brought more objects from the table at left/back to the altar (a silver tray bearing a number of cups like the chalice, more baskets like that containing the bread), take positions on either side of the priest, assisting during the "Rite of Fraction". However, the first element in this part of the ritual is the recitation of the Lord's Prayer by everyone, after an introduction by the priest. It is common to see the priest and the Eucharistic Ministers adopt the same posture during this recitation: arms in front of the body at waist level, bent at the elbows, hands open with palms up. The Lord's

Prayer is followed by the Sign of Peace. Immediately after this, the choir leads the congregation in singing the "Lamb of God", while the priest and his two companions begin to break the loaves of consecrated bread in the baskets in front of them on the altar. The Celebrant's Assistant pours the consecrated wine into the cups on the tray. When the "Lamb of God" is finished and the breaking and pouring completed, the priest begins the "Behold the Lamb of God..." dialogue. The priest's two companions take a step back at this point and stand, hands clasped at waist level. The priest then takes a cup and a basket and, holding them at approximately shoulder height, says "The body and blood of Jesus Christ". Everyone replies "Amen". This exchange is projected on the screen.

The priest then replaces the cup and basket on the altar before taking and eating a piece of bread and then drinking from the cup. He immediately offers a basket to his companions and then a cup, so these two "receive communion" immediately after him.

There now follows a complicated but swift set of movements whereby the Eucharistic Ministers all receive communion and are also distributed either baskets or cups and white wiping cloths ("purificators"). The priest takes a basket and walks to the back-right of the sanctuary. He then works his way along the line of Eucharistic Ministers, serving communion to them. Immediately following him is one of the two ministers who had stood with him at the altar

during the Rite of Fraction. This person carries the tray bearing the communion cups. The Eucharistic Ministers take a cup and a white cloth purificator and drink. They then retain the cup and cloth and the tray-bearer moves on. In the end, all the Eucharistic Ministers have received communion "under both species" and eight of them are holding cups and cloths. The others have been handed baskets. At the same time, one of the Eucharistic Ministers manages to serve communion to the choir members. The result is that all Eucharistic Ministers have received communion and are ready to follow the priest down the steps of the sanctuary to stand in the aisle between sanctuary and pews. The choir, meanwhile, is readying itself to sing again.

The members of the congregation have been standing, waiting. At this point, many of them take their cue to sit down. At many masses, two older males quickly walk to the front of the church where they begin to control the way in which members of the congregation come to communion. They allow people from one pew on either side at a time, so that the process by which people go to communion is slow and orderly.

On arriving at the front of the church, one is confronted by a basket containing both small pieces of bread and round wafers (commercially produced "hosts"). Using the right hand, one takes either (randomly or by preference). Turning either to right or left, one is met with a choice of cups from which one may drink, though some refrain, taking

only the bread ("receiving under one specie only"). There is no verbal exchange, though there may be eye contact between donor and recipient. The procedure is such that each communicant pauses only very briefly. The experience of communion is thus one of almost continual movement from pew to front of church and back. The choir continues to sing and some members of the congregation join in, more likely on their way to communion than on the way back.

When they get back to their places, members of the congregation either sit or kneel, both postures being equally prevalent. When there is no-one left to come to communion (nearly all the congregation does so), the Eucharistic Ministers take the baskets to the Tabernacle and the cups back to the altar, which is then cleared, everything being removed to the table at back/left and thence out of the sanctuary through the door to the sacristy. The priest returns to his seat and sits down. The Eucharistic Ministers disappear, either back into the congregation or through the door into the sacristy. When the choir has finished singing, they too sit down.

Thus, for a few moments, everyone sits quietly, the ritual almost complete.

Ending

Rather than reading the prescribed "Post-Communion Prayer", the priest finally invites all to stand once more

to say together the parish "Missioning Prayer", the text of which is projected on the overhead screen. When done, the concluding rite, with the final sign of the cross, is performed. The Mass is over and the congregation can go in peace, as soon as they have joined the choir in the final hymn.

In fact, some do leave without waiting for the conclusion of the final hymn. Many more, however, stay and then leave, mostly by the doors at the back of the church. Some genuflect as they leave their pews, others do not. The noise-level rises now as some people stay to talk and to greet their friends and acquaintances. Especially at the 9.15/9.30 Mass, some those in family groups with children gather at the front of the church to look at the fish that swim in a small pond set into the floor on the same level as the keyboards, but at the other, right, end.

The priest frequently makes his way to the open area at the back of the church where he also joins in the process of greeting and talking. Often, those who approach him do so with specific motives, requesting information, appointments, sharing concerns.

When they have finished, the choir, choir-leader and musicians gather their binders and exit across the sanctuary, through the door to the sacristy. Other individuals appear and disappear on various errands, through the same door, or through the doors at the front/right of the body of the church. They are retrieving the various

objects used in the ritual that has just finished. For instance, one goes to the tabernacle to retrieve the baskets and cups left there by the Eucharistic Ministers at the end of communion. Then, in some cases, they set out these same objects afresh, needed for the next performance of the ritual.

Very soon after the final hymn ends, perhaps 10 or 15 minutes at most, the congregation has disappeared. The church is again quiet and, depending on the time of day, is ready to receive the first individuals who come to sit or kneel in silence, waiting for the beginning of the next Mass.

3. THE RITUAL: GENESIS AND FUNCTION

Introduction

I must now attempt to provide an account whereby the ritual of the Mass as described may be understood. Specifically, the three elements (offertory/preparation of gifts, consecration and communion) and the changes they have undergone must be accounted for in terms of the

- a) genesis of the present practices
- b) their functions and how these functions are attained

All these practices as described are the result of changes made at some time in the past. An account of how these changes came about can, in some cases, be produced fairly directly from the information available to this study. However, in other cases, their genesis must be reconstructed from fragmentary information. In these cases, the account will involve a certain amount of conjecture. Nevertheless, especially on the basis of the interview with Jane Williams, fairly detailed accounts are available of how other comparable changes have been initiated. It seems justifiable in the present context to use these accounts - with caution - in the reconstruction of the specific changes which form the focus of the present study.

For instance, in the case of the offertory/preparation of gifts, I remember the previous practice from the time when I attended St. Joseph's. In addition to the observations made of the present practice, there are the remarks made by Jane Williams about this during the interview with her. In this case, therefore, quite a complete picture is available.

On the other hand, the introduction of the practice of standing during the "consecration" predates my first experience of Mass at St. Joseph's. Apart from an unrecorded and undocumented conversation between myself and an ex-parishioner of St. Joseph's, the only information available to the study is provided by the elaborations made on the subject by some questionnaire respondents and some remarks made by Jane Williams during the interview with her. In this case, the reconstruction necessarily depends on a certain amount of what, I will claim, is justifiable conjecture.

However, the interview with Jane Williams provides a detailed account of two changes in the practice of the ritual which are connected with the three focus elements. These are the introduction of the role of "Celebrant's Assistant" and the change in the positioning and movement of the Eucharistic Ministers during the distribution of communion.

The situation can be summarized as follows.

Element of Mass	Focus of Study?	Sources of Information	Extent of Information
Offertory	Yes	Interview Observation Memory	Extensive
Consecration	Yes	Conversation Interview Questionnaires	Fragmentary
Communion	Yes	Interview Observation	Various
Position of Eucharistic Ministers	No, but related	Interview	Extensive
Sign of Peace	No	Interview Observation	Extensive
Celebrant's Assistant	No, but related	Interview Observation	Extensive

3(a) GENESIS

Genesis

The genesis of at least some of the practices under examination occurred some 10 years in the past and involved at least one person no longer at St. Joseph's. Therefore, a brief sketch of the relevant history is a necessary preliminary.

St. Joseph's Parish is approximately 130 years old. The present church building is about 60 years old, previous ones having been destroyed by fire. The first Bishop of Ottawa, Bishop Guigues, wished to found an anglophone parish to serve the Sandy Hill area. An Oblate, Guigues invited his own order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, to do so. Part of the arrangement was that the parish would be perpetually in the hands of the OMI's. As a consequence, the parish has come to have a special place within the life of the Oblates, becoming "the mother parish of our province".

The person appointed as parish priest is thus always an Oblate, appointed by the order in co-operation with the local ordinary, who, for many years, has not belonged to any religious order. Whereas, at least in the past, diocesan priests have been appointed to parishes for a 6 or 7 year term (frequently renewed, so that a parish might have the same parish priest for more than a decade), the Oblates guarantee only to provide personnel. The length of the term depends on other intra-order factors. So, for instance,

since the mid-80's, there have been three successive incumbents as parish priest.

Geographically, St. Joseph's now sits on the edge of the campus of the University of Ottawa and Sandy Hill, one of the oldest residential areas in Ottawa. To the west, it is bordered St. Patrick's Parish, a long established church with large weekday Mass congregations from the surrounding down-town offices. It is bordered by St. Brigid's in the Market area and St. Theresa's to the south. Both these churches are old parishes with small congregations of largely older people. More recently, St. Brigid's has become associated with dissenting, ultra-conservative Catholics.

Consensus seems to be that until the end of the 70's, St. Joseph's was similar to these two other down-town parishes - old, quiet and with a small congregation. Since that time, St. Joseph's has undergone a transformation to its present state. Today, the parish is universally recognized as a lively, socially-aware community, exemplifying the best (or worst - depending on one's point of view) of post-Vatican II liberal Catholicism. One person is pre-eminently associated with (and credited for) this transformation. This is Fr. Fred McGee, who was parish priest for about 6 years until the mid-80's.

I remember going to Mass at St. Joseph's when McGee was there. I remember him as a short man with a rosy complexion and bright eyes. He was an accomplished speaker (with a reputation for good homilies) and possessed a tuneful

singing voice. When he presided at Mass, most of the priest's parts were sung, including the Eucharistic Prayer. There was a musical setting of the Mass habitually used in those days and I remember how he seemed to be tapping his foot to the music as he sang, jovially facing the congregation, provoking their participation, or at least their complicity, in his performance.

It is this word - participation - or involvement, that is continually used to describe McGee's achievement. He involved the laity. He got people to participate in the Mass and in the parish. He is remembered by many people in the Ottawa area and to refer to St. Joseph's "when Fred was there" is often sufficient to identify a particular period in its recent history.

Of the elements of the Mass which form the focus of this study, he was responsible for the implementation of the following:

- the practice of the congregation standing throughout the Eucharistic Prayer;
- the use of Eucharistic Ministers during the Communion Rite;
- the practice of standing to receive communion;
- the practice of receiving communion in the hand.

It is possible that the last two were begun prior to McGee's arrival, but if this is so, he was nevertheless responsible for their becoming the accepted, habitual practice of the parish at a time when these were far from commonplace.

McGee was also responsible, directly or indirectly, for many other things that are pertinent to the present study and which may be described briefly.

St. Joseph's has no traditional or geographical commitments to schools or hospitals, as is the case with many other parishes. (Both of these can form a major part of a parish priest's weekly work load.) Nor, in spite of the proximity, is there any official pastoral commitment to the University of Ottawa.

However, as McGee attempted to revitalize and transform the parish, one may assume that there was an increase in the number of baptisms and marriages performed. Partially, this would have been due to the changing demographic profile of the parish as he attracted more and younger parishioners.

One may also assume that the introduction of the RCIA programme occurred early in his tenure. Notwithstanding his continued association with lay movements outside the parish (Cursillo, Waupoos Farm), one may suppose that his primary commitment of time and energy was to St. Joseph's.

McGee either initiated, or developed from a rudimentary form, the Parish Council: a group of elected and appointed lay parishioners. From the pastoral perspective, this was a primary means of ensuring the involvement of lay parishioners at every level of parish life. Decisions were made by this body, visions disseminated and information shared. From the lay perspective, this body was the primary means for ensuring that particular "lobbies", interest groups or points of view within the parish had a chance of being heard and influencing the development of the parish.

The Parish Council, meeting monthly, consisted of elected executive members, the members of the Pastoral Team and the heads of the various parish "ministries" (i.e. heads of volunteer committees would also sit on council). For a number of years, decisions were made by vote, the model being that of any bureaucratic committee. As a consequence, the Parish Council became the main forum for working out conflicts between various groups seeking influence within the parish.

McGee was also responsible for the development of the Parish Team. This consists of a number of salaried, full and part-time workers who assist in running the parish. McGee was responsible for hiring a number of individuals still on staff, specifically, Jane Williams, Director of Music and Liturgy and Gary Byrne, Director of Finance and Administration. As a result of the decision to develop the

Womens' Centre, Linda Gunning was also hired. Edna Montague, who had worked in the parish as a volunteer, was eventually hired part-time to look after RCIA and Sacramental Preparation.

At one time, all members of the Parish Team attended Parish Council meetings. Thus, they took an active part in the decisions and debates that took place. In addition to this, however, they dealt individually with other committees representing particular "parish ministries". For instance, the Liturgy Committee was, and is, the responsibility of Jane Williams, the Finance Committee of Sory Byrne. As time went by, the structure and function of these committees stabilized and has become quite distinct from the functioning of Parish Council, which, itself, has changed recently.

The Finance Committee is responsible for the planning, setting and administration of the parish budget.

The Liturgy Committee is charged with the planning and implementation of liturgical plans as they affect weekend Masses. This includes choice of music, decorations for the church, the choice of a "theme" for a particular liturgical season. Further, it is responsible for the organization of the various "liturgical ministries" - Eucharistic Ministers, Lectors, Ushers etc.

In terms of the focus of the present study, it is Jane Williams who has been responsible for initiating the following changes:

- the present practice of the
offertory/preparation of gifts;
- using "real" bread at communion;
- offering the cup to the laity.

It is also to be noted that she is responsible for the continued maintenance of all these practices, irrespective of who initiated them.

Offertory/Preparation of Gifts

I remember how the offertory/preparation of gifts used to happen. Members of the congregation carried a plasket containing bread (probably hosts) & a container of wine, a basket with the amalgamated collection for it and, possibly, another basket containing flowers, from the back of the church on the central aisle towards the altar. When they reached the front of the church and crossed the perpendicular aisle separating the pews from the raised marble area, they were met by the priest, flanked on either side by two white-robed altar-servers (sacristans, often then not, teen-aged females). The priest took the offerings or gifts one by one from the people carrying them and handed them to

the altar-servers who then carried them up the steps and placed them on the altar (in the case of the bread and the wine) or on the floor next to the altar (in the case of the money and groceries). Having given up their gifts, the people carrying them turned and went back into the congregation. The priest went back up the steps, around the altar and began the series of prescribed prayers ("Blessed are you, Lord..." etc.).

During the interview, Jane Williams and I spoke about this.

P. ... It wasn't always. When did the change come and why? How?

J. You mean at St. Joe's?

P. Yes.

J. Or do you mean among the liturgists?

P. At St. Joe's.

J. ... Because I didn't invent it. This is the good theological understanding of liturgy. That it is about a moving from this to that."

At one level, therefore, this change was made so that the practice would more clearly reflect - put into practice - what the ritual is intended to mean. It was, *prima facie*, an ideologically driven change. Jane Williams, responsible for the liturgy as Director, implemented this change so that

the ritual would express more clearly its true meaning. In so doing, she was in accord with a number of post-Vatican II liturgists (see, eg. Cloud 1966, Keifer 1974, Krosnicki 1991). In fact, she was probably influenced most by the "vision" of the Mass promoted through the National Association of Pastoral Musicians, an American organization whose conferences she has attended.

The view she was subscribing to in implementing this change is this. The ritual of the Mass as reformed by Vatican II is flawed in a number of ways. One is that the "preparation of the gifts" (previously, and still habitually, referred to as the "offertory") had been insufficiently cleansed of its medieval accretions, which included the various prayers said and actions performed by the priest when the "gifts" of bread and wine had been placed on the altar. According to this view, these merely serve to clutter what should be a simple action - "a moving from here to that". (It should be noted, however, that this view is a very partial and selective reading of a complex and varied history of this part of the ritual, as is shown by Long 1975).

However, to account for the change which in this fashion is to remain at a general, abstract level. Such an account does not explain how the change was made within the context of St. Joseph's Parish. At the concrete level, certain other circumstances are relevant.

To my knowledge, this change occurred after McGee had left. Since his departure, Jane Williams has had increasingly sole responsibility for the planning of the ritual. This change is also associated with another change for which she was responsible.

Assisting the priest in taking the gifts and setting them on the altar was a major part of the role that the altar-servers performed during the Mass (others were being part of the entrance procession, carrying candles and cross into the sanctuary at the beginning of Mass). When this changed occurred, they would have become noticeably redundant. The other "traditional" altar-servers' role of assisting the priest in the distribution of communion (holding the paten under the chin of each communicant as the priest placed the host on their tongue) had been done away with when Eucharistic Ministers were introduced.

Further, it is clear that Jane Williams was dissatisfied with the role of altar-server, as is evident from her description of how and why the role of Celebrant's Assistant was created. From her report it appears that this change was due, at least in part, to a concern with what might be called "liturgical style" - a concern with the aesthetical content and disposition of actions within the sanctuary. This is the concern of a professional about the "mechanics" of performance, something about which the vast majority of the congregation would be indifferent, not to say oblivious. Jane Williams, however, from her habitual

vantage point at the left/front of the sanctuary during Mass, would be ideally placed to observe, judge and find wanting this aspect of the performance. As Director of Music and Liturgy, she has also been uniquely able to act on her judgments.

The genesis of this change must therefore be understood not just as the putting into practice of a current theory - a "theological understanding". It is also the result of a professional's concern for the weekly practice of a ritual requiring the co-operation of various lay volunteers. Jane Williams' remarks about the role of the Celebrant's Assistant also indicate a concern about the control of the performance. The Mass is a planned and predictable ritual, but its performance may give rise to the unforeseen. Dependable, trained actors who can respond to such things (squealing sound-systems, recalcitrant candles) are therefore an asset.

Another aspect of this change in practice is also noteworthy. The collection is no longer part of the "procession of gifts" to the altar. The present practice therefore marks a partial separation of the money from the rest of the offerings/gifts. In a few parishes, this separation is even greater. Money is not collected during the Mass. Baskets are made available for people to make contributions before or after Mass. At St. Joseph's, the present practice may be motivated partially by a concern for practicalities and security. As soon as the collection

disappears through the doors at the front of the church, it is immediately available for counting and recording, or if this is not done, at least it may be secured at once.

It should be noted that this change in the practice of the offertory/preparation of gifts directly involved only a small number of individuals. Some of these (altar-servers, Celebrant's Assistants) required a degree of training in order to fulfill their roles and were thus directly under her supervision. Other changes, involving the congregation as a whole, present altogether different concerns, as will be seen.

Consecration

As already stated, the practice of the congregation standing throughout the Eucharistic Prayer (and therefore during the "Consecration") was introduced prior to the beginning of my experience of Mass at St. Joseph's. The genesis of this practice must therefore be treated cautiously. The important facts were made available through an unrecorded (because unexpected) conversation with a one-time parishioner. This person informed me that Moisee was responsible for initiating this practice and that it met with a certain degree of resistance on the part of the congregation before it became a habitual practice.

One can still attend Mass where the predominant posture of the congregation is that of kneeling. I remember

attending Mass in Ireland (and have had this confirmed by a recent visitor there) where the congregation knelt as soon as the priest appeared in the sanctuary to begin Mass and remained in that posture for the whole of the Mass with the exception of sitting/standing during the Liturgy of the Word.

Current practice in many parishes varies. In some, the congregation kneels from the beginning of the "Preface", in others from the "Holy, Holy". They stand again, in some cases at the "Proclamation of the Mystery of Faith", in others at the conclusion of the Eucharistic Prayer.

While practices vary, it is, however, the most common practice for the congregation to kneel while the consecration (in the terminology of the GIRM, "epiclesis" and "institution narrative and consecration") is performed.

Two questions pose themselves. Why did McEee introduce this change? and how did he achieve it? In his absence, both must be the subject of conjecture, though a more confident approach may be made to the former. Jane Williams, for instance, explained the reason for this as follows:

"The usual alternative - kneeling -
 is the stance of a penitent, of one who
 is subservient. The Eucharistic Prayer
 is a prayer of thanksgiving and praise
 - much more appropriate for standing.
 The priest and the people pray this

prayer together - one group should not kneel while the other stands. Therefore, standing should help signify to the people that they are co-celebrants of the Eucharist."

She also prefers to refer to the "words of institution" rather than the "words of consecration". Her preference (though not necessarily her reasons) is one shared by a number of contemporary liturgists and theologians, some of whom reject the notion of a "consecratory moment" that should be singled out for especially reverent behaviour during the Eucharistic Prayer.

It is possible that McGee shared some of these opinions. However, if attention is paid to the concrete practicalities of the ritual, another aspect of this question is thrown into relief.

When he presided at Mass as parish priest, McGee habitually sang the Preface and the Eucharistic Prayer. The congregation joined in by singing the "Holy, Holy", the "Proclamation of the Mystery of Faith" and the "Amen" at the end of the Eucharistic Prayer. This part of the ritual was one of increasing vivacity and momentum leading to the Communion rite. Any interruption in this performance would have disrupted this, necessitating a break in the music and a break in the performance caused by the change in posture of the congregation. Probably consciously, McGee was

attempting to produce, or at least encourage, an experience of participation - involvement - in the ritual on the part of the congregation. This, as much as any overtly ideological considerations, is likely to be a major part of his intention in initiating this practice. Indirect confirmation of this conjectural reconstruction is provided by Leslie's account of the performance of the Mass in which this same effect - congregational participation - is avoided by a presider's refraining from allowing these same developments (Leslie 1986).

It is at least probable that McGee's habitual emphasis on music was also instrumental in his eventual success in this venture.

In any performance of the ritual, the existence of the "consecration" as an identifiable element, depends largely on the tone of voice used by the priest and on the gestures used. Frequently, the priest speaks this part of the text in a clearer, slower, more pointed fashion, thus drawing attention to it. Also, the bread and wine are picked up and held in a gesture of display. The use of music, especially singing the text, can tend to make the consecration "disappear" - merge with the rest of the text. In addition, music would tend to disorient the congregation with regard to their "cue" to change posture. It is relatively easy to "wrong-foot" a congregation, simply by changing a small gesture or cadence of speech which is, in their habitual practice, the cue to which they respond. I suspect that this

was part of what happened when this change was first introduced. However, it would not be desirable to have repeated performances in which the congregation was "unbalanced" - unsure of what they were to do and when. As a consequence, one must assume that McGee actively encouraged the practice by word and gesture. Further, it is highly probable that he would have had to address the issue directly, either as part of a homily, or in "impromptu" remarks during the ritual itself.

It is here that the "ideological" aspect is of particular significance. At least a portion of the regular members of the congregation would have had to become convinced (either directly from McGee or from other sources) that this practice was correct: that it represented the "good theological understanding". In addition, it may well be that this practice was reinforced by some members' experience of Masses in other contexts. Small, informal "house Masses" (Masses celebrated in non-church settings) frequently provide experiences where the usual (weekly, Sunday Mass) postures and dispositions are dispensed with.

Whatever was in fact the case, once a certain "critical mass" was achieved, the practice would, de facto, become the accepted, habitual one. Those who were not convinced of its propriety could either acquiesce or leave to join another parish.

Of those who returned questionnaires, 75% elaborated on their responses by providing written comments. Of these, 75%

expressed an opinion about this practice. Ten expressed a negative opinion. However, it is very difficult to find any dominant "motif" among the views expressed.

Some who are positive about standing justify their view by reference to cultural or theological reasons.

"Standing in this culture is a sign of respect"

"Kneeling focuses all the attention on the bread and wine and distracts from the fact that the community is also the body of Christ"

However, some who are negative about standing use the same kinds of justifications for their preferences

"... I feel it is more respectful to kneel..."

"I prefer kneeling as the consecration is the climax..."

A number of respondents refer to the points noted above: that a change in posture is an interruption that would divert attention from the ritual. On the other hand, one respondent noted (regretfully) that

"Standing for so long makes people (esp. young) not notice this is any different from any

[other] part of the Mass."

One or two spoke of the difficulty experienced by some old people in changing posture. A number held the opinion that the choice of posture was unimportant, a few suggesting that one could choose. However, as many thought that whatever one's personal preferences, all should adopt the same posture for the sake of "harmony" and "unity". Only one respondent specifically stated

"[standing] makes me feel more a part
of the Mass."

The Communion Rite

The Communion Rite is a complex part of the ritual made up of a number of significant elements. As this study developed, five aspects were singled out for particular attention. When the questionnaire was implemented, respondents were asked about their experience of communion in terms of these five. They are:

- a) the practice of standing to receive communion
- b) offering the "cup" to the laity
- c) the use of eucharistic ministers
- d) the use of baked bread in addition

to commercial "hosts"

- e) the practice of receiving communion
in the hand.

None of these is unique to St. Joseph's. (a) and (e) are common (though by no means universal) practices. (c) is less common but by no means unusual. (b) and (d) are unusual (especially (d)) but not completely unique. Rather, it is their combination that makes the Communion Rite at St. Joseph's so distinctive. When one takes into account the other practice, whereby communicants take the host from a basket, rather than have it given to them, the whole procedure of distributing communion is possibly unique to St. Joseph's.

The development of the habitual practices of this part of the ritual has been gradual. In fact, the interview with Jane Williams discloses another change to the practice that has been introduced only recently (how the Eucharistic Ministers dispose of their baskets or cups when they have finished distributing communion).

The five practices, or "elements", listed have been introduced over time, initiated by different people. (a) probably pre-dates the arrival of McGee, as may be the case with (e). (c) was definitely introduced by McGee, while Jane Williams has been responsible for the introduction of (b) and (d). Chronologically, the elements may be listed

- (a)
- (e)
- (c)
- (b) and (d).

This chronology also indicates a certain "logic of dependence" among these elements, for in a practical sense, their chronology could hardly be otherwise.

While it is possible to implement (a) and (e) independently of one another, it is certainly easier for people to receive communion in the hand (rather than have a host placed on their tongue) when they are standing. Likewise, the use of Eucharistic ministers makes "more sense" when (a) and (c) are in place. If people receive communion standing, then they can receive it at a number of places in the church, not just at a communion rail. Therefore it is possible to have a number of people receive communion simultaneously, rather than one by one. Likewise, people will more quickly adapt to receiving communion from a lay person if the ministers are not going to place something in their mouths. It is a common (unconscious) assumption among people who attend Mass that a priest's hands are qualitatively more hygienic than those of lay people. Finally, the use of "real bread" and offering the cup to the laity depend on Eucharistic Ministers already being used. However, it is worth reiterating that these relationships of priority and dependence hold only within the practical

context considered here. This is shown by the partial parallel of practices in other churches. By way of example, I can cite the practice of an Anglican church where "real bread" is used and the laity receive the cup, but they do so from clergy only, while kneeling.

The ways in which these different practices were implemented are various. The practice of standing to receive communion (independent of its apparently "official" sanction by the GIRM) can be implemented in two ways, both of which are evident at St. Joseph's. The first is to remove the communion rail, the second (which may be done independently of the first) is for the priest to come and stand outside the sanctuary area at the front of the body of the church. In these ways, communicants are given little alternative but to stand in front of the priest to receive communion. This practice was probably initiated at St. Joseph's at a comparable time to its initiation at other parishes, so that the change could quickly be recognized as one with "official" (or at least "common") sanction.

The practice of receiving communion in the hand, rather than on the tongue, is more problematic, but likewise, was introduced in other parishes at about the same time, with official sanction. Homilies were preached about this change, instruction given by priests to their congregations and articles written. This practice, of the priest placing the host in the cupped hands of the communicant, was followed at

St. Joseph's prior to the further change to the present practice, as described earlier. Jane Williams gave an account of the origin of this in the interview with her.

When McGee was still Parish Priest, Jane Williams and he attended a Mass at Weston Priory in Vermont. When it came time for communion, they were confronted by a monk holding a large tray of consecrated bread who, in silence, allowed each communicant to help themselves. Recounting this experience after a number of years, Jane Williams remembered it vividly, saying

"[The monk] greeted you so beautifully
with his eyes."

All the while, singing carried on (for which the Monks of Weston Priory are famous). The members of the Parish Team carried this experience back to St. Joseph's with them, where it was implemented, in their own fashion.

The use of Eucharistic Ministers was initiated by McGee. However, this change and the other two which "depend" upon it (the use of "real bread" and offering the cup to the laity, both of which were initiated by Jane Williams) are intimately related with the development of her role as Director of Music and Liturgy.

The introduction of Eucharistic Ministers to a parish the size of St. Joseph's, with multiple weekend Masses, has

immediate consequences. A significant number of people (more than thirty) require training, stage management (instruction about how and where to stand, move etc.), scheduling and general maintenance. A "parish ministry" has been created. In a relatively short period of time (before McGee's departure) this became Jane Williams' responsibility. Among other things, this would entail the scheduling of training sessions, recruitment of ministers, holding meetings to discuss policy and procedures. Nor would this have been unique: it would have been paralleled in the case of lectors, for instance.

Jane Williams' account (in her interview) of another more recent change in the practice of the Eucharistic Ministers gives a good indication of the issues involved.

As described above, the present practice involves the Eucharistic Ministers standing at designated positions at the front of the church (between pews and raised sanctuary area) where they distribute communion. When they have finished (when no more members of the congregation approach them), they wait until this is the case with all the ministers, before they all carry their baskets or cups to the tabernacle on the right side of the church. Due to the fact that some "communion lines" are longer than others, this may entail some of them waiting for several moments.

By contrast, the previous practice had been that when a minister had finished (either because their "line" had ended, or because their basket/cup was empty), they turned

and went back up the marble steps to deposit the basket or cup on the altar, before coming back down the steps to resume their original place among the congregation.

According to Jane Williams, this

"got very sloppy... [and] was really a distraction just at that quiet time as communion is ending..."

