COLIN CHEESEMAN

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

"GLOBALIZATION, POSTMODERNITY, CULTURE SHIFT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND"

The aim of the thesis is to demonstrate the operation of the three major sociological forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift in the life of a religious institution, the Church of England, .

An introduction sets out detailed arguments for accepting the proposition from which the thesis starts. This leads into the first major section of the thesis, which deals with the sociology. Chapter two describes Globalization and Postmodernity. Chapter three considers the likely consequences of those forces for a religious institution. Chapter four describes Culture Shift and its likely consequences.

The second major section is a study of the Church of England's relations with New Religious Movements (NRMs) during the 1980s. Chapter five introduces NRMs. Chapter six indicates how the C of E became involved in this issue, dealing with initial recommendations to the House of Bishops. Chapter seven deals with the setting up of the organisation, INFORM. Chapter eight deals with Guidelines for dealing with NRMs and the setting up of a system of advisers. Chapter nine deals with the production of a report to General Synod and related action.

The third major section is a study of the revision of the Church's liturgy during the 1970s and 1980s. Chapter ten sets the scene. Chapter eleven considers the text of *The Alternative Service Book 1980*, while chapter twelve considers opposition to it. Chapter thirteen considers the latest publication, *Patterns for Worship*.

Throughout these two studies the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift is demonstrated either through events or through the texts produced by the Church of England. It is further argued that the C of E has worked with the grain of those sociological forces.

GLOBALIZATION, POSTMODERNITY, CULTURE SHIFT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION

A. THE AIM

> "A linear image dominates Western thought about society. Even cyclical views are cast in spiral form, thus helping to maintain the notion that social life is systematically 'coming from' somewhere and 'going' elsewhere. Social science, born in nineteenth century evolutionism, matured with this perspective almost exclusively, indeed, contributing to it many of the master terms used in contemporary discourse about social change: industrialization, modernization, bureaucratization, and urbanization, to name but a few. All imply one-directional processes."
>
> (Hammond 1985: Introduction)

In this way, Philip E. Hammond introduces the general approach taken by Sociology and Sociologists since the beginnings of the discipline in the nineteenth century. But this leads him to conclude:

> "The Classical theories were not of the late twentieth century, but of the late nineteenth century. It is true that by 1960 enormous technical advances gave these discussions greater sophistication.....but these were nonetheless addressing the same issues addressed by the founders (of Sociology)". (Hammond 1985: Introduction)

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the classical theories of Sociology were addressing issues appropriate to the circumstances in the nineteenth century, but not necessarily appropriate to those found at the beginning of the twenty first century, especially as regards religion and religious institutions.

This general proposition is a starting point for this thesis, and it will be examined in rather more detail in what follows in this introduction. This first principle will then lead on, in the first major section of the thesis, to a theoretical consideration of three specific forces at work in the world now and their possible consequences for a religious institution like the Church of England. Chapter two of the thesis will consider the nature of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. Chapter three will consider their likely consequences, both generally and for religion and religious institutions. In this sense, the thesis is consciously limited in its scope. The aim of the thesis, in the next two major sections, will be to investigate how these forces can be seen at work in one of the larger religious institutions in the United Kingdom, that is the Church of England. This will be done through two discrete studies of aspects of the life of the Church of England. The first of these studies will look at the Church of England's relations with other religious organisations external to itself, while the second will be concerned with the Church of England's liturgy and, through it, its internal life.These two studies will concentrate on events which took place in the 1970s and 1980s, although it will be necessary to offer an introduction to both. It is emphasised that both studies will concentrate on formal and official actions taken by the Church of England, as representative of its actions as a formal social institution.

