COMMUNITAS TO STRUCTURE

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ABSTRACT

Victor Turner (1969) has argued that millenarians
initially disregard all social structures in favor of wholly
egalitarian social relations or communitas. However, he has
also argued that such perfect one dimensional social states
do not last for long as the millenarians, themselves, soon
recognize the necessity of social organization to the achieve-
ment of commonplace, day-to-day tasks. This movement away
from communitas in the direction of increasing structure is
called "structural differentiation". The Market Street Jesus
People Community, a youth-oriented Pentecostal group in Montreal,
Quebec, was chosen as a place where one might test for the pres-
ence of structural differentiation by employing social network
analysis. The study reveals that communitas states are char-
acterized by social networks which approach "totality" and high
"density" but which quickly become complex, partial and minimal-
ly dense as structural differentiation sets in. By analyzing
the actual social network history of the Market Street Community,
the course of structural differentiation is charted.

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ABSTRAIT

Victor Turner proposa en 1969 que les croyants millénaires ne reconnaissent aucune structure sociale, aux fins des relations sociales entièrement égalitaires, condition qu'il dénomma communitas. Néanmoins, Turner précisa aussi que de tels états socials parfaitement uni-dimensionnels ne durent pas longtemps, vu que les croyants millénaires, eux-mêmes, viennent tantôt à reconnaître le besoin de l'organisation sociale pour mener à bien les besognes quelconques et quotidiennes. Cette évolution du communitas vers une structure sociale accrue peut être appelée une "différenciation sociale". Une communauté Pentecôte des jeunes montréalais, "The Market Street Jesus People Community", fut choisi comme lieu pour essayer à vérifier la présence d'un processus de différenciation sociale, à travers une analyse des réseaux-socials. L'enquête révèle que les états du communitas se caractérisent de réseaux-socials qui approchent "totalité" et "haut densité", mais qui de suite deviennent complèxes, partiels, et peu denses pendant que la différenciation sociale s'opère. Par l'analyse de "l'histoire aux réseaux-socials" de la communauté étudiée, le cours de la différenciation sociale là est indiqué.

COMMUNITAS TO STRUCTURE:

A DYNAMIC SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS OF

AN URBAN JESUS PEOPLE COMMUNITY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

DIAGRAMS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The following thesis concerns itself, first, with the presentation of a new application for social network analysis, and second, with a demonstration of this new application by way of analysis of social structures observed in an urban millenarian community. More specifically, social networks as recorded through time in the process of field work, are employed as a means of identifying and following the course of structural change which it is argued, unavoidably occurs in all millenarian groups.

A. The Setting

Between September, 1971 and May, 1972, I carried out field work in the Market Street Jesus People Community in Montreal, Quebec.[1] Although formally affiliated with the Pentecostal Church, this community shared with many other youthful, Fundamentalist Christian groups making up the North American Jesus movement, a revivalist outlook (Anonymous 1971: 56-63). The Market Street Jesus People endorsed a return to the communal way of life practiced by early Christians, and they staunchly rejected the intellectual leanings of contemporary Christianity. For these reasons, the Market Street Community attracted a large number of converts from the hippie counterculture. The rhetoric of ecstatic Pentecostalism was readily adopted by those already at ease with the rhetoric of the drug culture.

Locating itself around the parent Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church, the Market Street Community was made up of a

number of residences and workshops within a six square block
area of downtown Montreal. Except for the New Haven Jesus
Farm people situated in rural Quebec, most of the community's
fifty core members resided or worked in one of four places:
The Calgary Street Jesus People Center, The Home of the Fish
Leather Boutique, the Redwood Street Men's Commune, and the
Glory Gospel Church. In addition, many core members chose to
live in private apartments in the Market Street District.

B. The Problem

As millenarians, The Market Street Jesus People were
firm believers in what Victor Turner (1969:96) has called
"communitas". As adherents to this belief, they initially re-
jected all forms of social hierarchy, preferring instead to
approach each other as total equals in their social relation-
ships. As Turner (1969:135) has shown, however, ahierarchical
social states quickly give way to social structures as indi-
viduals compromise their egalitarian practices for the social
organization (structures) necessary to the performance of
everyday tasks. The Market Street communitarians were no ex-
ception to this rule. All the while preaching a doctrine based
upon world brotherhood, the Jesus People Community, itself,
in the course of one year, literally broke apart. This once-
unified community became an increasingly factionalized entity.
As a researcher the contradiction between the community's words
and deeds struck me as being an interesting focus of study.
The problem was clear. Turner (1969:131-135) suggests that
all millenarian groups lose their communitas-groundings as they
gradually become more structured. He does not go beyond this,

however, to explain how one might best go about verifying this structuring process. In other words, how does one prove that structuring has, in fact, occurred? It is my basic premise that social network analysis becomes useful at this point. I hold that Turner's notion of "communitas" can be equated with J.A. Barnes' notion of the "total" or "open" social network (Barnes 1955:43). Furthermore, I believe that Turner's concept of structure can be best observed in what Adrian Mayer refers to as social network "sets" (Mayer 1966:99). By observing social networks through time, therefore, I hold that one can actually record the structuring process at work. By observing the social network history of the Market Street Jesus people, I show that in spite of their continuing ideological adherence to a com-munitas-based society, they have failed to achieve a working model of this belief in their day-to-day social interactions. Finally, I believe that the use of social networks to chart the course of structural differentiation in a millenarian com-munity is an important step forward in the study of religious change, in general. It establishes a means by which one can confront gradual religious change heretofore neglected by social scientists concerned only with change on a macro level, e.g. Wilson (1959), Becker (1956) and Johnson (1963).

C. Research Methods

Throughout the eight month research period, most data of primary relevance to this study was collected through interviews and participant observation in the Calgary Street Jesus People Center. The Calgary Street "house", as it was called by informants, was an ideal place to meet community

members and potential converts. This house was initially
opened by the Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church to serve as a
residential rehabilitation center where potential converts
could come into daily contact with full-fledged, practicing
Pentecostals. Serving the community as a drop-in center, it
provided maximum contact with almost all core members, in
addition to contact with large numbers of peripheral members
and visitors. Furthermore, it also served as a excellent set-
ting in which to observe community members participating in
activities of both a religious and secular nature because it
was a communal residence as well.

Although much of my time was spent participating in
activities within the commune, I attended weekly services at
the Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church. These services were use-
ful in that the sermons provided me with information about
formalized Pentecostal dogma, and they allowed me to observe
Market Street Jesus People interacting with regular church mem-
bers. In addition, I occasionally visited the Market Street
Community's own boutique, The Home of the Fish Leather Shop,
where there was much opportunity to talk with patrons, viewed
by the leatherworkers as potential converts. Unfortunately,
given the restriction of distance, on the one hand, and sexual
prohibition, on the other, neither the New Haven Jesus Farm,
nor the Redwood Street Men's Commune was visited. However,
it was possible to meet and talk with individuals from both
of these Market Street interest groups during the evening fel-
lowship sessions held in the Calgary Street Jesus People Center.

In my weekly visits to the Calgary Street Commune,

every attempt was made to observe and participate as fully as possible in all day-to-day activities of both a secular and religious nature. Not only did I frequently attend morning Bible study sessions, and evening prayer meetings, but I also spent a good deal of time washing dishes, sweeping floors and just plain lounging around.

Like most fundamentalist Christians, the Market Street Jesus People were openly anti-intellectual. To ask questions about God or the world in general, they believed, was not consistent with absolute religious faith. For this reason, I did not stress my role as an anthropologist while in the community. For the most part, field notes were recorded away from the community. I did, however, resort to note-taking during formal question and answer sessions. These sessions usually involved detailed discussions about the community's history, or the personal conversion experiences of some member. With permission of the members, I used a tape recorder from time-to-time in the evening Glory Gospel services.

As luck would have it, the very best data resulted not from my own questions, but rather from the questions and criticisms aired by community members in the daily Bible study session and evening fellowship hour at the Calgary Street Center. These sessions were particularly useful to a study of the community as a whole in that they permitted me to observe community members from all of the various core groups come together on a daily basis in order to work out their problems, talk over local gossip, talk about new converts, despair of back-sliders, raise sensitive theological issues and question

each other in an intimate manner.

Concerning my use of social networks in the field, there are two ways in which I have differed in my approach from that of most social network analysts. First, in defiance of J. Clyde Mitchell's position that one must follow individual informants around day after day to record their every social contact (Barnes 1972:23), I did not employ this "tag-along" technique in my study of the Market Street Jesus People. Such an approach to social networks soon finds the researcher unable to cope with the large amount of data he has collected.[2] Rather, taking a hint from Elizabeth Bott (1955 and 1971), I chose to use bounded interest groups as nodes in lieu of individuals. Bott first perfected this approach when she used the married couple as a node in her 1955 study of conjugal roles and social relationships. Hallpike (1970) expanded the notion by using entire towns as nodes in his study of political alliances in Konso towns. In this study of the Market Street Community, interests groups such as the leather boutique and the Jesus Farm are recognized as separate nodes. Where these nodes came together, represented by the contact of the majority of members from each node, a social network linkage was recorded. Second, in that the study concerns itself primarily with process and not steady states, it was necessary to record the community's social network at regular intervals throughout the eight month period. For the six month period the community was in existence prior to my arrival, social network histories were elicited from interviews with founding members.

D. Organization

In this introductory chapter, I have presented a
general description of the study, its setting, and the re-
search methods employed. Chapters Two, Three and Four will
cover the theoretical foundations of millenarism and social
networks. Chapter Two will discuss various social science ap-
proaches to the study of millenarism, focusing on Victor Turner's
(1969) concept of communitas. Chapter Three will review basic
social network concepts and terms, featuring those notions which
subsume the idea of "totality" or the lack of social boundaries
and "partiality" or the presence of social boundaries. Having
discussed millenarism and social networks, respectively in Chap-
ters Two and Three, I will integrate them in Chapter Four, pointing
out the mirror-like relationship between them and the usefulness
of this relationship for a study of structural differentiation in
a millenarian community. Chapter Five will move the reader away
from theory into a discussion of real people, real places,
and real events. In this chapter, I will present an ethnography
of the Market Street Jesus people in which their history, mil-
lenarian beliefs and practices are discussed. In the sixth
and final chapter, I will summarize and defend my new applica-
tion for social networks. I will demonstrate the usefulness
of social network analysis to the study of millenarian groups
in general by showing how it has helped me to observe and
better understand social structural change; i.e., structural
differentiation in the millenarian Market Street Jesus People
Community. Chapter Six will show that social network analysis
can be employed to test for the presence of increasing struc-

tural differentiation which it is argued is present in all
millenarian, communitas-based societies.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER ONE

1. (page one) To insure the privacy of my informants, all
    place names and personal names have been changed.

2. (page six) This position was reinforced by Jacquetta
    Burnett in an April, 1972, lecture she delivered at
    McGill University. She said that the number of her infor-
    mants quickly doubled using the tag-a-long technique.

CHAPTER TWO: MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

Introduction

Commencing with James Mooney's 1896 historical treatment of the Ghost Dance among the Sioux and following through to Weston LaBarre's 1971 review of crisis cult studies, it becomes clear that social scientists and historians have for many years concerned themselves with various manifestations of religious change (LaBarre 1971). However, in spite of this long history of crisis cult research, one remains at a loss to come up with a clear-cut typology of movements involving major religious change, not to mention any earth-shaking theory as to causation.[3] Movements whose most salient characteristic is that of major religious reform are called by various names; among them: "nativistic movements" (Linton 1943), "revitalization movements" (Wallace 1956), "messianic movements" (Cohn 1961), and "millenarian movements" (Burridge 1969, et al). And yet to categorize any specific religious movement as one which is clearly millenarian as opposed to messianic is only to say that its millenarian features are more pervasive. Equally, to say that any given religious movement is a response to a specific cause, is only to say that this specific movement has in some ways served some specific ends. Eclectic as this approach may be, we have yet to come up with a more workable alternative.[4]

With these issues in mind, therefore, Chapter Two will present a concise description of what millenarism is, who millenarians are, and why millenarians behave as they do. Having answered these questions, I will focus upon the millen-

arian concept of communitas, drawing from the work of Victor
Turner (1969) and Martin Buber (1970). The dialectical nature
of communitas in opposition to social structure will be dis-
cussed as well. I will conclude (the chapter) with a discus-
sion about the process of structural differentiation in order
to show how it works to move millenarian-based communitas in
the direction of greater structure through institutionalization.

A. The Concept of Millenarism

The key to understanding the term "millenarian" comes
in its French root word mille, meaning one thousand. Within
the Judeo-Christian tradition, millenarian specifically refers
to a Biblical prophecy which states that a thousand year period
of perfect peace and prosperity would be enjoyed by the true
believers before the Final Judgement (Cohn 1962:31). Among
social scientists, however, this term has been generalized to
include under the heading of millenarian movements, any reli-
gious groups openly anticipating some form of heaven on earth
which would result from a major social, economic and spiritual
change of order (Cohn 1962:31). Norman Cohn (1968:32) best
captures the essence of these movements when he writes:

> I propose to regard as "millenarian" any
> religious movement inspired by the phantasy
> of a salvation which is to be:
> a. collective, in the sense that it is to
> be enjoyed by the faithful as a group.
> b. terrestrial, in the sense that it is to
> be realized on this earth and not in some
> other worldly heaven.
> c. imminent, in the sense that it is to be
> both soon and sudden.
> d. total, in the sense that it is utterly
> to transform life on earth so that the new
> dispensation will be no mere improvement
> on the present but perfection itself.
> e. accomplished by agencies which are con-
> sciously regarded as supernatural.

Not all millenarians, however, are alike. Subsumed under the general heading of millenarian, there are two distinct groups of adherents, the "revolutionaries" and the "reformers" (Shepperson 1962:45). The revolutionaries believe that a new order could result only by way of a cataclysm initiated by supernatural agents. They are essentially pessimistic in their views about the abilities of mankind to resolve the social, economic, political, moral and ethical ills of the world, and for this reason they are basically passivist (Shepperson 1962:45-46). The reformers, on the other hand, believe that men can work small miracles on earth. By actively performing "good works", they hold, man can influence the supernatural agents in their decision to bring about a new order (Shepperson 1962:46). The ideological break between millenarian reformers and millenarian revolutionaries in the Protestant church is an excellent example. Protestant reformers, on the one hand, do not support a literal translation of the Bible, but rather encourage an intellectual approach to Christian doctrine. Including such rationalist groups as the Episcopalians and the Unitarians, they openly encourage the performance of good works, believing that a new order could largely be created by man himself. Protestant revolutionaries on the other hand, are for the most part fundamentalists who support a literal translation of the Bible, rejecting rationalizations for faith. Among the revolutionary ranks one finds such evangelical groups as the Southern Baptists and the Pentecostals, whose members do not believe that good works are a means by which one might achieve heaven on earth. However, to imply that all millenar-

ians clearly fall into one or the other revolutionary or reformist category would be misleading. As I shall further document in my discussion about Pentecostalism in Chapter Five, there is much evidence to suggest that individuals do not hold rigidly to denominational guidelines, but rather interpret Christian doctrine independently. Revolutionary millenarians, therefore, might believe that good works are unnecessary although actively participating in charitable causes.

Having defined what millenarian movements are, I shall now turn to the questions of who chooses to join them and for what reasons they are motivated to do so. Sylvia Thrupp (1962:25) warns the reader against demanding anything so general as an all-inclusive stimulus factor behind the emergence of all millenarian groups, although she does say that most millenarian scholars agree on one point. She writes:

> The explanation that was put forward most forcibly was cast in terms of 'deprivation' and can be variously interpreted. In its simplest form, it is exemplified by many cases of disruption of tribal culture both in the economy and its system of status. Absolute deprivation in the sense of lowering the subsistence levels and status would also be present wherever the less priviledged groups in a society increased in numbers without proportionate increases in opportunities to filter off into new land or new industries or otherwise find new kinds of opportunity to maintain or improve their position.

Brian Wilson agrees with Thrupp that deprivation is a major triggering factor leading to the rise of millenarian movements. Speaking about deprivation as a factor affecting the developments of sects, he says:

> The specific factors of stimulus of sect emergence are usually found in the stresses and tensions differentially expressed within

the total society. Change in the
economic position of a particular group
(which may be change only in relative
position); disturbance of normal social
relations for instance in the circum-
stances of industrialization; the failure
of the social system to accommodate par-
ticular age, sex and status groups--all
of these are possible stimuli in the emer-
gence of sects (Wilson 1967:8).

Kenelm Burridge (1969:8) believes that the emphasis
should not be on deprivation, but more significantly upon power,
which he suggests subsumes any discussion about deprivation or
the lack of power. "Millenarian movements" he writes, "occur
where the relevant assumptions about power are weakening and
no longer enable people to perceive the truth of things" (1969:
8). Norman Cohn (1962:40) supports this position, putting his
argument in perspective by citing examples of situations in
which individuals might experience changing assumptions about
power:

1. A catastrophe or the fear of catastrophe.
2. Supposed dejection of the authority tra-
   ditionally responsible for regulating re-
   lations between the society and the powers
   governing the cosmos.
3. Emotional frustration in women of means
   and leisure but without social function
   or prestige.
4. The existence, in a society which recog-
   nises that the relative power and pros-
   perity of different sections (classes,
   ethnic groups, etc.) can change, of ele-
   ments which cannot organize for the pur-
   pose of defending and furthering their
   interests by secular means (Cohn 1962:40).