Having judged the existing practice as unsatisfactory, Jane Williams discussed the matter with the Liturgy Committee, which included the lay volunteer Head of Eucharistic Ministers and the co-ordinators (Heads) of each liturgy (9.15am, 11.00 etc.). She suggested the present practice as an alternative. It was discussed and agreed upon, with the proviso that the change would be tried for one month after which its success would be assessed. During that time, a meeting of the Liturgy Committee was held, with the Eucharistic Ministers invited to attend and another meeting of the Eucharistic Ministers and Jane Williams (without the rest of the Liturgy Committee). In both cases, the issue and the proposed change were discussed, not without dissent on the part of some present. However, by keeping to the original decision of a month's trial, it was found that the change became sufficiently familiar for it to become habitual practice.

It is to be noted that this change involves only specific liturgical actors. It does not affect the behaviour of the congregation at large. Nevertheless, I feel that it gives a general indication of the means by which changes to the ritual have been initiated.

In this particular case, one again sees evidence of the "professional eye" with which Jane Williams evaluates the performance of the ritual and a concern for the "mechanics" of performance, not necessarily shared by most members of the Parish.

The other changes for which she is specifically responsible seem more overtly to be ideologically driven. Both Sacrosanctum Concilium and the GIRM speak of the need to ensure that the sacramental signs are "expressed fully". The bread used should be recognizable as bread, when communion takes place, communicants should receive "fully". Jane Williams expressed her motivation as follows:

"Everything about [the way communion is conducted] speaks to the fact that we come to the banquet as co-celebrants without hierarchical distinctions; we take bread in our hands, we drink the wine as did the apostles at the Last Supper, we come to the table singing, standing in the presence of the Lord as his baptized,

chosen, priestly people (not kneeling as penitents)."

It should be noted that both these changes increase the number of people involved and, consequently, the amount of work (directly or indirectly) for the Director of Liturgy. If "real bread" is used, a team of "bakers" must be recruited and maintained. Offering the cup to the laity increases the number of Eucharistic Ministers required and the complexity of their "choreography".

Before attempting to give an account of the functions these practices fulfill, two other points may be noted that arise from the foregoing.

The first is that a distinction may be drawn in terms of the number and type of people implicated in a change. In some cases, a small number of designated ritual actors is involved (eg. altar servers, Eucharistic Ministers). In other cases, the total congregation is affected.

Secondly, at least some changes have been implemented in the face of dissent, if not active resistance. A brief account may be given of a practice that was implemented but failed in the face of continued resistance on the part of the congregation.

According to Jane Williams (in her interview), in co-operation with McGee, an attempt was made to initiate a silent Sign of Peace. It was characteristic for McGee, as

presiding celebrant, to introduce this element of the rite using a phrase similar to this:

"Standing now in this Peace, let us turn now and silently share a sign of that Peace."

The members of the congregation were then to turn and either smile, or shake hands with their closest neighbours. The rationale was, according to Jane Williams, to attempt to get the congregation to "experience that peace". However, this was, at best, only partially successful and members of the congregation continued to greet one another with a (possibly subdued) verbal exchange of "Peace be with you" or "The Peace of Christ". Since McGee's departure, the continual attempt on the part of the Presider to reinforce this practice has ceased. The congregation continues its non-silent practice.

In this case, the proposed practice simply never "caught on" and because it involved the total congregation rather than designated ritual actors, in the face of continued resistance, no mechanisms have been available to ensure its success.

3(b) FUNCTION

Function

In attempting to account for the origin of the practices considered - their genesis - reference has been made to the relevant (recent) historical circumstances of St. Joseph's Parish and to the actors involved. On a number of occasions, these actors' intentions have been referred to or, where no direct evidence is available in this regard, a conjectured reconstruction of them has been attempted.

In turning now to a discussion of the functions fulfilled by these practices, a very different approach will be taken.

Functionalist accounts of ritual are as old as the sociological tradition itself. Observing the truism that

"The function assigned to ritual in any particular social theory obviously depends on the orientation of the social theorist."

(Burns & Laughlin 1979 p253),

Burns and Laughlin provide a useful summary of the various roles to which ritual has been assigned:

- as a mechanism for social control
- as a means of resolving social

- conflict
- in the maintenance of social solidarity
 - in the maintenance of social stratification
 - in the maintenance of the power structure
 - as a cultural product providing systematic "protection" from dangers (natural or human)
 - as a component in building theories about the social and natural world
 - as a source of power over the environment

(from Burns & Laughlin 1979 p251-253)

The authors who provide this summary also indicate various sources in works that exemplify these approaches and, in some cases, provide their locus classicus. It is worth noting that in most cases, these generalizations result from the detailed empirical study of particular, concrete social and historical contexts. It is only when these statements are pried loose from their original explanatory contexts that they take on the air of vacuous generality that characterizes the social sciences at their worst.

It is clearly inappropriate to treat these various explanations as so many "templates" to be laid across empirical data with varying degrees of neatness. Nevertheless, one may agree with Bourdieu that

"It is not sufficient to ridicule the more naive forms of functionalism in order to have done with the practical functions of practice."

(Bourdieu 1977 p115)

The question of function remains to be considered, but always in terms set by the particular context in which the practices exist.

Given these cautions, it is probable that a plausible account could be developed on the basis of a number of the alternatives listed above. However, if the account is to avoid being arbitrary, it is advisable to begin by attending to what the ritual in question says, or, rather, what its guardians say about it.

The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Sacrosanctum Concilium, begins as follows:

"This Sacred Council has several aims in view: it desires to impart an ever increasing vigour to the Christian life of the faithful; to adapt more

suitably to the needs of our own times those institutions that are subject to change; to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call the whole of humanity into the household of the Church. The council therefore sees particularly cogent reasons for undertaking the reform and promotion of the liturgy.

For the liturgy... most of all the divine sacrifice of the eucharist, is the outstanding means whereby the faithful may express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church."

(Simcoe 1985 p5)

Given the particular character of the language used in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, this is nevertheless a fairly clear statement of the ideological intent of the Council and the functions of the reformed ritual in the service of that intent.

The Council, so says this document, has a number of aims. Primarily, they are concerned with the internal structure of the church and its external relations with others. Secondly, they are concerned with the life of the "faithful": the laity. One of the main tools to be used in achieving these aims is to be the liturgy, especially "the divine sacrifice of the eucharist". The reforms to the liturgy, in particular the changes to the ritual of the Mass, are to be the means of representing this ideology, this vision of the Catholic Church. However, in addition to this representational function ("manifesting"), the reformed ritual will also enable the laity to "express in their lives... the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the Church". The reformed ritual will be a mechanism of "ideological recruitment" of the laity, as well.

In what follows, therefore, an attempt will be made to discover the extent to which the changes in the ritual of the Mass fulfill these functions:

- a) ideological representation.
- b) ideological recruitment.

In addition, following Bourdieu, one may expect to find evidence of other, associated, functions:

- c) legitimation of religious specialists.
- d) expression of relationships of power.

In what sense(s) can the changes in the ritual be understood as the means of ideological representation? To make a case for this, certain conditions must be met. One of these is that one can accurately speak of an ideology of Vatican II Catholicism. However, as has been argued, the documents of the Second Vatican Council are the record of unresolved and irreconcilable conceptions. Further, since their publication, these documents have been the subject of differing interpretations. So, at the most, one may imagine that the practices in question represent one particular ideology among a number of competitors. Further, given this "competition", the ideological meaning of the ritual is in no sense self-evident. Therefore, the more pertinent question is the degree to which any ideology has been successfully communicated to the laity. So, these two aspects - representation and recruitment - tend to coalesce.

One is tempted to characterize St. Joseph's as an exemplar of what Cuneo has called a "social justice Catholic" parish (Cuneo 1989). St. Joseph's has a highly visible, ongoing commitment to the urban poor, in the Women's Centre. The church has been the venue of ecumenical services and gatherings. The Oblates are traditionally associated with missionary activity to Native Canadians and, in fact, office space is made available to a native organization by the parish. Further, on a number of occasions, the church has been the venue for services for

victims of AIDS. These "issues" (social justice, ecumenism, native rights, sexuality) are all hallmarks of Cuneo's "social justice Catholics" (see Cuneo 1989 p157).

However, there is little evidence to suggest widespread consensus among members of the congregation on these or any other issues (social or theological). In fact, on the basis of the returned questionnaires, though the congregation is remarkably homogeneous socially (white, anglophone, middle-class), there is contrary evidence of a lack of consensus about Catholicism. By way of example, unsolicited comments range from regret over the decline of confession since Vatican II and nostalgia for the Latin Mass, to concern that not enough "inclusive language" is used and "women's issues" are addressed insufficiently. In consequence, it is only possible to speak of the function of ideological representation in a few, very general terms.

All the changes studied consistently emphasize a shift away from a focus on the consecration to a focus on communion as the most important aspect of the Mass. The offertory/preparation of gifts emphasizes not "offering", but "preparing the table". The motif is not sacrificial but commensal. The practice of standing during the consecration tends, as noted, to make this element disappear. The elaborate procedures of the Communion Rite, involving more ritual actors and more movement than any other part of the mass, emphasize its pre-eminence.

When asked which part of the mass they would prefer to attend if forced by circumstances to attend only part, 40% chose communion as opposed to only 12% who chose consecration. On the basis of this response, at least, one may conclude that, at this level of generality, the ideological representation has been successfully communicated. Again, at this level of generality, one may further conclude that ideological recruitment of the laity has been successful, particularly since the vast majority who attend mass go to communion.

The changes also tend to emphasize the idea of participation, as has already been argued. Given the high positive association that many respondents have between attending Mass at St. Joseph's and the idea of "community", one may also tentatively suppose successful ideological representation and recruitment. The supposition made here is that people understand by "community" something that they participate in and are committed to in some degree. However, it is valuable to distinguish (borrowing from Newman) between "real" and "notional" assent. The vast majority of those who experience St. Joseph's Parish as a "community" - who feel they participate, are involved - do so only during the Mass, since they are never at St. Joseph's at any other time. Those who "participate" in the "community" by actively donating time and energy form a much smaller group (20% of respondents spend one hour or more per week at the church).

Especially through the questions about the Communion Rite, the questionnaire attempted to provide some indication of the degree of recruitment to an ideology expressed through the ritual. The assumption made here is that the degree to which people express a positive opinion about the practices provides an indication of their commitment to what the practices are held to represent. Further, it provides a means of investigating relationships between this and other factors.

Among the five aspects of the Communion Rite studied and described above, there is a lack of uniformity in regard to the behaviour of the congregation. Everyone who receives communion does so standing and does so by taking bread from a basket in their hands (no-one kneels, no-one has the host placed on their tongue). However, some do not drink from the cup which is also offered. Likewise, not all take bread, as each basket contains both portions of broken loaves and commercial "hosts" as well. The choice is left to the individual. Further, it is possible to avoid receiving communion from a lay minister by forgoing the cup and positioning oneself in the line leading to the priest (who always stands in the same position). Whether individuals do this is uncertain, but it is possible and I know from other churches that some do this.

Just as there is a lack of uniformity of behaviour, so the response to the questions betray a lack of uniformity.

The responses may be summarized as follows:

(a) Standing to receive communion

		#	%
NOT AT ALL	1	22	28
NOT VERY	2	22	28
QUITE	3	14	17
VERY	4	21	26

(b) Receiving the cup

	1	7	9
	2	14	17
	3	22	28
	4	36	26

(c) Receiving from lay ministers

	1	9	11
	2	21	27
	3	12	15
	4	37	67

(d) Receiving "real bread"

1	17	21
2	24	30
3	11	14
4	27	34

(e) Receiving communion in the hand

1	17	21
2	17	21
3	8	10
4	37	47

Thus, by way of example, 22 respondents (representing 28%) felt that standing to receive communion was "Not at all important", while 21 respondents (representing 26%) felt that this was "Very important". Again, while 7 respondents (9%) felt that being able to receive the cup was "Not at all important", 36 respondents (45%) felt that this was "Very important". 9 respondents (11%) felt that receiving communion from a lay minister was "Not at all important", while 37 (67%) felt that it was "Very important".

It is clear that, of these five aspects of communion, some are judged more significant than others by the congregation. There is a very uniform distribution of responses in regard to standing for Communion and, to a lesser extent, this is so in regard to the type of bread

used. It is to be noted that of those who elaborated on their responses, 11 specifically mentioned the texture of the bread as a positive change. Overwhelmingly, these comments spoke of this bread being more like "real bread" and that this corresponded with communion being "more like a meal". For example,

"It's going back to a full representation of the eucharist as happened in the Last Supper. Communion has to be given in both species, wine and bread, real bread."

and

"Frankly, anything other than bread which looks like, etc., the bread eaten daily seriously compromises the attempt to symbolize the Bread of Life..."

Responses regarding the other three aspects of the Communion Rite are all heavily weighted towards the higher scores (3 = Quite important, 4 = Very important).

While it is important to recognize the diversity among the responses, there is also a uniformity. Many who responded "Very important" to one of the five, did so to

all. So, to facilitate further analysis of the responses, these five were recoded to provide an aggregate score for the Communion Rite in general. These results are as follows:

AGGREGATE SCORE	#	%
1 (0 - 6)	6	8
2 (7 - 12)	29	36
3 (13 - 16)	13	16
4 (17 - 20)	32	40

By this means, a new question is thrown into relief: who are the 40% who feel that these aspects of communion are "Very important" (coded as COMMX = 4) and how can they be distinguished (if at all) from the 36% who feel that the changes are "Not very important" (coded COMMX = 2)?

This was investigated by producing cross-tabulations of this new aggregate variable ("COMMX") with other variables, such as age of respondent, educational level, time spent at church per week etc.

Most Eucharistic Ministers responded "Very important" (COMMX = 4): almost 70%. Given their active involvement in the Communion Rite, this is hardly surprising.

Most responding this way were between 35 and 44 years of age (about 40%). Further, in other age groups, there was either an even spread of responses (COMMX = 1,2,3,4) or a slight preponderance of COMMX = 2.

Most of those who respond COMMX = 4 have at least one degree from a University. Other COMMX responses have a much more uniform spread across educational levels. If the respondent had attended a course at the University of St. Paul, they were much more likely to respond COMMX = 4. Approximately 70% of those who had done so responded COMMX = 4, while only 25% of those who had not attended a course responded COMMX = 4.

All those who registered a positive preference for standing during the consecration (save one) responded COMMX = 4. On the other hand, most of those who registered a positive preference for kneeling during the consecration responded COMMX = 2.

The length of time that the respondents had been coming to St. Joseph's gave no means of distinguishing between COMMX = 2 or 4. The length of time spent at the church per week did, however. The majority of those who spend more than one hour per week at the church responded COMMX = 4.

Two aspects of the foregoing summary are particularly noteworthy. Eucharistic Ministers display a high degree of positive commitment to the practices of the ritual, especially those of the Communion Rite. One would hardly expect this to be otherwise. However, the Eucharistic Ministers are not unique. Their high level of commitment is shared by another group of parishioners: those who spend a significant amount of time at the church each week. This

tends to suggest that it is not specifically involvement in the ritual that creates commitment, but rather any involvement in the parish, whether liturgical (eg. lectors, liturgy committee) or other (Parish Council, other committees).

One may therefore suspect that, while the ritual of the Mass is the main vehicle for symbolic expression of Catholic ideology, it is not the sole, or even main, means of communication and recruitment. These functions are performed far more effectively by the structure of committees and ministries that those who devote time and energy find themselves involved in. Those who have been successfully recruited to the ideology of liberal Catholicism exemplified by St. Joseph's are those who have been successfully recruited to the bureaucratic structure of St. Joseph's. For it is through committees, ministries and their meetings that parishioners come in prolonged contact with members of the Pastoral Staff. However, even this factor provides a far from absolute indicator of successful ideological recruitment. At least some parishioners commit time and energy to St. Joseph's because they are already committed to what they believe it exemplifies.

One may therefore tentatively conclude that the ritual of the Mass is only effective to a limited degree in fulfilling the functions of ideological representation and recruitment. There are, however, other functions which the ritual and its supporting structures perform. These are to

do with the legitimacy of power exercised by members of the Parish Staff, specifically Jane Williams.

Legitimation

It is apparent from the account given that, in her capacity as Director of Music and Liturgy, Jane Williams exercises a large degree of power in St. Joseph's Parish. One may therefore inquire concerning the mechanisms that make this exercise legitimate, giving her authority.

The works of Max Weber provide the locus classicus of the theory of legitimation within the sociology of religion. In his discussion of legitimacy, Bourdieu leans heavily upon Weber. However, in his specific treatment of religious authority, Bourdieu is suggestive rather than explicit and it is apparent that his views have undergone development (eg. Bourdieu 1971/87 p135 n5). It is beyond the scope and competence of the present study to attempt a detailed application of Bourdieu's notion of "social space". However, the work of Jean-Guy Vaillancourt (1980) provides a simple and accessible typology of power within a Catholic context. This typology is built upon the work of Weber, Etzioni and, in particular, French and Raven (1960). An advantage to Vaillancourt's typology, beyond the fact that it has been developed in the study of a specifically Catholic context, is its comprehensive nature. Its use, therefore, will indicate which forms of power are present in the situation

of this study and which are not. In fact, Vaillancourt's typology is more properly thought of as a list of sources of legitimacy: mechanisms by which the exercise of power may be legitimized and become authoritative. Vaillancourt lists eight types:

- 1) Ecological Power - based on the physical control of material environmental conditions.
- 2) Remunerative Power - based on material and non-material rewards or compensations.
- 3) Coercive Power - based on physical or psychic violence.
- 4) Social Power - based on the use of structural-organizational or psycho-sociological mechanisms.
- 5) Legal Power - juridically founded or simply based on bureaucratic and administrative norms.
- 6) Traditional Power - based on the use of traditional symbols, rituals, ideas and sentiments.
- 7) Expert Power - based on professional, technical or scientific, or purely rational arguments.
- 8) Charismatic Power - based on exemplary

or ethical prophecy.

To what degree can Jane Williams' exercise of power be characterized in these ways?

In a limited sense (and a debatable one, given the examples that Vaillancourt gives), she has a degree of ecological power. While the physical plant of St. Joseph's Parish is not under her control (being the responsibility of Gary Byrne), nevertheless, within the church itself (the "worship space") she has a large degree of control over the positioning and deployment of any movable artifacts. This is particularly true of banners and decorations used to produce the "liturgical environment". Over the years, these become numerous. Jane Williams is probably the sole individual who knows what these are and where they are stored. She therefore has a large degree of control over them and the use to which they are put in creating a "ritual space" within the physical space of the church.

There is no evidence that Jane Williams exercises remunerative or coercive power. However, as Head of the Liturgy Committee and as staff person responsible for liturgical ministries, she exercises a large degree of social and legal power. Committees, or any group of people who meet regularly for specific, non-recreational purposes, tend to follow similar patterns. These involve agendas, minutes, motions, resolutions etc. Particularly when most or all of the individuals are volunteers, the business of

arranging and maintaining these elements tends to fall to one or two individuals. When there is a professional among the volunteers, the tasks tend to gravitate to that person unless a continued effort is made to the contrary. Jane Williams has worked at St. Joseph's for a decade. It is very understandable, therefore, that she has the best grasp on the "structural-organizational" mechanisms and bureaucratic norms that are involved in maintaining the various committees and ministries that support the ritual life of the parish. Further, she is clearly the "expert", the one paid to have specific (and very unusual) competences regarding the rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. This is particularly critical since the Second Vatican Council, since which the revised rite must be understood, implemented and up-dated according to new directives from diocesan or supra-diocesan sources, or according to liturgical theory published in various professional and scholarly journals.

All these "bureaucratic" legitimations provide a foundation for her successful manipulation and control of the symbols of traditional power: the elements of the ritual of the Mass. So, in Vaillancourt's terms, one may say that Jane Williams exercises "traditional power". Not in the sense that her exercise of power is traditional, or legitimized by tradition, but because she controls the exercise of traditional symbols and ritual elements within what is largely a symbolic economy. However, one must add that her continued active and highly visible role in the

weekly performance of the ritual of the Mass is also a major factor in her exercise of power. It is at one and the same time the exercise of power and the legitimation of that power.

Little sense can be given to the idea that Jane Williams exercises "charismatic power". Given that her power is based so firmly in bureaucratic processes, this is hardly surprising.

Relations of Power

Another aspect of Jane Williams' exercise of power requires consideration. She is not the sole executor of power. She is one member of a Pastoral Team, each of whom has specific responsibilities. In dealing with Religious Education in the parish, Edna Montague fulfills a role with a considerable history. It is common for North American Catholic parishes to have a Director of Religious Education (frequently a religious sister). Particularly in the United States, where there is a well developed parochial school system, this is a highly significant role. Likewise, Linda Gunning is responsible for the Women's Centre. However, in the case of Jane Williams and Gary Byrne, their exercise of power is in areas that traditionally belong to the role of the priest. The financial and liturgical management of a parish are par excellence functions associated with the office of parish priest. Therefore, any account of Jane

Williams' exercise of power and its legitimation must take cognizance of this. This is particularly true of her role in a way that is not true of Gary Byrne's.

The competences and functions that Gary Byrne performs are all "secular". In a strong sense, his exercise of power at St. Joseph's is legitimized by his experience as a financial manager prior to his employment at St. Joseph's. In applying these already recognized and recognizable skills in a religious setting, his exercise of power requires little additional legitimation. In Vaillancourt's terms, Byrne exercises "expert power" (though the categories of "social" and "legal" power are also applicable).

The case of Jane Williams is quite different. She brings to the role of Director of Liturgy no skills that are already recognizable from a comparable secular context. The ability to manage and control the performance of a religious ritual has no recognized parallels in the secular world. Therefore, the legitimation of her exercise of power raises a particular problem in its relationship to the power exercised by the parish priest. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the legitimation of this power is expressed through the ritual, as has been argued. In addition, however, the ritual of the Mass also expresses the relationships of power between the traditional office of priest and the new office of Director of Liturgy. This is so in a way not paralleled by the other pastoral offices.

It is a commonplace of the sociological tradition that ritual may provide a means of expressing relationships of dominance and subordination (eg. Leach 1976, Bloch 1989). Equally, that the human body and its disposition in space is frequently the medium of this expression (Mauss 1979). Building on this tradition, Schwartz (1981) argues that

"... dominance is most likely to be associated with elevation, standing position, foreground and position on the right..."

(Schwartz 1981 p47)

In almost every respect, the ritual of the Mass at St. Joseph's seems to exemplify Schwartz's contention. Dominance - power - is expressed by those in the sanctuary (elevated), who stand in the foreground. However, closer attention to the dispositions of the ritual actors suggests that this view is inadequate to account for the symbolic expression of relationships of power in this situation.

There are a number of occasions during the Mass when the dispositions of the actors seem to exemplify Schwartz's view. They are as follows:

1) during the first reading, when all are seated except for the lector who stands in the right foreground of the elevated sanctuary;

2) during the responsorial psalm, when all are seated except for the choir leader who stands in the left foreground of the sanctuary with the singers standing behind;

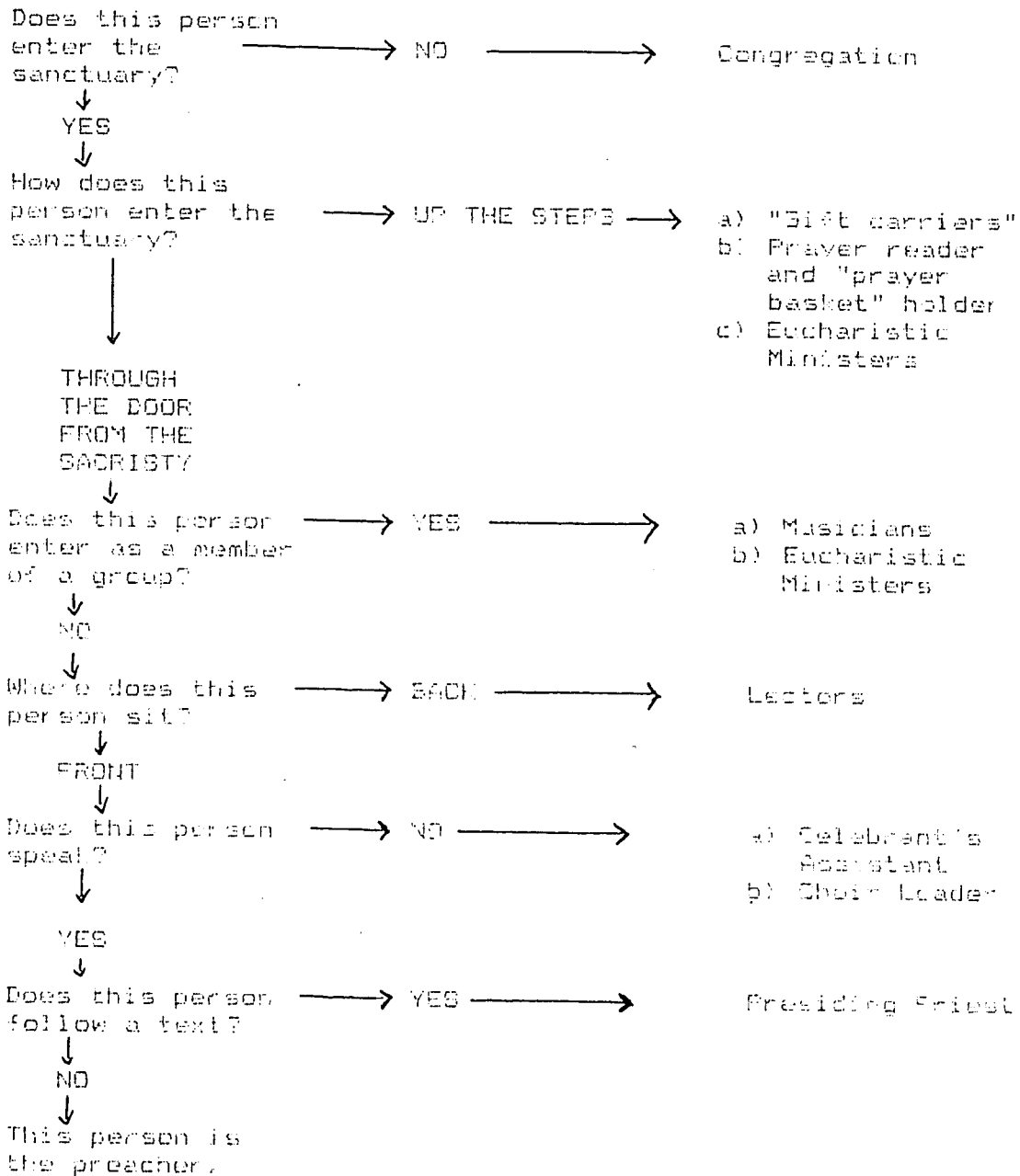
3) during the second reading, as in 1) above;

4) during the homily, when all sit save for the preacher who stands in the right foreground of the sanctuary.

On the basis of the account given so far, it is clear that the choir, the choir leader per se and the lectors, though occupying positions associated with power, do not exercise religious power. Of course, in the case of the lectors, they occupy this position only temporarily, returning to the subordinate positions at the back of the sanctuary when they have finished reading. However, this may serve to indicate that an account based on Schwartz is inadequate to the situation without supplement. A more satisfactory account may be given, as follows.

The ritual space in which the Mass is performed is divided into two areas: the body of the church and the sanctuary. A distinction may be drawn between those persons who occupy a space in these two areas. Further, among those who occupy a place within the sanctuary, distinctions may be made in terms of their positions within it, their postures and modes of behaviour. So, the "ritual actors", as I have

called them, may be observed to display positions in a "hierarchy of pre-eminence". This hierarchy may be illustrated in the form of a flow chart.



The majority of those present at Mass do not have a place in the sanctuary and may be said to have no active role in the ritual. These are the members of the congregation. They fill a largely passive role as consumers of the rite and clients of the specialists who perform it.

Among those who take a place in the sanctuary "degrees of pre-eminence" are observable. A first distinction can be made in terms of how they enter the sanctuary. Those who enter it from the body of the church have less pre-eminence than those who enter through the door from the sacristy. The Eucharistic Ministers are ambiguous in this regard, since they enter in both ways.

Further distinctions may be made among those who enter the sanctuary through the door from the sacristy. There are those who have a place as members of a group of ritual actors and those who have individual roles. The musicians and Eucharistic Ministers enter as groups and perform their roles as members of these groups. The others, who perform their roles as individuals, have relatively greater pre-eminence. Among these latter, a distinction may again be made on the basis of where they sit during the performance - at the front or at the back of the sanctuary.

Those who fulfill individual roles and who sit at the front of the sanctuary are: the priest, the Celebrant's Assistant, the choir leader and the preacher. Among these four roles, two are silent: the choir leader and the

Celebrant's Assistant. The other two - the priest and the preacher - have speaking roles. Of these two, the role with most pre-eminence is that of the preacher, because this person speaks not from a "text", but "in their own words". I claim that on this basis, the individual who fills this role expresses greatest dominance and may be said to exhibit most religious power.

Only two persons fill this role: the priest and the Director of Liturgy. This sharing of the role of preacher is the key to the ways in which relationships of power are expressed in the ritual of the Mass.

In many performances of the ritual, these two actors occupy complementary positions on the right and left of the sanctuary foreground. Frequently, both stand, occasionally one sits while the other stands. However, it is the priest on the right who is vocal, reading from a text prepared for him by the Director of Liturgy, who remains silent. The Director of Liturgy's lack of a speaking role is highlighted by her frequent recourse to exaggerated hand and arm gestures which, as leader of the choir, are her sole means of communicating directly with the congregation. This mute performance is complicated to some degree by the Director's "side presence" on the right side of the sanctuary, the Celebrant's Assistant.

In these ways, a constant tension is maintained between the roles of presiding priest and Director of Liturgy, neither dominating the other. Only when the homily is

preached is this tension temporarily resolved. Then, one is reduced to the status of passive listener, a status shared by all others present. The other, for a short time, speaks in his or her own right, commenting on a text, not reciting one. In this way, more than any other, is religious power expressed and exercised through the ritual.