The first study will concentrate on the Church of England's formal and official relations with New Religious Movements (NRMs). Chapter four of the thesis will give a brief introduction to NRMs. The following four chapters will trace the Church of England's formal and official relations with NRMs through the work of the General Synod of the Church of England and the General Synod's Board for Mission and Unity. This formal response to NRMs will be used as a way of describing, and a particular example of the operation of, those three major forces named above in a religious institution. Further, it will be contended that in its dealings with NRMs, the Church of England has had to choose between options for the way in which it is to proceed at a formal and official level and that it has generally chosen to work with the grain of those forces of Globalization,

Postmodernity and Culture Shift.

The second study will consider the changes the Church of England has made in its liturgy. The area dealt with by the study will start with the introduction of the Alternative Service Book 1980 and lead to the publication of *Patterns for Worship*, the report of the Liturgical Commission of the General Synod of the Church of England, in 1989. To have some understanding of the influences moving the introduction of the ASB, it is necessary to provide the historical context for these changes in liturgy and this will be offered in the first section of this study and chapter ten of the thesis. Chapter 11 will consider the text of the ASB and chapter 12 will look at opposition to its introduction. The final section of this second study, chapter 13 of the thesis, will consider the introduction of *Patterns for Worship*. As in the case of its relations with NRMs, it will be argued that, in considering its liturgy, the Church of England has had to choose between options for the way in which it is to proceed and that it has generally chosen to work with the grain of those forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. Finally, it will be clear that this thesis is concerned with what has already happened and therefore is not necessarily predictive.

B. THE CLASSICAL THEORIES OF SOCIOLOGY

It was stated at the outset that the first premise from which this thesis starts is that the classical theories of sociology do not necessarily deal with the circumstances found at the beginning of the twenty first century. In order to take this introduction to the main thesis a little further it is proposed to consider the theories of Emile Durkheim and Max Weber, two of the major theorists in the classical tradition, and whose views have come to have great importance for the sociology of religion. Both were concerned to explain the condition of industrial society relatively close to its beginnings.

Durkheim believed that if one were to try to explain western industrial society, then it was necessary first to look back. Anthony Giddens argues that he "repeatedly stresses the historical nature of man and emphasises that a causal analysis of historical development is integral to sociology" (1971: 106). Modern societies could only really be understood if one understood the links with earlier forms of society and here he believed religion to have a role of fundamental significance. Therefore, his great work, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious*

Life, is based upon close scrutiny of "the most primitive and simple religion which is actually known" (1976: 1). But such a move allowed him to bring out certain themes in his analysis of modern societies.

Durkheim's analysis of religion in primitive society starts with the supposition that all things in the world are divided into two distinct classes. "But the real characteristic of religious phenomena is that they always suppose a bipartite division of the whole universe, known and knowable, into two classes which embrace all that exists, but which radically exclude each other" (1976: 40). These two classes are the sacred and the profane. The sacred is special and this is shown by the fact that it is surrounded by rituals, ritual prescriptions and prohibitions. "A religion is never simply a set of beliefs: it also involves prescribed ritual practices and a definite institutional form" (Giddens 1971: 107).

Alongside this, Durkheim argues that small-scale traditional societies depend for their unity and their continued existence on a 'conscience collective'. This is the basic set of shared beliefs, values, traditions and norms which make social life possible. There is, Durkheim argues, a direct link in primitive societies between the sacred and this 'conscience collective'. The ideals which are expressed in religious beliefs are the moral ideals upon which the unity of society is founded. Talking of the ceremonies of the Warramunga, Durkheim says:

> "Everything is in representations whose only object can be to render the mythical past of the clan present to the mind. But the mythology of a group is the system of beliefs common to this group. The traditions whose memory it perpetuates express the way in which society represents man to the world...So the rite serves...to revivify the most essential elements of the collective consciousness" (1976: 375)