Given the triggering mechanisms of power changes,
as they effect the development of millenarian movements, one
cannot help but introduce the notion of the catalyst or that
which sets the movement in motion. In the case of millenarian

movements such a catalyst generally manifests itself in the
person of some prophet or messiah who steps in at just the
right time to help powerless persons make sense of the chaos.
Standing apart from the common man, these prophets or messiahs
possess what Max Weber has called "charisma". According to
Weber (1964:2), charisma is an extraordinary power possessed
by certain individuals which allows them to "...achieve ecsta-
tic states which are viewed in accordance with primitive exper-
ience as the prerequisite for producing certain effects on
meteorology, healing, divination and telepathy". Weber (1964:46)
defines a charismatic prophet as a "...purely individual bearer
of charisma who by virtue of his mission proclaims a religious
doctrine or divine commandment". Weber (1964:46) however does
not believe that millenarian movements need necessarily be
the outcome of charismatic interception and guidance, but rather
he believes that they may be induced by "non-prophetic reformers"
as well.[5]

Recalling the discussion about "deprivation" and
"powerlessness" as strong inducements to the founding of mil-
lenarian movements, how might one go about explaining the rise
of such phenomena in North America since the sixties? Looking
at both the counter culture movement of the sixties and the
Jesus People movement of the seventies, what specific factors
have contributed to their popularity on behalf of the young?
Victor Turner (1969:138) suggests that the "counter culture
movement" arose because young people in the United States in
the mid-1960's found themselves in an undesirable state of
"liminality", being neither full-fledged members of the status

quo nor totally rejected by it. To Turner (1969:112-113)
these young individuals had clearly failed to establish a
social niche in society "...as liminal entities being neither
here nor there, but betwixt and between the positions assigned
and arrayed by custom, convention and ceremonial". Millenar-
ian movements, according to Turner (1969:112-113), are inval-
uable as a means by which individuals can and do cope with
the social anonymity that comes with liminal status. They
provide their members with a brief but highly pleasurable
period of social interaction in which anonymous individuals
face each other as total equals recognizing no criteria, social
or otherwise which would serve to set up social boundaries.
Turner (1969:76) has called this "communitas".[6] He writes,

> Some attempts have been made fairly recently
> in America and Western Europe to re-create
> the ritual conditions under which spontaneous
> communitas may be, dare one say it, invoked.
> The beats and the hippies, by the ecletic
> and syncretic use of symbols and liturgical
> actions drawn from the repetoire of many
> religions, and of "mind-expanding" drugs,
> "rock" music, and flashing lights, try to
> establish a "total" communion with one another.
> This, they hope and believe, will enable
> them to reach another through the dérèglement
> ordonné de tous les sens in tender, silent,
> cognizant mutuality and in all concreteness.
> The kind of communitas desired by tribesmen
> in their rites and by hippies in their "hap-
> penings" is not the pleasurable and effort-
> less comradeship that can arise between
> friends, coworkers, or professional col-
> leagues any day. What they seek is a trans-
> formative experience that goes to the root
> of each person's being and finds in that
> root something profoundly communal and
> shared (1969:112-113).

Benjamin Zablocki (1971:288) agrees with Turner that
"hippie" youths seek communitas as an end in itself, rather
than as a means to gaining a foothold into the status quo.

He suggests that Western counter culture youths desire communitas primarily because one further step into "community"[7] would imply a loss of freedom which they are not about to suffer. In other words, Zablocki is condemning modern youths for wanting their "community" cake and eating it too; something he realizes is impossible given the nature of "community" as being that which demands the commitment and recognition of group solidarity and responsibility on behalf of those individuals in the group.

B. The Millenarian Concept of Communitas

Having touched upon the concept of communitas, I shall now discuss it in greater depth. I believe it is a concept which is of central importance to a clear understanding of the processes which occur when deprived or powerless individuals seek comfort in emotional and social unity as is witnessed in the first phases of millenarian movements. Furthermore, it is a concept which must be understood in order to know why millenarian movements become institutionalized or fail altogether.

Turner focuses upon communitas as an anthropologist, but many of his own interests in the concept were induced by the work of the philosopher, Martin Buber. Buber defines communitas as "...the point when individuals begin to recognize the "weness" of their relationships with others" (in Turner 1969:137). He clarifies this further by saying: "Communitas is that which appears where social structure is not, the being no longer side by side or above or below but with one another of a multitude of persons where this multitude moves toward one goal, yet experiences a turning to, a dynamic facing of

the others, a flowing from I to Thou" (in Turner 1969:126).

Walter Kaufman (1970/13) confirms Buber's belief
that communitas is without social structure, although he does
so from a position of great scepticism. He writes:

> There are men who never speak a sentence
> of which I is lord, but nobody could call
> them objective. At the center of their
> world is We. The contents of this We can
> vary greatly, but this is an orientation
> in which I does not exist and You and I
> and He and She are only shadows. One type
> of this sort could be called We-We. Theirs
> is a sheltered, childish world in which
> no individuality has yet emerged.

Philosophically speaking, therefore, communitas is a utopian
social state in which the individual's ego or "I" is disre-
garded in favor of the more socially pleasurable transcen-
dental "we". By definition, therefore, it lies on the border-
line between mere utopian ideals and real, concrete social
relations, making up the very "stuff" of man's desire to merge
with what Turner (1969:112) has called "the very limits of
humanity". Turner (1969:30) in speaking of the philosophical
groundings of this millenarian concept, says:

> Beyond the structural, lies not only the
> Hobbesian war of 'all against all' but also
> communitas: a mode of relationship outside
> structure. Essentially, communitas is a
> relationship between concrete, historical
> idiosyncratic individuals. These individuals
> are not segmentalized into roles and statuses
> but confront one another rather in the man-
> ner of Martin Buber's I and Thou. Along with
> this direct and immediate total confronta-
> tion of human identities there tends to go
> a model of society as a homogeneous unstruc-
> tured communitas whose boundaries are ideally
> co-terminous with those of the human species.

Having discussed the philosophical groundings of
communitas, where should one look to observe such astructural

social relations in the real world? In other words, at what point does the concept of communitas become a meaningful object of anthropological concern? Turner (1969:111) suggests that the social behavior observed in millenarian movements is the most striking manifestation of communitas[8] Millenarians, for the most part, encourage social homogeneity, equality, anonymity, seeking after a perfect state of union, absence of property, abolition of rank and sex differentiations, humility, disregard for personal appearance, unselfishness, total obedience to a prophet or leader, sacred institutions, maximization of religious attitudes as opposed to secular attitudes and comradeship regardless of secular ties (Turner 1969:111). As adherents to a communitas-based ideology, therefore, their most salient concern is to one-dimensionalize their social milieu by ignoring all criteria, physical or cognitive, which serve to set some people apart from others. Every individual in a millenarian milieu maximizes equality by directly acting to minimize inequality; in communitas, the son of a slave and the son of a king are equals.

Before discussing the process of structural differentiation which acts to move millenarian movements in the direction of greater institutionalization, one should first look at the dialectical groundings for the process, communitas in opposition to "structure". According to Turner (1969:131), communitas clearly opposes structure because it features social situations which are wholly spontaneous, lacking organization, and agreed upon means to a given end in which individuals confront one another as social equals disregarding all forms of

distinguishing criteria. Structure, on the other hand, appears only as men sacrifice communitas to the demands of everyday life, as they surround themselves with social barriers, live according to laws, without spontaneity, and value social distinctions as desirable means by which men can organize themselves to achieve agreed upon ends. (See Diagram 1)[9]

Kenelm Burridge (1965:105-112) recognizes the existence of the communitas-structure dialectic, pointing out that different phases within millenarian movements correspond to various points along the line mediating between the two opposite poles. The first phase of any millenarian movement, he suggests, results when a great many members of a community become aware of their "...disenfranchisement or separation from the main stream of power" (Burridge 1969:105) and become aware of themselves as lone individuals whose personal experiences of suffering are not shared with other individuals in the community. However, with time, "...the unique encounters dissolve into a shared experience," (Burridge 1969:105) and with the discovery of a common ground, these same individuals increase their interactions until they eventually become "...aware of themselves as new social beings" (Burridge 1969:105). It is during this first phase of the millenarian movement that one finds communitas in its most perfect form (Turner 1969:111). As individuals begin to recognize themselves as new social beings, the second phase of the millenarian movement emerges (Burridge 1969:107). Individuals who have recently discovered themselves to be "one" with humanity "test" the as yet unsteady conclusions arrived at in phase one. Phase two is a time for working out

DIAGRAM 1

THE COMMUNITAS-STRUCTURE DIALECTIC

"Communitas"	"Structure"
transitional	steady state
total	partial
homogeneous	heterogeneous
equal	unequal
anonymous	system of nomenclature
without property	propertied
without status	status
without distinguishing dress	clothing distinctions
without sexuality	sexuality
without recognition of sex	sex role division
without rank	rank
humble	pride in position
without regard for personal appearance	care for personal appearance
without distinctions of wealth	distinctions of wealth
unselfish	selfish
totally obedient	obedience to superiors only
sacred	secular
silent	loud speech
suspicious of kinship rights	kinship rights
continuous reference to mystical powers	occasional reference to mystical powers
foolish	wise

(From Turner 1969:106)

any general disagreements over ideology when "all hands are layed on the table" (Burridge 1969:107). According to Burridge (1969:112), the third and final phase is an "aftermath" in which the movement may become so organized and successful and the ideology so firmly entrenched" that a sect develops or becomes so routinized and factionalized that it collapses altogether.[10] If the followers of the movement abandon it altogether, they may go in pursuit of new communitas experiences or they may turn their backs upon millenarism altogether (Burridge 1969:112).

Burridge's (1969) study of millenarian phases is useful to those of us concerned with religious change. He shows that millenarian movements evolve through increasing stages of structure, just as on the macro level religious movements as a whole evolve similarly,e.g. millenarian movements evolve into sects which in turn become denominations which in turn become universalized churches (Wilson 1959:5-15). What is interesting, however, is Burridge's (1969:112) statement that some individuals in the third and final phase of millenarian movements become increasingly dissatisfied with the institutionalization occurring in the community, even going so far as to abandon the movement in favor of new communitas experiences. What this suggests is that one cannot simply talk about a communitas-structure dialectic which is in equilibrium, but rather must recognize that there is a cyclical -or circular- movement involved. Therefore, depending upon the phase of the millenarian movement - or the phase of any religion moving from millenarism toward total institutionalization - either com-

munitas or structure will exert a greater attraction. In the
initial phases of all new religions, social relations tend to
become more and more structured as individuals recognize the
need to organize themselves to achieve agreed upon ends. How-
ever, as these once new religions become increasingly more
established and in tune with the status quo, the threat of
social isolation and powerlessness once again result in the
popularity of communitas, and the cycle is completed. (See
Diagram 2)

Where Burridge (1969:105-112) breaks down millen-
arian movements as a whole into phases characterized by various
degrees of structure, Turner (1969:131) does the same to com-
munitas. He argues that there are actually three forms of
communitas, some more volatile and vunerable to structuring
than others. According to Turner (1969:131),"existential"
communitas best approaches a perfect communitas state because
it is genuinely and wholly free of structure. Some might argue
that totally unstructured states exist only in the minds of
utopians, and yet Turner (1969:131) believes that they can be
observed citing such examples as the "hippie happening" and the
spontaneous togetherness which occasionally occurs during re-
vivalistic religious meetings. Turner (1969:138) warns, however,
that such existential states are not easily observed by social
scientists because they have a tendency to quickly dissolve
into structure. Existential communitas is a social phenomenon
which is akin to the proverbial "disappearing elements" so long
the bane of the physicist.[11] Communitas-based social situations
which have partially given in to structure, on the other hand,

are labelled as "normative" (Turner 1969:131). Normative
communitas occurs when individuals continue to maintain some
communitas ideals, while at the same time having recognized
the need for structure as a means to achieve certain ends.
Normative communitarians, however, do not identify with the
status quo; they are best represented by those living in
"intentional communites".[12] Finally, Turner suggests that there
is one form of communitas which is purely utopian or "ideolog-
ical", existing only in the minds of social dreamers. For the
purposes of this thesis, I will be talking about existential
and normative states of communitas.

C. The Process of Structural Differentiation

I have briefly discussed why individuals seek com-
munitas in the first place, but why do they allow themselves
to succumb to social structures as Turner (1969:135) says they
do? The process which works to create social boundaries between
individuals who have heretofore lived in an egalitarian state
of communitas is structural differentiation. Where structural
differentiation occurs, individuals in a communitas-based society
come to recognize the impossibility of total egalitarianism in
a world which demands that one must eat, sleep, and be shel-
tered from the elements before all other tasks, religious or
otherwise are performed. In other words, structural differ-
entiation involves the recognition and the action resulting
therefrom of men who must organize themselves socially in
order to plant crops, raise children, build barns, purchase
food, and the like. Only in the most ideal and unusual situ-
ations can communitas wage a battle against structure and

survive.[13]   Speaking about the process of structural differen-

tiation, Turner (1969:135) writes:

> The crucial difficulty of all utopias is
> that they have to produce life's necessi-
> ties through work--in economic jargon to
> mobilize resources. To mobilize resources
> also means to mobilize people. This implies
> social organization with its ends and means
> and necessary "deferments of gratifications"
> and all these entail the establishment, how-
> ever, transient of orderly structural rela-
> tions between man and man.

From what social scientists (Turner 1969,

Zablocki 1971, Wilson 1959, et al) have been able to observe,

the process of structural differentiation in communitas soc-

ieties is gradual. Following the initial, immediate and rapid

decline of existential communitas away from a state of perfect

egalitarianism, structural differention appears to slow down,

taking the community through gradual levels of increasing struc-

tural complexity. Greater structure only occurs as more and

more secular demands are made upon individuals. In other words,

structural differentiation occurs at the same rate as millen-

arians set aside their egalitarian, astructural behavior,

articulating themselves socially so as to achieve the immediate

and life-supporting secular ends. (See Diagram 2)

In concluding this chapter on millenarism, I

want to encourage the reader to remember the discussions about

the following concepts: "communitas", "structure" and the pro-

cess which mediates between them, "structural differentiation".

These are important concepts when it comes to talking about a

new application for social networks as a means of actually

charting the course of structural differentiation in millenarian,

communitas-based groups.

DIAGRAM TWO

THE COMMUNITAS-STRUCTURE-COMMUNITAS CYCLE

PHASE I· MILLENARIAN MOVEMENT

Isolated Powerless Individuals

Existential Communitas

PHASE II· MILLENARIAN MOVEMENT

Existential Communitas

Normative Communitas

Individual Seekers of Communitas

National/ Universal Church

PHASE III· MILLENARIAN MOVEM.

Normative Sects

Total Rejection of Millenarism

Denominations

_____ = increasing of social structures
= structural differentiation

▬ ▬ ▬ ▬ = decreasing social structure

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO

3.   (page ten) This was the unanimous conclusion of those in
      attendance in a seminar devoted to the analysis of crisis
      cults or movements featuring religious change (McGill
      University: April 1974). This position is further supported
      by LaBarre who sees it as a positive solution (1971:26).

4.   (page ten) Although anthropologists such as Marvin Harris
      see Marxist modes of analysis as a solution (McGill Univer-
      sity lecture, Spring, 1974).

5.   (page fifteen) George Shepperson (1962:47) has gone so
      far as to say that stimuli need not be human, but rather
      may be natural events such as earthquakes or floods, or
      supernatural events such as the invasion of extra-terrestrial
      beings.

6.   (page sixteen) For alternative perspectives on communitas,
      see: Goodman and Goodman (1947), Zablocki (1971), Spiro
      (1956), Douglas (1970) and Klapp (1969).

7.   (page seventeen) Zablocki (1971:74) equates "community"
      with structure as opposed to communitas which is a structural.

8.   (page nineteen) Actually one could expand this to say that
      the behavior of all liminal persons constitutes communitas-
      based actions, and this is a position I believe Turner
      would support. I, on the other hand, believe that individ-
      uals can be socially isolated in their liminality, becoming
      communitas adherents only upon discovery that there are
      others who have suffered from isolation.

9.   (page twenty-one) Diagram One

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER TWO (CONTINUED)

10.   (page twenty-two) Brian Wilson (1959:1) has defined a
      "sect" as:

> A clearly defined community of a size that
> permits only a minimal range of diversity
> of conduct; that seeks to rigidify a pattern
> of behavior and to make coherent its struc-
> tures and values; that contends actively
> against every other organization of values
> and ideals and against every other social
> context possible for its adherents, offering
> itself as the all-embracing divinely prescribed
> society.

11.   (page twenty-three) Following the discovery of the radio-
      active elements uranium and radium, physical scientists
      discovered radioactive gases that were so unstable that
      they were extremely difficult to analyze (Anonymous 1972:
      387).

12.   (page twenty-four) According to Zablocki (1971:325),
      "Intentional community re-establishes contact with
      feeling life, and because man is still not capable of
      dealing with it, re-enslaves him".

13.   (page twenty-five) Talking about the survival of the
      "normative" Bruderhof community, Zablocki (1971:100)
      points out how financial backing from the more structured
      Hutterites was extremely helpful.

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIAL NETWORKS

For nearly a decade, anthropologists such as
E. Bott, J.A. Barnes, J.C. Mitchell and A.L. Epstein have
concerned themselves with social network analysis and with its
application to a wide variety of social phenomena. Emphasizing
such social network concepts as "sets", "fields", "nodes",
"linkages" and the like, they have analyzed such varying human
activities as marriage, cargo distribution, grammar transmis-
sion and the distribution of craft designs (Barnes 1972:1).
Although Barnes (1972:1) warns that the use of social networks
has become overly fashionable, I support Bott (1971:330) who
sees social networks as valuable heuristic devices and a con-
ducive means by which to analyze social relations. Because I
have selected social networks as a way in which to analyze the
course of structural differentiation in millenarian communities,
I shall briefly go over some of the crucial characteristics of
social network phenomena in this chapter.

What is a social network? It is important to
distinguish between a simple network and a social network.
"Network" is a metaphor employed by anthropologists such as
Radcliffe-Brown (1940) and Meyer Fortes (1949) in their ref-
erences to the patterned social relations which they assume
exist between two or more people. Barnes (1972:2) speaks to
this point when he writes:

> The idea behind these metaphors is simple.
> Every individual in society is seen as linked
> to several others by social bonds that partly
> conflict with one another; the orderliness,
> or disorderliness of social life results from
> the constraints these bonds impose upon the
> actions of individuals.

A social network, on the other hand, is not a "mere image" (Mitchell 1969:1) of assumed social relations, but a record of the actual social contacts which exist between concrete, idiosyncratic people. In order to obtain this record, therefore, the anthropologist must directly observe human beings in face-to-face encounters or rely on first-hand reporting from individuals involved in such encounters (Barnes 1972:1-7). According to J. Clyde Mitchell (1969:1), social networks are more useful to the social scientist than simple networks because they are "...specific sets of linkages among a defined set of persons with the additional property that the characteristic of their linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved". However, it is this property that Barnes (1972:8) believes has been misused and which brings us to an important issue.