In support of this assertion, reference can be made to one particular piece of evidence. It is perhaps especially persuasive, because it was unsought and unexpected. As noted earlier, respondents to the questionnaire were asked which part of the Mass they would prefer to attend if they could not attend all of it. The intent was to gain some indication of the relative importance of the consecration and communion in the perception of participants. Responses were heavily weighted towards communion. However, significant numbers made other responses. One group refused to answer, adding, in elaboration, that the Mass was "all one" and that therefore the question was stupid and unanswerable. Many of those who responded in this fashion had attended courses at the University of St. Paul. Beyond that, though their responses were extremely homogeneous, they were a heterogeneous group. Another group responded that of all the Mass, they would prefer to attend for the homily. By far the majority belonged to the 24 - 34 yrs. age group.

Table of Questionnaire Respondents:

"Which part of the Mass would you
prefer to attend?"

	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
Homily	18	23

Offertory	1	1

Consecration	10	13

Communion	32	40

No Response/ Refused to Answer	18	23

Table of Questionnaire Respondents:

"Which part of the Mass would you
prefer to attend?" by Age Group

	24 or less	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 - 64	65 or over
Homily	1	11	3	1	1	1
Offertory						1
Consecration		1	1	2	3	4
Communion	1	5	11	8	5	2
No Response		1	7	4	3	3

A possible interpretation is as follows. These people have grown to maturity since Vatican II. They therefore have little first hand experience of the pre-reform Mass, if any. It may be that the contrast between a "consecration-centred" Mass and a "communion-centred" Mass is insignificant for them. Therefore, communion itself is less significant for want of the contrast. By comparison, those who have lived through the reforms as mature adults, are much more likely to consider the shift from consecration to communion to be of significance.

If this is so, then the homily as focus of symbolic expression is an important but unforeseen consequence of the Vatican II reforms. In shifting emphasis from the consecration to communion (implicit in the reformed rite, highly explicit as it is enacted at St. Joseph's) the previous focus has been disturbed. However, the communion rite, lacking a single focus, since it is made up of a series of elements, has, despite claims and prescriptions of post-Vatican II liturgists, been unable to take over this symbolic burden. In the ritual as performed at St. Joseph's, it is apparently the Liturgy of the Word and the homily in particular that is taking over this function as the focus of symbolic expression during the ritual.

Summary

The foregoing account has attempted to provide an explanation of the functions performed by the ritual of the Mass. In particular, attention has been concentrated on the functions of those elements which form the focus of this study: the preparation of the gifts, the consecration, the communion rite.

The following conclusions have been argued. All three elements are relatively successful as means of ideological representation and recruitment. This is true, however, only in general terms of "participation" in the ritual and as a means of emphasizing the communion rite. However, much more successful in performing these functions are, not the ritual elements themselves, but the various organizational structures of the parish which support them. This is also true of the function of legitimation of power. The power exercised by Jane Williams in her role as emergent specialist agent, Director of Liturgy, is legitimized to a much larger degree through these organizational structures than through the ritual itself. However, this legitimation is expressed through the ritual and her ability to manipulate and control the elements that constitute it.

Finally, it has been argued that the ritual itself is the means of expressing the relationships of dominance and subordination between laity and religious specialists and

between priest and Director of Liturgy. However, the elements studied in depth are of secondary importance to the preaching of the homily in fulfilling this function.

4. GENERALIZATIONS

Introduction

Given the nature of this study, the preceding accounts have been largely specific, empirical and descriptive. An attempt must now be made to relate them to a larger context, more general, theoretical and analytic.

This can be done by considering a number of issues which have been discussed by commentators and indicating the ways in which the material of the present study sheds light on them. These issues are both specific to the reforms of Vatican II and more general: concerning organized religion and the transformations it has undergone in modern western society. The commentators are both theologians and sociologists. Occasionally, they trespass on one another's domains.

Reform of the ritual, "reform" of the sacred

I have described the ways in which the reforms of Roman Catholicism by the Second Vatican Council - in particular, the liturgical reforms to the Mass - have been the occasion of the emergence of a new kind of parish worker: the Director of Liturgy.

Using terms provided by Bourdieu, one may speak of the emergence of a new specialist agent within the religious field. Further, this may be described as illustrative of a

new configuration of the division of labour within the field.

According to Bourdieu, it is the division of labour which is critical to the very constitution of the field as an identifiable field distinguishable from other social fields (Bourdieu 1971, already cited above). Therefore, one may suppose that this change is not minor, but signals a fundamental re-orientation of the field, both internally - in its ordering and structure - and externally, in the ways in which the religious field articulates with other social fields.

Bourdieu himself claims that the constitution of the religious field by the division of labour between intellectual and material is the source of the distinction between the sacred and the profane. It is not necessary to concur with him on this point to agree, nevertheless, that the division of labour within the field and the distinction between sacred and profane are inter-related. So, while remaining agnostic on this "genetic" point, it seems possible to come to a more cautious conclusion.

It is clear from the preceding that at the same time as this new role was emerging and being established (the specialist agent of Director of Liturgy), the nature of the distinction between sacred and profane embodied in the practice of the ritual of the Mass was changing. Further, these phenomena were related. This point requires elaboration.

It is sometimes argued that the reforms to the Mass have seriously damaged, if not destroyed it as a ritual manifesting the sacred over against the profane (eg. Hitchcock 1974). Attention is drawn to the fact that in the pre-reformed Mass, access to the sanctuary was closely restricted to a small number of specially clothed, appointed, male actors. Gesture and movement on their part was minutely regulated. Objects and artifacts used by these actors were also manipulated only under close regulation. The laity were predominantly silent, maintaining a passive posture of kneeling. Contact between these two "realms" (the "sacred" sanctuary and the "profane" congregation) was the occasion of further close regulation and the focal point of the sacred - the consecrated host - was transferred from one to the other only with great caution (communion was received on the tongue, kneeling, with hands guarded under a white cloth, etc.)

All these indicators of the distinction between sacred and profane, according to this point of view, have been done away with by the reforms. Critics of the reformed Mass regret this. At least some supporters welcome it, arguing, or at least asserting, that the reformed Mass relocates the focus of the sacred in the total body of actors (clerical and lay) present at the performance of the ritual.

On the basis of the preceding descriptions, at least, both of these positions can be questioned. All of the aspects considered to be signals of the sacred/profane

distinction in the pre-reformed Mass are still present, though modified, in the reformed Mass. The number of sanctuary actors is certainly greater, both sexes are represented and only some are clothed distinctively. However, they are regulated in their movement and function, as has been shown. The postures of the laity have changed. Nevertheless, they still continue to be largely passive observers of the activities in the sanctuary. The practice of communion (a major focus of this study) has clearly changed in many particulars, yet is, nevertheless, a strictly controlled procedure; and one that still occurs at the interface of the two physical spaces (sanctuary and body of church).

The distinction between sacred and profane as manifest by the ritual of the Mass, has clearly changed. However, to assert that it has disappeared is unwarranted. Further, to suggest that it has been "weakened" or "diluted" is, I suggest, to ignore the fact that the dominant mode in which this distinction is maintained has changed radically, and is, therefore, to confuse a quantitative change with a qualitative one. The difference between the manifestation of the sacred in the pre-reform Mass and in the reformed Mass is not primarily one of degree. Rather, the difference involves the manner in which this is accomplished.

The pre-reformed Mass manifested the distinction between sacred and profane through sensual (primarily visual) means and through the control of the posture and

disposition of human bodies in space. As has been indicated, these differences are still largely present in the reformed Mass, but they are no longer the primary means used to maintain the distinction. The reformed Mass employs largely acoustic (primarily verbal) differences and what may be described as the "bureaucratic" control of the human body.

By far the greater part of human utterance during the reformed Mass (speech, song, recitation) occurs among actors in the sanctuary area. In cases where the congregation gives utterance, it does so almost solely in response to a previous utterance from a sanctuary actor or in response to a cue (verbal or otherwise) provided by a sanctuary actor. No utterance is initiated from the congregation. Further, all utterances are in the form of "set texts" - they are not extemporaneous. The partial (and, as has been argued, highly significant) exception to this is the homily.

This contention may be further supported by considering the linguistic form of the utterances made. J.L. Austin's notion of "performative utterance" (Austin 1962) has found a secure place among anthropological accounts of ritual (eg. Ahern 1979, Finnegan 1969). One obvious aspect of ritual frequently overlooked is that for a performative utterance to be efficacious ("felicitous" in Austin's terms), it must be uttered by the appropriate social actor. As Bourdieu has pointed out (Bourdieu 1975), this is equally true of the ritual of the Mass. Of the several performatives (overt and covert) uttered during the Mass, the vast majority are

uttered by the priest alone (eg. "In the name of the Father..."etc., "The Mass has ended..."). Ironically, one of the most unusual ritual innovations carried out at St. Joseph's serves not to undermine, but rather to reinforce this clerical exclusivity.³

A covert performative utterance is found in the exchange which occurs when communion is distributed. The utterance "The Body of Christ" and the reply "Amen" are inexplicit forms of "I declare this to be the Body of Christ" and "I agree that it is".

The use of Eucharistic Ministers usually means that the first part of this performative exchange is now uttered by a whole group of ritual actors, rather than solely by the priest (it is a reaffirmation of the same performative that occurs at the "consecration" and again at the elevation following the "Lamb of God"). At St. Joseph's, this communion dialogue is recited prior to the distribution of communion (the exchange is displayed by means of the overhead projector) so that the directives of the GIRM (#117, in Simcoe 1985 p74) may be observed while at the same time allowing the practice of silence between donor and recipient of communion. Thus, independent of the intent, the effect of this practice is maintain the priestly monopoly on performative utterances to do with the bread and wine.

This is but one example of the ways in which distinctions between ritual actors are maintained irrespective of the reforms to the ritual. These

distinctions serve as signals of the distinction between sacred and profane which is maintained in the face of radical ritual change.

The physical barriers and practices (communion rail, host placed on the tongue) used in the pre-reformed Mass to control human bodies and to signal the sacred/profane distinction have been done away with. Control of disposition and movement is now largely accomplished through the "stage management" of the movement of (interchangeable) bodies that are not individual presences, but examples of various classes of ritual actor. All of these are closely defined in terms of liturgical role or function (eg. lector, eucharistic minister, etc.). The definition of role is made in terms of the task to be performed within the ritual and this translates into practice as a series of closely regulated movements at particular times and in specific positions. So, while the removal of physical barriers and the discontinuation of certain practices seems to signal a loosening of control over individuals, this is more apparent than real. The mode of control, though changed, is still present and one may describe this as a change from "physical" to "bureaucratic" control.

In sum, therefore, I suggest that the changes in the ways that the ritual manifests and maintains a sacred/profane distinction has changed qualitatively rather than quantitatively (though, in strict accuracy, one should say that the distinction has changed qualitatively as well

as quantitatively: the "old" forms are still present, but in a "weakened" form, because they are no longer primary).

An enlightening commentary on these aspects of change is provided by reference to Catherine Bell's distinction between "ritualization" and "textualization". In her account of the development of Taoist liturgy (Bell 1988), she defines ritualization as

"the orchestration of ritual activities
to serve as the medium of interaction
for a particular set of social relations."

(Bell 1988 p390)

Textualization, on the other hand,

"refers to the generation of textual
objects that structure social
interactions around their use and
transmission."

(ibid. p390)

It is probable that this distinction can be applied to a number of rituals. It can certainly be applied to the ritual of the Mass with its almost two thousand year history. It is arguable that the process of textualization has been significant at a number of points during that

history (eg. the origins of sacramentaries, the reforms giving rise to the Tridentine Mass). I suggest that in the light of Jane Williams' self-description of her work as Director of Liturgy, one may claim that the process of textualization has been significant in the development of the reformed ritual and in the emergence of the Director of Liturgy as a legitimate specialist agent in the religious field.

Suggestively, Bell adds that

"The results of textualization... may promote more individuated or even democratic forms of empowerment and authority, constituting the basis for institutionalizing (i.e. "rationalizing") bureaucratic rather than traditional or charismatic procedures for attaining and exercising authority..."

(Bell 1988 p391)

The sources of Jane Williams' legitimate exercise of power have been considered in detail. It was noted that she exercises neither "traditional" nor "charismatic" power. Both of these forms of power are usually associated with the activities of the priestly class. Jane Williams has developed the ability to manipulate the traditional symbols

of power (the elements of the ritual of the Mass) in a "bureaucratic" way. The suggestion from Bell is that this has been achieved through the process of "textualization", where Jane Williams, as Director of Liturgy, is able to control the performance of the ritual through the labour that she performs on the ritual as text. It is highly probable that this is true not only of Jane Williams but of the whole class of specialist agents of which she is example.

Champ religieux, champ de luttes

There are other issues concerning the division of labour within the religious field that may be illustrated by reference to the material of this study.

Bourdieu gives two different accounts of the means by which changes in the division of labour within the field may occur. In the first, he describes competition occurring among specialist agents and emerging specialist agents for a monopoly over the distribution of religious goods. According to this account, the specialist agent who succeeds in holding a monopoly is the one (or the group) that best responds to the demands placed on them by the laity.

"Religious legitimacy at any given time
is nothing other than the state of the
specifically religious power relations

at that moment; that is, it is the result of past struggles for the monopoly of the accepted exercise of religious power.

(Bourdieu 1971/87 p127)

Again,

"All the power that the various religious agents hold over the lay people and all the authority they possess in the relations of competition that develop amongst them can be explained in terms of the structure of the relations of symbolic power between religious agents and the various categories of lay people over whom that power is exercised."

(ibid. p129)

One may summarize this position as a "supply and demand" model. Specialist agents succeed or fail as they attempt to respond to the demands placed on them by the laity. Bourdieu himself has come to reject this account. More than a decade after this was written, he writes

"This description of the relationship

between clergy and laity as a transaction appears inadequate to me today. I now (in 1985) believe that only the logic of the structural homology between positions occupied within the field of "professionals" and positions occupied in the social field is capable of accounting for intersections of supply and demand that owe nothing - or at least very little - to calculations, whether of a more or less cynical nature, or to transactions understood as a conscious adjustment to demand."

(ibid.p135n5)

Both of these positions are offered by Bourdieu at the level of general theory. A full evaluation of the alternatives that they present can therefore be made only at that level. However, at the specific, empirical level of the present study, both alternatives can be pressed into service to shed light on a number of complex and inter-related issues.

There are several distinct levels at which competition may be supposed to exist within the religious field.

First, there is the competition between existing and emerging specialist agents: in this case, between priest and

Director of Liturgy. Secondly, in a "shrinking market" one may suggest competition among clergy so that the laity that still practice church attendance do so at this church rather than that. This is particularly so in the urban setting considered by this study, where the laity are presented with choices not available in a small or isolated community. A third form of competition is that existing between agents in different social fields. These three levels are, however, inter-related.

It is clear from the reconstructed account of the origin of Jane Williams' position given above that this was only possible through the support and initiative of the then pastor, Fred McGee. Further, the impetus for the creation of this position was occasioned largely by a concern for the development of music during the Mass. Only gradually did Jane Williams take on more of the planning and management of the liturgy as a whole. With the development of the various "liturgical ministries" (lectors, eucharistic ministers), a number of tasks were created requiring pastoral control. Consequently, the role of Director of Liturgy was rapidly established, irreversibly and distinctly. Even if they had wished to do so, succeeding priests would have found it impossible to do away with the position of Director of Liturgy, or to re-absorb its functions, without dismantling much of what had developed as central to the liturgical life of the parish, in terms of practice and involvement of parishioners.

Also, as the priests' function is progressively divested of direct control over liturgical planning and maintenance, other demands on the priests' time and energy serve to reinforce this state of affairs. Within the parish, increasing demands are made on the priests' time to attend meetings of various parish committees and groups (see Interview with Fr. Gerry Morris). Also, in a time of a shortage of priests, many parish priests find themselves called upon to fulfill other functions at deanery or diocesan level in addition to their parochial responsibilities. These various contingencies conspire to reinforce the re-division of labour and to confirm the role of Director of Liturgy.

Another significant factor has been alluded to in the growing importance of the homily in the performance of the reformed ritual. The documents of the Second Vatican Council (Sacrosanctum Concilium #41-42, in Simcoe 1985 p59) assert that the homily is a significant part of the ritual. Successive documents reiterate this (eg. GIRM #41, in Simcoe 1985 p59). Specifically, the reform of the lectionary, whereby different biblical texts are set for each Sunday of the year (in a three year cycle), means that a preacher should now prepare a homily that comments directly upon these texts. Further, lay expectations in regard to the content and quality of the homily have increased (again, see Interview with Fr. Gerry Morris). These factors have had significant effects. In the first place, the weekly

preparation of a homily becomes a major task to which the a parish priest must devote time and energy on a regular basis. This is in addition to any study required to keep abreast of changes and developments in biblical exegesis. Secondly, the homily is clearly a significant factor in determining lay reaction to the performance of the ritual (more than 50% of questionnaire respondents cite the homily as a positive factor in their choice of St. Joseph's as the parish they attend). Therefore, in an urban setting, where the laity is presented with the possibility of choice of which church to attend, this choice may be based, at least in part, on an evaluation of the homily heard.

One may agree with the later Bourdieu that clergy/laity transactions "understood as a conscious adjustment to demand" presents too simplistic - not to say cynical - a picture. Nevertheless, it is not unrealistic to suggest that many clergy recognize the expectations of the laity in this regard and attempt - in the sincere pursuit of their pastoral activities - to respond to these expectations.

Another point regarding to the homily bears on the relationship between specialists of the religious field and other related fields. It is not uncommon for homilists to make use of the vocabulary and conceptual framework of secular humanism and humanist psychology. In this way, Christianity is presented as a means of attaining spiritual or psychological health or well-being. Those among the laity who respond to this positively may therefore come to view

the priest as a religious alternative to the other secular "helping professionals", such as counsellors, social workers, psychologists, etc. This may, therefore, contribute to the state of affairs whereby the priest finds himself called upon, more and more, to act as counsellor to individuals, couples and families. This marks, not only a major development in the labour performed by the priest as specialist agent within the religious field, but also by comparison to that performed by agents in other related social fields. As Bourdieu remarks,

"On passe ainsi aujourd'hui par gradations insensibles des clercs à l'ancienne... aux membres des sectes, aux psychanalystes, aux psychologues, aux médecins... Tous font partie d'un nouveau champ de luttes pour la manipulation symbolique de la conduite de la vie privée et l'orientation de la vision du monde..."

(Bourdieu 1985 p257)

In one sense, therefore, the modern-day priest competes with a whole range of "secular" specialist agents, all of whom purport to provide services towards the "cure of souls". The traditional monopoly exercised by priests as specialist agents within the religious field has broken

down. In the first place, due to the emergence of other specialist agents within that field. In the second place, due to the development of other social fields answering demands previously answered solely from within the religious field. It is thus that Bourdieu suggests that the religious field has, in one sense, dissolved to form one part of a "nouveau champ de luttes" - a field of symbolic goods and their manipulation.

Vatican II and "modernity"

This suggestion, that the functioning of the religious field can now only (or, at least, better) be understood as a fraction within a contended, and more general, symbolic field, bears directly on other considerations.

Many commentators consider the relationship between Vatican II and its reforms and the marked decline in Catholic church attendance.

Some, mainly detractors, claim that Vatican II and its reforms are responsible for a decline in Catholic church attendance. They cite the apparent immunity of the Catholic Church to the post-war decline experienced by other Christian denominations. Further, they note that this immunity came to an end with the 1960s, the advent of the Second Vatican Council and the introduction of its reformed rituals (particularly that of the Mass). Others, however, argue that the decline of the Catholic Church is due to the

same factors responsible for the decline of other churches throughout the western world.

For instance, Bibby argues that within Canada, the marked decline of the Catholic Church must take into account the "Quebec factor", where modernization has occurred relatively later than in other contexts. So, he argues,

"Modern industrialization and post-industrialization have tended to lead to a loss of significance for religion in Canada and other western nations... Quebec's secularization has been only as belated as its modernization. The factors are virtually the same as elsewhere; only the timing is different."

(Bibby 1987 p21)

On this view, then, the reforms of Vatican II are coincidental with, or possibly a response to, rather than a cause of a decline, which is to be understood in more general terms. These more general terms are supplied by a theory of secularization, where "secularization" is understood, minimally, as

"the process in which religious thinking, practice and institutions

lose social significance."

(Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 1984 p188)

Both of these positions are unsatisfactory. On the one hand, the suggestion seems to be that, had it not been for the meddlesome engineers of Vatican II, the Catholic Church would have remained, as it is imagined to have been beforehand, unchanging and unchangeable; outside of history; a social phenomenon immune from social forces. On the other hand, the changes wrought by the Second Vatican Council seem mere epiphenomena of larger, anonymous and inevitable social forces.

Neither of these alternatives is satisfactory. Any explanation must take account both of the effect of Vatican II and of larger, more general forces.

A number of critics have noted the shortcomings of secularization as a concept and theory (eg. Hadden 1987). As Yves Lambert notes,

"The approach to secularization has probably underestimated both the limits of modern rationality... and the adaptive capacity of religion and even its productive capacity, linked to modernity, as suggested by Max Weber and confirmed by the research done on

new religious movements."

(Lambert 1989 p62)

Specifically, addressing the Catholic situation (albeit in rural France), Lambert notes two related but distinct phenomena:

"A shift has taken place from one historical form of Catholicism to another, which is better adapted to modernity, and there has been an increase in indifference and unbelief. These two phenomena have not previously been sufficiently distinguished..."

(ibid. p49)

The reforms of the Second Vatican Council must be understood as a response to the "forces of secularization" which have given rise to increased religious indifference and unbelief. This response has taken the form of an attempt to develop a new form of Catholicism better adapted to modernity.

The attempt to adapt Catholicism to modernity made by the reforms of the Second Vatican Council underlies another debate. As noted above, Archer (and others, eg. McSweeney)

has claimed that the reforms of Vatican II - especially those to the ritual of the Mass - have brought about an "embourgeoisement" of the church,

"homogenizing Catholic culture, so that it expresse[s] the needs, aspirations and values of the middle class."

(Davis 1991 p13)

The claim is that, adapting to modernity, the church has adapted to the bourgeoisie, products of and heirs to the

"process of modernization, by which the social world comes under the domination of asceticism, secularization, the universalistic claims of instrumental rationality [and] the differentiation of the various spheres of the life-world..."

(Turner 1990 p6)

There is certainly evidence to support the contention that the reformed ritual of the Mass has met with most success among the middle-class (Raftery, cited above; Hornsby-Smith 1987). However, as in the previous argument,

there is a danger of allowing this explanation to mask the complexity of the matter.

In the first place, evidence seems to suggest that, particularly in the post-war years, Catholic populations have tended to be upwardly mobile. It is hard to conceive of this as an outcome of the conciliar reforms. Secondly, while evidence supports the view that distinctive Catholic identity, embodied in and sustained by a "Catholic sub-culture" has dissolved into bourgeois society at large, it does not support the suggestion that this is closely, or primarily, associated with the reforms of ritual practice. According to Hornsby-Smith,

"the maintenance of a distinctive socio-religious subculture is facilitated by marital endogamy, exclusivity of friendship ties and high levels and inclusive patterns of institutional involvement and activity."

(Hornsby-Smith 1987 p213)

Only the third of these factors ("high levels and inclusive patterns of institutional involvement and activity") can be related to the practice of the ritual and, as has been argued in this study, the ritual itself is only indirectly implicated here. Rather, it is the parish

structure of committees that supports involvement and activity. There is little evidence to confirm the contention that the reformed ritual itself is responsible for a breakdown of a "Catholic culture". The most that one can suppose is that the practices of the reformed ritual are associated with the breakdown of these forces and thus come to symbolize the "homogenizing" processes.

A further, significant point in this context may be made by reference to the work of Michael Cuneo. He describes the various "post-reform Catholic" types ("traditionalist", "social activist", etc.). He notes that all these types find their exemplars among the educated middle-classes (Cuneo 1989 p 209). Not only the committed, liberal Vatican II Catholics, but also the committed traditionalists come from among this section of society. At the very least, this makes one wonder whether any simple and direct relationship can be drawn between commitment to the reforms of Vatican II and social status.

Finally, and perhaps contentiously, there is a growing "revisionist" literature (eg. Kyrtatas 1997) which argues that Christianity has always and fundamentally been most popular and successful among the "middle-classes" of all societies. In this view, any "embourgeoisement" accomplished by the Second Vatican Council is merely a re-affirmation of a relationship that pre-dates, not only Vatican II, but also the birth of modern society.

Concluding Remarks

In what manner and to what degree is the reformed ritual of the Mass implicated in these various observations? This study has argued at length that the implementation of the reformed ritual is intimately linked to the emergence of a new specialist agent within the religious field. However, beyond this, there is no simple and direct relationship between the changes made to the ritual and other changes, whether within Roman Catholicism, or more generally within the religious field.

Given the provisos noted by considering Cuneo's work, one may note, nevertheless, that the reformed ritual has met with most success and has been seen as having most (positive) significance among one particular fraction of the Catholic population. That fraction may be described as favouring a remodelling of Catholicism in terms consistent with individual, liberal bourgeois ideals prevalent in society at large. However, one must re-assert what has been a major argument of this study. That is, that there is little evidence that those responsible for the reforms of the ritual foresaw or intended this relationship. Further, there is no specific aspect of the reforms that is related in a direct fashion to their acceptance by bourgeois sensibility. Rather, the changes in parish structure that have arisen as a result of the implementation of the reformed ritual are the main ways in which parish life has

undergone some degree of embourgeoisement. Also, it is these means (rather than the ritual itself) which are most effective in the recruitment of the laity to the ideology of liberal Vatican II Catholicism.

One further caution is also necessary. Some commentators (eg Cuneo, McSweeney) have described post-Vatican II Catholicism as made up of various ideological fractions, contending for dominance. One such fraction is that already described and which is positively associated with the reformed ritual. However, an important distinction must be made. On the one hand, are those (relatively few in number) who consciously identify themselves as such (liberal Vatican II Catholics) and see in the reformed ritual an important ideological symbol and vehicle. On the other hand, are the great majority of Catholic laity. They accept the reformed ritual with varying degrees of approval. However, they do so with little, if any, degree of commitment to the various contending ideological positions.

These latter are McSweeney's "theological individualists" (McSweeney 1980 p123f) - comparable, perhaps to Bibby's "consumer Christians" (Bibby 1987). However, these designations are unsatisfactory. Primarily, this is because they assume a level of reflection and choice on the part of these laity for which there is little evidence.

In his study of marriage in mediaeval France, Georges Duby says, speaking of the twelfth century,

"Now at this period in the history of Christianity, theology derived directly from liturgy... [So], on the subject of marriage it could only be silent, for there was no liturgy connected with it."

(Duby 1983 p34)

What was true of theology then is true now, I suggest, of the laity in general. What theology they possess - in the sense of conscious, systematic religious thinking - they derive from their experience of the rituals of the Church, especially the Mass. They can hardly do otherwise, since in most cases this is their sole point of contact with the Church and its systems of thought. It is therefore misleading to describe these Catholic laity as espousing "theological individualism". Their individualism is secular, their religious thought "popular" rather than "theological". At a time of ritual change, when the ritual is used as a means to carry on theological debate and ideological struggle, this is hardly surprising.

It is this, I suggest, that underlies to Archer's claim that the Catholic laity have been "disenfranchized" - though not in his sense of a particular socio-economic group. The net effect of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council have been, contrary to their intent, to highlight the distinction

between specialist and lay-person within the religious field. The original intent of the Liturgical Movement (whose partial victory is seen in the reforms of Vatican II) was to re-evangelize the mass of Catholic laity. However, the success of this goal has been limited to a relatively small fraction of those laity belonging to the well-educated bourgeois. In Bourdieu's terms, they are those with sufficient symbolic capital to enter the champ de luttes in le marché des biens symboliques.

The final observation may be stated in terms borrowed from Bourdieu. He says

"The autonomy of a field of restricted production can be measured by its power to define its own criteria for the production and evaluation of its products."

(Bourdieu 1985b p17)

This observation has been borne out amply by the substance of this study. The emergence of the new specialist agent in the religious field has taken place as a result of, and in terms of, the internal re-ordering of the relations of power and production within the religious field. The successful emergence of the Director of Liturgy is best measured by criteria internal to the religious field. Specifically, as a

fraction of organized religion exemplified in North American Catholicism. To this extent, it indicates the "relative autonomy" of the religious field. However, as is apparent from the inconclusive and tentative nature of the preceding observations, this leaves many aspects of the relationship between these internal re-orderings and the re-ordering of the religious field with regard to other social fields, merely sketched. For, while an autonomous social field can define its own criteria of production and evaluation, criteria for consumption of its products necessarily relates to the wider relationship between social fields. Recognition of this explains not only the development of Bourdieu's accounts but also the limitations of this present study.

5. CONCLUSIONS

By way of conclusion, I will attempt to summarize briefly the main positions that have been asserted and argued in this study. Further, I will indicate the degree to which the empirical material of this study seems to support these positions.

This study has been an empirical study of ritual undergoing change, from the perspective of the sociology of religion. It is based primarily on field work observations of the Roman Catholic Mass in one parish.

It has been argued that the reforms to the ritual of the Mass have been the occasion of a fundamental re-orientation of the relationships within the North American Catholic fraction of the religious field. Further, it has been argued that these reforms have occasioned the emergence of a new specialist agent within the field (the Director of Liturgy) and, therefore, a change in the division of labour within the field. Following Bourdieu, it has been asserted that this signals a fundamental change.

More specifically, it has been argued that the ritual of the Mass, as studied, is the means by which the re-division of labour has been allowed to occur, the means by which it has been sustained and also, its symbolic expression and legitimation.

The study focussed on a number of practices concerning the manipulation of bread and wine during the Mass, particular (though not necessarily unique) to the parish observed. By reconstructing their origin and by describing the means by which they are maintained, it was shown how these practices are associated with a particular Catholic ideology (that of liberal Vatican II Catholicism). Also, it was shown how these practices are associated with the emergence and development of the new specialist agent (the Director of Liturgy).

It was initially hypothesized that these ritual practices would be clearly linked in a directly discernable way with both of the factors noted above. However, the study showed that, in the case of ideology, there was no direct ("necessary") connection with the practices and that, in fact, there is great diversity in attitude towards, and understanding of, these practices, on the part of the laity. It was concluded that "ideological recruitment" was most successful through the mechanisms of involvement in parish committees rather than through the ritual per se.

Likewise, it was shown that while the ritual practices themselves served to express symbolically the religious legitimacy of the Director of Liturgy, this was produced and sustained by the "bureaucratic" structures of parish life

and organization more fully than by the ritual performance itself.

In regard to the ritual itself, a number of other, more tentative conclusions were also reached.

There seems to be a relationship between age and attitudes among the laity towards the "consecration" and "communion". It was suggested that, for those old enough to experience the reformed Mass as a contrast with the pre-reformed Mass, preferences regarding the consecration and communion (eg. whether they prefer to kneel or stand at the consecration; whether they welcome the practices surrounding the distribution of communion; which element - consecration or communion - is the "focal point" of the Mass) may provide indicators of a more general positive or negative attitude to the reforms of Vatican II in general (at least in their liberal interpretation).

However, for a younger age group who have no comparable adult memory of the pre-reformed Mass, the rite of communion does not successfully fulfill the role of symbolic focus in the way that some liturgical reformers have suggested that it does (or should do).

Finally, it was suggested that, instead, it is the homily that has become the symbolic focus and the most significant ritual element of the Mass. Further, it was argued that the homily is also of significance in the symbolic expression of the relations of power between priest

and Director of Liturgy as specialist agents within the religious field.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

INTERVIEWS

Appendix 1 A

INTERVIEW WITH JANE WILLIAMS

This interview was conducted on the afternoon of Thurs. Oct. 25th 1990 between Paul Cummergen (P) and Jane Williams (J). Numbers in brackets refer to explanatory notes at the end.

P. How long have you worked at St. Joseph's?

J. Um, ten years. I guess, we've just had the tenth anniversary of our choir. That's right - ten years.

P. Are you full or part-time?

J. Full time.

P. So, theoretically, I guess, that means you work a forty hour week.

J. Yes, theoretically.

P. Theoretically. Now, and what is your title?

J. Director of Music and Liturgy.

P. Has that always been your title?

J. Yes. That's what I was hired to be.

P. And so... obviously, over the ten years nothing stays the same... but generally speaking, your job has not changed radically over those ten years. Um, sorry and let me, again... mine has - I've been at Holy Cross 5 yrs.

(J: Right) and I was hired as a Co-ordinator of Religious Education (J: Right) and, frankly, I'm barely that - I'm much more a general pastoral... assistant. But that has not been the case with you.

J. No. Now, I mean, varying pastors make use of my talents more or less (P: Right) but aside from that I still do what I was doing.

P. Can I ask you about your background prior to working for St. Joseph's? Did you work elsewhere or in another parish?

J. No, no... I was strictly a mother for many a year but I had a degree in Philosophy and English from the University of Toronto and a degree in Music and, um, I was on a Cursillo team with Fr. Fred McGee(1) and at our post-Cursillo(2) party, I was playing the piano and he said 'Has anyone made use of your talents?' and then sort of suggested that I could become a choir director, you know. My training was as a pianist, but I'd always been in choirs and so it

Appendix 1 A2

was quite a switch. But, that's right, just before that I'd just finished a degree in Theology at St. Paul's.

P. The BTh or..?

J. Yes.

P. Um, so you'd been a member of the parish prior to becoming part of the staff?

J. Yes.

P. Did you always live here?

J. No, we've been here since '74.

P. So you had been a parish member and lived here and made the trek, as it were.(3)

J. Well, when I first came to Ottawa in '74, I first went to St. Basil's. I'd been taught by the Basilians and that was why and I actually sang in the choir there and so it was only when Fred invited me that I became officially part of St. Joe's.

P. How long has Fred been there when you...

J. Oh, he'd been there at least 3 yrs. I think; two or three.

P. And he was there two terms?

J. Yep.

P. So he was there for twelve.

J. Well, no, er, no. It comes to six - a term is three.

P. Oh, is that right? The OMI's.(4)

J. Yeah. A crazy thing. Very distressing, it really is.

P. So he was only there...

J. Yep.

P. Who had been there before?

J. Immediately prior. I don't know. I know just that it was a very, very dead, dark church. Fred started...

P. McGee was a mover.

J. That's right. And he had the mandate from the Oblates to involve the laity.

P. Right. He was put in specifically to put a rocket under somebody or something.

J. Yeah. Lay involvement... you know, having worked in Cursillo and all the Lay movements and he was... He was great like that - his kind of talent: I play the piano, then I should be able to conduct a choir. He was always pulling people in - you can do this, you can do this - and then let you go and do it.

(Pause)

P. Um, if somebody asked me this next question, I'd laugh at their face, but can you give me an idea of what a typical work week looks like?

J. Oh. For me?

P. Yeah.

J. Well, yeah. I work at home for one thing, which makes it, uh...

P. Have you always done that?

J. Yes, I, er, if you saw my studio... they couldn't fit me in at St. Joe's - with the library and the computer and the photocopier um, and all this stuff.

P. Right.

J. And it depends very much what time of year we're at, er (P: Yes) that type of thing. And I tend to work till one or two in the morning...

P. So you would say that a large part of your work is work that you do here on your own?

J. Oh, yes. Oh, yes, er, 90%.

P. Because that's what I was going to ask you. If you had to... er, that's clearly... because... If you had to divide your job into, um, headings like administrative, educative, um, pastoral - how would you do that? I mean, most of what you're doing here is planning cum...

J. Yes, um, I see. Planning... if you...

P. Can I just go through them and then you can say 'yes', 'no' or '5%'.

J. I don't know how they fit. (P: Yeah, I know) Well, I'll try.

P. Well, I've said pastoral work. Um, you know, I mean, the sense of a staff person in a parish ministering in pastoral sense to the congregation. Do you do that?

J. Well, it's the crux of the music ministry as music ministry, I mean, you know...

P. But in the sense, er, I was thinking more in terms of, um, either meeting with individuals or with groups, um, and talking.

J. Um, I do that more outside the church, but I preach and... but it's not the same thing. But I do pastor the choir.

P. Sure. Presumably you meet with them regularly.

J. Yeah.

P. And, I'd meant to ask you this later on, but I'll ask you now. So, you, er, that's fine... the choir... What about other - I assume - the parish has committees.

J. Yeah. The heads of all the liturgies, we have, er a Liturgy Committee.

P. Right.

J. Which I head and, um... that's er...

P. How frequently do they meet?

J. Er. Once a month as a rule, but not rigid. And the way that the Liturgy Committee goes is that... er, we set up so many ministries, liturgical ministries. I was counting up the other week, I think a hundred people a week to carry out our liturgies, er lay people that is. So we have, um, the usual complement of lectors, musicians and that and we've switched our ministry of altar boys to that of altar servers and - adults - children can of course - but, er, so we have, like, a celebrant's assistant. (P: Hm.) instead of little boys running around. Then we have a group of people that will dress the altar; others that will bring up the gifts; others who will read the prayers. All the different aspects of... that an altar boy might have been involved in and what have you.

P. So now, presumably all those various ministries, liturgical ministries, have, er, probably a lay coordinator?

J. Each liturgy. Like you have a head of Eucharistic Ministers but you have a head for the 9, 5, 10.15 and the 12.(5)

P. So, for instance, again, back to the sort of administrative... They look after the scheduling, eh?

J. They do the scheduling, yes.

P. So, I guess its your job to make sure that they look after it, but you don't sit hour after hour by the 'phone say: somebody's sick, can you do the five?

J. No. No. Definitely not. But I, um... the kind of thing that I do more is, um, is discover how to be a minister of communion. To make sure that there is some ongoing feeding of those ministers through workshops, or talks or parties or whatever.

P. So, um, you would be responsible for the training and the ongoing training of the people in the various ministries?

J. Yeah. Again to the extent that... I've given away - when I started, for three or four years, I personally trained the lectors.

P. Right.

J. And then they have it in place where they train themselves.

P. Right. And likewise the Eucharistic Ministers etc..

J. That's right, though the whole pastoral team(6) is responsible for all ministries. So, if a ministry head, say, is not working out very well, the team will see about replacing the head. Um, that kind of thing. And then when we have something innovative like this ministry of altar servers, I outline how it would go and then initiate getting the people for it, then training people... that kind of thing.

P. That leads into another question, um, related though. Over ten years, nothing stays the same (J: Right) so things change... How instrumental are you in the decisions in regard to those changes?

J. Very.

P. Well, for instance. I remember when I... I remember when Fred was there, he used to have a couple of - and they were - they were altar servers... and I see now that altar assistants er...

J. Celebrants assistants.(7)

P. Celebrants assistants - now - where did that change come from?

J. Me.

P. And... what... can you give me the process of how that happened?

J. Er, how it happened or...?

P. The mechanics of it. You would look at it; you would be dissatisfied with it...?

J. Yes. Since I sat right across from those little altar boys... I thought this doesn't make sense. They had no role left. None. If you were an altar boy in days gone by, you had a serious job and, um, so I looked at the whole thing and thought if we switched it into the adult mode, for one thing we've had such things as the Advent wreath catch fire in the middle of Mass and an altar boy stands and gazes, you know, or the fire alarm goes off, or what have you. And so there is, seldom, but occasionally, need for adult minds there and we also have a terrible time with our sound system, so if something is squealing they can go in and take care of that. So that there's very simple but then the thing too, um, not to, you don't want to cut out the possibility of those altar boys, whose parents thought they were going to be headed into the priesthood, surely, if they sat there every Sunday... so we wanted to maintain their involvement and so this was part of the plan but it wasn't an age-limited thing except for the CA, that had to be - actually one CA was 14 and er, it did take training - they have to know and understand the liturgy and get the priest's book in order and, you know on the q.v. all the time. But it also opened up to many more people, er, so that we have all the... kind of thing like somebody - oh - at the same time we changed our ushers to greeters, calling it the Ministry of Hospitality and many of the ushers resigned and thank you very much but I don't want to greet people when I come into the church, so we got the greeters in place and then they balked at the thought of picking up the collection - which is very interesting its two different ways that people see that they would serve - and so we ended up with two segments there: there are some to pick up collection there are those at the back who greet, there are the ones who might...

(END OF TAPE Side One)

P. To continue with that, just as an example, because its, er, relatively recent (J: That's right). The process of the implementation, you said it was you... You're Director of

Liturgy and Music and so your initiative, your proposal. How, in terms of the mechanics, I mean, did that go to the Liturgy Committee, was it discussed, I mean, how did that work?

J. It was interesting. It was a little out of the ordinary. Just at that point we were changing our Parish Council into a discernment body instead of a Parliamentary body - if that means anything?(8)

P. Yeah, sure.

J. Okay? And, um, so this was, it was just hot, I had it ready and so instead of going through Liturgy Committee, I went to the Parish Council with it and it was something that they then analyzed, discerned and prayed about and then thought 'Yeah, we could do it'. It was shocking to some. It's much easier dealing with Liturgy Committee because, er...

P. Right. Can I ask you either an example from the past or just a hypothetical one, um, this is, um, jumping a bit, but, I mean, again, the, er, no... I'm sorry, I don't want to talk about that one yet...[PAUSE]...
... A change in the... any change in the way the Mass is done. I mean, how would that normally...

J. Okay. I'll give you another one. Um. We, er... Yes, this is it. We decided that after communion it was... got very sloppy with, we've thirteen Eucharistic Ministers at the 12 and as each post, you know, the basket was empty or whatever, they would all up the stairs, put their stuff up(9) and back down the stairs and this up and down and up and down with that many people and nice clunking heels on the marble was really a distraction just at that quiet time as communion is ending, so I suggested that they all stay in place until all had been served and then together they move away, now again, not up to the altar but away to the side altar and that that would be a much more quiet and, um, unified action, if you want. So we discussed that in Liturgy Committee and, um, you only had the Head of the Eucharistic Ministers, you had four - five there: the Head overall and the Head for each Liturgy (P: Right) and as I remember discussing with them, there was no big problem and they thought 'Yeah, that's OK', but then when we started doing it, um, take for example the 10.15 Mass, which is the Children's Liturgy, parents all seem to bring their children over to the one side of the church and what happens is that communion line is twice as long as any other. So, the guy over here is standing and standing and standing and a lot of people feel, if I'm standing there, everybody's watching me. So this little dissension was coming from different quarters and we had said that we would give it a month's trial and the dissension sort of thing, and we said no, we'd give it a

month's trial and finally by the month's trial, everybody seemed to have settled down and now it is an accepted thing. I think, er, one chose no longer to be a Eucharistic Minister because of it. So that's how it went. (P: Right) And it was discussed then, I should... I didn't finish that - we had it discussed in that one month period - we had two meetings with Eucharistic Ministers: one with the whole Liturgy Committee and one with just Eucharistic Ministers when it was discussed again and again, all the cons and all the pros and they don't change much and er, then you start hearing some feed-back from the people who appreciate it, it seemed to please them and so there we are. Is that an idea? Does that help?

P. Yeah. That's great. Thank you very much.

J. And I should say that usually it does start with team. I don't just go, um, when I've got one of these ideas, I don't just go and do it, I always pass it through team first.

P. Right. And so the pastoral team, the people on staff, they meet regularly?

J. Every week.

P. So there is a weekly staff meeting and everything that needs to be discussed is discussed at that occasion.

J. Right. And then we have other things, I don't know whether you're interested, when we do our Advent Vigil, our liturgical theme - which is much more creative, then its, um, its a very creative process. We think of a theme, we put on an hour long presentation with song, dance, drama, whatever it is and great decor and it sets the liturgical theme at least for Advent and if its a good one it'll keep going throughout the whole year. Um, that one, er, somehow you can't create in committee; I've tried inviting others to come and see what they see in the readings and what could we pull out of it and it has never really worked and it usually ends up that what I've thought of is what we're going to do anyhow and, um, now this year though, both Gerry Morris and Toby McGivern are creative people and so I'm trying to meet just the three of us and see if we can... That kind of thing will change - it depends on who's around and who can fulfill that role (P: Right). Creating is a... as I say, I don't think you can do it in committee.

P. Okay. If I can move on, now. I want to talk about the Mass. Now, when I say a performance, I'm not looking at, you know, um, the 10.15 Mass on June the 2nd, I'm looking at the habitual practice of a particular parish. Now, its clear that you have a lot of responsibility for the way the Mass is conducted... This is the teacher in me, God help us, would it, does it make any sense at all to talk about the

aims or objectives that you have, that you are trying to put into practice (J: Sure) Or the vision of the Mass that, you know, whatever word... Could you talk about that?

J. Sure. Yes, very much so. Central to it being the involvement of the people. That this is not a performance up on stage done by somebody to us. That we are co-ministers. As a matter of fact, Fr. Walsh(10) always said the prime ministers of the Eucharist are the people of God. If they aren't there, you can't have one and that this has been, is a continuing education to get people to realize their role and to fulfill it. Um, when you start off, for instance with the way we greet people is essential - that sets the whole tone. If people just walk into the church quietly and sit in their pew in their God and me stance, you'll never accomplish what the liturgy is intended to do. And so we're noisy and we talk to people and all this stuff and, um, then the singing is the other crucial thing for pulling people into the feeling and good singing, good music, music you can't help but singing. Um, I love it, we usually try to sing the verses in the choir, but occasionally you get a song they won't shut up, they want to sing the verses too, you know you're doing well. Um. And along with it you're, we're educating as we go er in very little ways because I don't think we really understand - we, be it priest or lay - what really is intended in the liturgies. Things such as, you start off with a joyful hymn of praise, everybody's feeling good, then suddenly you're "Lord, have mercy, Lord have mercy" but that's not what the penitential rite is meant to be, its being said "Lord, you are merciful, praise your mercy" not "How horrible I am" but "How great God is" and that the Kyrie and the Gloria are saying the same thing. Now people have to experience it so we'll put in music that fits or words that we use that will, um, get across this idea. No, its not that we're standing there beating our breasts, not worthy to come here but to say how wonderful, throughout history, throughout my history, whenever I fall you are there and you are forgiving. The same the preparation rite, as you were saying, was probably more elaborate than any other parts of the Mass and its a nothing, its a transition from the Liturgy of the Word to the Liturgy of the Eucharist, so its a nothing. We don't say those prayers out loud, simply the table is dressed, the gifts are brought forward, the choir might then sing for the people, that's not even a part, er, that they should be singing, y'know, so er...

P. Yeah, well, ok. What I had hoped was that you could talk about the Mass in general and then I wanted to... so maybe we can do that, because that's the first thing: the preparation of the gifts, it was called the Offertory. Now, and... I don't have to lead you. Y'know, I have the interviewer's phobia about feeding the answers that I want but you've already suggested that... and I must say that's

the thing that I notice most particularly about that rite at St. Joseph's - it is very minimal. (J: Um'm). It wasn't always. When did the change come and why? How?

J. You mean at St. Joe's?

P. Yes.

J. Or do you mean among the liturgists?

P. At St. Joe's.

J. OK, because I didn't invent it. This is the good theological understanding of liturgy. That it is simply, a moving from this to that.

P. Well now, can... again... you see I'm thinking of one... you see I'm not a liturgist... I'm thinking of Keefer's or Keifer's article in Worship(11) - it goes back to 70 something now. Its about offertory or preparation of gifts. I mean that is most definitely, um, an article that turns away from elaborate, well-developed and talks now in terms of... now, certainly he would claim in that article - I mean, I'm sorry, you're familiar with the article? (J: Yes) It's obvious - and I'm right in saying that that's a particularly significant...

J. Author, yes.

P. Now, he would say that the position that he develops is there in the General Introduction - the General Instruction on the Roman Missal and what he's doing is just suggesting that we finally get round to putting into practice what Vatican II suggested in the first place.

J. That's right.

P. Now, that's... your understanding?

J. Yes, very much so. And I should add here that in... aside from whatever background, we have been a big part of the National Association of Pastoral Musicians in the States, are you familiar with that? (P: Yes) and, um, actually, the first year that I was there, er, Fred and three of the Pastoral team went to one of these Conferences and we just... there it is, its all there, they're ahead of us, I mean the NAPM is, I don't mean churches generally, in the States but you can pick them out, where they are in this pre- er, post-Vatican II mode and its, its marvellous and its exciting and they'll all say that when they re-did the liturgy they didn't do a good job, they left things hanging in here that shouldn't be and stuff and so these minds will then... they do adapt, you know, and whether you're breaking

the law or not, I don't think you are because its... its generally accepted...

P. OK, well... but I can't... I don't want to go past this opportunity (J: Right) and I don't want you to think I'm trying to pick a fight. The... for instance, when you were talking earlier about the penitential rite and the Gloria (J: Uh huh) now, I mean, again, there's no two ways about it, a number of people have noticed the, sort of, disjunction, or the apparent disjunction. Well, some would say that what is required is not a fuller or a better understanding but a re-writing of the text.

J. Wouldn't that be great?

P. Now...

J. Why did they tell us "Kyrie Eleison" does not mean "Lord have mercy" and still have us say, "Lord have mercy"?

P. But, ok, so what I want to get now is that... you're now... I mean, you're listening to particular people... when you say that you're - well not you personally, but when one says that one is trying to implement the best understanding of, er, pastoral-liturgical thought and make it living by putting it into practice in Sunday Mass, um, you're not listening indiscriminately, you, you are judging, obviously, maybe that's what you get paid the big bucks for (J: Right) because its your judgement to discern which is a good thought and which is a bad thought (J: Uh huh) but, as you say, somewhere, and maybe the best way to get to this one... as you say one way would be to get rid of the Kyrie but you're not allowed to...

J. Well, you, you have options.

P. It says it in the GIRM, you know.

J. Yes.

[END OF TAPE]

The interview continued, unrecorded.

I continued by asking Jane Williams about two other aspects of the Mass.

The Eucharistic Prayer

I asked specifically about standing during the consecration. Jane Williams stated that kneeling was a "penitential stance" and thus not appropriate. She also corrected me by speaking of the "words of institution" rather than the "words of consecration". Her aim in the practices associated

with the Eucharistic Prayer is to "get away from the magic" and the distinction between some special act performed by the priest, observed piously by the laity. She also was of the opinion that the practice of standing throughout the Eucharistic Prayer was becoming more and more common in churches throughout Ottawa.

The Communion Rite

I summarized my interests, as expressed in the questionnaire, in five particular aspects of the Communion Rite. Of the five, three pre-dated Jane Williams' arrival at St. Joseph's. She was responsible for introducing the use of baked bread - "real bread" - in addition to hosts. She was also responsible for the introduction of offering the cup to the laity. In connection with this topic, she referred to Fr. Bill Marravee, under whom she had studied at USP when completing her BTh.

In her opinion, the fullness of the idea of communion as "meal" was enhanced by these two changes.

Jane Williams offered comments on two other changes in the Communion Rite for which she had been responsible.

In co-operation with Fr. McGee, she had instituted the practice of a silent Sign of Peace. The idea was for people to join hands silently in order to

"Get people to experience peace"

and to

"Stand in that peace."

However, this had met with partial success at best, and now it was common for people to greet one another verbally.

When people go to communion at St. Joseph's, they take either host or bread from a basket. The Eucharistic Minister does not say "The Body of Christ" and no reply is made "Amen".

Jane Williams explained this as follows. A group of pastoral staff members had attended Mass at Weston Priory in Vermont. Communion was served in silence by a monk holding an immense tray:

"He greeted you so beautifully with his eyes"

An attempt was made to replicate this at St. Joseph's. Also, it allowed for the possibility that people would sing during communion. Further, Jane Williams expressed a dislike for the mechanical "Body of Christ, Body of Christ..." that can occur when giving communion.

I noted that on recent visits to St. Joseph's, I had seen an "overhead transparency" used that displayed this exchange:

"The Priest says: The Body of Christ

We reply: Amen."

This was displayed before communion was distributed. Jane Williams explained that this was a recent attempt to reinforce what had always been the intent: that this verbal dialogue would be completed before the distribution of communion. She agreed with my suggestion that the motivation for this was at least in part to comply with the explicit instructions of the GIRM on this point.

In connection with this, I said that I happened to know that Sr. Joyce Zimmerman, previously Professor of Liturgy at USP, was critical of St. Joseph's on this point. I asked if Jane Williams had ever studied with her. She replied that she was a student prior to Sr. Zimmerman arriving at St. Paul's.

In the end, I spoke to Jane Williams about her relationship with the priest. She has seen four pastors come and go. She said that her relationships were co-operative. She said:

"I write the priest's book - this is what you're going to say."

She noted that it had been

"Very hard to lose Fred."

but that St. Joseph's had a

"Strongly built, wide base of lay involvement"

and that no priest had tried to change everything.

END OF INTERVIEW.

NOTES

1. Fr. Fred McGee was pastor at St. Joseph's in the late 70s and early 80s.
2. The Cursillo movement is based on a retreat that attempts to foster the spiritual life of the laity.
3. Jane Williams lives north of Aylmer.
4. St. Joseph's is in the hands of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The confusion about the number of years is because secular diocesan priests are appointed as pastor for terms of six years. With the OMI's "a term is three" years.
5. These are the times of the weekend Masses. This changes in the summer.
6. The pastoral team consists of (at least) the pastor, an associate pastor, the Director of Liturgy and Music, the Director of Religious Education and one or two others.
7. The "Celebrant's Assistants" stand or sit next to the Presider throughout the Mass. While they do not speak, their role is something like a cross between a deacon and an altar server.
8. In a number of parishes, the Parish Council discusses and votes on matters of concern.
9. The sanctuary area ("up the stairs") is about 4 feet higher than the body of the church. The sanctuary is flanked to left and right by "side altars". The one on the left has a statue of Mary and a bank of votive candles. The one on the right (the one referred to by Jane Williams) houses the tabernacle.
10. I do not know who Fr. Walsh is.
11. The article is "Preparation of the Altar and the Gifts Or Offertory?" by Ralph Keifer in Worship 48,10 (1974).

Appendix 1 B

INTERVIEW WITH FR. GERRY MORRIS

This interview was conducted on Thursday, December 6th at St. Joseph's Parish offices between Fr. Gerry Morris (G) and Paul Cummergen (P).

P. Can I begin by asking you some personal questions?

G. Yes.

P. Background... First of all, how old are you?

G. Fifty.

P. And, um, how long have you been a priest?

G. Twenty three years. I was ordained in 1967.

P. And, um, you're a member of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (G: Yes) Do they have a particular... seminary?

G. We have what we call a novitiate year. First year training then we have philosophy which is our word for seminary training which is when we do our seminary training and then we have a one year period of applied ministry training in a controlled setting...

P. Um, and is that an institution? an Oblates institution? or did you go to some college somewhere?

G. It's changed today. What we did when I was there was we lived in a residence which we called the scholasticate, which was out in Orleans and then we did our formal academic studies at St. Paul's University. So we combined the two. Our living situation and our religious (P: Right) training was out there. Our academic training was there.

P. So, basically, you were going through training for the priesthood through the time that Vatican II was happening and just immediately thereafter.

G. Oh, exactly, exactly, because, er... I entered in 1962 which was the old regime... did our training and our studies while Vatican II was actually taking place and that presented its own set of interesting dynamics because at the University half of the profs were very much for Vatican II and going with it and pushing it and involved with it whereas the other half were digging in their heels and so it put us in an awful position in terms of... er, when it came time for exams or when it came time for, er, y'know, the final assessment and all that, you almost had to know of what bent the professor was because it really - I mean it

was weird... Now I think it also had its own benefits for us... but that was an, er, exciting time.

F. And so, since ordination... what has your experience of ministry been? Have you been in parishes or...?

G. No, this is my first parish. I've er... where I've formerly been involved in a parish ministry as such, I er, have done a lot of youth work. I first began doing recruiting for our community and then I became University Chaplain and after that I was involved in formation work in the training of candidates...

F. Which University?

G. Dalhousie University in Halifax. And then also I was Chaplain at St. Paul's University for 4 years. So I've been involved in... work with, y'know, ministry with youth mainly until 7 years ago when I ended up in administration within our own community and after the administration I came here.

F. Now, is that er... typical of Oblate, er...?

G. No, no. Our guys tend more to, er... if we go into parish ministry, would move along in it, but as a province we are involved in all kinds of different ministries, so... parish ministry isn't our main, er, involvement as such. Some of us find ourselves in parishes because of the uniqueness of the parishes or because we're helping out various dioceses or...

F. So, how long have you been here?

G. A year and a half now.

F. That brings me to the next, sort of area, because I wanted to ask a bit about St. Joseph's as well. My understanding is that it's always been an Oblate Parish. Is that correct?

G. That's correct. (F: It was built by the Oblates) Yes. It... the original Bishop of Ottawa, Bishop Guigues, was an Oblate and so he wanted to establish a, um, an English parish in this area and so he contacted us as Oblates to specifically establish an English parish here and so... the parish itself is somewhere around 130 years old as a parish. The building itself is - this church building is only something like 60 years old because the first two buildings that were here were destroyed by fire. (F: They were always on this site?) But on the same site. It's always been this same site.

F. So, again, this is sort of er... semi-technical, but what are the significant differences, if any, um, in the

relationship between a parish that is ,er, in the hands of a religious order or society, and a diocesan parish?

G. Well...

F. Now, you're appointed by the Oblates.

G. Yeah. That's right. I'm appointed by our Provincial Superior, on the approval of the bishop. Whenever we're in any diocese, because the bishop is always the head (F: Right) um, we need to be approved by the bishop, although the bishop has, is not able to move me around.

F. Right. He can't say "Go down to St. Basil's and help out".

G. No. Exactly. So my Provincial Superior would be in contact with him and say to him "I'd like to propose Gerry Morris as the pastor of St. Joseph's". Now, if he has no objections to that he'll say "So be it" and then I would come here.

F. Right, and are you appointed under the same conditions as a diocesan paster, for six - I forget, its either six or seven years - is that the same for you?

G. Yeah. We usually, what we do now is we have contracts with the bishop (F: Okay) and so generally speaking, that contract will specify the number of years that we will be responsible for the parish. Now, its renewable, y'know, at the pleasure of both ourselves and the bishop. Now, within that framework, we usually appoint our own men for a five or a six year term. That may or may not coincide with the length of the contract. We may have, say, a ten year contract, um, during that time we may appoint two different people. But we're the ones that negotiate that with the bishop. Now, St. Joseph's is unique... this is a different kind of a parish because when Bishop Guigues invited us to Ottawa, he also gave us this parish as ours to hold permanently and so as a result, this becomes, if you want, like the mother parish for our Province, or the central parish zone. We find this a core centring place for us so we don't have a contract for this parish because we've been given it but this is an exception. Usually a bishop will contract with us for x number of years.

F. Fine. Okay. Um, I want to talk about St. Joseph's as it presently is, now. Can you give me an idea of, um, some of the things that go on. For instance, er, obviously its a... down town parish, yet there is a relatively dense residential area close by (G: Right) Um, do you have any schools? Are there any parish schools.

G. No. Formally there are not. Now what we end up doing is connecting ourselves with the schools where the children from this parish go. So there's an elementary school called St. Brigid's School which is over near Rockliffe. There are some of the children in the parish who go there and there is Jean Vanier which is an intermediate school over in Vanier itself and then Immaculata High School is the one that we connect with most. So, the children of the families from here would by and large go to those and so we're involved in different activities mainly through the principals.