There are various types of social networks, most common of which are first and second order "stars" (Barnes 1972:9). First order stars reflect the simple relationships which exist between one individual (ego) and his primary contacts; they do not take into consideration any social contacts an individual may experience indirectly (Barnes 1972:9; See Diagram 3). Barnes (1972:8) believes that first-order stars have been misused by social scientists who have used them to describe social structures which would best be dealt with through the use of some other set of concepts: groups, roles, statuses and the like. In agreement with Barnes, I have used second-order stars in this thesis. These social networks differ from first-order networks in that they go beyond the basic linkage between ego

DIAGRAM THREE

A FIRST-ORDER STAR: EGO=E
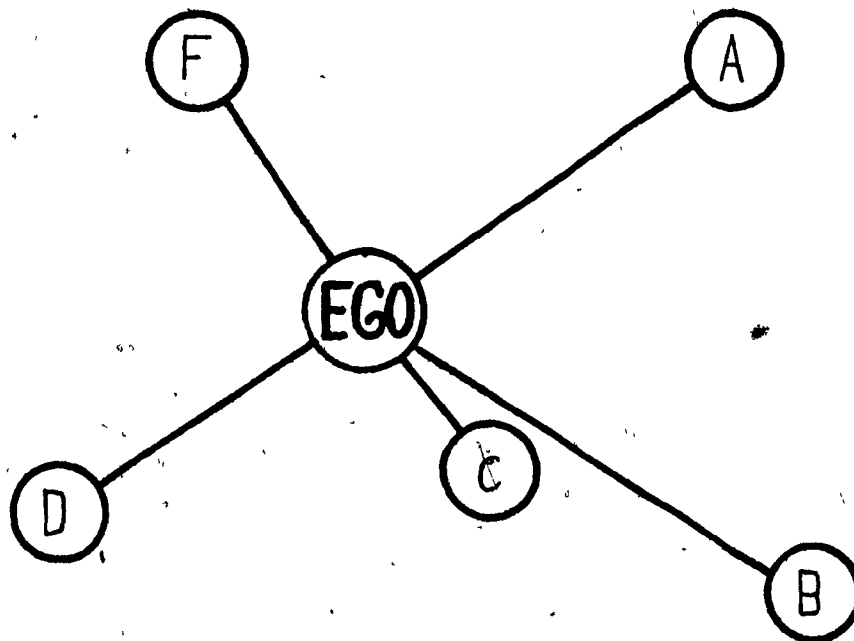
DIAGRAM FOUR

A SECOND-ORDER STAR: EGO=E
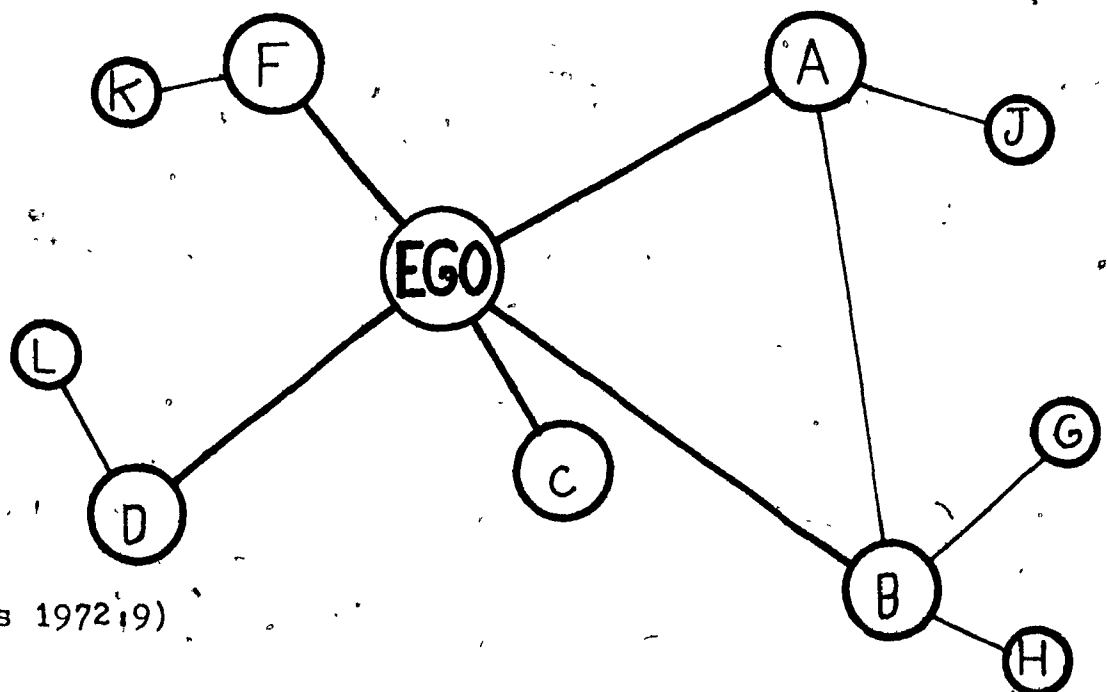
(Barnes 1972:9)

and his primary contacts, recognizing the contacts which take place between ego's primary contacts (Barnes 1972:9; See Diagram 4).

If one were to dismantle a social network construction, one would see that it is a structure resulting from the combination of two simple entities; concrete idiosyncratic historical persons and observable face-to-face encounters or social contacts which join any one person to another. Among other things, anthropologists have called the former "nodes" (Barnes 1954) "points" (Mitchell 1971) "knots" (Nadel 1957) and "vertices" (Barnes 1972) and the latter "linkages" (Mitchell 1971), "links" (Nadel 1957) and "paths" (Barnes 1972). All of these terms are useful metaphors for the reality of social networks, and no one term is necessarily better than another. However, in this thesis, the terms node and linkage will be employed.

In agreement with Nadel (1957:16) who writes about social networks saying:

> I do not merely wish to indicate the "links"
> between persons: that is adequately done by
> the word relationship. Rather, I wish to
> indicate the further linkages of the links
> themselves and the important consequences
> that what happens so-to-speak between one
> pair of "knots" must affect what happens
> between other adjacent ones.

I believe that nodes and linkages only become significant when they yield some evidence of patterned behavior on behalf of those individuals in the network, particularly as one pattern of linkages is shown to affect the nature of another. Social networks, however, do not exist in a social vacuum. They reveal themselves only in juxtaposition to the steady-state network

in which they are grounded, a "total" network made up of the
whole of human relations and ideally co-terminous with the
whole of mankind (Barnes 1972:15). Barnes suggests that it
is an essentially metaphysical concept, but one which is abso-
lutely necessary to the study of what have been called partial
networks, i.e., the individual network patterns which lie
within the total network. Barnes (1972:15) states:

> In a truely-isolated society were we able to
> find one, there would be a finite number of
> members in the total network and they would
> have no external relations with anyone else.
> There would be nowhere to draw a boundary
> dividing members of the society from nonmem-
> bers, for there would be no nonmembers in the
> social universe. We would have a finite but
> unbounded total network. The only completely
> isolated social system now existing embraces
> the whole world and the total network that
> sustains it may be described as finite but
> unbounded.

Barnes is suggesting, therefore, that aside from all of the
infinitely patterned lesser or partial networks in the world,
there is one, as well, which is one with the whole of humanity.
This implies that every single human being on earth is tied,
no matter how indirectly, to every other human being on earth.[14]
Furthermore, he points out that the total network is character-
ized by a complete absence of social boundaries being "...with-
out leadership or co-ordinating organization" (Barnes 1955:43).
Within the total network, therefore, all nodes are equal, no
one node or no group of nodes standing apart from the rest.

Lying within the foundation of the open or total
network, one finds the partial networks or "sets". A "set"
has been defined by Adrian Meyer (1966:99) as that "...which
is embedded in the matrices of the social links contained in

the social field which have been called networks in that it
is centered on a single person (ego) and consists of the people
classified by him according to certain criteria ." In fact, it
would appear that the recognition of certain criteria in con-
junction with the recognition of a discriminating ego is what
makes social networks a valuable analytical tool, resulting in
the appearance of a bounded group of persons in the otherwise
faceless sea of the total network. For example, given an ego
who chooses to categorize his first-order contacts on the basis
of monetary criteria, i.e., dividing his contacts into those
who have money and those who do not, such categories, or "sets"
would emerge according to his particular personal wishes. Had
he, on the other hand, chosen to recognize no boundary-creating
criteria - which is very unlikely except in communitas states -
all sets would be obscured by the all-inclusive total network.
The job of the anthropologist must be, therefore, to locate
sets within the greater network and to determine what criteria
are recognized by ego in order to organize the people around
him. In addition, the anthropologist must attempt to determine
in what way ego's social network is indirectly affected by the
linkages established between his first and second order contacts.

Whereas the total network is stable and unchanging,
sets are dynamic and subject to constant revision according to
ego's own changing recognition of boundary-creating criteria.
Speaking to this point, Barnes (1972:19) writes:

> However stable may be the institutional
> structure of society, the network of rela-
> tions that sustains it is always changing.
> The physical processes of birth, maturation
> and death entail continual changes in mem-

> bership of the network in the patterns of
> links between members and in the definitions
> given to the links. The daily and yearly
> cycles, the exigencies of ordinary living
> entail a continual change in the pattern
> of transactions.

For those of us interested in social change, therefore, the dynamic nature of sets - otherwise called "bounded social networks" (Barnes 1972), "groups" (Barnes 1972), "partial networks" (Barnes 1972), "cliques" (Epstein 1961), "social circles" (Kadushin 1966) and "closed networks" (Bott 1955) - makes them particularly useful as an analytical tool.

Another concept which is valuable to the study of social linkage patterns and the ways in which they change over time is "social network density". Social network density is determined by juxtaposing the number of actual face-to-face linkages in a community against the maximum number of such linkages possible (Barnes 1972:13). In order to determine what the maximum number of linkages must be, one may use the following equation: where $f(n)$=number of possible linkages and n=number of nodes in the community, $f(n)=E_1^{n-1}=\frac{n^2-n}{2}$. Therefore given a community of five persons (five nodes), the maximum number of linkages possible is ten, the least number of linkages being four $(n-1)$. To arrive at the social network density in this community, one has only to observe the actual number of face-to-face encounters and divide them by ten to arrive at a percentage. For example, if there are nine linkages in the community, the percentage is high - ninety percent - and the density is high. However if there are only four linkages present, the density is naturally very low. (See Diagram 5)

Social network density is significant in that it re-

DIAGRAM FIVE

SOCIAL NETWORK DENSITY: FIVE NODES
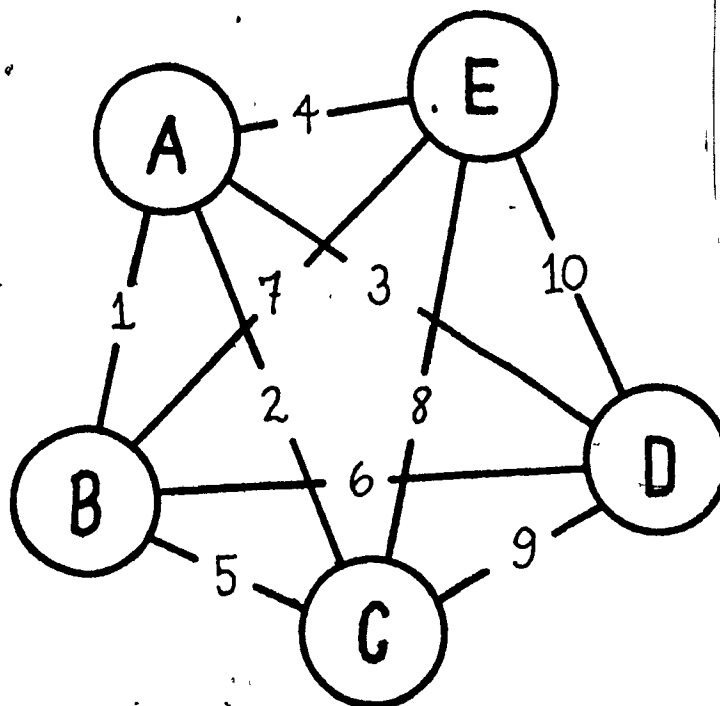
A. Maximum Number of Link-
   ages = 10
   Social Network Density=
   10/10=100%
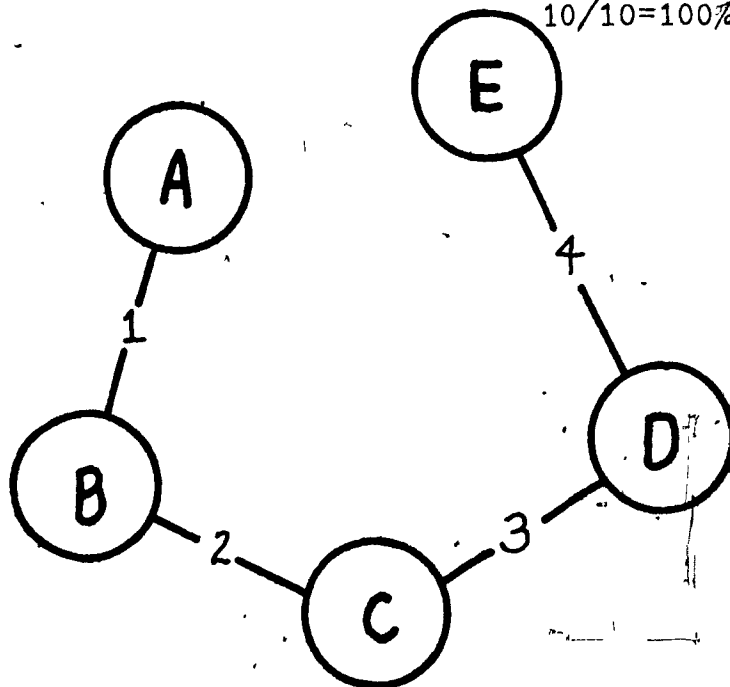
B. Minimum Number of Link-
   ages = 4
   Social Network Density=
   4/10=40%

veals the degree of intimacy of those in the social network.
If the social network density of any group is high, one can
assume that the group has not drawn social boundaries which
prevent face-to-face social contacts.

In concluding this chapter, I encourage the reader
to remember the discussions about the following social network
phenomena, partial versus total networks, i.e. sets versus
unbounded networks, and social network density. The reader
may wish, as well, to refer back to my methodological discus-
sion about social network histories and group nodes in Chapter
One.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER THREE

14. (page thirty-three) The existence of the total network
     has been further supported by the "reachability"
     matrix studies of Philpott (1968) and Harary, Norman and
     Cartwright (1965) who have shown that the number of paths
     or linkages existing between total strangers is not very
     great. For example, the distance between the Queen of
     England and me might be only eight linkages.

CHAPTER FOUR: A NEW APPLICATION FOR SOCIAL NETWORKS

Introduction

Having presented the key concepts in both millen-
arian theory and social network analysis in Chapters Two and
Three, it is now time to explain how these concepts are related
and in what way this relationship can be of use to the social
scientist. In this chapter, therefore, I shall explain in
depth my new application for social networks to the analysis
of structural differentiation in millenarian communities.

Chapter Four will be divided into three sections.
In the first section, I will attempt to show that there are
similarities which exist between the millenarian concept of
communitas and the social network concepts of total networks
and maximum network density. In this same discussion, I will
show that there is a parallel relationship (existing) between
communitas' antithesis, structure, and the social network con-
cepts of set and low network density. Section two will point
out just how these relationships between millenarian and social
network concepts can be exploited analytically to further the
study of communitas-based groups and their attempts to main-
tain an egalitarian social structure in the face of the demands
of day-to-day living. Section three will explore the useful-
ness of social network histories to the study of structural
differentiation as it moves communitas-based groups in the di-
rection of institutionalization.

A. Communitas and Social Networks: Key to the Analysis of
   Millenarian Social Structures

There are significant and analytically-useful simi-

larities which exist between the millenarian concept of communitas and the social network concepts of total network and maximum network density. As stated in Chapter Two (page 19), communitas states are ideally without social boundaries because their members do not recognize any form of social criteria which would serve to set any one person or group apart from another. In a perfect state of communitas - called by Turner "existential communitas" - all adherents are at "one" with humanity in a structureless state in which no man is labeled as a friend or a stranger, but only as "brother" or equal. Furthermore, although it is physically impossible for individuals in a state of communitas to have face-to-face contacts with the whole of humanity, they idealize this perfect state and attempt to realize their beliefs in making as many face-to-face contacts with as many people as possible. This perfect state of communitas, therefore, is very similar to what social network analysts have called an "open" or total network when it is characterized by a high social network density.[15] Like the social state of communitas, a dense total network is without recognition of any ego or the social boundaries which result when he chooses to recognize them. In addition, like the perfect communitas state in which face-to-face encounters are maximized, so, too, are the primary linkages in a highly dense total network. What the social scientist observes in an existential communitas state, therefore, is a social network which is both total and highly dense.

As stated in Chapter Two (page 23), existential communitas is an unstable state of egalitarian social relations

which quickly gives way to structure when communitarians abandon their structureless state in order to organize themselves so that they might be better equipped to face the demands of sectarian life. Existential communitarians, however, do not forsake their egalitarian groundings all at once. In response to increasing secular demands, they become increasingly more structured socially while struggling to maintain at least a semblance of their communitas ideals. They move from a state of existential communitas to a state of normative communitas to a state of partial institutionalization and finally to a state of total institutionalization or structure, before the cycle begins once again with a new seeking after communitas. (See Diagram 2)

I believe that just as existential communitas manifests itself in dense, total social networks, the various structural phases in the communitas-structure-communitas cycle are manifested in partial social networks of varying density and complexity, depending upon their position in the cycle. For example, because millenarians are adverse to abandoning the existential state of communitas as they normalize their social relations in a state of normative communitas, they severely limit the level of structural complexity while attempting to maintain face-to-face encounters between all group members. In other words, in a normative state of communitas, the necessity of a limited essential degree of social differentiation is recognized - cows must be milked, children must be raised and bread must be baked - but group unity and solidarity must be maintained regardless. In social network terms, therefore,

a state of normative communitas must feature a relatively high social network density and the renunciation of the total network in favor of one which is partial, but not highly complex.[16] On the other hand, in a millenarian communitas-based group which has gone even farther through the cycle to a state of partial or total institutionalization, partial networks are numerous and the social network density is not high. As individuals increasingly identify with one or another partial network or group, they have fewer face-to-face encounters with individuals in other partial networks. Finally, in a state of total institutionalization or structure some old social linkages are abandoned entirely resulting in a new social network in which ego has few primary social contacts, and even fewer secondary contacts who have linkages with one another. In highly structured millenarian groups, therefore, the social network density is extremely low, and the number of partial networks is high.

B. The Uses of Social Networks

Understanding that highly dense, total social networks reflect the presence of existential communitas, whereas low-density, partial social networks reflect the presence of varying degrees of structure, how can these relationships be exploited to further one's knowledge of millenarian communities? As I have stated, millenarians are extremely reluctant to lose sight of their egalitarian communitas practices and beliefs. However, in response to increasing secular demands, they are forced to gradually abandon their communitas practices whether they wish to do so or not. Many communitarians, therefore, continue to idealize the existential communitas state, fea-

turing it in their doctrine long after the realization of
such beliefs has been abandoned in daily social relations.
Furthermore, it is not always readily apparent to the social
scientist studying millenarian communities where doctrine
leaves off and actual social behavior begins. I believe social
networks provide the solution. By recording the social network
of a given millenarian community one can determine just where
the community is in the communitas-structure-communitas cycle,
juxtaposing actual social relations against stated beliefs as
to how social relations should be. For example, most Pentecos-
tals would tell you that they are firm believers in and prac-
titioners of world-wide egalitarian social relations or the
brotherhood of man. However, each group of Pentecostals varies
in the degree to which these beliefs are realized in their daily
social relations, and social network analysis could be used to
determine how idiosyncratic groups differ from one another and
how they differ individually from the common stated beliefs of
the Pentecostal Church.