F. Right. Um. Hospitals. There's not... well I guess there's Bruyere. Do you have much contact with them?

G. No. Actually, all the hospitals in the Ottawa area have their own Pastoral Services. (F: Um) so they usually have residential personnel who will contact us if there's a, y'know, a particular request. They, um, they're very good I have found and so they will keep us informed or let us know. We have, what we do in that vein is we have, er, what we call a Pastoral Care Committee, Group in the Parish and they visit the shut-in and the elderly within the bounds of the Parish here.

F. Do you have any contact, or specific contact with the University?

G. Not really. The, er, I've contact with the chaplains, the two chaplains, er... there's a number of university students that come here. We have, by way of example, about 6 or 7 of them who are in the Education Faculty who come and help us out to teach Sunday School here. I... I go over 3 or 4 times a year to that particular faculty to talk to the students to engage in discussion with them. Next week I'm going over to celebrate Mass in the school - the classroom setting. So, its minimal because of the fact that they have their own chaplaincy but... I don't know what else we could do. There's something that nags me that says I'd like to because I like that age group but... they're being well served through the chaplaincy service. We have... there's an ordained deacon, a married man who (F: Yes) who's there. Bob Probert and he stays with us a couple of days a week when he's in doing his work here; so there's informal contact is how I would describe it.

F. And you mentioned you have a Sunday School programme? How large is that?

G. Yeah. There's about 35 children in that now. These are largely children who are preparing for the sacraments of initiation - First Communion or Confirmation and the Sacrament of Reconciliation.

F. Is that a recent er... ?

G. No. Its been going for quite a while. Its er, I think its very well supervised by a couple of the volunteer adults of the parish plus a lot of the parents... like we're working awful hard at getting the parents involved in that too. That's beginning, its a little harder but, er, its going.

F. And then there's the Womens' Centre which is (G: Yes)... Now that's a parish venture.

G. Yes. Its an outreach of the parish. There is a director of the Centre who - Linda Gunning - who, whose responsibility is that. The funding comes largely from government grants because, as a parish we couldn't (F: Yeah), but it, it is very much a part (F: How old is the centre?) Oh, it must be about 5 years now.

F. OK. You mentioned... the parish has quite a large staff, um, relatively (G: Yes) How many people are there on staff? Can you talk about Pastoral Staff, Pastoral Team, I believe you call it, then if you could just briefly mention the auxiliaries or assistants etc. There's yourself as pastor (G: Yeah), then you have an assistant...

G. Part-time, yeah. Part-time, er, Toby McGivern is here part-time. Er, on the pastoral team there are six of us, basically, the two of us, Jane Williams who's with Music, Edna Montague who's with Sacramental Preparation and RCIA (F: Now, she's part-time) She's part-time here, that's right. Er, and Gary Byrne who's the administrator and... the more I think of it, the more I cannot see how a parish can exist... y'know, I mean how anybody can be a parish priest and also look after all the finances and everything else. Its a full-time job for him.

F. How long has he been here?

G. He's been here... about 8 years now. And he's full-time. (F: Jane's full-time) Jane's full-time, Gary's full-time, Linda, who's Director of the Womens' Centre, is full-time, Edna is part-time and then Toby and myself, so there are the six of us who are the Pastoral Team and then there's the support staff. We have a secretary, a book-keeper, a... and then we have... we're going to have a Christmas Party and I think there are going to be 19 of us at that and of that 19 all... you have, there's the caretaker and then there's people who come to do different things er, all are on staff in some way or other. Um. There are 2 people who are... full-time/part-time but who are volunteers, like, they, y'know, normally they would be paid staff, but they're retired people who just have volunteered of their time and they do tremendous work... So, yeah, I would say 17 are employed by the parish for the running of the parish and

then after that volunteers who do all the different committee work - it runs into 150 to 175 people.

P. So... even though this is your first parish experience, um, you're obviously aware of what... of other parishes and... how would you... describe yourself in your role as pastor, um, here and perhaps one way to do that would be by comparison with, um, with other parishes with which you're familiar, I mean, do you... and your relationship with the other members of the pastoral team. Do you, do you see yourself as a co-ordinator of them, or an overseer, or as an... do you have certain specific functions which are your province and they look after... I mean, how would you describe that?

G. Yeah. Well, its something of a combination of being a... facilitator, a co-ordinator, an encourager, um see... what I see myself as largely doing is... looking at the parish at large, like the overview of the parish in terms of, er, who we are, as a Christian community and... from the two perspectives of our gathering to worship, our gathering to be involved in knowing the faith and then our outreach, and so, what I see myself as, y'know, in terms of... somehow being connected with an overview of all that and, um... intervening at various times when that's necessary, when people need encouragement or people need support or people need ongoing education in terms of one area or another and, er, I also see myself in terms of looking at the Parish Mission Statement that we have here (P: Uh huh) and working, if you want to use the word working, er, to see that that is being lived out, that we're trying to be as faithful to that as we can. Now, one of the areas that has become really important for me, and I've just discovered this is in the past year since I've been here, is the importance of the parish council. Er, I see myself as working with them, er... Up until September of this year, the Parish Council was a hodge-podge reality. There were... it had a wild history. Three years ago there were 35 people on the Parish Council. And they were representing, literally, different areas and so everybody had been there fighting for their turf and all that, it was really awful. (P: How often did they meet?) They used to meet monthly and, oh, I'm glad I wasn't here. And then they paired it down to 12 members, some of them being parishioners and the parish team and so in working with that what we began to discover too was that the Parish Team was having undue influence and not really allowing the dynamics of what I perceive as the necessary dynamics of a Parish Council, so we worked it through - you see we work very much on the discernment model, we're not, we don't go on this parliamentary procedure, so it takes a lot longer to move anything. We're now presently down to 8 members, er, the majority of them being elected and a couple being selected by the council themselves and so the 8 of us, myself and 7 others see our role as constantly trying to be

in touch with the pulse of the parish - getting a sense of where we are and where we want to go, like, what future directions do we want to take, so... I see my role as being very much involved with the Parish Council and, er, stimulating that, and er, moving towards that group being a reflective, prayerful group that really tries to be in touch with from this parish and then how is that communicated with the parish at large and how do we get feed-back from the parish at large?

F. So, er, thank you, that's very helpful. It makes a lot of sense. Um, so, whatever was the case in the past, the Parish Council is er, - in accordance with the new norms - has little, if anything, to do with the... nuts and bolts, the finance and the administration. There's a Temporal Administration Committee?

G. That's right. Yeah.

F. Separate from the Pastoral... and er, presumably Gary Byrne deals with these people and they look after the leaking roof, etc.?

G. Exactly. There's we call it a Finance Committee. Its Temporal Affairs, its er... Gary chairs that committee, he works with them and they report to the Parish Council, y'know, they give their report, but they're not part of the Parish Council. There's a separate... a real separation between these two (F: Right). I personally find that much healthier, because in the past, so much of what happened was that Finance dictated totally and there was no freedom to dream, no freedom to hope for things to change. Almost like the absoluteness of the dollar. Now...

F. Yeah. Right. You can't do that... (G: Exactly) So why bother to discuss it?

G. That was exactly it. It was awful. It was awful. So those two are separated completely.

F. And that is something that has occurred in your time?

G. Yes. That has happened. As a matter of fact... the separation has been there since they paired down to 12, but what has happened is the Parish Team, as such, is no longer on the Parish Council, so even, y'know, even from the just the daily, nitty gritty, everyday working of the parish, y'know, that aspect is looked after by the Team. We meet once a week, er, for 2 hours. Try to get a sense of, er, what needs to be done, what can be done and we as a Team, are always in dialogue with the Parish Council - as its developing. Like, its - this is very new. So, we're plodding along trying to get our footing. I don't want to give the impression that we've reached Utopia (F: Yeah). But it seems

to be coming and, er, there's a real sense from everybody, both from the Team and from the Parish Council that, er, this seems to be a better way to go. Now, time will tell for us, but, er, I like it much better because I really do think that it does give that freedom to dream, to hope and to look at what is the spirit, and for me that makes a big, big difference to the whole thing.

F. OK. Thank you. Um. Moving right along now. I still want to ask you... there are a couple of things, but maybe, um... You see, I want to ask you about the Liturgy in particular and your role in it. And really, what I want to do is ask you to speak, um, say something about what its like to be a presider at Mass at St. Joseph's. Um, just so that, y'know, I mean... Again, in terms of comparison. Traditionally, two of the areas that are most likely to be associated with the role of Parish Priest, even in the 80s and 90s, are Liturgy and Finance or Liturgy and Administration (G: Uh huh). Now, in the case of St. Joseph's, those are two areas which most clearly, in a sense, er, have been separated from the role of the Pastor. You have a Director of Music and Liturgy and you have a... an Administrator, so... What in God's name has that to do with the role of Presider? (G: Uh huh) but, traditionally, the Parish Priest, still is, the presider at weekend eucharists. That is his most visible - its the most visible manifestation of whatever roles he performs (G: Uh huh). So, and again, y'know, you don't have a track of, a long history of other parishes, but perhaps you could talk about your vision or your ideal of presiding and, um, and how that is worked out in the practice of St. Joseph's.

G. Yeah. I think the, for me, liturgy is the... is a very, I mean, perhaps the most important dimension of parish... parish expression. And so, I always take liturgy very seriously. Now, the question is how best to gather as a community in worship and from that perspective, I think, y'know, different people are needed to provide that. Now, in the final analysis, when we look at it, er, ultimately I will be held accountable and responsible for it... like, if there's anything that goes on in here and the Bishop is not going to...

F: Yours is the 'phone number he's going to look for.

G. Exactly. Exactly. So, y'know, acknowledging that, y'know, the next step for me is then, how do we move on terms of providing the best liturgy that we can in this particular parish and, see, that's where the ongoing discussion has to take place so it's the way that we arrive at liturgy. Now... a pattern, or way of celebrating the liturgy here had been developed over the past 10 years (F: Um). So when I arrived, like, I made a very conscious decision that I was not going to arrive on the scene and decide that I was going to have to assert my authority and

change things so that people would know that I was the one in charge, y'know, I mean, you've perhaps experienced or heard of that at different times. See, I think there's a certain tradition and a continuity that is needed in any parish, so what I decided that for the first year, unless there was something that I could not in conscience go along with, that I would move to appreciate how the liturgy was celebrated here. And as we went along, because we meet regularly, we have our weekly meetings, and that's the time when liturgical matters can also be discussed (P: Um) that I would assert and provide whatever my own perceptions were and how... Basically, that's how we do it. We say how, y'know, what kind of a sense did you have... or like when we moved into the Advent season, we got together to look at where we would go, what themes and all that. So, when it comes to Sunday and it comes to the actual presiding, um, then I, I feel quite at ease in being a part of the "tradition" because its, y'know, its a short period of time, but being a part of the tradition of this parish. And that involves, y'know, a lot of the singing, a lot of the participation of the congregation and all that. Which is something that, for me, is important. Its, in a sense, moving into a place where a lot of the things that I believe in and would want for a parish are actually happening and so to preside in a situation like that, for me is, I mean, I could see myself ending up in another kind of parish and working towards...

END OF TAPE, SIDE ONE

Interview, cont'd

G. ... the question of whether we ought to or ought not to rent the hall to a particular group. Then he will surface that for us to talk about as the team (P: Right) or, as example, there's a number of fraternities in the University of Ottawa who wanted to rent the Hall. I mean, the bottom line is they wanted a place to drink (P: Um. Sure). Er, but, like, he wasn't sure, like he was thinking, y'know, one of the groups said they wanted to rent it because they were going to raise money for this cause or that... Well, that was questionable, y'know. He wasn't sure, so he said, here's my situation, if we rent the hall out to this group, y'know, what are we saying in terms of, y'know, as a parish. Do we become known as a place where, y'know, the beer drinking capital... so its that kind of thing. There are questions where we want to find out from each other what goes on.

P. Do you have an example of a liturgical change that would have been discussed? Or... something to do with the Liturgy.

G. Yeah. Well... not directly, but last year there was, er, there's a group in Ottawa, I'm embarrassed I've forgotten the name of the group now, every year they have a memorial

service for people who have died of AIDS and for their families and for their friends so its a memorial service and one year its in a Roman Catholic Church, the next year its in an Anglican and the next year a United. Um, so this year, they asked if they could have the service here. Well, I mean, there's always a question in terms of, when you get into that area, so, it was a prayer service, it was going to be organized by an ecumenical community of people and so they approached us. Well, we talked about that, y'know, and said, y'know, in terms of where do we stand as a parish, in terms of welcoming people, into our church although there was someone from our parish on the committee, we as a parish weren't the ones doing the liturgy. So we said "Yeah", like, if we can't support that, we're in a pretty bad way (P: Um) We also knew that we were going to get flack for that, which we did, y'know, like I knew that there would be people complaining, but it really was important that the whole team (P: Yeah) be in harmony about it as well as the Parish Council.

P. Now, um, I mean, this just occurs to me, and just so that I get the broadest idea, um, you've already mentioned that you have Sunday School, Sacramental Preparation, um, within the last few years there've been the new norms. I mean, would they and the ways in which you've implemented them - would that have been brought up at... Pastoral Team meetings or...?

G. With regard to the Sunday School?

P. Yeah. How you were going to deal with those changes.

G. Yes. They're the kind of issues which surface. Y'know, I, er, Edna is the one who looks after that. Now, she also attends the Diocesan meetings and all of that and she will come back and she will report to us and then we'll look at that and see who needs to be included, who needs to be updated and what needs to be done in that regard. Yeah, they're the kinds of things that we will look at. Always seems to me that there are too many things to look at and never enough time to look at them... I'll give you another example. We're, at the moment, as a team, looking at the question of, er, possibly hiring someone to do Adult Education within the parish, because we have so many volunteers who do different things, like, they need updating constantly, they need refreshing in theology, though we wouldn't call it that as such, er, and so we've spent... some, we introduced the subject about a month ago, then we spent another period of time discussing it, now we're going to discuss it again at our next meeting to look at, y'know, what is the need, y'know, is it a real need, what could this person do, how, and then, how much money can we afford to put out to have a person do that. So that's another kind of thing that we discuss in terms of concretely looking at

implementing new things and implementing different dimensions in the parish. It, its a big question. I think in the past, that the pastor used to decide, we needed this or that. Well now, although it takes longer, I think its much better because... people own it then and it becomes part of a thrust... and we move with it.

F. Finally, I don't want to keep you... This is a kind of silly question, but... um... can you give me... if you had to... if you were paid money to answer this question, could you give me an idea of what a typical week in your life looks like?... I mean, y'know, what is occupying your time? Where are you, what are you doing, y'know... you're not standing in front of a machine, you're not driving a bus (G: No), what is it...?

G. Well, its divided into maybe 3 dimensions. One is the involvement with groups, y'know, I find myself going to, or being involved with different groups at different times, like, I don't belong to any one group because... er, the, then if I did that there'd be all the other groups that I would be neglecting, so I find myself going to the different groups for the various things, like, I work out with them when it would be appropriate for mw to be there, um, example: marriage preparation, for instance, they have 8 sessions, there's a team of something like 6 couples... I will often be there for the... like, the first session, the welcome, the introduction, give input regarding the sacrament of marriage, then further down the road, when they have what they call their question night, either the 6th or 7th night, I would go for that and answer questions and get to know the couples. Same with the various groups that are there, I go to them. So that's one area. That's often times in the evenings (F: Um). Um, then involved in the sacramental life of the parish, the celebration of the liturgies, preparing for that, the preparing of homilies, the baptisms, the marriages, I, um, by way of example, last summer I was involved with 35 marriages over the summer months. Well, each marriage, for me, requires 5 hours. Because I have, usually, I like to see the couples at least 3 times before. The first time to meet, to talk about their involvement with the church, what they see, the second time to begin the preparation for the ceremony itself, for the celebration of the sacrament and the third one, we finalize everything and there's the actual wedding itself. So, when you start looking at the number of hours that are involved... And then the third area, in terms of direct involvement, is seeing people. A lot of people come in for various reasons, like people come in to talk about the parish and what it like and things like that... But, people who come in for personal needs, as well, and there's an equal number of both. Y'know, there's questions, people have legitimate concerns, um, they don't know about this or that, people who have difficulties, people who I see who are

looking at the whole area of their spiritual growth and their spiritual development and, so that takes up a fair amount of time each week. Then, y'know, there's meetings that go on with all of those things and then there's just simply, like, sort of planning, the plotting and the planning as to what goes on. The correspondence, er, answering the telephone, er, there are some days when I come in here and I see these little pink slips and I want to scream and - as you no doubt do yourself - exactly. Oh yeah, I mean, there are some days that I must have at least 12 or 15 phone calls (P: Um) It seems like every time I come out of here for air there are two or three messages. So, its just that kind of thing (P: Yeah). And so at the end of the day, I mean, I find myself pooped. But, I, y'know, but I cannot have, like, a finished product before me (P: Yeah). Y'know, there's not, like, a light bulb that's been screwed in or a car that's been painted... Now, there's sufficient variety that its never dull, ever, ever, so...

P: Yeah. They should say that more in the advertisements (G: Exactly). Pastoral life - its not dull.

G. Oh, its so true. Oh. And it really is, er, I mean, it goes from ecstasy, where there are moments where everything seems to be just wonderful and together, to absolute crisis intervention. Where there's just, y'know, there are some days where I think everything's going to fall apart. This one is disagreeing with that one and this person has this complaint. Er, so it varies. And there are never enough hours in every day. Its amazing.

END OF INTERVIEW

Appendix 1 C

INTERVIEW WITH GARY BYRNE

Interview conducted between Paul Cummergen and Gary Byrne at St. Joseph's Parish; Feb. 4th 1991.

P. Um. If I can begin by some personal stuff?

G. Sure.

P. I want to ask you a few personal questions about yourself and your background.

G. Right.

P. Er, first, how old are you?

G. 45.

P. And... how long have you worked here?

G. Six years.

P. And its always been the same position.

G. Yes.

P. Right. And your title is...?

G. Director of Administration and Finance.

P. So, um, are you married?

G. Yes, er, separated and divorced right now.

P. Er, are there children?

G. Yes.

P. They must be older now. Teenage?

G. Yeah. One 19. A girl 19. A boy in Fius and another boy in Junior High.

P. Um. So, well, that puts you in your late 30s... when you started here.

G. Right.

P. What kind of things had you done previously?

G. Er, sort of a mixed background, I guess in may ways. Prior to coming here, I was a stock-broker and... manager in a brokerage house for a period of 7 years and prior to that

in personnel and administration. I'd also worked for a fair amount of time in voluntary organizations in the Ottawa area. One of them being Waupoos for 7 years... I was President and Director.

F. That was voluntary?

G. That's right. I was President and Director of another camp called Camp Takawitha near Barry's Bay which sort of helped basically the kids... Waupoos is more, sort of helping single parent families, and so that sort of gave me some sort of idea... and then I was also involved in Cursillo...

F. Now, the two camps: Waupoos and Takawitha, I mean, I know Waupoos, but Takawitha, is that another OMI connection?

G. No. OMI would be Waupoos. Takawitha is ore Diocesan. It was run by the Catholic Women's League and a Professional Development Group, but they didn't have any men to help with the er, maintenance and er... the building and that sort of thing...

F. Right. Er... are you local? Ottawa born and bred?

G. Yes. I was born and bred in this area... So I came from the West End of the city and so I went to St. Joseph's High School and then St. Pat's and the University of Ottawa, so I'd been part of the Church and church activities for a number of years and so it wasn't like a brand new experience - I'd volunteered for a number of years all the way along.

F. Right. And this had been your parish church?

G. For about three years before I came to work here, it was my parish and before that I was in the West End of the city... I was at St. Basil's at one point...

F. And so, basically, it puts you to about a decade of connection with St. Joseph's.

G. That's correct.

F. Um. So, who was P.P. when you first started coming to, er...

G. Er. Fred McGee was here then.

F. Right.

G. But he was also part of Waupoos. He was Spiritual Director.

F. Yeah. Ok. So you knew him personally before you er...
(G: Yes)... Can you give me an idea of... um... how you came
to start working for St. Joseph's?

G. Um. I guess partly... in both camps I ended up- er
leading into these kids and... er... initially being
involved in a voluntary way... in maintenance and then all
of a sudden being Vice-President and then looking after
personnel and then I'd be looking after the administration
and finance and the fund-raising and so on. I ended up being
President within a short period of time and the same thing
happened when I moved over to Waupoos and Fred was aware of
how I worked and what I did and, er, he was also
experiencing a fair amount of movement here - in a fairly
large parish and when he came in he tried to set up a fairly
strong lay group. The initial stages it didn't work as well
as he'd anticipated, partly, I guess, the blend of people
that was here. Maybe it wasn't well understood and then he
kept moving forward with it but he found that he had to
spend a lot of time with the administration and finance...
At the same time, I guess, I had the idea that I would like
to spend a fair amount of time around the religious and
social area and be of help and give of my talents to other
people, um, I'd done fairly well in the brokerage business
in a short number of years, but then toward the latter part
it wasn't as much fun as it was earlier on. Then I was
married at the time and it was... I'd made enough money for
me to take quite a drop in salary in order to work for the
church.

F. Now, that would have put your children about...

G. 12.

F. Yeah. Elementary school age, eh?

G. Yeah. The youngest would have been... yeah...

F. And so that must have been... I mean, that was major
career change. To say the least...

G. Yeah. It is. Yeah. It is fairly significant. Now mind
you, we had a nice house and I'd done well in the brokerage
business and so it wasn't as significant a move as some
other, but it was a significant move salary-wise and into a
new role here.

F. Did your wife work?

G. Yeah. She's a teacher.

F. And she continued to, er...?

G. Yes, that's correct.

F. Well, its obviously not something you did overnight.

G. No.

F. When you... How long had McGee been here before you came on staff?

G. I would think about 4 years. Close to 4 years.

F. So that must be... you must have started working here about the same time that Jane started.

G. No, she was ahead of me. Jane would have been... I think Jane's about... 2 years before me... a year and a half before I was here.

F. And who else, if anybody, was on staff in those days?

G. Um...

F. What was that other fellow's name? The other priest? MacDonald or...?

G. Yeah. He was here. Er, yeah, he was here.

F. So there were the two priests (G: Yeah) and Jane...

G. Yeah. Myself and Delia Carley, the secretary (F: Right, okay) and, er, at that time Edna wasn't on staff. She volunteered time here.

F. Right. She goes back a long way.

G. Yeah. She's a long time face here.

F. Right.

G. She wasn't part of the team, or the staff, like. She became part of the team shortly after I came. Within a year. The intent was to pull together people who could work fairly well together and who had certain talents and together could produce a tremendously high level of - not only the liturgy but every area of the parish - and who could touch and develop people who could work in that way.

F. Maybe, yes, that's, in actual fact... that leads in very well, because that's, um, one of the things that I'm... er that I did want to ask you about. I mean, as I've already indicated from my own experience, I mean, I've only been down the street for five years, but, um, in that time, all sorts of things have changed quite radically, but most definitely my, er... what I do... professionally, has changed a great deal, I mean one might say that the

circumstances have not exactly been typical, but, um, if I wrote down for you what I did, what I habitually did five years ago, it would bear hardly any resemblance to what I do now. I mean, in a sense that's natural in any job, but it's been pretty radical in my experience (G: Yeah.) Could you talk a little bit about the way, I mean, try and cast your mind back and... what were the kinds of things that seemed to occupy you a lot in those days and how does that compare with today?

G. I guess when I first came I thought that within a short period of time I could do the finances because of... primarily I was wired in to do administration and finance, so I figured it would be pretty easy to do the books - I thought, it's not that big a parish and I thought, well, I'd have a little bit of time left over. I've never had that time yet in the whole period I've been here, er, keeping caught up is a fair amount of work, I find that most of it is, er... we have less committees, less, er... we didn't have as many volunteers as we do today, er. I sort of spend a fair amount of time in administration and finance in setting up committees, er, and I also spent more time, I think, working with individual groups, where there was a problem, I'd go spend time in that, er, say for instance, Children's Liturgy, if they had difficulties here, say with leadership, and so I would be with the committees and working with them and so we could straighten them out, because if we had a problem area it came back to the Team and so I spent time doing that. I also spent a fair amount of time setting up the Women's Centre here. That was in the initial stages of er - it required funding, it required dealing with the city, and the Provincial Government and, er, the Anglican Diocese and working with a large number of groups to facilitate programme development with the most disadvantaged groups. And at that time we spent time trying to get educational programmes through Algonquin College, hoping that people would fit that level and it would help their upgrading. Also, time finding jobs for them; at one time I did a... sort of - parish work. Find jobs for people who needed them in the parish... people in the parish who needed work done. So, some of that, I don't do as much. I certainly work with the Women's Centre, but it's more in the management end than in the initial development of it. There's some funding. There has been a lot of work on funding all along. We have adequate funding and staff and that's certainly a... er...

F. Just to break in for a sec. Where did the idea of the Women's Centre come from?

G. Um, a lot of it came from Delia Carley who was here at the time, who saw the needs of women, um, that weren't very well looked after. At the time, men were taken care of who were on the street, but not women and, er, there was very

little in the way of, er, facilities as there are today. So there was a lot of her initial thinking and talking, wondering how it could work here and, er, one of the ways that it had to work was that you had to get a spot for it, you had to get it working, y'know, how well could it work? And it started off on a large degree of volunteerism. In some ways, where you have a lot more volunteers in your initial stages, it takes a lot more working time. You have the whole set of that programme to prepare... and getting it managed well and we had meetings after meetings and er...

F. And so... to get it clear in my head... I'm trying to imagine what it would have been like but... even in those days, the staff, or whatever, used to meet on a regular basis.

G. That's right.

F. So this, what became the Women's Centre, would have been discussed, um, and eventually, it was decided to go with it, or to go with something or other, obviously you didn't realize what it would be at that time, um, was it, was it, in a sense, inevitable that it would be you that would end up... holding that bag of, er, tasks... or do you not remember it that way, did it just happen, or did everybody just look at your end of the table and say...?

G. Yeah, anything around finance, administration, like fundraising or management, I ended up with most of the time, so...

F. And that was just a sort of given...?

G. Yeah, that's right. That's sort of what you were hired to do, so (F: Right) and, er, basically, to make it work, so if we believed in something was to work, then we would put our resources into it. I also came from that area. I was heavily involved with kids and, er, around social work there and certainly involved in Waupoos, so this was (F: Yes) a natural for me and this would be a lot easier because basically when we had our initial thoughts, was that we were taking women that were disadvantaged or in difficulties, we thought they were all fairly rational and they didn't have too many emotional problems and if we fitted them into schools, they'd work out and go on to glory - it stinks. Consequently, it was at this ideal level, it got back to about here, then we were really working, and so it made a tremendous amount of changes: it took a lot of time. The management took a lot of time (F: Right) because, er, we didn't fully understand what we were getting into... But it was as a result of that that I think that in that whole area of social that we've, um, its more meaningful, the liturgy because if on site you're doing things that in a direct way are tied into the liturgies and the gospel readings of the

time (F: Um) so that had more... that has meaning for us. We were a lot more visible in the parish than we are of late, but... Um. Also, we tended to, I guess that hasn't changed a lot, we... groups that would come a long would want to try something, do something that was Christian from any kind of area, we would gamble with them for the most part and try to make them work. So my job, a lot of the time, was to get the funds to do the things we wanted to do (F: Right). So it meant renting the parking lot, solving the problem of too many people parking out there and getting revenue out of it, renting halls and getting revenue out of it and er, so that was part of my work. And it still is, the revenue aspect of it.

F. Right. Yes. Good. Are there any other areas that you can put your finger on that, you've spoken of the Women's Centre, but, you were instrumental in setting that up, so...

G. Partly, with Delia I was instrumental in setting it up.

F. Right. Yeah. But are there any other areas, things that were set up, or things that were, er, things that you seemed to spend a lot of your time doing that you don't do anymore or don't do so much?

G. Do less now than I did initially, yes, um, I certainly spent a lot of time in renovations to this building, to the church. Tremendous amount of time, because in places, it hadn't been worked on very much. (F: Right) So its getting funds and deciding, we, er... I guess about 4 years ago, spent half a million dollars on this building and moved the Women's Centre from next door to the basement and renovated the basement area and redid the whole of the the upstairs for the Oblates so that they would have proper accomodation so that, from what they had before (F: Right) they had little areas, um, redid all these offices down here, so we could spend a lot more time in them, um, I think I spent, too, I spent a fair amount of time on different groups. I would be on, I used to be on Children's Liturgy, Parish Council, um, Oblate Liaison when we were doing work with, when we had, er, clean up this building, this property next door, we had to settle some of the difficulties we having between the Oblates and the parish, worked on that, spent time in that area. So, its been a variety, depending on what's happening at the time and what is needed within the parish as such. And to keep up our welcoming, its not just once a week, its not only at the back of the church on a Sunday, but during the week. If what we say there on a Sunday means nothing here during the week, it doesn't make sense, y'know? And so, there's a little more, er, emphasis for us to be open all the time to people coming through the door and parishioners as well.

F. Right. The... now... moving on a bit, but connected with it, I think, the... you've pinpointed two things, I think, the Women's Centre and the renovations... um, both of those are examples of, big things, y'know, you don't sort of, look and say, yeah, we'll do that... its... and the... to a large extent, as you've said, because of your prior background, and also because of your job here, your tasks here, helped you to implement these, but... now... I'll stumble around until I get the phrase in my head and then, with any luck, you'll understand what I mean... because I want to talk about this more anyway. At some stage, a group, whether its the Pastoral Staff, or the Parish Council or a mixture of both, has this idea, or this becomes part of what they think St. Joseph's is, the vision, or the idea of what they think its about (G: That's right) so, but in the case of this particular parish, you get the happy task of implementing these ideas, these visions. Now, to what degree have you experienced it, um, well perhaps one way to say it is, how frustrating have you found that? What kind of experience has it been in the sense of, um, have you felt that the vision was as much part of... yours as much as anybody else? So that, um, you could trust your own judgement, as to the way to go? Or did you always feel that people were saying this is what we want to do, now you go away and do it, what we want.