C. The Usefulness of Social Network Histories

In the previous discussion, I described how social
networks can be used to arrive at the actual behavior of mil-
lenarians in so far as they could be shown to be more or less
egalitarian in their social relations or in primary contact
with as many millenarians and potential converts to millenarism
as possible at a particular point in time. And yet more than
once, I have suggested that what is important in millenarian
movements is not their stability, but, in fact, their tendencies
to change. Millenarian social structures are not stable, but

in a continual state of flux from one level of complexity to another. In this last section, I would like to show how social network histories can be employed to assist the researcher in his observation of a millenarian community's gradual, but constant movement away from existential communitas toward total structure or institutionalization.

As I stated in Chapter One (page 3), a social network history is acquired by consistently recording the social networks of a given millenarian community at regular intervals through time - ideally the life span of the community. By observing a millenarian community's social network history, therefore, one can observe and analyze the structural patterns which evolve as the group abandons existential communitas in favor of increasing levels of structure. By analyzing these structural patterns, one can observe the social strategies of particular individuals or groups of individuals as they ally themselves or disassociate themselves from one or another individual or group (of individuals), continually making social moves and counter moves in order to adapt to the demands of everyday life. Furthermore, by observing the social networks of a millenarian community over time, one can determine the speed at which structural differentiation is occurring making it possible for the researcher to relate varying rates of structural differentiation to varying economic and political factors. For example, knowing that a community took on greater and greater structure during a particular period, the researcher could then look to see what other events took place during this same period in order to deduce whether any patterns were

in evidence. Finally, social network histories are valuable to the study of structural differentiation in millenarian communities because they reveal the fact that there are occasional reverses in the movement of communitas toward structure but that these same reverses are exceedingly transient and powerless against the gravitational pull of structure. Such reverses are witnessed when a charismatic individual joins a movement that is well on its way toward total institutionalization momentarily reviving interest in existential communitas, or when large sums of money are injected into a community making some forms of structural differentiation unnecessary.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FOUR

15. (page forty) It is important for the researcher to
specify the density of the total network so as to dif-
ferentiate a total network which serves as a mere
foundation for partial networks and a total network
which is a desired end in itself. The former would
most likely be characterized by indirect linkages,
whereas the latter would be characterized by a high
density of primary linkages.

16. (page forty-two) A highly complex partial network is
one which is characterized by ego's recognition of
many overlapping interest groups which are differentiated
from one another on the basis of many different criteria.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE MARKET STREET JESUS PEOPLE:

WORDS AND DEEDS

Introduction

In Chapters Two, Three and Four, I focused upon the more theoretical issues at the heart of millenarian research and social network analysis. I should now like to ground these issues by presenting a brief ethnography about the words and deeds of members of the Market Street Jesus People Community before moving on to my final analysis of structural differentiation in this community as presented in Chapter Six.

A. Words: Explaining the Realm of Belief

In this section of Chapter Five, I will discuss the ideological foundations of the Market Street Jesus People in order to set the scene for a later discussion about day-to-day behavior of persons within the community. In order to present the total picture of the belief system, however, I will not limit the discussion to a narration about Pentecostalism. I will also focus upon the community's own personal body of belief as it differs from the Pentecostal norm and is affected by the greater North American Jesus People Movement.

1. The Pentecostal Word

Nils Bloch-Hoell (1964:12) in his book The Pentecostal Movement: Its Origins, Development and Distinctive Character points out the important historical ties between the emergence of millennial Pentecostalism, on the one hand, and the response of large numbers of people to the onslaught of rapid industrialization in the United States in the early 1900's, on the other. Suffering from widespread personal anomie connected with urban

overpopulation, food shortages and social discrimination, many people felt a great need for spiritual assistance, something they did not feel the established, impersonal and highly structured denominations were about to provide. These same people, therefore, while searching for a more intimate, emotion-oriented theology, one which would provide hope in the face of a disastrous social and economic situation, turned to evangelical religions. One of the religions was the Pentecostal movement, founded in the early 1900's by a Midwestern Bible student named Charles Parham (Sherril 1964:30).

Charles Parham, in his determination to rediscover the spiritual and emotional essence of Christianity as practiced during the time of Jesus, perused the Bible day after day searching for a sign in the Scriptures. In October of 1900, his efforts were rewarded. While reading the book of Acts which describes Christ's ascension on the day of the Pentecost, he came upon three "signs" indicating that his belief in the initial ecstasy of Christianity was justified. These three signs included: "the gift of speaking in tongues", the "laying on of hands", and the "receipt of the gift of the spirit" (Sherril 1964:30).[17]

For Parham and his followers, these supernatural gifts served as proof of God's willingness to directly involve himself in the affairs of man. In the troubled times of the early 1900's, therefore, it is not surprising that so many discontented people converted to Pentecostalism. Through Pentecostalism, they believed, the common man would at last have direct recourse to God. Pentecostalism thus became an

emotionally appeasing alternative to the intellectual founda-
tion of the more routinized Christian denominations in which
God existed as a mere abstraction and not an anthropomorphic
supernatural being (Sherril 1964:30).

In spite of increasing routinization of Pentecostal
belief and ritual which has resulted in an increased identifi-
cation with the status quo, Pentecostals continue to maintain
a strong millenarian orientation. Like the founding members
of the Pentecostal Church, they place a high value on religious
spontaneity, emotionalism and an intimate knowledge of God.
This is particularly noticeable in their practice of "fellow-
ship" and in their belief in "salvation", the foundations of
which are described in the following verses of Acts:

> 'Repent and be baptized every one of you in the
> name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of
> your sins; and you shall receive the gift
> of the Holy Spirit. For the promise is to
> you and to your children and to all that are
> far off everyone whom the Lord our God calls
> to him.' And Peter testified with many other
> words and exhorted the crowd saying, 'Save
> yourselves from this crooked generation.'
> So those who received his word were baptized
> and there were added that day about three
> thousand souls. And they devoted themselves
> to the apostles' teachings and fellowship,
> to the breaking of bread and prayers. And
> fear came upon every soul and many wonders
> and signs were done through the apostles.
> And all who believed were together and had
> all things in common; and they sold their
> possessions and goods and distributed them
> to all as had need. And day by day attending
> the temple together and breaking bread in
> their homes, they partook of food with glad
> and generous hearts praising God and having
> favor with all the people and the Lord
> added to their numbers day by day those who
> were saved (Acts II:36-46).

It is important to point out, however, that whereas Pentecostals

look to Peter's testimony for guidance, few of them have act-
ually attempted to live entirely according to his word. Only
the more recent counter-culture converts have actually . b-
lished communes. Furthermore, because the present-day Pente-
costal Church has moved in the direction of greater structural
differentiation becoming just one more evangelical denomination
among many, it has not been able to maintain its initial nonde-
nominational orientation. Ideally, modern day Pentecostals
continue to profess a belief in religious "openness" in which
"all who believe are together and share all things in common".
However, they have lost their nondenominational missionary ap-
peal and few well-established members witness and spread the
gospel to potential converts. In fact, in terms of my own
observations, long-time adherents to the religion spend so much
of their time attending formal church functions and services
that they have little free time to take the "word" into the
streets.

Why has Pentecostalism become so popular with contem-
porary Western youths? First of all there is the supernatural
element which has already been discussed. Young people of the
seventies are attracted to Pentecostalism because it promises
to show them a world beyond the mere fringes of reality, a world
beyond the greatest drug-induced high. Secondly, recalling the
nondenominational orientation of early Pentecostalism and the
continuing Pentecostal concern for "fellowship", young people
are encouraged to join such a movement because it supports a
world without rigid social boundaries, thereby conforming to
their own communal-brotherhood beliefs. Thirdly, Pentecostalism

raises emotionalism above rationalism and, therefore, appeals
to youths who are disenchanted with the narrow academic de-
mands of high school or university life. And lastly, the Pen-
tecostal Church, itself, takes an active interest in the young.
It opens its doors to them regardless of their appearance or
behavior, assisting them financially by helping them to set up
communes and youth centers as well as spiritually by establish-
ing special weekly youth services (Anonymous 1971:59). For
the established Pentecostal Church, counter-culture youths in
search of their Christian origins bring new life and enthusiasm
into a religious community threatened by structural differen-
tiation.

2. The North American Jesus People Revolution

Although Pentecostalism is clearly the dominant
determinant as to what is taking place in the North American
Jesus People Movement in terms of ideology and ritual, there
are additional factors which have profoundly influenced par-
ticular (interest) groups within the movement. Non-evangelical
religions such as Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism have created
their own factions in the movement, attempting to join evangel-
ical ecstasy to a more formalized ritual tradition. Further-
more, long-established Christian youth groups emanating from
the Southern United States evangelical tradition have, on the
one hand, claimed the movement as their own personal victory
while at the same time rejecting the counter-culture orienta-
tion of their non-southern "brothers" (Anonymous 1971:56).[18]
In addition to denominational and regional factionalism with-
in the movement, these factions have themselves been further

divided into groups characterized by their more or less rigid interpretation of Biblical scriptures which in turn has affected their willingness or unwillingness to actively participate in secular affairs. Some Jesus People stress individual involvement with community affairs, whereas others stress individual involvement with God through constant prayer and meditation.

Given the significant division within the Jesus movement, can one actually recognize it as a unified religious body? The movement cannot stand alone as a model for one way of life or any one interpretation of Christian belief, but it can and does exist as an ideal point of spiritual unification to which communities such as the Market Street Jesus People can look for proof that they are not alone in their religious endeavors. Furthermore, I believe that there is a profound common ideology shared by most Jesus People. An ideology rising out of their basic dissatisfaction with all the ills man must contend with on earth. Malcolm Muggeridge best captures the unified sentiments of the Jesus People when he writes:

> I disbelieve in progress, the pursuit of
> happiness and all the concomitant notions
> and projects for creating a society in which
> human beings find even greater contentment
> by being given in ever greater abundance the
> means to satisfy their material and bodily
> hopes and desires. In other words, I con-
> sider that the way of life in urbanized, rich
> countries as it exists today and as it is
> likely to go on developing, is probably the
> most degraded and unillumined ever to come
> to pass on earth...Nor as far as I am con-
> cerned is there any recompense in the
> so-called achievement of science. This does
> not at all excite my mind or even my curiosity.
> The atom has been split, the universe has
> been discovered and will soon be explored.

Neither achievement has any bearing on
what alone interests me--which is why
life exists and what significance if any
of my minute and so transitory part in it.
All the world is a grain of sand; all the
universe too. If I could understand a
grain of sand I should understand everything.
Why then should going to the moon and Mars or
spending a holiday along the Milky Way be
expected to advance me further in my quest
than going to Manchester and Liverpool or
spending a holiday in Brighton?
        Education, the great mumbo-jumbo and
fraud of the age, purports to equip us to
live and is prescribed as a universal
remedy for everything from juvenile delin-
quency to premature senility. For the most
part it only serves to enlarge stupidity,
inflate conceit, enhance credulity and put
those subjected to it at the mercy of brain-
washers with printing presses, radio and tel-
evision at their disposal.
        For as we abolish the ills and pains of
the flesh we multiply those of the mind, so
that by the time mankind are finally pasteurised,
their genes counted and rearranged, fitted with
new replaceable plastic organs, able to eat,
fornicate and perform other physical functions
inocuously and hygienically as and when desired--
they will all be mad and the world one huge
psychiatric ward (Muggeridge quoted in Klapp
1969:143).

The Jesus People, therefore, seek to cope with these ills through
their belief in the curative powers of Jesus Christ's love. Mug-
geridge has understood their desired end, a place in a world
gone mad - the sacred millennium.

B. Exploring the Ideology of the Market Street Jesus People

        When I first entered the Market Street Jesus People
Community in September of 1971, it was three full weeks before
community residents openly discussed their personal approaches
to Pentecostalism. This was a surprise, as I had expected
that the Market Street people, given their Pentecostal passion
for missionizing, would be anxious to receive a potential new

convert and eager to share their personal beliefs. Members
of the Calgary Street commune, speaking for the Market Street
community as a whole, later explained their initial reticence
by expressing their displeasure for "over-zealous" Christians.
They pointed out that they were particularly adverse to the
practices of an aggressive faction of the movement called the
Children of God, noting with dismay that members of this sect
were not adverse to performing illegal acts in order to gain
converts.[19] Unlike the Children of God, the Market Street People
prided themselves in their temperance in all matters.

Not long after I began my research in the community
I had occasion to witness a confrontation between an ex-Child
of God, a new convert to Pentecostalism, and residents of the
Calgary Street Jesus People Center. Learning that I was a
student of anthropology at McGill University, the ex-Child of
God became angry, denouncing all who would waste their time
in useless academic pursuits in the face of imminent cataclysm.
According to this individual, the sole meaningful task of the
true Christian was to establish contact with God through prayer
while waiting for the new order. Upon hearing this, however,
several core members of the community questioned the wisdom
of the ex-Child of God's belief, stating that it was a "waste"
for Christians to just sit around waiting for the Day of Judge-
ment to arrive. Carol, the Calgary Street commune's house-
mother, went so far as to ask the new convert why he, himself,
wasn't "sitting on a mountain waiting" if he was so sure the
Day of Judgement was at hand. This incident illustrates the
Market Street Jesus People's tendency to be non-aggressive

in their approach to conversion. It also reveals their predominant reformist orientation in their millenarian view of the world. Unlike the more pessimistic, revolutionary stand of established Pentecostals, the Market Street People put some faith in the ability of "good works" to encourage the coming of the new order.[20] This does not suggest, however, that the Market Street People believe that good works were a valued end in themselves. Rather, it suggests that they were willing to perform good works when all other efforts to achieve a total conversion had been made.

Christine, a recent convert to Pentecostalism and a full-time resident of the Calgary Street commune, further supported the reformist nature of the Market Street Community when she expressed her need for spiritual guidance to help her discover a worth-while vocation. She said: "I have (found) the word, but I have not found the spirit". She explained that she and other community members spent much of their time perusing the Bible for a sign from God as to what direction their good works should take because the words alone were meaningless without the spirit necessary for their successful interpretation. Christine and I talked at length about the problem of finding oneself after the initial excitement and mental elation of the conversion experience had passed. She commented that the entire Calgary Street household was "down" because the spirit had come to very few of them. Speaking about her own experience, she said that she believed that she should "teach little children about Jesus" but that to do so would be to ignore her special skills as a private nurse. She expressed her reluc-

tance to return to her pre-convert vocation of nursing, however, because it would give her very little chance to spread the gospel. "After all", she said, "sick people very often turn themselves off to Christ". Talking further about her own failure to discover a calling, Christine stated that she hoped God would guide her as well as He had guided Robert, one of the more charismatic Calgary Street residents. "Robert" she said, "found the spirit in California when God told him to come to Canada to witness".

The Calgary Street residents' staunch commitment to "good works" was in some ways a reaction to a schism within the commune which appeared very early in the Market Street Community's history. When the commune was first established in May of 1971, all new converts lived together. However, during the early summer months of that same year, a group of new converts favoring a more radical approach to Pentecostalism moved to a farm in New Haven, Quebec. Although maintaining social and spiritual ties with their Market Street "brothers and sisters" in the city, these revolutionaries expressed their dissatisfaction with the moderate position of the city contingent. They rejected the notion of "good works", believing that a Christian's primary task in life was to remain in direct contact with God through prayer, acting only according to God's own command. The Calgary Street people, on the other hand, openly expressed their skepticism as to the practicality of such a position. They in fact were inclined to call the New Haven Jesus People "those fanatics". Speaking about one of the more zealous farm people, Mike, a Calgary Street resident said:

> Joe is a real fanatic. He always goes
> around saying "praise Jesus" and "God
> be praised" every other word. He expects
> the spirit to move him and if it doesn't
> he doesn't move. He and some of the other
> New Haven farm people were transporting
> furniture out to the farmhouse from town
> in an old pick-up. They sat in the cab of
> that truck all day and late into the night
> waiting for the spirit to move them to car-
> ry the furniture inside. I think it's be-
> cause they're lazy. They have to come
> back to the city next week because the
> farm isn't winterized. It wouldn't take
> much to fix it up.

It is important to remember that the New Haven Jesus

People were not the only members of the Market Street community

who believed in the necessity of prayer as a means of obtaining

direct guidance from God. All of the interest groups in the

community supported the basic Pentecostal tenet which held

that prayer is of central importance to salvation. Their faith

in this belief varied only in degree. As it turned out, Mike,

himself, who was so quick to criticize the fanatics on the farm,

resorted to prayer a good deal. He often spent several hours

each day asking the Lord if he should return to his home in the

United States for the Christmas holidays. In fact, much of the

casual talk in the Calgary Street commune was about recent suc-

cesses or failures of house residents seeking advice from God.

One afternoon, several core members of the commune spent over

an hour talking about the value of prayer as a means of assuring

one of transportation from one place to another. Joanna, a

frequent visitor to the house, said that she had prayed for a

ride to Toronto so that she could visit a priest she once knew

to tell him about the Jesus Movement. Two days before her in-

tended departure, she received a phone call from a friend asking

her if she wanted a lift to Toronto. Everyone who was present
at this informal talk session agreed that "you just can't beat
the success that comes with prayer".

Prayer, individual Bible study and meditation were
so central to the lives of the people living in the Calgary
Street Commune that a special "meditation room" had been set
aside so that individuals could be alone in a quiet setting
to carry out their religious activities. Christine, however,
confided to me that there was never enough peace in the house
for prayer in spite of the special room. She complained that
the house was open at all times to visitors and potential con-
verts who were free to wander wherever they liked, thereby
breaking up the routine and making prayer and meditation impos-
sible.

In addition to supporting the Pentecostal enthusiasm
for prayer, the Market Street Jesus people made great efforts
to revive the early Pentecostal belief in nondenominationalism
and fellowship. They believed that it was their duty to at-
tempt to unify all men, regardless of their formal religious
groundings, into one body of true believers. Furthermore, they
believed that it was each convert's duty to inform non-believers
of the foolishness of their ways in order to save as many people
as possible before the Day of Final Judgement. As adherents
to a revival in the Pentecostal Church they staunchly supported
the position of their predecessors who wrote in 1906:

> We do not fight against persons and Church
> denominations but endeavor to displace dead
> forms and confessions and wild fanatacism with
> living practical Christianity. 'Love, faith
> and unity' is our watchword and 'victory through

the atoning blood' our war cry
(Bloch-Hoell 1964:46).

As revivalists, the Market Street Jesus People were
not only supportive of early Pentecostal doctrine but, in fact,
encouraged a revival of early Christian ideology as presented
in the Bible. For them, the gospel and the guidelines set
down by the gospel were of foremost importance. In this way,
they did not differ so much from established Pentecostals ex-
cept in the rigidity of their faith and their attempts to real-
ize their beliefs in their daily lives. Holding to Peter's
command that all true believers should share all that they have
in common in a communal setting, they acted upon their faith in
his guidance by establishing the community. Carol best sum-
marized the Market Street people's ideological stand as to the
importance of their identification with Pentecostalism and the
gospel when she said:

> Some Jesus People cut themselves off from
> any church at all because they feel churches
> have failed them. We feel it's important to
> go to church to get the gospel. Our church
> is so different from most churches, as dif-
> ferent as night and day. When you find a
> church that's preaching the gospel it's very
> exciting. This is not to say that going to
> church makes someone a Christian. Religion
> doesn't make <u>anyone</u> a Christian! Everyone
> has to be a Christian in their own right.
> I guess it all depends; some churches preach
> a fuller gospel than others. We don't like
> to advocate a religion - we're preaching
> Christ not religion. Religion will not save
> you. Christ will. When you come to Christ,
> the words in the doctrine are pretty straight
> forward.

C. Deeds: Exploring the Realm of Behavior

In the previous discussion, I briefly described the
ideological foundations of the Market Street Jesus People in

order that the reader might better understand the manifest characteristics of the community as I shall now describe them. Focusing upon the Calgary Street Commune, I shall briefly describe the greater Market Street Community of which it is a member in addition to presenting its history and a synopsis of a day in the life of people who lived there. In concluding the chapter, I will review those characteristics of both Market Street Jesus People ideology and behavior which are clearly millenarian.

1. The Market Street Jesus People Community

In October, 1971, when I first entered the Market Street Jesus People Community, the existential communitas beginnings of the community had long before given way to structure in the form of economic and ideational interest groups. The community was made up of the Calgary Street Jesus People Center, the Home of the Fish Leather Boutique, the Redwood Street Men's Commune, private apartments where Market Street people lived, the Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church and the New Haven Jesus Farm. Except for the farm, all of these core community groups were situated in a busy commercial complex which was bordered on one side by an old, once prestigious residental neighborhood. Most of the two-story townhouses in the district had been converted into small, one bedroom and bachelor apartments which were predominately inhabited by students, the poor, and the elderly. This was an ideal location for the community in that it centered around the patronal Glory Gospel Church which had been constructed in the neighborhood many years before. In addition to the proximity of the church, the area offered

community members the best of both the commercial and residental
worlds, filling their needs accordingly. The leather boutique
workers had access to large numbers of potential converts
moving through the area while shopping. The community evangelists
had access to the crowded shopping plaza and the metro station,
and all community members were able to escape the crowds in the
near-by residental neighborhood. Given the aim of the community
both to convert and to rehabilitate young people in a Christ-
ian communal environment and to maintain economically that
environment through the efforts of community members, the loca-
tion was well-chosen.

　　　　As was stated in Chapter One, there were approximately
fifty core Market Street Jesus People who were scattered through-
out the communes and private apartments in the Market Street
district. The leather boutique people and their friends lived
in the Redwood Street Men's Commune which had accomodations
for ten persons. Another twenty or so individuals lived in
private apartments, with some community members sharing rooms.
Approximately ten people, both male and female lived in New
Haven, Quebec on the Jesus farm while another twelve people
made the Calgary Street commune their home. In addition, a
few people who considered themselves to be community members
lived outside of the Market Street district with parents or
in some cases with their spouses, identifying with the group
through their common link with the Glory Gospel Church. It
was difficult to specify exact numbers of persons living in
and identifying with certain key interest groups within the
community, given the open orientation of the community to visitors

and potential converts who swelled or diminished group member-
ship at various times in the year.

Each of the Market Street Jesus People Community's
primary interest groups distinguished itself from all the rest
depending upon its idiosyncratic orientation to Pentecostalism,
its primary function in the community and the social background
of its members. The leather boutique people, for example, were
clearly recognized both by themselves and others in the com-
munity as the major bread-winners. They designed and sold
counter-culture leather goods and paraphernalia in the Home
of the Fish Boutique, establishing an economic structure which
was flexible enough to absorb new converts as employees. The
leather workers and their assistants put food on the community
tables. Ideologically, the leather workers were moderate Pen-
tecostals. They supported the supernatural, emotional orienta-
tion of Pentecostal ideology, but they were less inclined to
reject the notion of good works and self-will. They partici-
pated actively in the revivalistic services at the Glory Gospel
Church, but they did not give themselves entirely to God as is
evident in their artistic and economic concerns.

An interest group which closely allied itself with
and partially converged with the leather boutique contingent
was the Redwood Street Men's Commune. This commune was estab-
lished in summer of 1971 by some of the leather workers and
their friends who were asked to move out of the Calgary Street
commune in order to make room for new converts. The residents
of this commune, other than the fact that they were all male,
distinguished themselves from other individuals in the community

by adopting a more radical counter-culture style in their dress, behavior and speech. Free from the watchful eye of the Calgary Street house parents and the inquiring eyes of the many visitors from the Glory Gospel Church, they dressed and behaved and organized their lives as they liked. Furthermore, as (relatively) long-time converts to Pentecostalism, they distinguished themselves ideologically in the routinized nature of their beliefs. They staunchly opposed the "fanatic" total dependence of the farm people and they expressed their lack of enthusiasm for the zealous devotion to missionizing on behalf of the Calgary Street people. For the Redwood Street people, Pentecostalism was clearly taking a back seat in relationship to their other concerns and endeavors.

Of all the interest groups in the Market Street Jesus People Community, the congregational and ministerial establishment of the Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church had the most influence. The pastors of the church provided community members with the fundamental tenets of Pentecostalism, and together with the lay directors of the church, controlled the community's purse strings. Depending upon the community's success or failure in building the ranks of new converts and preventing backsliding, the Glory Gospel Church channelled more or less money into the community for rents and basic supplies and asserted more or less control over its methods of religious instruction. In Spring of 1972, for example, the Glory Gospel directors expressed their dissatisfaction over the escalating commercial interests of the leather boutique workers. They threatened to withdraw financial support from the shop if those who worked

there did not reestablish their secondary missionizing duties.[21]

Furthermore, as the most institutionalized body within a com-

munity rapidly giving way to structural differentiation, the

church had an aura of stability which attracted the Jesus People.

Long after various interest groups within the Market Street

Community severed their relationships with one another, they

continued to be strongly tied to the Glory Gospel Church.

2. The Calgary Street Jesus People Center

Although the Glory Gospel establishment had frequent

direct contacts with the Market Street Jesus People in weekly

church services and prayer sessions, it also had indirect ties

to the community through the Calgary Street Commune and Drop-in

Center. Under the watchful eyes of the resident Glory Gospel

representatives, a young clergyman and his wife, this commune

and drop-in center served as the nucleus for community social-

izing, informal religious instruction and worship. In addition,

it served as the residence for individuals in the Market Street

Community wholly devoted to missionizing and their new converts.

3. The History of the Calgary Street Commune

The history of the Calgary Street Jesus People Com-

mune and Drop-in Center is important as it describes how the

commune changed over time in response to structural differen-

tiation in the greater Market Street Community and as it sheds

light on the history of that community as a whole.

In late Spring of 1971, two young Catholic, Portuguese,

counter-culture craftsmen opened a leather boutique and "head"[22]

shop in the First Avenue district of Montreal which borders

McGill University's student ghetto. In their daily encounters

with the local students and street people, they made the acquain-
tance of a young "hip" woman who had recently converted to Pen-
tecostalism, becoming a member of the Glory Gospel congregation.
Thinking that the leatherworkers might be interested in a "very
strange and heavy experience," one which promised to awake in
them a feeling of peace and joy, she invited them to join her
at one of the weekly evening services. She expressed her hope
that they, too, might "be turned on to Christ". When they at-
tended the services at Glory Gospel, the young men were so im-
pressed by what they saw and experienced that they immediately
set out to spread the word of Christ to the customers in their
own little boutique. Within a few weeks, large numbers of
counter-culture youths, having converted to Pentecostalism
and the joys of communal fellowship, were either living in or
spending a good deal of time in the shop's crowded backroom.
It was, in fact, a highly emotional time for the charismatic
leatherworkers, and one which they unknowingly were never to
know again. As young people from various social and economic
backgrounds streamed into their "backroom crash-pad and spiritual
temple" in search of shelter, food, friendship and spiritual
guidance, communitas came to life for a brief period only to
sink back once again into structure. For a brief period in
the crowded backroom, young people set aside their differ-
ences and came together as a unified body believing in man's
eventual salvation; together they pledged themselves to Christ
through Pentecostalism. However, as their ranks increased,
they were beset by a number of problems. For one, the back-
room commune and temple was no longer large enough to comfortably

accomodate all who wished to live and worship there. For this
reason, many new converts were forced to live outside the pro-
tective religious community and were, therefore, subjected to
the "sinful" lifeways of the secular world. Living outside
of the community, several new converts abandoned their newly
found religion and returned to the lives they once knew. An
additional problem for the First Avenue community was its sub-
stantial distance from the Glory Gospel Church. Not only did
the church hold no influence over a community so removed from
its fold, but many community converts were reluctant to expend
the energy or the money to actively participate in church af-
fairs. In fact, some new converts openly questioned the value
of being affiliated with a formal church which had compromised
itself with the status quo.[23] All of these problems further
contributed to the natural structural differentiation dividing the
leathershop Pentecostals, as those who lived within the shop
differentiated themselves from those who did not, and those
who were pro-Glory Gospel differentiated themselves from those
who were not. The once unified group was clearly threatened
by internal divisions and yet there appeared to be no ready
solution.

As luck would have it, just as the leather workers
were about to give up in frustration, the Glory Gospel Church
decided that there was a real need for a Christian, new-convert's
rehabilitation center. They decided to financially support a
house where young people could live free of the demands of
secular life while searching for the "spirit". And so with
their backing, the Calgary Street Rehabilitation Commune was

established in a residental neighborhood one block away from the church. In addition, the original owners of the First Avenue leather shop recognized the value of "sticking together" and they persuaded the Glory Gospel directors to assist them in moving their business to the Market Street district.

Having decided to rent a large, two-story townhouse on Calgary Street only a minute's walk from the church, the Glory Gospel directors undertook the task of finding someone suitable to oversee it. They were determined to find someone who was a good practicing Pentecostal, who was well-read in the Bible and familiar with interpretations of Scriptures and who could lead Bible study classes in the house. Furthermore, they wanted someone who was young enough to understand the unique problems of contemporary youths and who would be able to counsel youths about their problems. Preferably this person would know something about drugs, hippy jargon, street violence, tripping-out, and crashing. They also decided that the house-director should know how to set up and run a household of fifteen to twenty people. Finally, they decided that they needed someone who was capable of being a leader, but who would not be so domineering as to negate the communal atmosphere of spiritual fellowship. As it turned out, one of Glory Gospel's own converts - Jack Robertson - was selected to oversee the center. Jack had come to Glory Gospel Church only two years before as an experienced street-gang member who was familiar with the problems of being a young person in Montreal. After conversion, he had attended a small Pentecostal Bible College in Manitoba where he met and married a long-converted

woman eight years older than himself named Carol. Jack completed his studies, became a Pentecostal pastor and together with Carol moved back to Montreal to carry out his calling in the Glory Gospel Church. It was May, 1971, when Carol, twenty-eight, and Jack, twenty, moved into the Calgary Street house with their first converts from the backroom at the First Avenue Leather Boutique.

From the beginning, the Calgary Street Jesus People Commune and Drop-in Center devoted itself to increasing the membership lists of its patron, the Glory Gospel Pentecostal Church. In addition, it took on the responsibility of watching over and counseling new converts to prevent them from backsliding. "New converts" and "rehabilitation", therefore, were the principal concerns of the Calgary Street residents. Early in the commune's development, however, very little emphasis was placed upon formal missionary activities. If any new members of the commune brought in new converts, it was generally the result of spontaneous witnessing and not the result of any pre-determined plan to do so. Carol explained that the reason behind the commune's failure to openly witness during the early phase of its history was its desire to devote the greatest part of its time to rehabilitation and instruction of the converts it already had. In the early days, there were not enough experienced Pentecostals in the House to both go out onto the streets to witness and to stay at home to instruct the newer, inexperienced members.

It is important to recall, however, that the Calgary Street center always maintained an open door policy to all

visitors and potential converts. Although initially more concerned with rehabilitation, it never discouraged an influx of new converts. In fact, since most of the residents were unable to witness for the commune, it was decided by all residents in the house that this responsibility would best be shouldered by the leather people. Not only did they have frequent occasions to come into contact with potential converts through their business dealings, but they were wholly committed to a Pentecostal way of life and were particularly charismatic in getting their message across.

In late spring of 1971 as young people across Canada left school for the summer to seek adventures and communitas on the highways, the Calgary Street commune became increasingly burdened by the rising number of new converts. Young hitchhikers in search of cheap meals and living quarters joined young people truly committed to Pentecostalism to fill up all the available living space in the house. As yet unaware of the transience of many of their new converts, Carol and Jack, on behalf of the Glory Gospel Church, requested that at least some of the more established Jesus People seek shelter elsewhere in the Market Street Community in order to make room for those in need of intensive instruction and supervision. For this reason, coupled with their growing dissatisfaction with the lack of social freedom in the commune, the male leather workers and a few of their converts decided to establish a commune on Redwood Street a few blocks east of Calgary Street. Not long after the leather workers and their comrades departed, there was further division within the commune resulting from

an ideological crisis. As mentioned (page 56), a group of
Pentecostal hard-liners decided to seek social and spiritual
seclusion in the farm lands of New Haven, Quebec.

With the departure of the farm people, life in the
Calgary Street Commune stabilized temporarily, the commune re-
taining its position of importance for all members of the Mar-
ket Street Community. Although large numbers of individual
new converts moved in and out of the commune, converting and
backsliding within a number of days or weeks, the over-all pop-
ulation of the house swelled. The Glory Gospel congregation
and the young Market Street people believed that a great Christian
revival was at hand. Not only was every last bed in the com-
mune filled or every place at the large dining table taken at
every meal, but the special pews at Glory Gospel Church set a-.
side for the Jesus People were literally overflowing. Further-
more, in spite of the change of residence on behalf of the farm
and leather boutique people, they continued to actively partici-
pate in Calgary Street affairs. The farm people drove into the
city on Wednesdays and Sundays to eat dinner at the commune and
to share in its pre-service evening fellowship hour. They were
joined by the leather workers who,as the principal missionaries
of the community,wanted to keep in touch with their converts.
The leather workers, in fact, often ate meals with the Calgary
Street people, attended their Bible study sessions and shared
in the commune's fellowship. In fact, the summer of 1971 was
a good time for close ties in the Market Street Community as
a whole.

In late August and early September of 1971, important

Market Street Community ties began to break down. When the more transient members of the Calgary Street Commune hit the road in order to return to school or jobs, and when some of the older male converts found employment in the city and decided to move into the Redwood Street Commune, the close ties between the leather boutique people and the Calgary Street people began to disintegrate. For one thing, the craftsmen became extremely busy with their business and were no longer free to witness to the extent that they had in the early days. For another thing, with winter coming, the hippie community in the Market Street district declined so there were not so many people available to convert. Given that there were few if any new converts moving into the Calgary Street residence on the advice of the boutique workers and that many long-time converts were moving out of the commune, the leather boutique people lost interest in the Center and stopped attending functions there altogether. Because of the close association between the leather workers and the Redwood Street people, the latter, as well, severely limited their contacts with the Calgary Street people. On the other hand, possibly because of their strong loyalty to the Glory Gospel Church, the farm people continued to attend Calgary Street meetings and fellowship sessions in spite of their ideological differences. They also maintained ties with the leather boutique people through mutual friends in the Redwood Street Commune.

Three weeks before I began my research in the Calgary Street house in September, 1971, Robert, the ex-Child of God from California arrived on the scene with the belief that he

had been sent by God to Montreal to witness for Jesus. It was this belief that brought a revival into the dying Calgary Street household. With Robert's evangelical enthusiasm, the evening fellowships became more animated and the idea that the house could get itself back on its feet through witnessing gave everyone new hope. It even seemed that the boutique people were regaining interest as they briefly reestablished contacts with the commune when Robert encouraged them to take on his new converts as employees.

Initially, Robert did most of his witnessing alone and on a spontaneous basis. Each day, he left the commune after the morning Bible study session for various locations around the city characterized by large gatherings of people. As it happened, he often witnessed in the student ghetto and on the campus of McGill University where the leather boutique people had first had their conversion successes. In time, however, he discovered that he really was not getting very far with the students. He witnessed at Sir George Williams University and at Loyola College but few of his contacts resulted in success. Most of his success came from witnessing in parks where pensioners and hippies sat enjoying the Indian summer sun and in the fringes of student areas where "street people" took advantage of the youth-oriented surroundings. In time, a trickle of interested people began showing up at the Calgary Street house for the evening fellowship hour.

As Robert's approach to witnessing became more and more formalized, he encouraged Jack, the house director, and Alex, a shy summertime hanger-on who depended upon the commune

for social support, to accompany him on his daily outings.
Occasionally, he even encouraged Christine to join them, al-
though she disliked witnessing because she felt that "the words
coming out of her mouth sounded false". Not only did this con-
tingent attempt to establish contact with individuals all over
the city, but it made every effort to establish links between
itself and other Christian organizations. In early December,
they carried the gospel to McGill University where they addressed
the McGill Young Christian's Association, focusing their presen-
tation on their own conversion successes and the need for
Christians to live together in a sin-free communal environment.
Actually, the two groups had been maintaining rather informal
ties since October when a member of the McGill group began at-
tending fellowship sessions at the Calgary Street house. In
addition, there were ties between the two groups because the
McGill people had donated each month over one hundred copies
of their newspaper, One Way, so that the Calgary Street witnesses
could have some literature to distribute to their potential
converts.[24] Ties were eventually formalized between them when
the McGill Young Christians donated money to the Market Street
Community so that several thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled
"Who is Jesus Christ?" could be distributed by both groups at
the Montreal opening of "Jesus Christ Superstar". It is impor-
tant to note, however, that although the Calgary Street people
felt themselves indebted to the McGill people and so went out
of their way to treat them as brothers, that they also expressed
some doubts about the organization. The Calgary Street People
were opposed to the intellectualized nature of the McGill

Christians' weekly lecture series and their sponsored theolog-
ical debates. "You can't rationalize Jesus" was a common re-
mark made in reference to all of the university Christian groups
with which the Calgary Street people came into contact.