G. No, because I've always been part of the initial group, always working, and very much part of the committees. And every major committee, in the the past couple of years, I've been on every one. So, and I sit on the Finance group, well for a while I sat on too many, it interfered too much with the overall concept, and I figured it needed change, but... er, our difficulty we had one time with the Oblates and the liaison group? Ok, that was something, we wanted to change some priests here, I was on that, um. I've had a different tie-in with the church and the whole parish that I guess many others wouldn't have in another parish because I also worked as a Finance, I also worked as a consultant for the Oblates during that period and I also worked on their finances as well... So, that had a tie-in with all of this as well, er, in fact, we all work in this parish, its not like, the key ones like Linda Gunning works with Justice, I work with Finance and the Pastor works with the Provincial Council, so we do have a tie-in, very much, so... Um, no I didn't think it was frustrating because I was always involved in it, er, the other thing is that, er... I think that most places need somebody to be mainly carrying the ball, we sometimes want all these things to happen, but in reality, in a company, no company can run like that, y'know, where everybody - you can overdo it with volunteers and you'd have nobody managing and it goes along as long as the kick is there and as soon as the kick is out of it, the darn thing falls apart, y'know? So a lot of times its important that the back-up to carry through. A lot of things we do, a

lot of the things I do would be behind the scenes, like if we have a spaghetti supper and I just work behind the scenes to make sure that the persons doing it have all the materials and resources that they need and are well set up, y'know, or if we have something, like if we have coffee at the back of the church on Sunday, well I touch base with the volunteers and I see what's going on. I'm here on a Sunday, so I see it, so I don't have to... I have to be involved and I find that I'm involved in a lot of things because most things are going on are in Finance and Administration, but basically its work with volunteers to make it happen so it doesn't become overburdensome to anybody and that when... you can always tell when its not working, so that we can plug in, eh? So that's the kind of thing, it'd be the same with Christmas, every year we have Christmas hampers and that, so I co-ordinate something like that and though in someways, we have drivers and everything else, but his year the drivers decided, the company we were using, at the eleventh hour to cut back, eh? Well, there's families waiting for those hampers, so you end up finding ways, sort of like myself, y'know, and somebody else (P: Um). So that, more than anything else... So I don't feel it and I think the parish ultimately works a little different in giving a lot of flexibility to the person doing the job. All of us have had a lot of flexibility in our areas. (P: Right) with the way we would like.

F. Um. Another aspect, but really the same question is... you said that, um, you've been instrumental in the fund-raising and the administration of the Finances of the parish and its... this is perhaps an even more complicated set up than in most parishes, as you've already said, because you have a relationship with the Provincial Oblates and you also have the Women's Centre and also, its an old parish, so I expect that when you arrived it was in dire need, I mean it must have been carrying some substantial debt, I would have thought, at that stage.

G. Not so much debt, it just didn't do very much with... it didn't have a lot of money. When I fist came here we had about 200,000 and we gradually moved up to about 600,000 a year and er... we changed a lot of things and er, its a lot easier for me in my position to do it than a priest. Er. Partly, its changes, pricing of anything here, partly to handle the difficult situations of staffing, partly to implement things, its a lot easier for me to do it than the Pastor because if we have two conflicting areas that are asking, and in most cases they do, the person is the Pastor to be also the Administrator and there's no way the administration can take place in a parish, it does, and to what degree it does. I think what happens with so much of our parishes is it allows the administration to do more things. And there are funds, there's no way there isn't

funds among parishioners, the difficulty is to surface the giving and how much is given.

P. Right. And so, um, for instance, in the case with the renovation, now... did you ever find yourself in the situation where you were having to say "I'm sorry, we just can't do that. We can't do that. I know it sounded like a good idea and it would be nice if we could but we can't, its just too expensive to do it, its not cost-efficient, or whatever" (G: Right) So you had to... at that stage, the Finance-end had to say to the Vision-end, I mean, so far and no further.

G. Yeah.

P. But, I mean, who, in real terms... who in human terms, the Finance-end - you - were saying that to the Vision-end. Who were you saying that to? Was it the Parish Council? Or was it the other Pastoral Staff? Or...

G. It could be either group. And in many cases both groups would be in the same issue. If we can't afford something. Most of the time it doesn't become so much of a confrontation but rather because I was, and do, sit on different groups, er, they would check out things before they got any distance on them - what's viable, what isn't viable. Partly because without that you get in real serious trouble. When I came here and since we've been here, we've only one year not been at a surplus. Its the only way... and the one year we didn't was the year we had the major renovation and we incurred a debt, but we paid it off, but outside of that... but part of that is keeping things in line. Its one thing to plan something, its another thing to go ahead and just buy whatever we want. And so part of my job here is to say no to people. Y'know and say, hey, we can't afford this, we have to put our priorities here, or we'll do it another way, or I'll find ways and most of the time... its not that difficult. Since I came, my job is creating monies too. Otherwise, we wouldn't be in the position we are today, with staff and the lay-out we have. And you have to that all the time in order to move forward.

P. Yeah. Okay, because... that's... again. I want to pursue this one, a little bit. Um, the beginning of the fiscal year, you set budgets. And you do so on the basis of looking back over the past year and also try and project forward, add on X-amount for inflation etc. and you look at realistic staffing needs, um, heating bills etc. Um, and servicing any outstanding debts, and, now I understand, in real terms that is often the bulk of the budget (G: Yep). But in a church there are also, um, there are other... they're not the major areas of expenditure, but they are nevertheless substantial, I'm thinking about "cult". I don't know what you call... the servicing of the Liturgy, um, environment etc. And

particularly with an old church like this one with ceilings so high, I can imagine that you can run into quite substantial expenses just implementing er, decorative stuff for a particular season or whatever (G: Yeah). Now... so how tight is the budgetary control over expenses, for instance, in that area. I mean, do you try to plan out what are realistic expenses over the year, or do you just leave enough fat in that particular budget so that...

G. I think that we leave a certain amount of fat and I guess we're lucky to have Jane here too - a woman with a very creative bent and also very generous to us. We try to incorporate everything we do within our budgeting because when anybody moves out, then if you're going to build at this level, then the person leaving can have a tremendous impact. So, what we've done along the way is to try, y'know - building blocks - make it so whoever is here we can afford it. And so, we certainly have some areas that I allow for in the budget to, to ensure that we can do... We've also scaled back, y'know, some of what we were trying to do. At one time the decor in the church was very elaborate, y'know (F: Um). Its not necessary and its also extremely expensive to do that. So, is that... I guess we have to look at, is that what we really want to do... or can we do something scaled down and I hope we maintain the quality aspect... Yes, you have to look at all aspects of it. I think we've been fortunate here, and fortunate too, because we have a lot of good people...

F. Yeah. The, er... just as a matter of nuts and bolts... there's a book-keeper? There must be at least one. (G: Yeah) And then in terms of invoicing and tracking bills, do you do that personally or is that done by somebody else?

G. I see all the bills that come and go here all the time. I keep a very close eye on the whole financial, because of the fact that we're very tight on funds and we have to be (F: Um). People could easily blow you out of the market very fast, y'know. So I keep it very... and we have a monthly statement and we take a look at things but I know fairly well what's going on... So I don't get many surprises and then I can plan... For instance, right now I'm planning this year, so I can look at what major expenses we have for the coming year... what type of programmes are we trying to do? how many staff members, what new programmes?... so those types of things, not only the budget, but the planned activities for the year, so we have a fair idea...

F. Now, and that's obviously, you've been doing that since you've been here (G: yeah). So, maybe that's the lead into the next bit: the um, there have been a succession of priests through here in the time that you've been here. And every time a new one's come in, you've already been here. So, how, how's that been? How has your experience of that

been? I mean, has everyone that's come in looked at you and said "Thank God for that!" or has it been a surprise to them, have they come in and said "Oh yeah, what the hell do you do?"

G. No. Because for most of them, well, partly the Oblate community isn't that big, Okay? to start of with, and I've been working around it - with it (P: Right). I'm not a brand new person (P: Right) and most of the guys that walk in, I've already dealt with... and so that's not a big thing. Most of the people coming in are so damn happy to have someone look after these areas because they weren't trained to do this, OK? The other thing is, you look at a large parish, such as you own, the pastor can spend a fair amount of time sorting between groups who want to work together, how they want to work together. There's always a little bit of friction to do. So I think, over and over, the Pastor's been extremely delighted to have someone to look after Administration and Finance. Its worked out well. In fact, one of the things that is significant is the amount of change (P: Yes) - that has had a ... it has a tremendous impact. Y'know, the amount of time I've spent on Personnel over the years has been wild.

F. You're talking in terms of clergy?

G. Not clergy so much, but all the rest of it. We have had a big turn over in clergy, but also in personnel and so that takes a fair... in the last year, I've spent a fair amount of time in staffing, one position after another.

F. You're talking about at auxiliary level?

G. I'm talking about, er... front office, the Women's Centre, all sorts of part-time, organist, I'm talking about a whole group of people...

F. And that's part of your function as well as administration: staffing and um...

G. Anything in personnel... Finding people and getting people for it. And so it, er, yeah, it does take up a fair chunk of time... But the change that I think is significant - its significant in most churches is that, er, you look at... you lose your momentum and some of your drive as you're focussing ahead, with the amount of change that you're having to cope with all the time, because that takes away from the amount of time that you can spend on going straight, when you're constantly spending time on working with people who need to be acclimatized to the operation (P: Right). So that is significant over a period of time.

F. OK. That, sort of, brings me back a bit, but it is another aspect of what I want to talk about. We've already

spoken about the... um... the vision or the ethos that St. Joseph's has. Um... the longer you are here and the more that you know... in a large degree, the buck stops here. Um... how much do you feel that as part of your responsibility... do you feel a sense that... um... you are charge with making sure that the parish vision is kept integral and that it is... I mean, you just talked about how much time you spend making sure... well, maintaining the machine, basically, running around oiling it, making sure that the nuts and bolts are tight, but you have less time to make sure that you're still on track. Um...

G. Yeah. I think its part of the whole area... somewhat I guess its... when people have been at a place for quite a while then they have, usually, more ownership in it, y'know (F: Um). And so, perhaps Jane and myself, who've been here longer than anyone and Edna are the three longest people around (F: Um). And so, there's certainly a willingness and a hope that things are moving well. I think its also the reason I came in to the church. To move forward and to open it up. I guess I always thought that there was a place for most people around the church and that, er, we could do a number of things that, er, by everybody putting their minds and talents together and er... so that is the vision of this parish is of welcoming and er, I think a quality liturgy and of being a place for people and that's very much lay involvement without knocking heck out of anything along the way. And so... that's what most people want. So it doesn't become an onus or a heavy... Certainly, you try to hire people who would fit in more to that...

F. Just to pursue that a little bit further. The role, again, because the clergy has changed. And you've already spoken of yourself as someone who tends to be more, certainly nowadays more in the background, um, and definitely Edna, she tends to be more in the background, I mean, admittedly, Jane is pretty visible, um, so in terms of, not necessarily reality, but in terms of appearance, in terms of figureheads, the role of the priest is still essential, is still crucial to the implementation of the vision, eh? (G: Um'm). So, does that provide any concern, or does that add to your role, given that the priests have changed, to... to make sure that they understand that aspect of their role. That they are, in a sense, the visible end of the parish vision. No, the visible end of its implementation.

G. Yeah. I think there are two, because I think there are different roles in a church and I think that that's... the multi-role is needed for it to operate and look forward. Er, I think the role that the pastor has is one of very much visibility and very much on the spiritual side and that's needed today and its need especially around counselling and making... ways for people to deal with some of their

difficulties, because some of the difficulties are very complex... and that's the role I see in bringing the sacraments to the people, of the pastor. I don't not see him needed in the Administration and Finance. I think that's a waste of... a waste of talent. And the other thing is that they're not very good at it, most of them. Um, partly because there's no training and they didn't get into the priesthood to do that, y'know. So we, in a way, want the pastor to be everything to everybody, we want him at every committee meeting, we want him to visit the people in the hospitals, the old people in their houses, we want him to deliver the best homily on the block and that doesn't make much sense, because he's one person and we tend, and they are, they're very good, by the time they've finished they need a holiday or they have to get out of this work (P: Um) and the difficulty today is there's not many coming along (F: Um) and what is happening is as we grow, say a parish like ours, which for the most part are very well educated people, er, they can be very demanding, and so unless the pastor does a certain type of role, and Jane, and Edna and myself - that's the vehicle with which we move to the future - we won't have the structure in the future. And that's, I think, the sad reality of many parishes - there isn't very much, that vision to the future (F: Um). Its a providing of service today, so you can do without certain resources, as long as you don't do without the priest. Well, I think that, basically, you should take a look, because when I go to priests' meetings, its getting, you see older and older men and they don't want some of these problems, and they haven't been trained to handle them either. And they're not going to handle them. So, somewhere along the way, someone's going to have to change in opening up some doors... A lot of its training and a lot of its the parish vision.

F. And you feel that, I mean, the vision, because, I mean, my understanding is that prior to McGee's arrival this place was... dark, shall we say?

G. I think it was turning the corner. I think it was opening up, er, in the sense that they were trying to do things, and sometimes when you hit those stages, your little efforts don't look so big, then suddenly somebody comes along and it swings into... its like a curve, eh? and you sort of swing into high gear and you move and that's when it gallops and that's when the big results come in. Not that I'm taking anything away from McGee because he took a lot of criticism and, er, McGee was the main thrust that made the lay involvement here happen. (P: Yeah). But there had been a number of steps before and moving up and (P: Right). Sometimes it takes a couple of years for that idea to get grounded, y'know, and once it is, its a lot easier running with it. But he certainly brought people in...

END OF SIDE ONE OF TAPE

SIDE TWO: Interview Continues

F. Two brief things. We've obviously touched on this, um, beforehand, but can you give me a sort of, um, perhaps its easier for you than it would be for me, but, um, can you give me a sort of thumbnail sketch of a typical week? I mean, in terms of the nuts and bolts. When are you here and when aren't you here? (G: Okay) You've already said you're here on a Sunday.

G. I work 9 to 5 for the most part, but it can be 9 to 6, it can be 10 to 6, it just depends, um, and some weeks I will be away parts or half days so I try to put in five full days and, er, many times in the last five years I was putting in six or close to it because I did end up on committees at night too.

F. Do you live close?

G. No, I live in the West End.

F. Right.

G. I spend... well, say last week, I would deal with, between dealing with people... its part of the role, you're ending up dealing with people so much of the time during the day, eh? See, staff at St. Joseph's Centre, so I had the Women's Centre staffing to deal with down there... I had a secretary, an assistant, three volunteers in during the week... I ended up with the other people, er, like, a caretaker... maintenance, any type of maintenance, the cleaners and that - so a lot of people coming to talk to me in their own area... so I spent a fair amount of time dealing with them during the day, I'd spend a fair amount of time on the 'phone because we do a lot of rentals, er, or somebody maybe calling about funding, y'know, could we fund a certain project.

F. When you say you do a lot of rentals, you mean you are renting your hall?

G. Yeah, renting the hall, renting space.

F. Is that a significant source of income?

G. Oh yeah. Yeah, well, we have two halls... and we do rentals of church too. Er, choirs, major choirs...

F. So significant in terms of... I mean, what percentage coming in?

G. Oh, we'd make maybe 25,000 a year in rentals of halls. Another 15/16,000 on parking... And we rent our office space downstairs to Aboriginal Rights, so that's another source of incomes... so I do that type of thing. I try to spend some time, like, planning events, seeing what kind of events are upcoming and have the caretaker take a look at how we're keeping the place... Meeting with the guy who looks after St. Vincent de Paul, looking over his financial statement for the year... working on the staffing downstairs, last week I interviewed, maybe 8,9 people... meeting with the Environment Committee for the whole of the Downtown area, meeting with the Director of the Women's Centre, discussing plans for the future... working on the finances, basically for the end of the year and the start of the new one. Those of the kinds of things. And I do the correspondence, y'know, letters of thank you... letters coming in requesting things... and I'm here every Sunday, but I'm more in the Rectory part, working with people, because we have a lot of people in here (P: Yeah). What we try and do is make people welcome and we also allow people to volunteer and in many ways, its not the healthiest because they're older or they're not able totally to do th jobs, so that means keeping an eye on things. We have a tremendous number of people coming and going here... that's the time when some strangers try to get in too (P: Yeah, right). So that's a fair amount of work.

P. It really must be a busy place.

G. We tidy everything up on a Sunday... There's just a such a wide variety, really, no two weeks are the same.

P. Yeah. Right... This is just a... Have you ever thought, ten years' time - My God that'll be the year 2001 - what do you see yourself doing, what do you hope you're doing?

G. Er. I'm not sure on that right now... I have to look at that, because I have worked here quite a while and enjoyed, y'know, really enjoyed it, but realistically... you have to keep an eye on where the church is going at this stage in the game. I guess any sadness I have is in the lack of anything close to the development of what we have here in any other churches. That's a sadness, because in some ways, er... you won't have the growth and you won't have the revenues and you won't have the people... so it means, in some ways, its shrinking... now, maybe I'm looking at it the wrong side of the coin - there has to be something and I believe there will be something... because if there was more lay involvement in some of these parishes, er, and a little better structure - they could well afford it and there would be a lot better development at the... of the people in the parish... our faith matters today. But, for me, I have to look at that, because, realistically, I have been here 7 years. You can't stay forever in one position,

that's for sure. So, I don't know, I don't know. But I have enjoyed it.

F. No, I know. From speaking to you people, you and Jane. And from my own experience, I know you must have enjoyed it or you wouldn't stay. That's the bottom line. There must be some basic minimum sense of satisfaction - otherwise you wouldn't stay. You couldn't do it.

END OF INTERVIEW.

Appendix 1 D

INTERVIEW WITH MARK RUML

This interview was conducted on the afternoon of Tues. Jan. 14th 1992 between Paul Cumbergen (P) and Mark Ruml (M).

P. Um... first of all, how old are you?

M. 29.

P. 29. So, how long have you been going to St. Joseph's?

M. Since I came to Ottawa in 1985.

P. So that's about 6... 5 or 6 years.

M. Yeah, six years.

P. And you still go, right?

M. Yeah.

P. Um... yeah, OK, so maybe a bit of background. So you came as a young adult from Winnipeg (M: Um.). Why did you go to St. Joe's? Simply because it was the closest or...?

M. Yeah.

P. And it was... has your experience of going to St. Joe's been comparable to previous experiences of going to... or y'know... you were raised a Catholic?

M. Yeah, I always... I like St. Joe's a lot. It is a unique kind of a church in a number of ways from the churches that I've gone to... One thing is... it is more... it seems to be more... I don't know... more with it or something like that... I guess you might say.

P. Right. And so, I mean, when you first started going there you noticed changes or differences between the practices of that parish against parishes you've been in before. Or not necessarily practices... or one or e... an atmosphere?

M. Well it was quite different... there were a few things that struck me. One was the baskets... er, where y'know, the priest doesn't individually say "The Body of Christ" every time, eh? That was what was something that was very noticeable because you, it's a completely different procedure from what you're used to doing since birth, kind of thing. Since you get communion, any how. So, that was one thing that struck me and, er...

P. Did it strike you positively or did you just say "Huh, that's different" and then you got used to it or...?

M. Yeah. It's hard to say actually, because, er... of course it struck me as odd and I really didn't know too much what to make of it in one sense... when you're used to it being a certain way, but I think, er, I liked it at the same time. There's a certain... charm to it, if you will. But er... sometimes my conservativeness jumps out too, so...

P. So who was Parish Priest?

M. Fr. Doug Crosby and er, L.T. MacDonald and there's another fellow there, I don't know who... he's an older guy. I think he's still there. (P: Right). You only see him at special occasions.

P. And then... when Crosby left, did Morris come straight after that?

M. Er, no. Let's see now. No, I don't think so. We had, er, Fr. Vaughan Quinn, he was there for a while.

P. Oh right. OK. How long was he there? He can't have been there very long?

M. No. Maybe a year though. At most a year, I would think.

P. I remember the name... So was he just an interim? (M: Yeah) Was it foreseen that he was just going to be there a year?

M. I think so. I don't know the politics of why. But he was there at one time.

P. And so, that was the clergy, but now who else was on staff? I mean. Jane was there?

M. Yeah. Jane's been there since I've been there.

P. Gary Byrne?

M. Yes, Gary and Edna.

P. And Linda Gunning must have been there.

M. Yeah, that's right.

P. Um... now you did mention, as I recall, you had been, or you were a Eucharistic Minister.

M. That's right.

P. And did you not also say that you'd been the Head of that ministry?

M. That's right.

P. Um... Probably try and do those two things sort of semi-separately. Um... first of all, when... can you describe how you became a Eucharistic Minister? And then what that involved?

M. Well, first of all, I wanted to participate more at church there, in the community and that. Originally I thought I'd maybe be doing something with the youth, but that... what we have there... what's it called now, um... I can't remember what it is - it's the day when - we have a name for it - but its the day when all the ministries are set up in the basement (P: Oh yeah)...

P. Market-place of Possibilities.

M. Market-place of Possibilities.

P. They still call it that?

M. Yeah, that's it. So that's where I... because, er, Gwen, I was telling, y'know, I told Gwen I was wanting to get, she knew that I wanted to get more involved and then, one Sunday they were talking about the Market-place of Possibilities and of course, we looked at each other and thought, yeah, this is a good chance to get involved. eh? And, er, so, I signed up for, well both of us signed up for Eucharistic Ministers and I signed up for a lector as well...

P. Had you any previous, in other parishes, any other experiences of involvement?

M. Well, I was an altar boy.

P. Beyond choirs, or youth groups, or...

M. No. No.

P. So this was something quite... I mean, you'd obviously seen that there were Eucharistic Ministers, but this just struck you as a new way that you could get involved.

M. That's right.

P. It's not something that you'd done previously?

M. No, I hadn't done it previously. I wanted to get involved. Originally, like, y'know, er... well, when I got into Religious Studies in the first place I was going to become a priest. That's what I thought I was doing at the time, but then I found out that Religious Studies wasn't for studying to be a priest. So... er, here I am. So, I can understand how people get that impression, eh? But, so that

was... I wanted to be participating and being more involved there. So that was one way, that Market-place of Possibilities, which I think is fantastic, y'know. Like, I didn't have that at the other churches I've been to. This is, y'know, a pretty big church, I think, er, population-wise (P: Yeah)...

P. So, OK. You went down to the Market-place of Possibilities, you looked around, you put your name down on the list. What happened next?

M. Then... then we were... well, we had these orientation sessions (P: Right) and er...

P. Right. And that was in an evening or after Mass one Sunday?

M. Actually, I don't know, right at the start, really I don't know if we had... er I can't remember how it happened that we were trained into, y'know, to what we were supposed to do on the... the mundane level, I guess, y'know, standing here and standing there, what the procedure was. We didn't have too many meetings, but after I became the Head, I began scheduling meetings so that we can meet as a group and... we'd start with a prayer and then go into talking about different things related to our ministry, er, watch the video, I can't remember what the video was, but, y'know, related again to our ministry. But when I first started, there wasn't that kind of, er, orientation or training... which is er... so, I guess basically, I signed up, went there - oh, Dana, Dana Williams, she was the one that was co-ordinating the Mass, so she, kind of, directed me (P: Right) and then, er, then later, I don't know how long, it must have been after a year or so doing that when, at least a year I guess, when, er, Jane 'phoned me up, Jane Williams, and asked me if I wanted to, er... or, no Edna called me up and er, was asking if I'd accept the position of Co-ordinator of the Noon Mass and Head of Eucharistic Ministry. So I said yeah, well, why not?

P. Yeah, OK. I'll get to that one. But... so, when you first became a Eucharistic Minister, um, there was a certain amount of training and then, um, were you a Eucharistic Minister at a particular Mass each week? Or were you scheduled or did people call you up and say would you be a Eucharistic Minister this week? How did that happen?

M. Well, when I started as a Eucharistic Minister, er, let's see now, I think the way that we were working it then is that, er, I think that Jane wanted that we were scheduled and had everything done for about a month ahead of time but we often worked it we just showed up about 15 minutes before Mass and checked in. And found out we were always getting by (P: Right) but then it started, we noticed that it was

getting trouble, like, sometimes there wasn't enough Eucharistic Ministers so that we realized the practicality of having to have a schedule ahead of time and so er...

P. Do you remember who was Head of Eucharistic Ministers when you became one? I mean, there was a Head of Eucharistic Ministers was there?

M. Yeah. There was. I can't remember who it was. I didn't know the Head. No, I can't recall.

P. So, you really had contact with the person who co-ordinated the Mass.

M. Yeah, that's right.

P. And when they talk about... I've heard this phrase from Jane - but when you talk about a Co-ordinator of a Mass, you're talking about someone who co-ordinates the Eucharistic Ministers or the whole Mass? Did this person just make sure that there were enough Eucharistic Ministers or did they make sure there were people to bring up the gifts and er...

M. Yeah, the people that bring up the, er, bread and wine are Eucharistic Ministers.

P. OK.

M. But the other, the baskets, the baskets (P: The collection) the food, no not the collection - oh, the collection comes up at that time too, but what, er, they bring up the baskets full of food and that (P: Yeah, right) for the Hospitality Ministry and, er, so that's brought up to the altar by, er, I don't know if its structured now; at one time, I think, Edna was asking people as they came in the door if they would carry up the basket. Or, er, but now, I think they might have ministers, like, er, from a ministry, like people who are scheduled in to taking it up. I think that's the way they work it now (P: Uh huh). But the Co-ordinator of the Mass, like, y'know, was the person who, er, made sure, well who scheduled everybody, who made sure that everybody knew where they were supposed to be, what they were supposed to do, um, and I, well, think that the Co-ordinator should be setting up meetings. I know that, I don't think they have been having them. I don't like that, I think that they should be. Anyhow.

P. Right. Anyway, so you'd had, what, a year's experience of being a Eucharistic Minister and then you became the Head of the Ministry.

M. Right.

P. Um. You'd better try and explain what that entailed and what did you find yourself doing as Head of Eucharistic Ministers? And how many of these things were initiated by you and how many were things you just took over from previous people.

M. Well. I was putting together a 'phone list. I mean, on a very mundane level, there was no real 'phone list and people, new people were coming at the same time and so that we had to know who was who and er, that was one little detail of something I did. And then, um, again, meetings. I had no... I mean, as a Eucharistic Minister, when I started, I just went to church on Sunday and signed up for the Mass, that I was there, er, but we didn't have any general meetings or anything else like that, so that's one thing that I tried to maintain, where I'd have, er, agenda set up for the meeting as well and chair the meeting...

P. So, how frequently, was this a regular thing or just an occasional thing? Was it once a month or...?

M. It wasn't like once a month sort of thing, that we'd do it on Wednesday afternoon, evening, or something like that. It was basically every so often. Nothing structured. When I felt that it was time that we should get together again. I was doing it fairly regularly, but then I got too busy, that's why I had to (P: Right). It just got too much for me and I didn't, I wasn't, er, well there's other reasons, I mean, I don't necessarily want to get into.

P. But. How many people are we talking about here? I mean, I run a lot of meetings and I know there's always that great big difference between how many people are there and how many people potentially could be. But supposing you ran a meeting and all the Eucharistic Ministers came, how many people are we talking about?

M. I should check my list.

P. About 20? 50? 100?

M. 50. Maybe not 50. Anyhow, you're guaranteed about 12 for each Mass so that's 36.

P. And you have the 12 for each Mass, even the Saturday evening?

M. Yeah, I don't know. I think one of the Masses, er, doesn't have... in fact, the early morning Mass doesn't have as many Eucharistic Ministers as the 12 noon Mass, so it wouldn't have twelve. I'm not certain. I didn't go...

P. You mean the 9 o'clock (M: Yeah). I think it does. (M: Yeah?) I've frequently been to that...

M. OK. Well, maybe the S doesn't. I think the S doesn't. I have gone th a S and, maybe once or twice and er...

P. OK. So, anyway. So that's one thing that you would be involved in. You set up a 'phone list and you could keep tabs on who was and who wasn't. And then you set up meetings. Um, was there anything else? Did you have to keep in regular or occasional contact with other people just to make sure that things were on track?

M. Well, we, er, yeah. The Liturgical Committee met, so I was a member of that, so that's where we'd all, the Heads of different ministries would be sort of talking about where we're at and where we're going.

P. So, for instance, there's Head of Eucharistic Ministers would be. There's a Head of Lectors? (M: Yeah) Who else would have been there as a Head of Ministry?

M. The Hospitality Ministry.

P. That's like greeting, is it?

M. That's right. The, er... the one for the shut-ins. Maybe there'd be 12 people there, like Edna, Jane. Jane's the Head of the Liturgical Committee, so, er... and I don't know if Gary was there at times.

P. And Junior Liturgy, I suppose.

M. Yeah.

P. And so, now, when you, as Head of Eucharistic Ministers set up meetings and looked after an agenda and, er, made sure it happened, who fulfilled those comparable functions in the case of the Liturgy Committee?

M. Er. Guess it would have been Jane.

P. Right.

M. Or maybe Edna, or both.

P. Now, were those meetings regular, or again just every so often?

M. Er. I can't remember. I don't know.

P. I mean, they weren't once a year. They weren't every week?

M. No. Every so often. I think, I'm imagining that they, the Head of the Committee, Jane, would have a fairly regular

schedule according to certain times of the year. So, I don't know.

P. Right. You don't schedule a meeting in July.

M. And certain events for the Liturgical year - its more important to be meeting at certain times, eh?

P. Right. So, now, when you say the kind of things that were discussed at Liturgy Committee. Can you give me a few for-instances? I mean, was there a kind of nuts-and-bolts, bread-and-butter agenda that was discussed every time? And then there were things that just came up every so often, or was it a meeting... I mean, you've been to meetings like this and you sleep through the first half hour because you know exactly what's going to happen. But, um, other meetings are completely different from one to the next.