In addition to the daily witnessing sessions in the
Fall and early Winter of 1971, Robert occasionally ventured
into the city at night where he made contacts with people in
coffee houses, side-walk cafes and pubs. He and Jack also be-
gan working regularly with a group of Christians at Dawson Col-
lege, the first academic institution where they found young
people "open" to Christ. Throughout its entire history, there
was no other time when the Calgary Street Community was so out-
ward reaching. For the community as a whole, this period of
witnessing marked the end of success.

The Christmas holidays were devastating to the Cal-
gary Street Commune. No one lived in the house for the two
week period before and after the twenty-fifth. Carol and Jack
returned to Manitoba, and informed all the residents that they
would have to find lodging elsewhere for the holidays. When
I arrived back at the house in January, having myself spent a
month in California,, the Calgary Street Commune and Drop-in
Center had not really gotten itself going again. Apparently,
some of the visitors had been giving Carol and Jack a bad time
with drugs, fights, broken windows, doors and the like. This,
coupled with the falling number of new converts, encouraged
the Glory Gospel directors to limit the commune's funding,
forcing Carol and Jack to change the nature of the combined
commune and drop-in center to only a drop-in center. Christine

had not returned from her pre-Christmas trip to Toronto and
Carol had taken a new assistant clerk's job because she said
that she was no longer needed at the house. Stanley, one of
the oldest members of the commune was in and out of the hospi-
tal with rheumatism leaving Alex alone much of the time. Robert
and Jack were the only ones who continued to show any enthus-
iasm. They formalized their ties with Dawson College and threw
all of their missionizing efforts into this concern, ignoring
all other potential converts. This same over-all stagnation
or collapse due to structural differentiation was still in
evidence when I last worked in the community in late Spring
of 1972.

Not long before I terminated my relationship with
the Calgary Street people, Carol attempted to explain why the
commune had "momentarily" lost sight of its goal. The first
reason she gave was that the Children of God had stolen all
of the potential converts. She complained that they had nearly
fifty people witnessing in the streets night and day compared
to the meager three-man Calgary Street contingent that rarely
worked after nightfall. She also said that the Children of
God had opened a coffee house in an area very popular with
Montreal's counter-culture community providing them with ready
access to potential converts. Her second reason for the com-
mune's decline was clearly more difficult for her to reveal.
She said that as much as she and the Calgary Street people
loved their brothers in the leather boutique, they had been
ignoring their witnessing responsibilities and "capitalizing
on the fact that Christ is popular right now". "I know it's

hard work," she volunteered, "and difficult to witness and work at the same time, but the number of kids that come around now is smaller because the boutique people aren't sending them". In addition, she mentioned that the Redwood Street Commune people "aren't with it much", suggesting that they were not taking as active a part in the community as they should have.

At the same time as ties between the main interest groups within the Market Street Community were breaking, so too were ties between the Calgary Street People and their friends in the secular world. The Calgary Street People were no longer tolerant of the intellectual views of their university contacts, nor were they willing to continue witnessing in public places to strangers who blindly ignored the call to Christ. Quite bluntly, the Calgary Street people had had it! They were tired of being rebuked and tired of opening up to people who showed no signs of a desire to know Christ.

Early summer of 1972, therefore, found the Glory Gospel Church replacing the Calgary Street Commune and Drop-in Center as the social and religious nucleus of the Market Street Jesus People Community. In fact, the church prevented the community from collapsing altogether. The few remaining Calgary Street residents maintained ties with the Church both because they had secret hopes of reviving congregational interests in the commune and because Carol and Jack urged them to do so. The boutique people regularly attended services at Glory Gospel because they, too, had hopes that the Market Street Community could rediscover the feeling of communitas it had once known. The farm people continued attending Glory Gospel services after

they severed ties with other groups within the community, but
with the closing of the farm for winter, they disbanded and
eventually stopped appearing in the community entirely. In
June, the Calgary Street Commune and Drop-in Center closed
its doors forever. For those who called the commune home, the
Market Street Jesus People Community no longer existed.

4. Life in the Calgary Street Commune

In the previous discussion, I presented the history
of the Calgary Street Commune and Drop-in Center. I shall now
describe the commune itself, its physical and social character-
istics, concluding with a description of an average day in the
life of a new convert who lived there.

The Calgary Street Jesus People Commune and Drop-in
Center was located in a semi-attached, two-story townhouse in
the center of the six-square block area making up the Market
Street Community. Located in a quiet residential neighborhood
only one block east of the Glory Gospel Church, it had the ap-
pearance of being a single-family dwelling and not-a commune
and home away from home for over sixteen new Pentecostal converts.
Except for a small card tacked over the doorbell which read
"Welcome to the Jesus Center. Why not come in? Ring apart-
ment One", there were no external signs advertising the house
as a Christian Drop-in Center open to the public.

It was not until one actually entered and toured
the Calgary Street house that one was struck by its Christian
and communal atmosphere. In the living room, second-hand,
over-stuffed couches and chairs not infrequently inhabited by
clusters of people talking or individuals reading the Bible,

lined every inch of available wall space. Religious posters
boldly declaring: "Jesus is Love", "Jesus is the Way", "We are
the Jesus Generation" and "Turn onto Christ" were hung every-
where and Pentecostal tracts, Jesus People newspapers and Bibles
were piled on tables and scattered on the fading flowered car-
pet. As the social heart of both the commune and the Market
Street Community before structural differentiation set in, the
living room was constantly occupied by young Jesus people for
Bible study sessions, informal discussions, community business
meetings and the nightly community fellowship encounters. In
the Calgary Street basement, row after row of homemade pine
bunk beds covered with the personal belongings of those who
slept there were divided into female and male dormitories by
a blanket suspended from a clothesline. Depending upon the
hour when one toured the house, it was possible to see late
sleepers who had been up the night before at an all-night re-
vival session at the church or who worked the night shift as
factory workers in the city. Carol, the house mother, said
that it was fortunate that a few people worked nights as when
the house was filled with new converts there were not enough
beds to sleep everyone at the same time. In the far corner
of the basement a washing machine chugged away continuously,
attended by any one of the female residents. Upstairs in the
small,wallpapered kitchen, a large pot of soup prepared daily,
simmered on the electric stove and again, depending upon the
hour, Jesus People washed dishes, brewed a cup of tea or rushed
about in a frantic attempt to put dinner on the table for fif-
teen people. Perhaps because of its size, the kitchen was not

a social center. For those who did most of the cooking, there
was a constant need to move back and forth from the living
room to catch up on gossip or to participate in the Bible study
sessions. Finally, moving from the kitchen to the combination
dining-meditation room, overlooking the back garden, one was
able to observe the entire household and several visitors sit-
ting down for a meal or a lone individual perusing his Bible
silently. The dining room-meditation room, like the commune
in general, was an attempt to accomodate the secular and reli-
gious demands made upon the Jesus People in their attempt to
revive ancient Christian communalism.

5. A Day in the Life of a Calgary Street Resident

    With the establishment of the Calgary Street Jesus
People Center, new converts who had heretofore approached their
new religion in a spontaneous and unstructured manner, estab-
lished a daily routine designed to maximize a successful re-
habilitation from the evils of the secular world. Visitors
and residents alike were expected to honor this routine.

    Except for weekends when Calgary Street residents
were able to sleep in or were encouraged to rise around six
to attend the Sunday morning service at Glory Gospel Church,
they rose around seven-thirty in the morning. Before getting
out of bed to dress and commence their pre-breakfast chores,
they prayed and meditated individually, asking God to assist
them in their spiritual tasks for that day. Having completed
preparation of breakfast and making beds, everyone ate break-
fast together in the meditation room while talking over plans
for the day. For example, the witnessing contigent of the com-

,mune sat together suggesting choice locations for their mis-
sionizing. Following breakfast, Carol and the kitchen workers
cleaned up while her husband, the house director, went upstairs
to their private apartment to prepare his notes for the late
morning Bible study session. The remaining residents were free
to do what they liked, but most of them, on a tip from Jack,
studied the lesson for the day. Around ten-thirty, those
leather workers who were able to get away from the shop and
various other Jesus People scattered throughout the Market
Street Community, arrived at the house to study for a few min-
utes before Jack's presentation.

Jack usually opened the Bible study session with a
reading from the appropriate scriptures and a general introduc-
tion. He then initiated discussion by asking questions of the
Jesus People. These sessions lasted one hour or longer de-
pending upon the enthusiasm engendered by the discussion. These
sessions were both instructive and therapeutic. Individuals
were encouraged to think about the verses and to relate them
to their own lives, speaking openly about their personal con-
version experiences, their fears and their doubts. In response
to these comments, Jack offered reassurance either in the form
of an additional supportive verse from Scriptures or in the
form of personal advice from one Christian to another.

Following the Bible study session, those who planned
to spend their afternoons spreading the gospel around the city,
picked up sandwiches prepared for them earlier and departed
with the leather workers who returned to the boutique. For
those who remained behind, there was heavy cleaning to do, Bibles

to study, letters to write, and the evening meal to prepare.
The commune settled quietly into its day, each individual car-
rying out the tasks he had been assigned during breakfast.

Around four in the afternoon, the house gradually
came to life again. The witnessers arrived home from their
missionary ventures bursting with news of success or unhappy
over a day of failures. Friends of Calgary Street residents
usually chose this time to drop in for a cup of tea and they
were joined by the leather workers and people from the Redwood
Street Commune who were anxious to catch up on community news
and gossip before dinner. Invited guests from the Glory Gos-
pel Church arrived to make the acquaintance of these young
Christians before going home to their families after a hard
day in the city.

Many of the people who visited the Calgary Street
house in the late afternoon joined house residents for dinner
and remained afterwards for the evening fellowship hour. The
fellowship hour was the most relaxed time of the day when
people from all over the Market Street Community came together
with new and potential converts to talk about their beliefs,
their personal backgrounds and about the day's events. It
was the one time of the day when people from all over the
community were assured of being together informally to reas-
sert their beliefs in communitas. In same ways the fellowship
hour was a nightly drama held for the benefit of new converts
to provide them with a model for perfect Christian togetherness.

Following the fellowship hour, the Jesus People
walked together to the Glory Gospel Church for the new-convert's

classes, prayer meetings or revival services. From eight to ten-thiry in the evening, they were confronted with the formal tenets of Pentecostalism in a variety of learning situations. Back at the house by eleven, residents of the house regrouped to talk about the day over tea and sandwiches, finally retiring around midnight.

D. The Calgary Street Jesus People as Millenarians

In concluding this chapter, I want to review those characteristics of the Calgary Street Jesus People which were distinctly millenarian. As practicing Pentecostals, the Calgary Street people were millenarians in that they believed in an imminent "second order" or new life on earth which would place all true believers in a "heaven on earth". They were millenarians because they believed in a brotherhood of man in which no one individual was better or worse than another. They believed that through Christ, all men are equals. They were millenarians because they idealized the communitas state of fellowship in which all individuals approach each other as equals sharing all they possess in common. They were millenarians in that they followed the nondenominational orientation of the early Pentecostals and they believed in crossing social boundaries in an effort to get rid of them altogether. Finally, they were millenarians in that they believed in the value of people working together, and not individually, in their common search for total conversion and identification with Christ.

17. (page forty-eight) Speaking in tongues or 'glossalalia' is an
    ecstatic state achieved by an individual in which he is able
    to speak any language on earth, regardless of his heretofore
    unilingual abilities. Pentecostals believe that when one
    speaks in tongues - what to the unaccustomed listener sounds
    like babbling or baby talk with nonsense syllables poured out
    one right after the other - one is speaking in God's own lang-
    uage which knows no barrier. The 'gift of the spirit' is that
    which occurs when any convert gives of himself so completely
    to the spirit (lets down his rational defenses) that he suc-
    cumbs to a state of total ecstasy. The 'laying on of hands'
    is a healing gift possessed by some of the more faithful
    which permits them to act as 'conductive' healing agents
    between God and the individual requiring attention (Sherril
    1964:30-46).

18. (page fifty-one) The southern contingent of the Jesus Move-
    ment differs so greatly from its Californian and East Coast
    counterparts that there has been much debate as to whether
    one can speak of the two as making up one movement (Anony-
    mous 1971:56-63). The Southern Jesus People differ from
    most other Jesus People in that they are not rejecting
    their cultural roots, but rather are wholly supportive of
    the social, economic, political and religious base from
    which they come. They belong to long-established groups such
    as Campus Crusade for Christ and Young Christian Athletics
    Association.

19. (page fifty-four) The Children of God are an example of a
    rigidly sectarian group in contrast to the Market Street
    Jesus People who are much less so. Their insistence
    upon geographical and cognitive isolation for new con-

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE (CONTINUED)

verts has resulted in accusations of kidnapping from concerned parents whose children have entered the movement. In addition, they distinguish themselves from the Market Street people in the sectarian concern for priestly hierarchy permitting some members special privileges withheld from provisional members.

20. (page fifty-five) The revolutionary position of established Pentecostal doctrine was constantly supported by Pastor Jordan of the Glory Gospel Church who intoned over and over again: "Good works and intentions are admirable, but they won't save you. Only Repentence and Faith can do that".

21. (page sixty-four) The church eventually stopped funding the boutique anyway because it was able to support itself.

22. (page sixty-four) "Head" is a counter-culture term which has its origins in the mind or "head"-expanding experience of drug consumption. A "head" shop, therefore, caters to counter-culture youths in search of psychedelic posters, beads and clothing. Because of the religious groundings of the shop owners, head or drug paraphernalia was understandably not sold.

23. (page sixty-six) Some early converts to the First Avenue Community believed that the formal Pentecostal Church was just as removed from the charismatic groundings of early Christianity as were the highly structured rationalist religions.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER FIVE (CONTINUED)

24.   (page seventy-three) Although at one time there was talk
      of setting up a community press, this was never carried
      out as the funds were not available. It was easier to
      use evangelical newspapers contributed from more financially
      well-off groups.

CHAPTER SIX: CHARTING THE COURSE OF STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

IN THE MARKET STREET JESUS PEOPLE COMMUNITY

Introduction

In this concluding chapter, I shall demonstrate the value of social network analysis for a study of social change in millenarian communities by employing social network methods to actually test for the success or failure of structural differentiation in the Market Street Jesus People Community. In doing this, I ask the reader to recall that Turner, Butridge and Wilson (see Chapter Two) hypothesize that millenarian communities must inevitably sacrifice their communitas origins to greater structural differentiation.

The organization of this chapter will be as follows. Section one will briefly review the relationship of social network concepts to millenarism and then will proceed to present an oral and schematic "social network history" of the Market Street Community as seen through the eyes of the Calgary Street group ego. Section two will include a discussion about structural differentiation in the community as revealed by its social network history. Lastly, in concluding the chapter, I will review my findings suggesting an even broader relevance of this new social network application for the anthropological discipline.

A. The Social Network History of the Market Street Community

In Chapter Four, I explained how one could test for the presence of structural differentiation in a millenarian community by observing the degree of density and totality - or openness - of its social network. Ideal communitas states,

I pointed out, are characterized by social networks which are both total and highly dense. However, as they succumb to structural differentiation, their social networks become increasingly divided into complex partial networks lacking great density. In other words, depending upon a given millenarian community's position in the communitas-structure-communitas cycle, its social network is more or less total and dense. For those communities not long removed from their existential communitas groundings, the social network is partial but not complex and still highly dense. On the other hand, for those communities which have long before abandoned communitas in favor of structural differentiation and social convergence with the status quo, the social networks are partial, highly complex and minimally dense. By recording a community's social network history, therefore, I argued that one could actually chart the course of structural differentiation as it moved communitas in the direction of greater and greater structure. Finally, I explained that given frequent social network recordings, one could observe changing community social relations in juxtaposition to more rigidly held millenarian models for social behavior.

In order to apply this method to a study of structural differentiation in the Market Street Jesus People Community, it was necessary for me to select salient social events in the daily lives of the Calgary Street communitarians which best revealed whether social contacts between them and other Market Street groups were occurring or not. Looking over the general history of the Calgary Street Commune it became clear

that the evening "fellowship" hour at the Center and the daily
witnessing activities of the Calgary Street missionaries could
serve as valuable foci for analysis in which we could readily
observe Calgary Street residents in social contact with non-
residents.   Therefore, in the social network history that is
to follow, I will be selecting out of the general history those
factors which indicate whether the fellowship hour has been
well-attended or not well-attended; that face-to-face rela-
tions within the community have been numerous or not so numer-
ous; and that commune residents have been actively witnessing
to the public or have stopped witnessing altogether. In other
words, I shall be looking for those social linkages or lack
of social linkages which indicate the presence of total or
partial, dense or not dense social networks. Putting these
networks together, I hope to show that there are trends away
from totality towards complex partial social networks, trends
which indicate the development of increasing structural dif-
ferentiation.

<div style="text-align:center">

Social Network History

Market Street Jesus People Community

Calgary Street Commune and

Drop-in Center = EGO

May 1971-June 1972 [25]

</div>

Looking over the history of the Calgary Street Com-
mune and Drop-in Center, it is clear that there were five dis-
tinct phases representing various stages of structural differ-
entiation in the life of the Market Street Jesus People Commun-
ity. The first phase,beginning in early May of 1971 and lasting

only a few weeks, was characterized by a low level of structural
complexity and high social network density. During this period
of time, there were only three group nodes within the community,
no one node taking social precedence over any other. The leather
boutique people, although functionally differentiated from the
new converts of the Calgary Street Commune, lived in the house
and actively participated in daily fellowship sessions. They
were joined by representatives of the Glory Gospel Church. On
the other hand, it is clear that the Market Street Community
never reinstated the existential communitas or total social
network of the First Avenue backroom Jesus People. From the
beginning, Calgary Street was able to differentiate itself
from the leather boutique people and the Glory Gospel Church
people. The former were viewed as the bread winners, whereas
the latter were viewed as the spiritual models.(See Diagram 6)

The second short phase of the social network history
beginning in the third week of May, 1971, and lasting well into
June, was characterized by a minor expansion of the community
resulting both from structural differentiation, i.e. internal
division, and missionizing. During this time, the leather workers
established the Redwood Street Men's Commune, but they also ex-
tended the network of the community by establishing contacts
with new converts in the Market Street district. In other words,
structural differentiation was countered by an attempt to ex-
tend the network, making it total. New converts joined the
Calgary Street residents, the leather workers and their friends
from the Redwood Street Men's Commune and representatives from
the Glory Gospel Church to celebrate their hopes for an expanding

DIAGRAM SIX

<u>Phase I</u>: Market Street Jesus People Community
Social Network, May, 1971.
Social Network Density: three nodes =
three as number of linkages possible.
3/3 = 100% social network density.
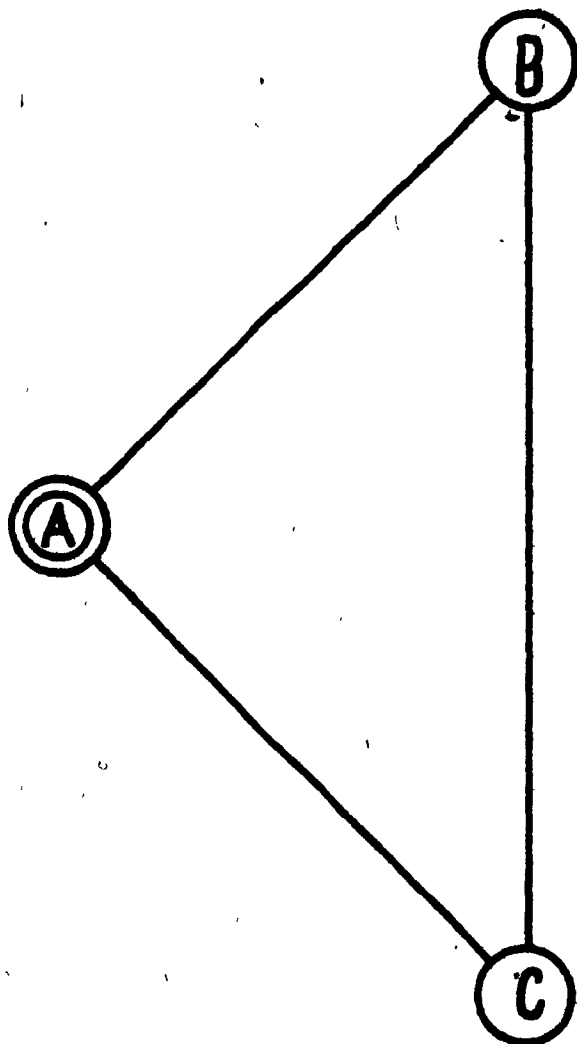
A = Calgary Street = Ego
B = Glory Gospel Church
C = Home of the Fish

Pentecostal community in the nightly fellowship services at the house. Social network density was high and the complexity of the social network was as yet relatively simple.(See Diagram 7)

Following the late June departure of the Pentecostal revolutionaries from the Calgary Street Commune to New Haven, Quebec, the social network stabilized for the remaining summer months. Although the leather workers attempted to swell the ranks of the new converts, their efforts were stabilized by the departure of many less committed converts. In other words, the general nature of the social network did not change greatly. Social network density remained high and there were no visible alliances between any particular groups. The boutique people were closely affiliated to each other, of course, but during fellowship hours they did not join ranks to differentiate them-selves from other members of the Market Street Community. This was true, as well, for the Calgary Street residents and people from the Glory Gospel Church.(See Diagram 8)

The fourth major phase occurred during the Fall months of 1971 when the social network changed considerably. This resulted from a reorganization within the community which found the Calgary Street communitarians taking over the secondary witnessing tasks of their leather boutique brothers. Having discovered that the Home of the Fish was no longer serving its witnessing function which maximized new convert attendance at the Calgary Street fellowship sessions, the commune people felt it was necessary to carry on where the boutique people left off. The social network both within the Market Street Community

DIAGRAM SEVEN

Phase II: Market Street Jesus People Community
Social Network. Mid-May to late June,
1971.
Social Network Density: five nodes = ten
as number of linkages possible
10/10 = 100% social network density

A = Calgary Street = Ego
B = Glory Gospel Church
C = Home of the Fish
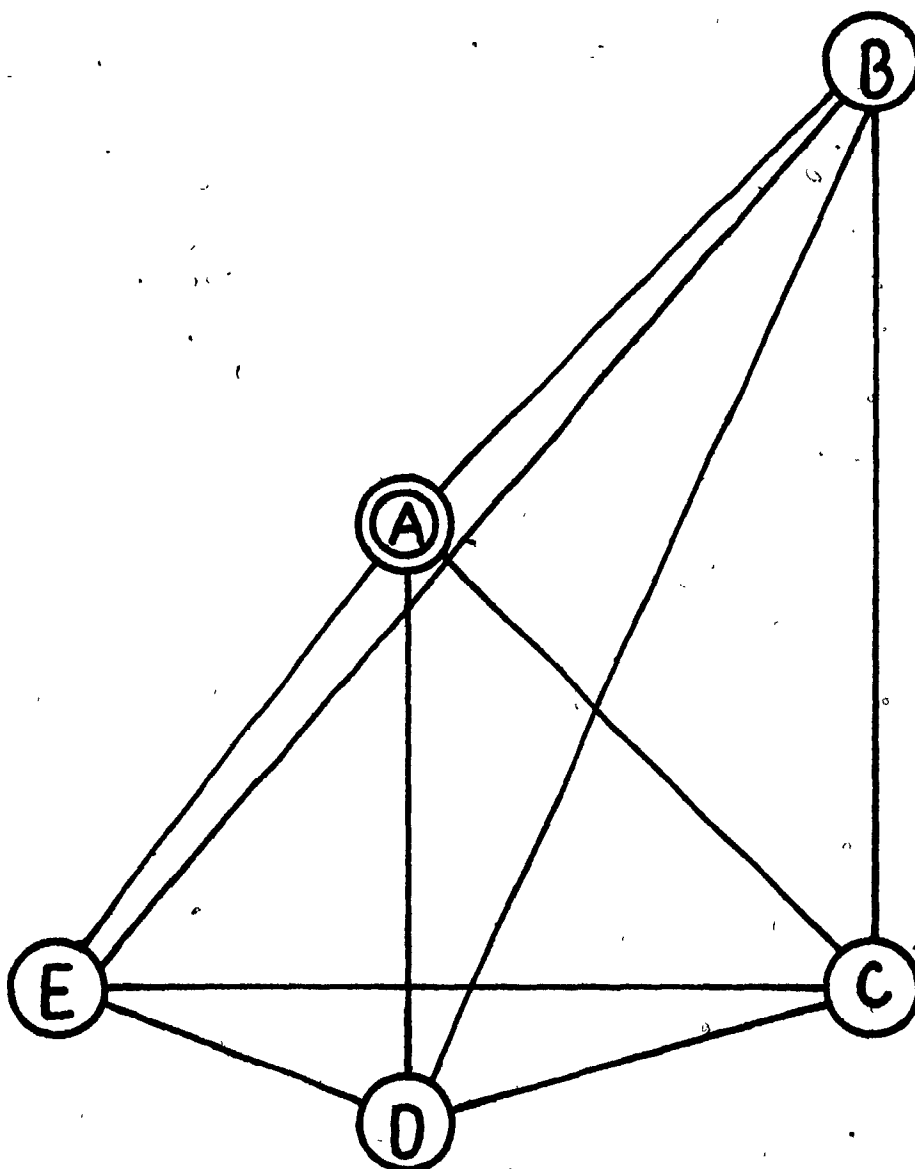D = Redwood Street Commune
E = Leather boutique converts residing in
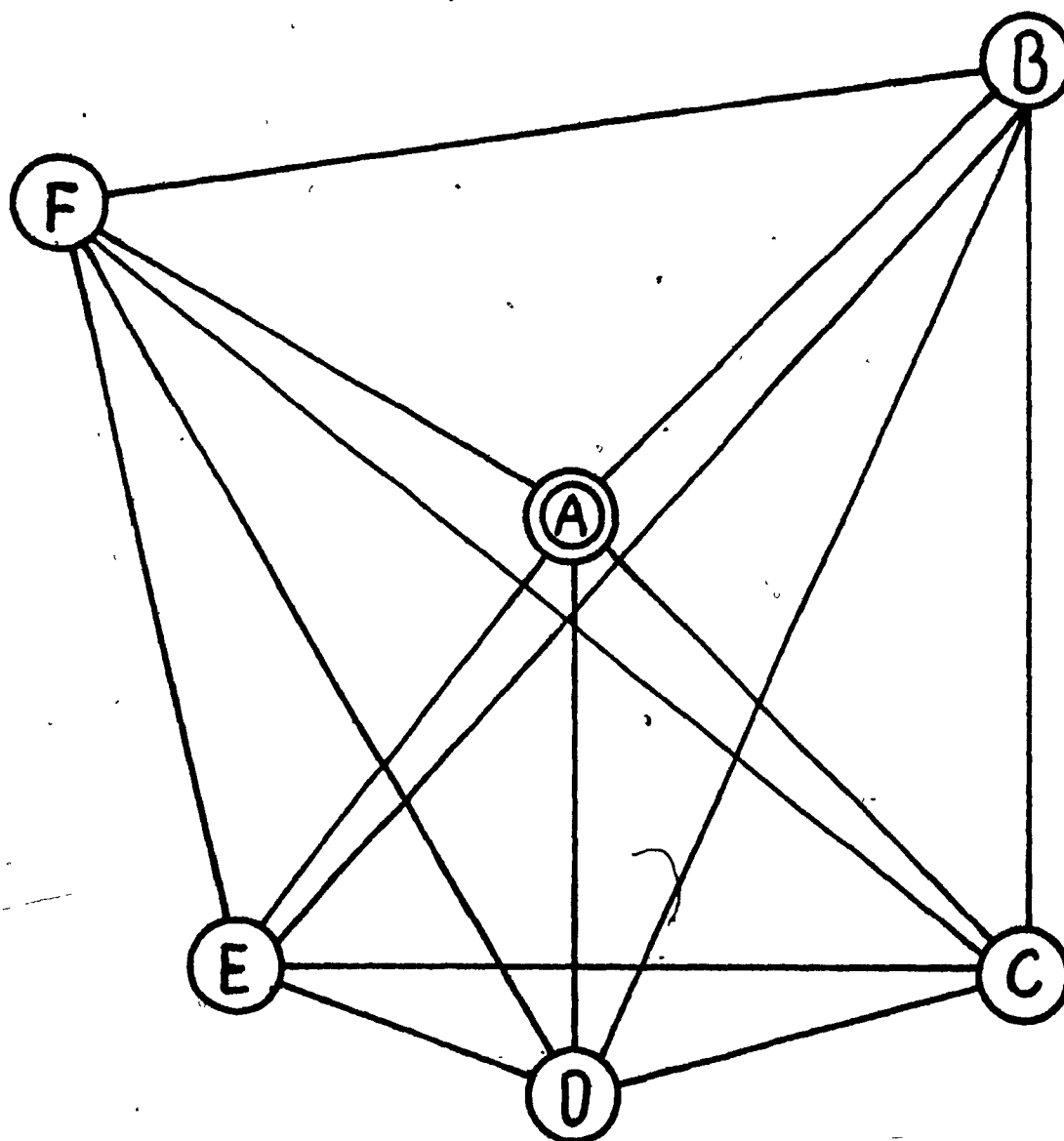Market Street district

DIAGRAM EIGHT

Phase III: Market Street Jesus People Community
Social Network. Late June to September,
1971. Social Network Density: six nodes=
fifteen as number of linkages possible
15/15 = 100% social network density.

A = Calgary Street = Ego
B = Glory Gospel Church
C = Home of the Fish
D = Redwood Street Commune
E = leather boutique converts
F = New Haven Farm people

and between the Calgary Street commune and the outside world changed accordingly. First, the social network became more far-reaching than it had been during the previous phase. The Calgary Street missionaries carried the gospel to people in places who had heretofore been out of the reach of the sedentary leather craftsmen forced to witness from their fixed location in the Market Street district. Second, the social network within the community itself showed signs of breaking apart. The once simple and highly dense social network began to become increasingly more complex and minimally dense. For the first time, alliances which had been played down emerged, leaving other nodes to counter the influence of these alliances by developing alliances of their own. The boutique people, for example, chose to cut off all relations with the Calgary Street people. They were angered by the Calgary Street people's insinuation that they had not been doing their job. In addition, because they really had limited their missionizing, they had fewer of their own converts living in the commune so did not deem it necessary to visit them as often. Because their leather worker friends did not remain in touch, most of their converts drifted away and severed ties with the community altogether. Furthermore, because of the close relationship between the leather boutique people and residents of the Redwood Street Men's Commune, the latter, as well, broke off ties with the Calgary Street community. To counter these alliances, the Calgary Street people intensified their missionizing outside the Market Street community, allying themselves with a number of young Christian groups in various universities in the Montreal

area. The farm people, meanwhile, continued to maintain ties
with the Calgary Street people because of their strong commit-
ment to the Glory Gospel Church. However, they disliked the
routinized Pentecostalism practiced by the boutique people
and their comrades in the Redwood Street Men's Commune. After
the Redwood Street people and the boutique people stopped at-
tending the Calgary Street fellowship sessions, the two groups
did not have contacts except indirectly through their mutual
association with the Glory Gospel Church. In fact, the end
result of all of these changes in phase four of the social
network was the emergence of the church as the only remaining
node in the Market Street Community to have contacts with all
other nodes. (See Diagram 9)

       . The fifth and final phase of the Market Street Com-
munity's social network as seen through the eyes of Calgary
Street people began two weeks before Christmas, 1971, and ended
in Spring of 1972.[26] It was a period when the community as a
whole declined into structure, a period when the Calgary Street
people began to talk openly against their Market Street brothers.
It was a time when witnessing became so routinized that new,
potential converts rarely showed up at the nightly fellowship
gatherings due to the fact that the witnessers, themselves,
rarely had occasion to meet new people. They cut themselves
off from the more intellectual university Christian communities
while at the same time severing their missionary ties with in-
dividuals living and working in the center city. Both groups,
having confronted Pentecostalism and conversion with skepticism
and in some cases out-right rejection, were sacrificed in favor

DIAGRAM NINE

Phase IV: Market Street Jesus People Community
Social Network. September to mid-December, 1971. Social Network Density:
Nine nodes = thirty six as number of
linkages possible.
12/36=33% social network density.

A = Calgary Street = Ego
B = Glory Gospel Church
C = Home of the Fish
D = Redwood Street Commune
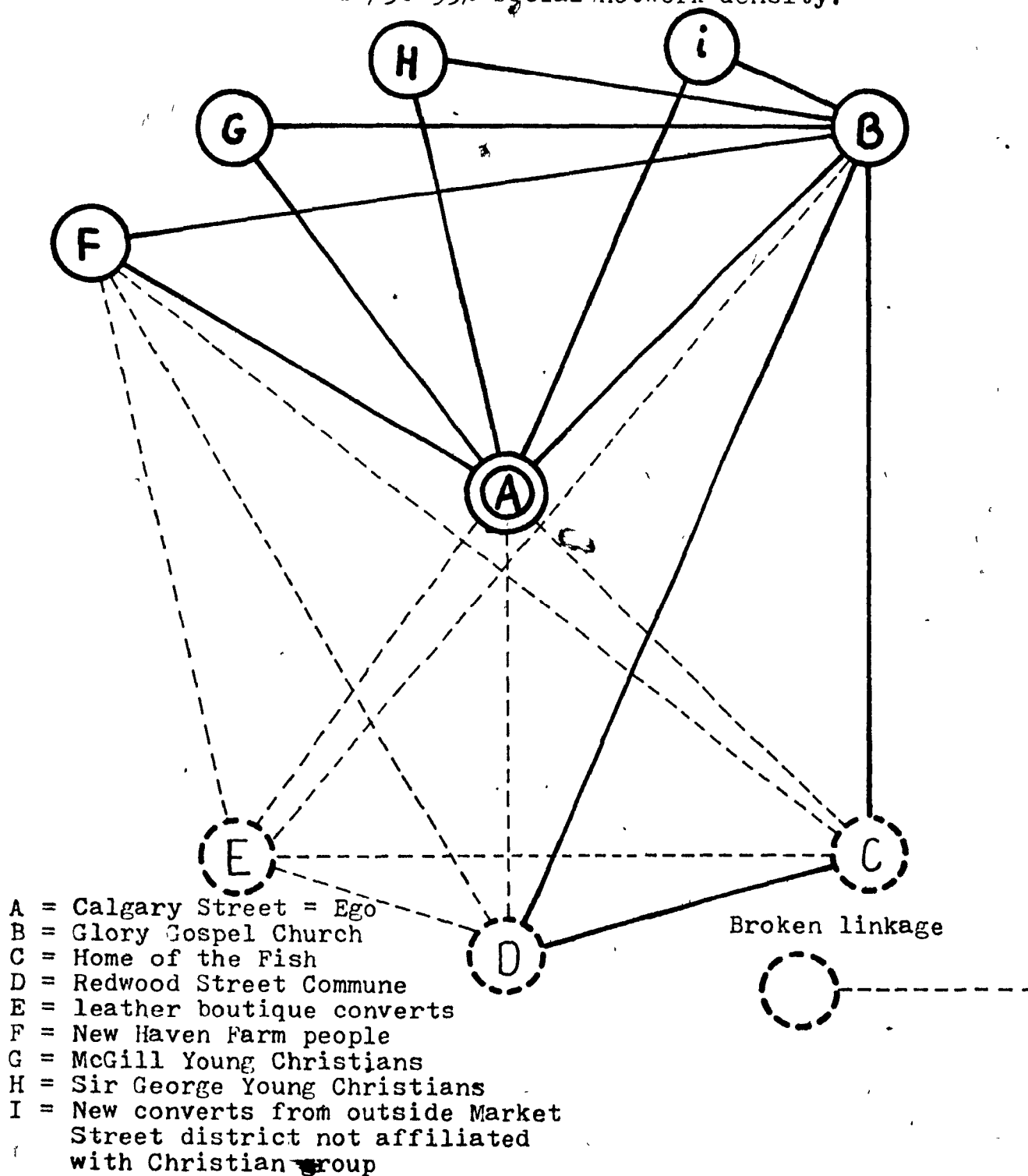E = leather boutique converts
F = New Haven Farm people
G = McGill Young Christians
H = Sir George Young Christians
I = New converts from outside Market
    Street district not affiliated
    with Christian group

Broken linkage

of one group which readily adopted the Calgary Street people
and their beliefs. In January, 1972, the Calgary Street mis-
sionaries decided to devote all of their time working with
young Christians at Dawson College. Finally, this fifth
phase was characterized by the disappearance of the New Haven
Farm people. They stopped attending Glory Gospel services and
ceased participation in Calgary Street activities. For most
of the nodes within the Market Street Community, however, the
Glory Gospel Church remained as the one node through which
they were all indirectly related. Social network density was
at an all-time low as each group turned in upon itself willing
to sacrifice communitas for immediate self-preservation (See
Diagram 10) Following Diagram Ten, see structural differentia-
tion chart summarizing the social network history data.