M. Yeah. I think that what we were doing - I don't know what order we were doing this in, but I could say that the number of things, like, of course, we started with a prayer and then from there, what I think we did immediately was that people, Heads from each Ministry, gave a bit of a talk about where they were at in their ministry and what was going on there (P: Right, I mean problems or good things?) Yeah, problems. Anything that you can imagine was there. We had certain specific issues in the Eucharistic Ministry that we were dealing with and, er, then by vocalizing it we were getting feed-back from the Liturgy Committee as well, possible solutions, these kind of things. Um.

P. So, um, OK. I can imagine that a meeting in mid-fall would start to talk about Advent or Christmas or what have you. A Head of Ministry would come, possibly with problems and you would get feed-back or suggestions from the meeting and then you would take these back to whatever. (M: That's right). What other... did the Liturgy Committee... was it a planning committee in that sense? Did you all sit down and say, and someone say, well, we've got Advent coming up, we've got Lent coming up, what are we going to do? Did that happen? Is that what happened?

M. I think so. Well, yeah, that was part of it. Any kind of, like, because the different ministries... I guess, I'm pretty sure they called it the Liturgical Committee and that was where the Heads of all the different Ministries were and so that was where, I guess, things were talked about. They must have other levels of meetings but that was the only one that I was in on.

P. And so, things were actually - again, I speak as someone who actually does this for a living, so its my bread and butter, as well. So things like, er... I mean, banners and stuff, y'know, they change with the seasons, were those

kinds of things discussed at that meeting? Every so often, they change the way the altar is set, I mean, who does what and at what time (M: Yeah) Were those kinds of things discussed?

M. Yeah. Those kinds of things would be talked about.

P. So, did someone come with a set agenda of suggestions that were then talked about or voted on or was it just a sort of open discussion?

M. I don't remember. If we were voting on issues or anything, I don't remember. I just remember generally discussing certain things. We did discuss the banners one time because there was someone that was, who made the banners that someone there knew and had an idea for making banners so that was, er, why not?

P. Now, OK...

M. I should say one more thing, before we get away from the Eucharistic Ministry too, is that, er, what we had is an installation, where you'd be installed as a Eucharistic Minister, so we'd have the er, Archbishop... No, the Archbishop, who was there? The, er... no, no... I don't know who it was that we got there but one of the...

P. One of the assistant bishops.

M. Yeah, maybe. I can't remember who it was. One of the top guys to, er, install the Eucharistic Ministers and they'd be given a card and, er, a certificate.

P. And that happened when? During a Mass.

M. No, no. We had a separate gathering and reception afterwards. That was done on the altar. We'd move the chairs around and prayers would be said.

P. So that would be a weekday evening?

M. Yeah.

P. And that must have happened every so often?

M. Well, once a year, I think, at most... People come and go too, sometimes. They don't stay. But, er, my idea was... people were wanting to serve the Eucharistic Ministry, they'd be welcome to do so. If they had the initiative to come up, or to come back after Mass and speak to me about that, it seems to me that that's enough. If their heart was already there, wanting to do that. And then after a year we'd have to have another installation, which I think they're overdue for again. But, er...

P. But, a minimum, you'd have people at least once a year because of the Market-place of Possibilities.

M. Exactly. So, it would probably be quite sometime after that that we would do that because... er we had, that was part of the... well, my idea, when we decided to have the installation, was to have meetings that would somehow influence or inspire or help the new ministers reflect more upon the ministry and what they're doing, in fact, as Eucharistic Ministers. So that was all done, again, at the meeting, through readings or videos.

P. It would be like an on-going training?

M. Right. And people would share what they feel their ministry is. We'd all grow.

P. So that was something that you were responsible for as Head of Eucharistic Ministers?

M. Yeah.

P. And that was something that you tried to foster while you were Head of Eucharistic Ministers that you felt had not been done before?

M. Well, since I started it wasn't being done. I don't know if they did before. But then, I guess, that's why they wanted someone new for the Head of the Eucharistic Ministers. I guess, maybe the person before burned out. Like, even myself, I had to step down for a while and things. I wasn't getting the meetings regularly, I wasn't scheduling regularly, I didn't want to have to deal with the, er, some of the bureaucratic issues, sort of thing. That I just wanted to go and pray and I didn't want to have to go and think about the whole... like the whole mundane thing of just making sure that everybody's standing where they're supposed to stand, they're wearing... like, we had this problem with the dress code business which I wasn't really all that in favour of in the first place, but it was kind of determined, a sort of dress code, y'know, you shouldn't be wearing jeans or something like that, but, which is kind of surprising for the church, that church, that particular church, that you'd have to institute kind of, like, a dress-code, I didn't like the idea. I can understand, like, I think it was good, but...

P. Is there, um, you were invited to be Head of Eucharistic Ministers, and you were, and eventually you stopped being it; basically, because of your own choice and pressure of commitments. But, when you were invited to be a Head of Eucharistic Ministry, was it suggested to you as a finite

thing, er, excuse the government jargon, a term position? Was it understood that was a turn-over?

M. Er. I didn't understand it that way.

P. And the other Eucharistic Ministers, when they become one, do they think they're going to be...

M. Be there for life. Sure.

P. But, nevertheless, there is a certain amount of... change.

M. Oh, yeah. People come and go. But, I don't know about the Heads. I'm not sure if they do. It seems to me that there may be some talk of having something like a term position, where I don't think you'd be serving for more than something like, 6 yrs. say. But I think there is something like that where they... I'm not certain.

P. So, how many years actually, were you Head of Eucharistic Ministers?

M. I can't remember. 2 or 3.

P. Again. Can you remember... I mean, you go to St. Joe's now, so you don't have to remember very hard as to the way that the Eucharistic Ministers do what they do during Mass. Has that changed since your time as Head of Eucharistic Ministers? And can you remember any changes - even small ones - in the way that, well you mentioned the dress code - that was something that it was attempted to institute while you were... was that just for Eucharistic Ministers or for all...

M. I'm pretty sure it must have been, generally. But I'm not sure. I don't know. I always instituted the dress code for myself, anyhow, so it was no big deal for me. But I didn't like to have to confront people that weren't... I'm just not that way, y'know. I didn't want to get down on them when they're at church for not dressing properly. I didn't like that. But for myself, when I was lecturing, I'd be wearing my suit, kind of thing.

P. Were there any other changes?

M. But there has been changes since I was going and since others... I mean since then there have been changes. It's always... I don't know if they're being consistent or what happened or if there was a conscious change or if people just stopped doing a certain thing and one thing is that when you line up behind the celebrant on the altar there, you, er, the way that we decided to do it, because it wasn't being done this way before... OK. The way they started it

before is that... after the celebrant brings the host round to everybody and then the chalice, so then, at that point, the celebrant would wait until everybody had their basket or cup and then, um, everybody would go down to their station. But, er, we decided that we were going to do it differently and that was that, why should we wait for that one... that we should just go, get it and go down, make it more casual. So, as soon as you get your cup, you go to your station. But some people are doing that now and some people aren't, so... like, Gwen came down one time because she understood that that's what you do, but everybody else was standing up there, so I don't know if they have that standardized now or what's going on. Er. Before, we used to, after Mass, take all the, um, cups and the baskets to the sacristy and there we would consume the, um, the home-made bread and the wine. Then it was decided that we'd do that out by the tabernacle, so, er, that's where everything goes now. The cups and the baskets are set down on that altar there, the side altar. And, er, then we were supposed to consume there, y'know, after Mass we'd go. Someone would be staying there just to keep an eye on it, sort of thing. And then we'd all go there after and consume. But, er, now I think, it looks like they're taking it back to do the consuming at the back again. So, maybe there was trouble there. I don't know why they changed it, or if it was a conscious change. I don't know, if the Liturgical Committee instituted it that way or what.

P. So, let me just get this...

M. And now - one more thing - they're also coming closer to the altar, it seems. That's how they lined up that one Sunday. They used to be back. So now they're all right around there. I noticed that. I don't know if they're still doing that or not.

P. But, so, the way that it was set up to happen when you were Head of Eucharistic Ministers is that people would line up along the back (M: Uh huh)... actually, it just occurs to me. How do people know which station to go to? When is that designated?

M. Yeah. That's all, er, there's a schedule in the back there, so people are supposed to come 15 minutes before church, but it rarely ever happens. Or, if you were scheduling, you'd have, er, numbers, well, #1 is always the celebrant, then 2,3,4,5,6... those are all positions. So #1 is the celebrant. #2 is a bread basket. 3 and 4 are bread baskets. And then 5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12 are on the chalice somewhere. 13 is the, er, well, what 13 does is... he or she is... Well, #2 is bread; #13 is the tray of chalices, so they both go up to the altar at the start. Well, they go to, there's a table at the back and they bring the consecrated bread and the wine to the altar. I've got to be careful

because people don't like to be saying bread and wine, you should be saying body and blood but I'll say bread and wine. Anyhow, that's brought to the altar. so... anyway, all positions are numbered.

P. So, once you've got a number, you know where to stand, when you are distributing communion.

M. Right.

P. Do you also know where to stand when you're at the back?

M. Er. Well, it was suggested that if you're #12 or #8 or whatever then you should line up on that side of the church, so that you don't need to cross over.

P. Well, you stand at the back, you all receive communion and then you get a bread or a cup (M: Uh huh). Well, some numbers have got to get a bread.

M. Well the only importance for lining up there are 3 and 4, the bread baskets are on the far left or they sometimes - I've seen them get mixed up. But it's supposed to be that they are on the far left, facing out.

P. Right, and once you've got those sorted out, everybody else is OK.

M. Yeah. On the mundane level, one of the things of the Eucharistic Minister is that everything should have a smooth flow so that there doesn't seem to be any kind of disruption. Everything's just to go smoothly.

P. So when you were Head, they stood there in that order, they received communion first and then as soon as they had received a cup or a basket, they were to go immediately to their station (M: Right). And then they were to distribute communion and when they'd... and then what were they supposed to do? When they'd finished? Where were they supposed to go?

M. Yeah, well, nobody moved until the last person took communion, eh? So, if you notice, nobody moves, everybody stays in their positions (P: Right) even though their line maybe finished. And then, er...

P. And that was the way it was in your day?

M. Yeah. In my day. Its still like that.

P. Right, and then where did you... did you take them to the tabernacle or did you take them back up to the...?

M. Well, we started off taking it to the sacristy and then we changed it.

P. So when you first started, when everybody had finished, then everybody took it back up the steps and then individually took it out the door into the sacristy.

M. Right. That's right.

P. And then they would come back and return to their places.

M. Yeah. Through the side. Or, see, some would come back through, some wouldn't come back through, some would stay and consume... and, er, some wouldn't, but everybody was supposed to stay but some didn't and then there's the discussion of well, there's too many people or there's not enough people and I have to eat all this and I have to drink all this and everybody should be there trying to help out. There was details going on at the back there too, when we're consuming in the sacristy sometimes people would be just talking about general things, like they'd be... they'd forget that... the moment and what they were doing, sort of thing and that was an issue that was brought out to, er, certain people to make that, to have that respect and that you realize what you're doing right now and that also that the Mass is still going on and we have a speaker back there, you can hear what's going on and you should say the prayers. That's just one of the issues that goes on behind the scenes. So now instead of everybody going back up, all that movement, I think that was part of the thing was to make it more, part of it, on that level, so we move to the tabernacle. That way there's no movement, cutting down the movement.

P. So now, the theory is people take their stuff to the tabernacle, go back to the sacristy at the end of the Mass.

M. Right. Yeah. I don't know if that's the way they're supposed to be doing it according to the Liturgy Committee's decisions, but, er, that's what's going on right now. But to me it's like, why should they go to the side and then take it to the back? Why don't they just take it to the back? But I don't know, I guess they want to leave it there 'til everybody's gone. I don't know.

P. I think, in my recollection of more recent visits, I think that's the way it goes.

M. That's for sure the way it's going.

P. So now that you're not... you're not a Eucharistic Minister any more?

M. Well, I am still a Eucharistic Minister, I'm not serving. I was also taking communion to an old lady who was sick. She couldn't get out of her bed. So I did that for a couple of years. That, I guess that, y'know, she died and that so that, all these things, I had to take a break, so I just... I wanted to just go and pray and there are certain things... the mundane tasks that have to be taken care of that I don't want to think about. And also, I'd let my hair go too, so I felt a bit self-conscious about, er, y'know, I'm still a bit the old school way, too. I was brought up just on the edge of, sort of Vatican II, if you like. I mean, we didn't eat before going to Mass. We went to Mass every Sunday, but we weren't allowed to eat before. And I guess that's pre-Vatican II ideals, but that's the way we did it. I think I still have a bit of the old school, conservative way where... I wish that I didn't have to feel that just because my hair's long I shouldn't...

P. Yeah. That's true...

M. But I have served since then. A couple of months ago. Edna asked me because they were short.

P. So when would she come and ask you?

M. Well, when I was coming in the door.

P. So that would be very soon before the beginning of Mass.

M. Yeah. that's right.

P. She would have been delegated or that would have been part of her task, to go and keep an eye out...

M. Yeah. That's right. Because she's part of the Welcoming Committee.

P. Right.

M. So before Mass, there's these people handing out bulletins and just saying Hello. Welcoming. So she's there so she keeps an eye out for anyone that's a Eucharistic Minister to send them back to the sacristy to report in.

P. Right.

M. She did that when I was there too. If I knew we didn't have too many people I'd go and tell her.

P. It's a great system really, because you can fall back. But were there not occasions, I'm just trying to think, during the summer, when you just didn't have enough people?

M. Oh yeah, right. The summer was the worst for that. The first ones to go for me were 11 and 12. When I was scheduling. If we didn't have enough, then we just didn't have 11 and 12.

P. Was there a Celebrant's Assistant when you were there?

M. Yeah. That's a standard.

P. But, then she, he or she, doesn't have a designated role in the distribution of communion.

M. No. Doesn't distribute communion at all.

P. Have I not seen the Celebrant's Assistant distribute communion to the choir?

M. Oh yeah. That's right. The Celebrant's Assistant does do that. There's, um, the small basket...

[END OF TAPE: SIDE ONE]

M. ... pass them it. Y'know, they would just pass the basket around and the chalice.

P. And that would be happening while the other Eucharistic Ministers are being served.

M. Yeah. I think it does.

P. Do you go back to the time before there was a Celebrant's Assistant? I remember the time when I used to go to St. Joe's, there used to be... there didn't used to be one of them. I think there used to be altar servers. I can remember going and seeing this person that I later learned to call a Celebrant's Assistant and I remember the first time I saw them I thought "Gee, you're new". You don't remember that?

M. No, there's always been one as far as I remember. So you know what the Celebrant's Assistant is... holding the book, turning the pages and then making sure that the altar is set. There's people that come up and set the altar as well and as you see, they bring the candle up, light the candle, er, fold out the table cloth and, er, the Celebrant's Assistant steps out of the picture when the Eucharistic Ministers come up. The rest of the Mass continues. Then, when the Eucharistic Ministers go down to their stations, the Celebrant's Assistant is deconstructing the altar. So everything is shut down on the altar. And, er, yeah, so...

P. Anyway...

[END OF INTERVIEW]

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please answer all the questions.
2. Indicate your response by placing an "X" in the appropriate space; thus: [X]
3. For some questions, space is provided for you to write additional comments, if you wish.
4. If you need more space for your comments, please continue on the back of the sheet.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Please mail the completed questionnaire in the stamped addressed envelope provided.

1. Are you MALE []

or

FEMALE []

2. Are you SINGLE [] ,

MARRIED [] ,

SEPARATED/DIVORCED []

3. How old are you?

24 or under []

25-34 []

35-44 []

45-54 []

55-64 []

65 or over []

4. What do you do?

I am a student []

I am retired []

I am a homemaker []

I work outside the home []
(please specify eg. plumber,
teacher etc.:

.....

5. What kind of education have you?

I did not finish high school []

I finished high school []

I have a diploma or other
qualification from a
community college []

I have a Bachelor's level
degree from a University []

I have a higher degree
from a University []

6. Did you go to a Catholic school (elementary or high) for
5 or more years of your schooling?

YES []

NO []

7. Have you ever attended a course/workshop at the
University of St. Paul, Ottawa?

YES []

NO []

8. Do you read any Catholic periodicals (newspapers,
magazines, newsletters etc.)?

NEVER []

RARELY []

OCCASIONALLY []

FREQUENTLY []

If so, which one(s)

9. Please describe any religious education you have had since the end of your high school career. (Check as many as appropriate)

(a) I read and study privately YES []
NO []

(if 'YES', please give an example:

.....
.....)

(b) I attend/have attended
a bible study or discussion
group YES []
NO []

(c) I have been involved in
sessions arranged by the
parish or diocese YES []
NO []

(if 'YES', please specify:
.....
.....)

(d) I have been involved in
other religious education
activities YES []
NO []

(if 'YES', please specify:
.....
.....)

10. How long have you been coming to this church?

- a few weeks []
- a month or two []
- about six months []
- about a year []
- between one and five years []
- over five years []

11. How often do you come to Mass at this church?

- every week []
- most weeks []
- occasionally
(about once a month) []
- rarely []

12. How do you get to church when you come?

- I walk []
- I use public transport []
- I come by car []
- Other []
(please specify:
.....)

13. When you come to church, how long does the journey take?

- Less than 5 minutes []
- Between 5 and 10 minutes []
- About 15 minutes []
- Between 15 and 30 minutes []
- More than 30 minutes []

14. When you come to church do you usually come alone or with others (eg family members, friends)?

ALONE []

WITH OTHERS []

If you come with others, are they

or FAMILY []

FRIENDS []

15. Apart from actually going to Mass on Sunday, how long do you spend at church in a week?

5-10 minutes before/after Mass []

30 minutes each week []

1 hour each week []

More than an hour each week []

16. How many of the people that you see at Mass do you know?

I know this many as friends: 0-5 []

6-10 []

more than 10 []

I know this many as acquaintances: 0-5 []

6-10 []

more than 10 []

I know this many by sight: 0-5 []

6-10 []

more than 10 []

17. Why do you prefer to come to this church (rather than another?)

(Please check [X] the statement(s) that best express your reason)

This church is close to where I live []

I like the church building []

This church embodies my idea of what a Christian community should be []

I like the priests at this church []

I come to this church because of its involvement in issues of social justice []

I like the people who come to this church []

I enjoy the music during the Mass []

I come because family members prefer to come here []

I like the homilies []

The teachings of Vatican II are put into practice in this church more fully than in other churches []

I have lots of friends among the congregation []

I feel I belong to this parish []

I prefer the way the Mass is celebrated at this church []

I experience a sense of community when I come to this church []

I find coming to this church helps me to pray []

This church stands for values and ideals I think are important []

Other []

18. If circumstances forced you to miss part of the Mass (eg. if someone with you was unwell), which one of these parts of the Mass would you rather miss?

Homily []

Offertory []

Consecration []

Communion []

19. If circumstances forced you to attend Mass for only a few minutes, which one of these parts of the Mass would you prefer to attend?

Homily []

Offertory []

Consecration []

Communion []

20. During the Mass at this church, the bread and wine are brought from the back of the church to the altar instead of being placed on, or near, the altar before the Mass begins. Do you think this is important?

No, this change is not important []

Yes, this change is important and I think the bread and wine should be brought from the back of the church []

Yes, this change is important and I would prefer it if the bread and wine were on or near the altar before Mass begins []

21. When the bread and wine are taken to the altar, the money that has been collected is taken at the same time. Do you see any connection between the bread and wine and the money?

No, I see no connection []

Yes, I see a connection []

Please use the space below to elaborate on your answer, if you wish

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

22. During the Mass in this church, everyone stands during the consecration. In most other churches, people kneel during the consecration, even if they stand for the rest of the Eucharistic Prayer. How important is this change to you?

I feel that this is:

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []

NOT VERY IMPORTANT []

QUITE IMPORTANT []

VERY IMPORTANT []

Please use the space below if you wish to elaborate on your answer:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

23. In this church, there are a number of differences in the way people go to communion compared to other churches now and in the past.

For each of the differences listed below, please indicate how important you feel they are.

a) People receive communion standing up, rather than kneeling.

I feel that this is:

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []

NOT VERY IMPORTANT []

QUITE IMPORTANT []

VERY IMPORTANT []

b) People can receive both wine and bread

I feel that this is:

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []

NOT VERY IMPORTANT []

QUITE IMPORTANT []

VERY IMPORTANT []

c) People can receive communion from lay ministers, and not only from a priest

I feel that this is:

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []

NOT VERY IMPORTANT []

QUITE IMPORTANT []

VERY IMPORTANT []

d) The host is no longer a round, white wafer, but is brown and has a different texture and shape

I feel that this is:

- NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []
- NOT VERY IMPORTANT []
- QUITE IMPORTANT []
- VERY IMPORTANT []

e) People take the host in their hands rather than have it placed on their tongue

I feel that this is:

- NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL []
- NOT VERY IMPORTANT []
- QUITE IMPORTANT []
- VERY IMPORTANT []

Please use the space below if you wish to elaborate on your answers:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire.

If you have any comments that you wish to add, please use the space below.

If you would like to talk in person about any of the topics raised in the questionnaire, I would value the opportunity to talk with you greatly. If you wish to do this, please add your first name and a telephone number where you may be reached.

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS
FROM 80 RETURNED
QUESTIONNAIRES

19-Mar-92
21:52:33

SPSS-X RELEASE 3.1 FOR IBM VM/CMS
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

AMDAHL 5860

VM/HPO 4.2

For VM/HPO 4.2
This software is functional through July 31, 1999.

UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

License Number 1001

Try the new SPSS-X Release 3.1 features:

- * Interactive SPSS-X command execution
- * Online Help
- * Nonlinear Regression
- * Time Series and Forecasting (TRENDS)
- * Macro Facility
- * The new RANK procedure
- * Improvements in:
 - * REPORT and TABLES
 - * Simplified Syntax
 - * Matrix I/O

See SPSS-X User's Guide, Third Edition, for more information on these features.

```
1 0 TITLE "ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA"
2 0 DATA LIST / PARCAT 1 SEX 2 STAT 3 AGE 4 OCC 5 EDLEV 6 CATSCH 7 USP 8 C
3 0 RELEDA 10 RELEDB 11 RELEDC 12 RELEDD 13 HOLO 14 HOOF 15 MODE 16 JOT
4 0 ALON 18 TIME 19 ACQA 20 ACQB 21 ACQC 22 WHYA 23 WHYB 24 WHYC 25 WHY
5 0 WHYE 27 WHYF 28 WHYG 29 WHYH 30 WHYI 31 WHYJ 32 WHYK 33 WHYL 34 WHY
6 0 WHYN 36 WHYO 37 WHYP 38 WHYQ 39 MISS 40 ATTE 41 OFFE 42 MONY 43 CON
7 0 COMMA 45 COMMB 46 COMMC 47 COMMD 48 COMME 49 ELAB 50 NAME 51 PREKNE
```

This command will read 1 records from the command file

Variable	Rec	Start	End	Format
PARCAT	1	1	1	F1.0
SEX	1	2	2	F1.0
STAT	1	3	3	F1.0
AGE	1	4	4	F1.0
OCC	1	5	5	F1.0
EDLEV	1	6	6	F1.0
CATSCH	1	7	7	F1.0
USP	1	8	8	F1.0
CATPER	1	9	9	F1.0
RELEDA	1	10	10	F1.0
RELEDB	1	11	11	F1.0
RELEDC	1	12	12	F1.0
RELEDD	1	13	13	F1.0
HOLO	1	14	14	F1.0
HOOF	1	15	15	F1.0
MODE	1	16	16	F1.0
JOTA	1	17	17	F1.0
ALON	1	18	18	F1.0
TIME	1	19	19	F1.0
ACQA	1	20	20	F1.0
ACQB	1	21	21	F1.0
ACQC	1	22	22	F1.0
WHYA	1	23	23	F1.0
WHYB	1	24	24	F1.0
WHYC	1	25	25	F1.0
WHYD	1	26	26	F1.0
WHYE	1	27	27	F1.0
WHYF	1	28	28	F1.0

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ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

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WHYG	1	29	29	F1.0
WHYH	1	30	30	F1.0
WHYI	1	31	31	F1.0
WHYJ	1	32	32	F1.0
WHYK	1	33	33	F1.0
WHYL	1	34	34	F1.0
WHYM	1	35	35	F1.0
WHYN	1	36	36	F1.0
WHYO	1	37	37	F1.0
WHYP	1	38	38	F1.0
WHYQ	1	39	39	F1.0
MISS	1	40	40	F1.0
ATTE	1	41	41	F1.0
OFFE	1	42	42	F1.0
MONY	1	43	43	F1.0
CONS	1	44	44	F1.0
COMMA	1	45	45	F1.0
COMMB	1	46	46	F1.0
COMMC	1	47	47	F1.0
COMMD	1	48	48	F1.0
COMME	1	49	49	F1.0
ELAB	1	50	50	F1.0
NAME	1	51	51	F1.0
PREKNE	1	52	52	F1.0

8 0 MISSING VALUES OCC RELEDA RELEDB RELEDC RELEDD HOOF MODE JOTA ALON TIME
9 0 ACQA ACQB ACQC MISS OFFE (9) /
10 0 VALUE LABELS PARCAT 1 'A' 2 'B' 3 'C' / SEX 1 'MALE' 2 'FEMALE' /
11 0 STAT 1 'SINGLE' 2 'MARRIED' 3 'SEP / DIV' /
12 0 AGE 1 '24 OR LESS' 2 '25 - 34' 3 '35 - 44' 4 '45 - 54'
13 0 5 '55 - 64' 6 '65 OR MORE' /
14 0 OCC 1 'STUDENT' 2 'RETIRED' 3 'HOMEMAKER' 4 'PROFESSIONAL'
15 0 5 'OFFICE' 6 'TRAINED / ARTISAN' 7 'UNTRAINED' /
16 0 EDLEV 1 'NOT FINISH H.S.' 2 'FINISHED H.S.' 3 'DIPLOMA'
17 0 4 'BACHELORS DEGREE' 5 'HIGHER DEGREE' /
18 0 CATSCH 1 'YES' 2 'NO' / USP 1 'YES' 2 'NO' /
19 0 CATPER 1 'NEVER' 2 'RARELY' 3 'OCCASIONALLY' 4 'FREQUENTLY'
20 0 RELEDA 1 'YES' 2 'NO' / RELEDB 1 'YES' 2 'NO' /
21 0
22 0
23 0
24 0
25 0 RELEDC 1 'YES' 2 'NO' / RELEDD 1 'YES' 2 'NO' /
26 0 HOLO 1 'A FEW WEEKS' 2 'A MONTH OR TWO' 3 'ABOUT 6 MONTHS'
27 0 4 'ABOUT ONE YEAR' 5 'BETWEEN 1 AND 5 YEARS'
28 0 6 'OVER 5 YEARS' /
29 0 HOOF 1 'EVERY WEEK' 2 'MOST WEEKS' 3 'OCCASIONALLY' 4 'RA'
30 0 MODE 1 'WALK' 2 'PUBLIC TRANSPORT' 3 'CAR' 4 'OTHER' /
31 0 JOTA 1 'LESS THAN 5 MINUTES' 2 'BETWEEN 5 AND 10'
32 0 3 'ABOUT 15 MINUTES' 4 'BETWEEN 15 AND 30' 5 'MORE T'
33 0 ALON 1 'ALONE' 2 'WITH FAMILY' 3 'WITH FRIENDS' /
34 0 TIME 1 '5 - 10' 2 '30' 3 '1 HOUR' 4 'MORE THAN 1 HOUR' /
35 0
36 0 ACQA 1 '0 - 5' 2 '6 - 10' 3 'MORE THAN 10' /

19-Mar-92
21:52:35

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

AMDAHL 5860

VM/HPO 4.2

```
37 0 ACQB 1 '0 - 5' 2 '6 - 10' 3 'MORE THAN 10'//
38 0 ACQC 1 '0 - 5' 2 '6 - 10' 3 'MORE THAN 10'//
39 0 WHYA 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
40 0 WHYB 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
41 0 WHYC 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
42 0 WHYD 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
43 0 WHYE 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
44 0 WHYF 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
45 0 WHYG 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
46 0 WHYH 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
47 0 WHYI 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
48 0 WHYJ 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
49 0 WHYK 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
50 0 WHYL 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
51 0 WHYM 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
52 0 WHYN 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
53 0 WHYO 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
54 0 WHYP 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
55 0 WHYQ 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
56 0 MISS 1 'HOMILY' 2 'OFFERTORY' 3 'CONSECRATION' 4 'COMMUNI
57 0 ATTE 1 'HOMILY' 2 'OFFERTORY' 3 'CONSECRATION' 4 'COMMUNI
58 0 OFFE 1 'NO' 2 'YES AND APPROVE' 3 'YES AND DISAPPROVE'//
59 0 MONY 1 'NO' 2 'YES'//
60 0 CONS 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
61 0 COMMA 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
62 0 COMMB 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
63 0 COMMC 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
64 0 COMMD 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
65 0 COMME 1 'NOT AT ALL' 2 'NOT VERY' 3 'QUITE' 4 'VERY'//
66 0 ELAB 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
67 0 NAME 1 'YES' 2 'NO'//
68 0 PREKNE 1 'POSITIVE PREFERENCE FOR KNEELING'
69 0 2 'POSITIVE PREFERENCE FOR STANDING'
70 0 3 'DEFINITE RESPONSE BUT AMBIGUOUS'
71 0 4 'NO PREFERENCE INDICATED/NO RESPONSE'//
72 0 LIST VARIABLES = ALL
```

There are 1,382,928 bytes of memory available.
The largest contiguous area has 1,382,296 bytes.

1,956 bytes of memory required for the LIST procedure.
240 bytes have already been acquired.
1,716 bytes remain to be acquired.