B. Discussion

In looking over the schematic presentations of the
Market Street Jesus People Community's social network as seen
through the eyes of the Calgary Street people, it is clear that
structural differentiation was indeed present and working in
the community since its founding in May, 1971. Between that
time and my departure from the community one year later, the
social network changed from being initially partial, but not
complex and highly dense to being partial, complex and minimally
dense. Where once the Market Street people were in favor of
expanding their network in order to realize communitas more
fully, all attempts to do so were finally curtailed. Where
once all group nodes had approached each other as social, ideo-
logical and economic equals, they succumbed to structural

DIAGRAM TEN

<u>Phase V</u>: Market Street Jesus People Community
Social Network. January to May, 1972,
Social Network Density: ten nodes =
forty-five as number of linkages pos-
sible. 9/45=20% social network density.
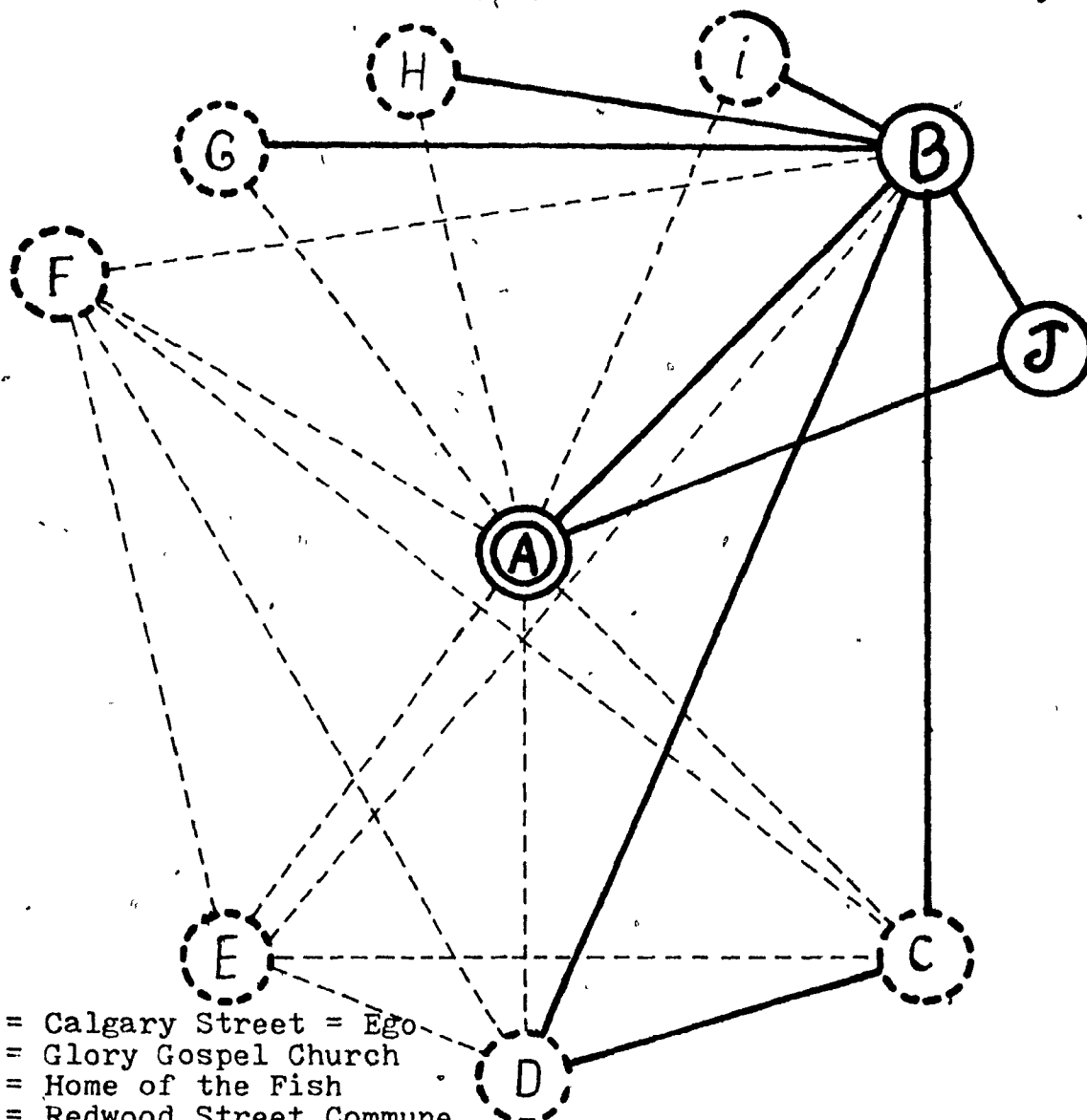
A = Calgary Street = Ego
B = Glory Gospel Church
C = Home of the Fish
D = Redwood Street Commune
E = leather boutique converts
F = New Haven Jesus Farm
G = McGill Young Christians
H = Sir George Young Christians
I = New converts from outside Market
    Street not affiliated with formal
    Christian organizations
J = Dawson College

SOCIAL NETWORK-STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION CHART: THE MARKET STREET JESUS PEOPLE COMMUNITY

TIME	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK	SOCIAL NETWORK DENSITY		
		No. of Nodes	Maximum No. Of Linkages	No. Of Linkages
PHASE I: MAY, 1971	1. The social network was partial; the Calgary Street group was not expanding its own network. Although all groups approached each other as equals, three distinct groups were recognized. 2. The partial network was simple; there were only three group nodes in the Market Street Community and no one node joined with any other to form an alliance. All nodes were viewed as being equal.	3	3	3
		Social network density was one hundred per cent.		
PHASE II: MID MAY TO JUNE, 1971	1. The social network was partial, but for the first time attempts were made to expand the networks to attempt totality. 2. At the same time, while all groups continued to recognize each other as equals, the network became more complex. Two new groups, the Redwood Street people and the new converts sponsored by the boutique people were added to the number of nodes in the community.	5	10	10
		Social network density was one hundred per cent.		

	SOCIAL NETWORK-STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION CHART: THE MARKET STREET JESUS PEOPLE COMMUNITY			
TIME	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK	SOCIAL NETWORK DENSITY		
		No. Of Nodes	Maximum No. Of Linkages	No. of Linkages
PHASE III: JUNE TO SEPTEMBER, 1971	1. The social network was partial, but as yet relatively simple. One new group broke away from the Calgary Street house to live on a farm in rural Quebec. Following this, the network remained stable for two months. The Calgarians came into contact with new people brought to the community by their boutique brothers. They still did not act upon their own expansionist beliefs. The network did not expand greatly because the people entering the community were equal to the numbers who left.	6	15	15
	2. In spite of increasing complexity, all nodes were equals.	Social network density was one hundred per cent.		
PHASE IV: SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER, 1971	1. The social network was partial, but for the first time Calgary Street people, themselves, attempted to expand the network. Any gains they made, however, were countered by internal division within the Market Street Community. The social network was becoming increasingly more complex. For the first time alliances were formed.	9	36	12
	2. All nodes within the community did not recognize each other as equals. There was increasing structural differentiation based upon differences in social, religious and economic ideology.	Social network density dropped from a high of one hundred per cent to thirty-three per cent.		

SOCIAL NETWORK-STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION CHART: THE MARKET STREET JESUS PEOPLE COMMUNITY				
TIME	CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL NETWORK	SOCIAL NETWORK DENSITY		
PHASE V: JANUARY TO MAY, 1972	1. The social network was partial and complex. Glory Gospel Church became the center of the community as group nodes broke off ties with each other. The Calgary Street house, although, converting one group of people at Dawson College, generally ceased expanding. They stopped witnessing and broke off ties with their old university converts.	No. Of Nodes	Maximum No. Of Linkages	No. Of Linkages
		10	45	9
		Social network density dropped from thirty-three per cent to a low of twenty per cent.		

differentiation and increasingly recognized distinctions be-
tween them. The end result of this structural differentiation
was increasing social schism within the community as a whole
which eventually led to the almost total isolation of the Cal-
gary Street Commune and Drop-in Center by late Spring of 1972.

The pattern of social change in the Market Street
Community, therefore, as revealed by the social networks, con-
forms to the argument of millenarian scholars who suggest that
most millenarian communities cannot maintain a high degree of
social egalitarianism, behavioral spontaneity and disregard
for all social structures organized for the achievement of
some common end. In other words, communitas cannot survive
when confronted with the demands of everyday life. In the
case of the Market Street Community, it is clear that economic
demands served as the major cause of increasing structural
differentiation. The leather workers, in their continuing
effort to remain a self-supporting group free of the economic
ties binding their Calgary Street brothers to the Glory Gospel
directors, became so highly involved in their money-making
concerns that they ceased their witnessing duties. This
created enmity on behalf of the Calgary Street contingent.
In addition, given the more formalized linkage between the
Calgary Street residents and the Glory Gospel Church, the
Calgarians felt themselves indebted to the Church, taking
care to behave and dress in a manner more suitable to mem-
bers of that institution. This, in itself, resulted in weak-
ened ties between the boutique people and the Calgary Street
people, because the former found the latter to be "unhip"

and overly conservative. Eventually, all of these factors contributed to a complete break between the two groups. Furthermore, because of their importance to the community as a whole, this break contributed to even greater internal schism.

Secular economic demands not only effected the breakdown of the tightly knit social network within the Market Street Community, but they also worked to disrupt social ties between the Calgary Street people and potential converts on the outside. The Calgary Street people decided to place all of their witnessing efforts and funds into one basket, the Dawson College Young Christian Association. They complained that it was a waste of time and money to witness where there were few takers, i.e., at McGill and Sir George Williams Universities. This, however, resulted in fewer outside social contacts for the Calgary Street people and eventually left them without any new converts. In reaction to this failure, they closed themselves off from the world beyond the door of their commune, rejecting both their own Market Street brothers and the community of potential converts throughout greater Montreal.

The seasonal environment, a factor intimately tied up with the economic demands placed upon millenarians, played a significant role in shaping the Calgary Street social network. It is no coincidence that the Calgarians attempted to expand their social network only during the Fall months of 1971. Prior to this time, the leather workers had more new converts than they could handle as young people on the road for the summer holidays moved through the Market Street district. In the

Fall, witnessing became more difficult as there were fewer
young transients moving through the neighborhood, so the leath-
er boutique people chose to devote more time to the increasing
demands made upon their time by their leather shop. As the
weather turned colder in the late Fall, the Calgary Street
people who had taken over witnessing for themselves, had less
and less success in bringing new converts to the evening fel-
lowship sessions. No doubt this had as much to do with the
fact that fewer and fewer people were willing to stand outside
in the cold listening to street corner sermons as it did with
the sophistication and rationalism of people living outside
the Market Street Community. For the Glory Gospel directors,
however, the lack of new converts in the Calgary Street Com-
mune was a sign of failure. This, coupled with a rising dis-
regard for personal property on behalf of those remaining in
the house, induced them to substantially limit funds going in-
to the upkeep of the house as a residence. As the commune be-
came only a social gathering place and not a place where young
people could live, even fewer people visited the house. It
is clear that economic demands correlated with the highly-sea-
sonal Canadian environment have effected the collapse of the
commune and the Market Street Community as a whole.

It is interesting to note that in spite of structural
differentiation which worked to create social boundaries within
the community, the Market Street Jesus People, on the whole,
consistently maintained social network ties with the Glory Gos-
pel Pentecostal Church. In so far as the tie between the
Calgary Street residents and the church is concerned, the link-

age is understandable. There was a patron-client relationship
between them. The Calgary Street people, through the guidance
of Carol and Jack, the church's official representatives in
the commune, attended all important functions at the church
in order to prove to the more established members of the con-
gregation that they were sincere young people seeking a total
conversion experience. On the other hand, why did some people
and not other members of the Market Street Community continue
to attend services regularly once formal economic ties had
been profoundly reduced? Very early in the community's his-
tory, for example, the Glory Gospel Church discovered that it
was no longer necessary to fund the leather boutique and yet
the leather workers attended church functions regularly long
after formal economic ties were severed. The boutique people
and all other Market Street people were particularly committed
to attending services with a revivalistic orientation. That
is, whenever a visiting revivalist preacher came to the church
in order to put the fear of God in the congregation with a
determined "hell-fire and damnation" sermon, the young Market
Street people crowded into the front pews hoping to witness
and experience religious ecstacy. This suggests that the Jesus
People continued to affiliate themselves with the Glory Gospel
Church because they were somehow addicted to the emotional and
spiritual "highs" which were a salient characteristic of Pente-
costalism. Furthermore, recalling Victor Turner's (1969:138)
statement that ecstatic religious states, when shared by a
congregation approach ideal states of "existential" communitas,
it is understandable that the Market Street people, having lost

all remnants of a communitas-based society within their own
community, continued to seek out this highly pleasurable state
no matter how transitory, in the weekly Glory Gospel services.
Finally, one must not forget the force of structural differen-
tiation, which draws people away from an ideal millenarian state
of communitas so that they willingly incorporate themselves
into the status quo, having resigned themselves to the benefits
to be had from social structures. In other words, the Market
Street people continued to attend Glory Gospel services because
they were allowed to take advantage of the economic gains that
come with a state of social structure while at the same time
not having to sacrifice entirely their dependence upon commun-
itas experiences. One could say that the Market Street Jesus
people opted for a continued social network linkage with the
church as a compromise between their initial attempts to reach
a perfect state of Christian egalitarianism and their "sinful"
desires to reject the community and all it stands for in order
to take even greater advantage of social structure in the totally
secular world.

     In what ways did the Market Street Community's social
network as seen through the eyes of the Calgary Street people
stand in contradiction to the stated beliefs of members of the
community? Did the Calgary Street people, for example, preach
communitas while at the same time establishing social structures?
When I first entered the community, there was little indication
aside from the existence of a number of interest groups that
the Market Street people were failing to realize in their own
social structure their stated beliefs in communitas.

Social network density was high and there were attempts being
made to expand the network. The community was out-reaching
and hopeful that they could initiate a revival which would one
day find the network total. When Calgary Street people made
statements such as: "we are all brothers here" or "our community
is based upon love" or "mankind will be one through Christ",
there were few outward signs that these statements were not
true. Communitas belief and communitas behavior were in har-
mony. This state of relative harmony soon gave way to discord.
In early Winter of 1971, several Market Street people told me
that all members of the community were equals in a state of
perfect brotherhood, refusing to recognize the schism that was
occurring before them. Even Carol, the most outspoken and crit-
ical member of the Calgary Street Commune, refused to suggest
that communitas was breaking down until Spring of 1972 at
which time the community was on the edge of total collapse.
As an outsider, therefore, it was clear to me through my analysis
of the community's social network history, that structural dif-
ferentiation was, in fact, making major inroads in the community
in spite of community efforts to ignore or deny them.

In the Fall of 1972 when I last spoke with a member
of the Market Street Jesus People Community, Robert, who spent
so much time and effort trying to bring new converts into the
Calgary Street Jesus People Commune and Drop-in Center, told me
that the Center had disbanded in early summer of that same year.
Most of the residents, he said, had moved out of the Market
Street district, although many of them continued to attend ser-
vices at the church and hoped that the commune and the community

as a whole would come to life again. Talking about himself,
he said that he maintained ties of friendship with a few of
the "old" Market Street people, but that he had moved out of
the community in order to join a new Jesus People commune
which he found to be very "with it" and "full of enthusiasm".
It appears that Robert, therefore, followed in the footsteps
of many millenarians before him who refused to become totally
incorporated into the status quo and who moved from one mil-
lenarian movement to another in a constant search for existen-
tial communitas. Robert, however, was not representative of
the average Market Street individual who chose to be incorpor-
ated into the formalized Pentecostal church until such time
as communitas may become a way of life to be sought once more.

　　　　When I first wrote about the community, not long
before it disbanded, I expressed some hope that the Glory Gos-
pel directors might change their minds about the residental
status of the Calgary Street house. I suggested that there
might be some future for the community if the church was to
once again direct funds into the commune in order to cope with
the larger number of summertime converts who would most likely
come there (Ridout-Stewart 1972:107). Unfortunately, I was
too optimistic in my judgement of the Glory Gospel establish-
ment and its faith in the success of the Calgary Street Center
and its importance to the future of the entire Market Street
Community. The church did not reinstate its support of the
Calgary Street house as a residence and rehabilitation center
and was forced to turn away many of the new converts who came
there. Before long, economic priorities once again decided

the future of the commune. It closed its doors, a victim of structural differentiation.

C. Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to fulfill both a methodological and a problem-oriented end. It has attempted to present and support a new application for social network analysis to the study of structural differentiation as it moves communitas-based millenarian groups in the direction of greater social structure. In addition, it has attempted to prove the worth of this new social network application by actually employing it to test for the presence of social structure in the Market Street Jesus People Community, a Pentecostal youth group in Montreal, Quebec.

Although this thesis has concerned itself primarily with the presentation and defense of a new application for social network analysis to the study of social change in religious communitas-based groups, I believe that this application promises to be useful to other fields within anthropology as well. If, like the author, one agrees that "millenarism" need not be limited to purely religious followings, i.e. in the more narrow "supernatural" orientation of religion, but rather may apply to secular, utopian movements as well, an analysis of social network histories of such communitas oriented groups as the women's "libbers" or the "McCarthyites" or labor unionists can be employed to test for the presence of structural differentiation which threatens to destroy the initial egalitarianism of them all.

One movement which might benefit from such an

analysis is that made up of parents and teachers who want to do away with the complex, sterile and mechanistic structures of status quo educational institutions. Members of this "free-school" movement have attempted to bring teachers, parents and students together into a socially egalitarian environment in which order and programmed learning have been rejected in favor of student spontaneity, freedom and creativity. Social scientists, including some anthropologists, have, however, discovered that few of these schools survive beyond their first year in existence with most of them closing their doors after a few months, and this occurs in spite of continuing strongly-held beliefs in social states of communitas (Kozol 1972,107). I would argue that structural differentiation has clearly been a significant factor in the failure of these schools to remain open and that this is something which social network analysis would most likely indicate. Furthermore, once structural differention was detected, one could use this information to defend a certain course of action in order to stabilize the situation or even reverse it. For example in the case of unsuccessful free schools, one might be able to warn school officials when they are veering away from their initial beliefs or point out how greater economic support from an outside donor could help to minimize internal social fragmentation. Clearly, the study of structural differentiation in communitas-oriented groups by use of social network analysis has great potential in broadening our understanding of social change within religious communities, and it is something I hope others will attempt to apply elsewhere.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER SIX

25. (page eighty-eight) I have not included the First Avenue community in the social network history because those few remaining First Avenue Jesus People broke off relations with the Market Street people when the Calgary Street Commune was first established.

26. (page ninety-five) In Spring of 1972 I stopped observing the social network of the Market Street Community in order to begin analysis of the data I had.

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