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ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

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VM/HPO 4.2

PARCAT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A	1	7	8.7	8.7	8.7
B	2	22	27.5	27.5	36.2
C	3	51	63.7	63.7	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

SEX

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
MALE	1	23	28.7	28.7	28.7
FEMALE	2	57	71.2	71.2	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

STAT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
SINGLE	1	37	46.2	46.2	46.2
MARRIED	2	33	41.2	41.2	87.5
SEP / DIV	3	10	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

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ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

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AGE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
24 OR LESS	1	2	2.5	2.5	2.5
25 - 34	2	18	22.5	22.5	25.0
35 - 44	3	22	27.5	27.5	52.5
45 - 54	4	15	18.8	18.8	71.2
55 - 64	5	12	15.0	15.0	86.2
65 OR MORE	6	11	13.7	13.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

OCC

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
STUDENT	1	7	8.7	8.9	8.9
RETIRED	2	15	18.8	19.0	27.8
HOMEMAKER	3	7	8.7	8.9	36.7
PROFESSIONAL	4	37	46.2	46.8	83.5
OFFICE	5	12	15.0	15.2	98.7
TRAINED / ARTISAN	6	1	1.2	1.3	100.0
	9	1	1.2	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 79 Missing cases 1

EDLEV

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT FINISH H.S.	1	5	6.3	6.3	6.3
FINISHED H.S.	2	11	13.7	13.7	20.0
DIPLOMA	3	14	17.5	17.5	37.5
BACHELORS DEGREE	4	21	26.2	26.2	63.7
HIGHER DEGREE	5	28	35.0	35.0	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

CATSCH

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	67	83.7	83.7	83.7
NO	2	12	15.0	15.0	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

USP

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	28	35.0	35.0	35.0
NO	2	51	63.7	63.7	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

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ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

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CATPER

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NEVER	1	10	12.5	12.5	12.5
RARELY	2	19	23.7	23.7	36.2
OCCASIONALLY	3	23	28.7	28.7	65.0
FREQUENTLY	4	27	33.7	33.7	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

RELEDA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	47	58.7	61.0	61.0
NO	2	30	37.5	39.0	100.0
	9	3	3.7	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 77 Missing cases 3

RELEDB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	42	52.5	54.5	54.5
NO	2	35	43.8	45.5	100.0
	9	3	3.7	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 77 Missing cases 3

RELEDC

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	39	48.7	51.3	51.3
NO	2	37	46.2	48.7	100.0
	9	4	5.0	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	76	Missing cases	4		

RELEDD

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	46	57.5	61.3	61.3
NO	2	29	36.2	38.7	100.0
	9	5	6.3	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	75	Missing cases	5		

HOLO

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
A MONTH OR TWO	2	1	1.2	1.2	1.2
ABOUT 6 MONTHS	3	2	2.5	2.5	3.7
ABOUT ONE YEAR	4	7	8.7	8.7	12.5
BETWEEN 1 AND 5 YEAR	5	28	35.0	35.0	47.5
OVER 5 YEARS	6	42	52.5	52.5	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

HOOF

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
EVERY WEEK	1	47	58.7	59.5	59.5
MOST WEEKS	2	22	27.5	27.8	87.3
OCCASIONALLY	3	8	10.0	10.1	97.5
RARELY	4	2	2.5	2.5	100.0
	9	1	1.2	Missing	
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 79 Missing cases 1

MODE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
WALK	1	23	28.7	29.1	29.1
PUBLIC TRANSPORT	2	9	11.2	11.4	40.5
CAR	3	47	58.7	59.5	100.0
	9	1	1.2	Missing	
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 79 Missing cases 1

JOTA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
LESS THAN 5 MINUTES	1	6	7.5	7.6	7.6
BETWEEN 5 AND 10	2	31	38.7	39.2	46.8
ABOUT 15 MINUTES	3	23	28.7	29.1	75.9
BETWEEN 15 AND 30	4	15	18.8	19.0	94.9
MORE THAN 30	5	4	5.0	5.1	100.0
	9	1	1.2	Missing	
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 79 Missing cases 1

ALON

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
ALONE	1	38	47.5	48.1	48.1
WITH FAMILY	2	31	38.7	39.2	87.3
WITH FRIENDS	3	10	12.5	12.7	100.0
	9	1	1.2	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 79 Missing cases 1

TIME

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
5 - 10	1	46	57.5	60.5	60.5
30	2	8	10.0	10.5	71.1
1 HOUR	3	7	8.7	9.2	80.3
MORE THAN 1 HOUR	4	15	18.8	19.7	100.0
	9	4	5.0	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 76 Missing cases 4

ACQA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
0 - 5	1	34	42.5	45.3	45.3
6 - 10	2	18	22.5	24.0	69.3
MORE THAN 10	3	23	28.7	30.7	100.0
	9	5	6.3	Missing	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 75 Missing cases 5

ACQB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
0 - 5	1	21	26.2	28.0	28.0
6 - 10	2	17	21.2	22.7	50.7
MORE THAN 10	3	37	46.2	49.3	100.0
	9	5	6.3	Missing	
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 75 Missing cases 5

ACQC

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
0 - 5	1	12	15.0	15.4	15.4
6 - 10	2	15	18.8	19.2	34.6
MORE THAN 10	3	51	63.7	65.4	100.0
	9	2	2.5	Missing	
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 78 Missing cases 2

WHYA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	25	31.3	31.3	31.3
NO	2	55	68.8	68.8	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

19-Mar-92
21:52:37

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

AMDAHL 5860

VM/HPO 4.2

WHYB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	15	18.8	18.8	18.8
NO	2	65	81.3	81.3	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYC

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	57	71.2	71.2	71.2
NO	2	23	28.7	28.7	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYD

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	43	53.7	53.7	53.7
NO	2	37	46.2	46.2	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	37	46.2	46.2	46.2
NO	2	43	53.7	53.7	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYF

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	33	41.2	41.2	41.2
NO	2	47	58.7	58.7	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYG

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	55	68.8	68.8	68.8
NO	2	25	31.3	31.3	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYH

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	7	8.7	8.7	8.7
NO	2	73	91.2	91.2	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYI

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	44	55.0	55.0	55.0
NO	2	36	45.0	45.0	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYJ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	32	40.0	40.0	40.0
NO	2	48	60.0	60.0	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYK

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	16	20.0	20.0	20.0
NO	2	64	80.0	80.0	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYL

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	42	52.5	52.5	52.5
NO	2	38	47.5	47.5	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYM

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	51	63.7	63.7	63.7
NO	2	29	36.2	36.2	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYN

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	60	75.0	75.0	75.0
NO	2	20	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYO

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	33	41.2	41.2	41.2
NO	2	47	58.7	58.7	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYP

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	54	67.5	67.5	67.5
NO	2	26	32.5	32.5	100.0
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

WHYQ

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	11	13.7	13.7	13.7
NO	2	69	86.2	86.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

MISS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
HOMILY	1	37	46.2	53.6	53.6
OFFERTORY	2	24	30.0	34.8	88.4
CONSECRATION	3	4	5.0	5.8	94.2
COMMUNION	4	4	5.0	5.8	100.0
	9	11	13.7	Missing	
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	69	Missing cases	11		

ATTE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
HOMILY	1	18	22.5	22.5	22.5
OFFERTORY	2	1	1.2	1.2	23.7
CONSECRATION	3	11	13.7	13.7	37.5
COMMUNION	4	32	40.0	40.0	77.5
	9	18	22.5	22.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

OFFE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NO	1	31	38.7	38.7	38.7
YES AND APPROVE	2	48	60.0	60.0	98.7
YES AND DISAPPROVE	3	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

MONY

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NO	1	19	23.7	23.7	23.7
YES	2	60	75.0	75.0	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

CONS

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	20	25.0	25.0	25.0
NOT VERY	2	30	37.5	37.5	62.5
QUITE	3	19	23.7	23.7	86.2
VERY	4	10	12.5	12.5	98.7
	9	1	1.2	1.2	100.0
Total		80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

19-Mar-92
21:52:37

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

AMDAHL 5860

VM/HPO 4.2

COMMA

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	23	28.7	28.7	28.7
NOT VERY	2	22	27.5	27.5	56.3
QUITE	3	14	17.5	17.5	73.7
VERY	4	21	26.2	26.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

COMMB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	8	10.0	10.0	10.0
NOT VERY	2	14	17.5	17.5	27.5
QUITE	3	22	27.5	27.5	55.0
VERY	4	36	45.0	45.0	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

COMMC

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	10	12.5	12.5	12.5
NOT VERY	2	21	26.2	26.2	38.7
QUITE	3	12	15.0	15.0	53.7
VERY	4	37	46.2	46.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

19-Mar-92
21:52:37

ANALYSIS OF PAUL'S DATA
UNIVERSITY of OTTAWA

AMDAHL 5860

VM/HPO 4.2

COMMD

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	18	22.5	22.5	22.5
NOT VERY	2	24	30.0	30.0	52.5
QUITE	3	11	13.7	13.7	66.2
VERY	4	27	33.7	33.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

COMME

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
NOT AT ALL	1	18	22.5	22.5	22.5
NOT VERY	2	17	21.2	21.2	43.8
QUITE	3	8	10.0	10.0	53.7
VERY	4	37	46.2	46.2	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

ELAB

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	60	75.0	75.0	75.0
NO	2	20	25.0	25.0	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	
Valid cases	80	Missing cases	0		

NAME

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
YES	1	9	11.2	11.2	11.2
NO	2	71	88.7	88.7	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

PREKNE

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
POSITIVE PREFERENCE	1	13	16.2	16.2	16.2
POSITIVE PREFERENCE	2	13	16.2	16.2	32.5
DEFINITE RESPONSE BU	3	20	25.0	25.0	57.5
NO PREFERENCE INDICA	4	34	42.5	42.5	100.0
		-----	-----	-----	
	Total	80	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases 80 Missing cases 0

RESPONDENTS' COMMENTS
TO QUESTIONNAIRE
QUESTIONS ARRANGED BY
QUESTION NUMBER

1. Elaborations made in response to Qs. 18 & 19.

17B The Eucharist is an entirety - cannot be parsed.

18B ... Mass in the entirety is important to me.

24B If circumstances allowed me to attend Mass for only a few minutes, I think I would simply opt to come to Mass at another time, or on another day of the week, when I could participate in an entire Eucharist.

26C To me its a total whole and I can't break it down.

58C It's all one! Would not go to Mass. If at Mass when circumstances caused me to leave, this would probably be uncontrollable.

65C I would go to another Mass.

72B Silly question the whole Mass fits together. If those were the circumstances - I'd go for a donut and coffee.

78B I do not understand the point of this question. I believe that all parts are important - If I miss Mass or have to leave, I pray it own my own. Hence, I can't answer this question honestly. If someone with me were unwell, I would base my decision on his/her need and not on what part of the Mass was in progress at the time.

2. Elaborations in response to Qs. 20 & 21.

4B Both the bread and the wine and our money are both served as an offering of self to God; money to help others; bread and wine for myself - spiritual nourishment.

5A All our gifts to be offered for the church and community.

6B Gifts.

7A The bread and wine ("work of human hands") and the money (along with the bread for the poor) are signs of the community's involvement in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. These symbols hark back to the early church's celebrations in a house where bread and wine were supplied by the people; where they shared their wealth in common and fed the poor in their midst.

8A The connection is spelled out by the celebrant.

10A At our church food as well as money is brought to the front in baskets to care for the material needs of the parish and people in need who came to the door. The connection is made between the physical and the spiritual i.e. the whole person.

11B Christ offered his life to us, and through the wine and bread he offers to us again. The money is a small offer on our part to our fellow man.

14B Bread and wine sustain the soul and money, to sustain the body.

15A It is not done at the same time because there is a "connection" between the two. There need not be a "connection" for the two actions to be done at the same time.

16B The bread and wine represent the offerings of the congregation - these are offered and become the body and blood of Jesus at the consecration - the money, also an offering, is given for the sustaining of the clergy and the parish.

23B These are offerings of the Christian community to God.

24B This is consistent with Eucharistic liturgies of the early church when people brought food and other items necessary to sustain needier members of the community to the Eucharistic gatherings, for distribution by the individuals responsible for the care of the needy members.

25A The celebrant usually connects the gift of who we are -
the gifts of bread for the poor - bread brought by people as
they come to Mass -
the gifts of bread and wine -
the monetary gifts.

27C The bread, wine, money and food are all fruits of our
labour and are being offered to God.

29C All are fruits of labour: money from work and others
from manual work of earth and bread from man made.

33C Both represent involvement of the congregation in the
Mass and the church. Both offerings to God.

34C Money is for church maintenance. I consider it part of
my responsibility.

35C All are "offerings".

37C The money is an offering to God and his church. Some of
it may represent a sacrifice as well.

38C Involvement of the congregation with the offerings.

42C I would prefer to have the money presented separately.

43C Since our donations are our offerings to God, I think
it is very nice to have it presented at the altar at this
time.

44C Gifts - to offer
Common sharing
Involving community
Reality - Life.

47C Offerings.

48C The bread and wine represent the community that is to
be transformed into the body of Christ. The collect
represents our solidarity with the community - our
commitment to build community.

51B All are gifts.

55C That depends on how you look at it. One is our gift to
help the Church fathers; the other is God's gift to us.

56C Perhaps it represents the wise men presenting gifts to
the Infant Jesus?

58C Self-evident - the offering of the people of God
(hopefully as they can generously give to others).

61C Offering.

62C This question made me take note of something I never took notice. Therefore I can only conclude I see no connection.

63C In my opinion the offering of money is symbolic of a gift offering also transformed into something other than its material form, that is food for the less fortunate, church maintenance etc.

64C It [the money] is our way of contributing to the bread and wine so that they are our gifts.

65C They are all fruits of our labour, talents and the Grace of God.

70C Though I'm sure there's some religious significance ie. offering but it seems to me that it fits in because there's a lull in the service when no-one is speaking.

72B Money is to help the poor - others in the community. The Eucharist celebrates our community and challenges to create a heaven on earth. The sacrament must be connected to our reality - or it's meaningless. It will take more than just bringing the money with the elements to make that important connection.

74C As I understand it, money is needed to keep a church operating and in fair condition and is an integral part of the operation of a church and not something apart.

78B Frankly, on the whole, I don't see this as crucial to the Mass itself. However, to heighten our sensitivity to the concept of the Mass as a communal celebration (rather than a private prayer), the carrying of the offerings to the altar, by members of the congregation, is important.

78B I see both as offerings - to be shared. This is part of the communal celebration and the togetherness of members of the congregation with each other as well as with God.

79C Money is the offering of the congregation.

90C Money is as much the "fruit" of our labours as bread and wine. It also enables us to share with and serve as community to our pastors and those in need.

3. Elaborations made in response to Q. 22.

4B I prefer to do what is customary, for the spirit of uniformity or unity. I would prefer to kneel but if standing is the custom in this church I can easily adapt. Jesus' presence is there no matter what and how we celebrate the consecration. I feel there is more veneration and respect by kneeling.

7A The usual alternative - kneeling - is the stance of a penitent, of one who is subservient. The Eucharistic Prayer is a prayer of thanksgiving and praise - much more appropriate for standing. The priest and the people pray this prayer together - one group should not kneel while the other stands. Therefore, standing should help to signify to the people that they are co-celebrants of the Eucharist.

8A Substance is more important than form.

9B How anyone prefers to show respect/love to someone as important to them as God (their Lord) is a matter of personal preference partly and "training". Either way is good. I feel comfortable either way. I believe its important to know why one does what is done and that it's a faithful expression of the importance of the moment.

10A Thanksgiving, love, respect, in a word worship is principally a disposition of the interior life and is absolute or necessary. The outward manifestation is relative and conditional as is its importance.

11B The important part is the respect we feel in our hearts and in our souls.

14B Kneeling is penance standing is respect for royalty - Christ is King therefore we stand.

15A Kneeling is a sign of humility and praise and worship and fervency and respect and so should be done at consecration.

16B I feel that this is important because standing is always considered to be the stance of those requesting, or an attitude of respect and devotion. On the other hand, kneeling is the position taken for repentance or asking forgiveness.

17B STANDING is the ancient body language for prayer and praise. The middle ages introduced the custom of kneeling as symbolic of subservience. Experiencing God as loving father is more expressive than experiencing God as Sovereign or King.

18B I am comfortable with standing or kneeling.

19B I don't like to kneel in submission, I prefer to stand proudly.

23B Better to remain standing because the movement from standing to kneeling to standing becomes a diversion. Also while standing we participate in the consecration.

24B The practice tends to de-emphasize the bad theology of emphasizing the consecration at the expense of the over-all liturgy of the Eucharist.

26C I prefer kneeling - as the consecration is the "climax". I think it deserves the highest respect and this is shown in the ultimate adoration of man by kneeling. Standing for so long makes many people (esp. young) not notice this is any different from any part of the Mass.

27C Actually, not everyone stands: there are some who prefer to kneel. I don't see that this is anything worth fighting about.

29C I stay standing at St. Joseph's but when going at my parents' town Church (in Baie de fevre, QC) I do kneel because this is how they teach me when younger.

31B We the community, the body of Christ, have for so long worshipped the bread and the wine (Body of Christ) to our own detriment that this now gives us a sense of our own importance, our own responsibilities as Christians rather than exclusively on the magical power of bread and wine.

32B This [standing at consecration] is an old change - too bad some people are "stuck" on this point.

33C Although I feel it is more respectful to kneel, I don't have a problem with people standing. Some people have trouble kneeling, and if they are more comfortable standing then its better for them. However, those who have no trouble should try to.

34C Standing makes it less difficult for some seniors. I consider it respectful and does not detract from one's thoughts.

36C I feel people should kneel, sign of being humble and adoring.

37C Standing is a position of alertness and attention. When one is absorbed in the actual procedure there would seem to be no reason to divert one's attention to a change of position to kneeling - petition when we are involved in giving praise honour, glory, thanks to God.

40C Prefer to kneel.

42C I have always knelt at the consecration. It seems a more reverent gesture.

44C I'm not sure - I could be convinced either way - My children don't have any reverence during the consecration for the process - as we were taught. Maybe that's OK. I was always uncomfortable with the adoration and rather dramatic approach of the past.

45C Standing in this culture is a sign of respect - much more than kneeling.

46C We are all looking and witnessing the consecration - and generally seems more joyous.

47C It makes me feel more a part of the Mass.

48C Kneeling focusses all the attention on the bread and wine and distracts from the fact that the community is also the body of Christ.

51B People should feel to stand or kneel. This parish draws on a wide range of people from different traditions. It is important for people to feel comfortable.

55C I thought it [standing] strange at first but now it really doesn't make a difference.

56C I do not know why people stand during the consecration rather than kneel, I must ask a priest. I am sorry I cannot be of help answering your questions, but you have made me realize I must read up on my religion myself.

57C This is an important time of reflection and I think parishioners should kneel.

58C An attitude of the mind is more important than the position of the body. My past view of the consecration was to show by kneeling a reverence for the presence of God. Now I think God is already present and does not appear with the words of consecration (magically).

62C Standing or kneeling is not important. What is important is what is being said regarding consecration. If I visualize the Last Supper right didn't the apostles sit?

63C I believe this is one of the most important parts of the celebration and although one can still personally choose to kneel, it would be, in my view, more in harmony and unified if everyone knelt together.

64C The apostles were probably reclining during the first consecration.

65C The uncertainty about whether to stand or kneel exists in many churches with the result that people begin to kneel half way through the consecration - as a result, people focus on this issue rather than the consecration. I feel that the significance should be explained to people during the homily so that they know what to expect and the reasons behind this action. (As there are many visitors each Sunday).

67C I prefer to kneel - just to show more respect towards God.

67C I, myself, would prefer to kneel in receiving the host.

70C At the church I attended in Mississauga, everyone stood during the consecration. This was at the time that it was a new development. The bishop for the area sent an edict that the congregation was to kneel. A number of us refused to.

73C People should be permitted (or permit themselves) to either kneel or stand. Rigorous conformity is a non essential.

75C I prefer to kneel for the consecration.

78P One of the advantages of it is that I am not distracted during the Canon. Hence I am happy either to stand throughout or kneel throughout - as I prefer to be "engaged" in what is happening.

80C I feel I can be as reverent to the body and blood of Christ when standing. The priests remain standing on the altar during the consecration. Why should the posture/position of the people/congregation change?

4. Elaborations made in response to Q.23.

4B People are free to choose how and what they prefer. I like it this way we are free to do as we wish/desire as long as it is done with reverence to what it signifies.

5A It is important that lay people take part in the celebration. I like the bread that reflects the last supper.

7A Everything about these actions speaks to the fact that we come to the banquet as co-celebrants without hierarchical distinctions; we take bread in our hands, we drink the wine as did the apostles at the last supper; we come to the table singing, standing in the presence of the Lord as his baptized, chosen, priestly people (not kneeling as penitents).

9B While its important to be practical, any activity that adds to the notion that this is a "meal", shared in by the community (people of faith, participating actively) is important.

10A I consider (c) to be very important because it is symbolic of the fundamental structural change that is and ought to happen within this institutional church.

11B It's going back to the full representation of the eucharist as happened in the last supper. Communion has to be given in both species wine and bread, real bread.

12C These last five questions I felt difficult to answer in this format. To me, all these changes are positive. I prefer standing and receiving communion in the hand, I don't mind what texture the host is, I like the choice of bread and wine, and am very much in favour of lay ministers.

14E We are at a meal - we are not fed we feed ourselves the last supper (sic) shows us this.

16B I think it is very important that people learn to receive communion from lay ministers because the day is approaching when with a scarcity of priests, we will need to have and use lay ministers. Also, to receive the bread that is more like the bread we eat and not the round white wafer - more in accord with the early church, as is the receiving of the wine.

18E People who want it on the tongue instead of the hand should be respected also.

18B Paul,
After completing this questionnaire all I can say is "Why are you wasting your time, paper, money and energy doing a

graduate project on such insignificant issues?" As a committed Catholic, and one who has spent a great deal of time in Religious Studies, I feel there are several significant issues which should be addressed in our Church. Why not look into some of them rather than such issues as tongue or hand? standing or kneeling? Does God really care which? I'm sure he/she cares about other things.

21B I believe these changes are progressive. Bread and wine are symbols. We, the people, are the Body and Blood of Christ. I am personally grateful that the focus for liturgies is wholesomeness. Scriptures are made relevant for life in today's society.

23B I cannot stress enough the importance of the full participation of men and women, married and single, and children in all aspects of the church. No longer should the Church remain the preserve of a select few of celibate male priests although this way of life as one option is acceptable.

23B All of these things make the reality of bread and wine consecrated more real and the meal shared by a Christian community. The participation of the community as in the distribution of communion by lay ministers enhances the meaning of the Christian family sharing a meal. The full involvement of the laity is extremely important.

24B Frankly, anything other than bread which looks like, etc., the bread eaten daily seriously compromises the attempt to symbolize the Bread of Life. Whole wheat wafers, I suppose, represent a step in the right direction, but it requires an imaginative leap too great to allow the wafers to actually symbolize bread. Even the flat-breads eaten as crackers fall short of being "bread". As for taking the host in one's hands: it represents a desirable manner of exchanging food appropriate to adult behaviour at meals. It seems to me that others have placed food in my mouth only when I was too young to do so myself. As for individuals who are ill: it is my experience that even palliative patients seem to prefer to taking the host in their hands, so long as they are able.

25A Since I believe that Jesus took bread and wine, blessed and shared it and told us to do likewise I see no reason to minimize the symbols - I feel quite strongly that bread - real bread should be used - Here in our parish we offer an option.

26C It's more authentic to give someone something in the hand - only babies get something in the mouth. And its more hygiene - esp. indiction (sic).

26C One Q? you did not refer to - I regret our elimination of the "Amen". To me this can be made equivalent to a "thank you" when someone gives you something. However, I think we are seeing communion more in a non-Catholic way. We are not asked to acknowledge the body and blood of Xt. We have gotten very wishy washy wimpy on this important area that gave Catholics meaning.

27C I don't think that these liturgical changes or differences are that important in the larger scheme of things. What really matters is our Christian vocation. I do, however, prefer this way of celebrating communion - it gives me the feeling that we are all sharing a meal together and that Christ is among us not above us.

31B A person's faith dictates what importance is placed on the Eucharist - this has to be respected whether conservative or liberal.

32B Mind blowing that these things are being worried about.

34C I believe older people prefer the host which they were taught not to chew and that it signifies both appearances. This is my observation but what others do does not annoy me. I am not turned off by changes.

35C I am a firm advocate of ordination of women and priesthood being open to both married men and married women. This is an issue of substance and survival and true Christianity. The colour and texture of the bread used at communion is insignificant in the extreme compared to the dual standard of membership in priesthood.

37C (d) The host now is more like bread to be eaten at a meal.

(e) This is in compliance with "Take ye and eat".

(a) A meal is taken standing or seated not kneeling.

(b) We are brought back to recognition of the institution of the Eucharist and all that it signifies. Receiving the wine is a communion with the blood of Christ and receiving the bread is communion with the body of Christ (Corinthians 1).

(c) The distribution of the Eucharist to the Faithful is an act of service or ministry which does not and should not suggest any degree of power.

41C I do have fairly strong objection to holding the host in your hand and dipping it in the wine - unsanitary - This does not mean that I object to receiving the host on the hand.

43C Since our Lord is already present in the altar of repose, the consecration of the hosts is not bringing Him newly into the church only newly into the wafers for our communions.

45C One preference I would have - that after the words of consecration, the priests would reinstitute the respectful bow (not the genuflection).

46C All these changes make the lay person part of the Mass, rather than the audience. The priest is part of the community, not the authority figure.

48C The bread and wine represent the community that is to be transformed into the body of Christ. The collect represents our solidarity with the community - our commitment to build community.

49C I like these changes which have taken place. In the 'old fashioned' churches there were so many restrictions it gave almost a sense of "taboo" or fear, especially to children.

56C Perhaps it is not as easy to obtain the wafer in the 3rd world countries, so it has been changes in all churches? Sorry, I am just guessing. I must ask a priest.

62C The reason for "Not important at all" to these set of questions is what is important to me is for people to receive communion and feel the presence of Christ within themselves.

64C Christ told us to eat bread and drink wine. As long as the bread makes us think of bread, the form or method of taking it is not vitally important.

65C The old way - kneeling, tongue extended, reflected our view at the time of the sinfulness of our bodies. The way communion is currently received reinforces the concept that we are formed in the image of God: holy people and reflects the way the Apostles received the Body and Blood of Christ for the first time.

67C Whichever way you take the host, it is only to receive grace from God.

70C My father was recently diagnosed as ???? and is therefore not able to have any wheat products, including bread or hosts. When the parish provides wine, he can still share in the communion.

75C Prefer the white host used in other churches.

78B (b) Symbolically, for its completeness in replication of the Last Supper. However, one species reception is quite acceptable to me and I see it as complete as far as reception of the Body and Blood of Christ.

(c) For the symbolism of sharing by all members.

(d) The brown hosts and bread are very difficult for some people because of texture. Hence, I would like to see a mixture so that people can choose. Elderly and unwell people prefer the traditional white hosts. We should be sensitive to their needs (not just preferences).

BOC (d) It looks more like bread; isn't the consecration and transubstantiation of the bread (& wine) more important than the colour, size, shape and texture of the wafer?

5. Other comments made by respondents.

1B Re: #23 I would be interested to know why since Vatican II, we have practically done away with the Sacrament of Penance. No one seems to go to confession but everyone seems to receive communion. Are we no longer a community of sinners!

17B I am a married priest.

17B I found the examples used by you as changes brought about by Vatican II to be especially insignificant - what about real changes - why haven't you addressed things like Ecumenism, Social Justice, awareness of individuals as important "parts of the body of Christ" - a return to our scriptural roots - and a multitude of others. Your focus - questions 18 to 23 are mere window dressing to the Church's radical change brought about by visionary leadership. A pity we are now being blind-folded and hobbled yet again by medaeval heirarchy (sic).

26C If you had been here for the past ten years, you would have noticed many experiments we went through. The lectionary was also brought up this way. The parish used to spend a lot of money on trappings, which I could not stand (golden urns, fabric mountains). People used to come to see our latest gimmick. Thank God we have grown up.

26C Other areas of changes -

- the language
- the type of music
- the shaking of hands (French churches don't do this - why won't they)
- congregation participating
 - answering singing, reading etc.
- role of women in church
 - inc. removal of hats
- adults at the altar rather than male children only
- simplification of Mass elements
- simplicity of Mass
 - removal of unnecessary hand movements and activities.

48C Considering all the human frailties that are obvious in the Parish staff, Parish Council and volunteers, it is astounding that the Parish is so alive and life-giving. The street people are treated as if they were threatening at times by some persons. Some volunteers have taken possession of their responsibilities and have lost or have never realized they are there to serve.

Some council members and staff consider the parish to be lay-oriented which it is but the clergy is not quite equal in the partnership. They are expected to fit in and

conform. Volunteers should be screened, given minimum training to exercise their tasks and should be named for a determined period of time in order to give others the opportunity to get involved and exercise their talents. In spite of, or perhaps because of all this, the Holy Spirit is alive and active in the parish and it is an excellent community and place of worship.

53C I was raised in an Irish convent and always attended Mass which was, of course, in Latin. I did not like the changeover to Mass in English, as I missed all the old hymns and felt, for me, that it brought me close to God. I am not a "regular" at St. Joseph's and attend, on average, twice a month. I enjoy the service at St. Joseph's but I will always miss not having Mass in Latin. Probably because I am a traditionalist!

64C I feel (a) good about going to St. Joe's
(b) welcome there

70C We attended when Doug was pastor.

72B This parish doesn't go far enough in using inclusive language - it won't be a community until it does.

72B Women must have a greater part of the liturgy - be aware of their presence as leaders - or we'll leave this man's church - I'm sure of it.

73C I feel that St. Joseph's has contributed in a meaningful manner to the rejuvenation of the church. Sadly one set of conforming responses and attitudes are often substituted for another.