In this sort of 'primitive' society there is what Durkheim calls a 'mechanical solidarity', and in *The Division of Labour* he describes what this means, "what we call by that name is a more or less organised totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all members of the group: it is the collective type" (1964: 129). However, as societies become more complex there can no longer be this 'mechanical solidarity'. "On the other hand, the society which we are bound to....is a system of differentiated and special functions united in definite relationships" (1964: 129). What Durkheim sees is a move from this 'mechanical

solidarity' to what he calls 'organic solidarity'. As society becomes increasingly complex, then its functions need to be split up into discrete areas. The division of labour becomes increasingly specialised and complex. When 'organic solidarity' arises, it does not stem from the acceptance of a common set of beliefs and sentiments. Instead, such solidarity is based on difference and stems from the functional interdependence in the division of labour. Specialised occupational roles are interdependent - they need each other. "Organic solidarity presupposes not identity, but *difference* between individuals in their beliefs and actions. The growth of organic solidarity and the expansion of the division of labour are hence associated with increasing individualism." (Giddens, 1971: 77).

Durkheim's analysis is, therefore, that the differentiation of society and labour, and the consequent rise of individualism all lead to a very different sort of society to that described in *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. He believed that the sort of individualism which he saw as arising in modern societies could only do so at the expense of common beliefs and sentiments. This had significant results. The 'conscience collective' of the small-scale society derived from the repeated performance of the rituals surrounding the sacred. With increasing complexity and differentation, religion is not able to perform that function. Indeed, religion itself is subject to the same processes of social differentiation and might be in danger of being consigned to one corner of life. We shall visit this issue of differentiation again when we come to consider Globalization. For Durkheim, one of the outcomes of these developments was the need to discern in modern society what might play that unifying role that religion had played in more primitive societies.

We shall leave Emile Durkheim there and turn our attention to Max Weber. When one turns to Weber one finds that, like Durkheim, he too was concerned to understand and describe modern society. Like Durkheim he was concerned to place modern society in its historical perspective. However, his approach thereafter was significantly different from that of Durkheim. In his Author's Introduction to *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, he asks himself just what it is about Western civilization, and Western civilization only, that it has produced cultural phenomena which have had universal significance and value. The answer he offers is that "it is a question of the specific and particular rationalism of Western culture" (1976: 13). This rationalism is manifested in a

variety of spheres, ranging from the law and economics to art and music. The question which immediately arises is just what Weber means by rationalism.

This can be approached by considering Weber's four-fold categorisation of types of action. Tradional action arises when actions are performed simply because tradition demands it. Affective action is the sort of action which arises as a result of emotion. Weber believed that both these forms of action were declining in modern society. Two other forms of action were, he believed, of increasing significance. Instrumentally rational action arises when the person performing the action assesses both their goal and the actions required to achieve it. One example might be that if it were my goal to compete in the Olympics, then it would be instrumentally rational to undergo a strict programme of training beforehand. If all of this were to prove far too difficult, it would be instrumentally rational to re-assess the goal. Value rational action is very similar, except that the goals cannot be abandoned even if they are enormously difficult to achieve, because of the values they embody.

In Weber's view, instrumental rationality is very important in Western society. "It is this form of rationality - instrumental rationality - which, Weber believes, comes increasingly to prevail in the different culture spheres in the modern West" (Callinocos, 1999: 160). Accordingly, one of the essentials of modern capitalism is the possibility of the rational calculation of profit and loss in terms of money or other economic attributes. Arising out of instrumental rationality, Weber saw another defining attribute of modern Western society, that is "the rationalistic organization of (formally) free labour" (Weber, 1976: 21). Similarly, there is the development of bureaucracy, "in other words, hierarchically organised systems of administration based on a clear division of labour and staffed by technically qualified officials who are paid a salary and appointed and promoted on the basis of merit" (Callinicos, 1999: 160).

The *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* was Weber's first major study of the process of rationalization. In Weber's hands the capitalist spirit is a form of asceticism since it involves deferred gratification of immediate desires in the cause of the pursuit of greater wealth. Weber believed that the roots of the capitalist spirit lay in Calvinism and particularly in the notion of predestination. This was because there was no way of being certain if one were one of the elect and certain of salvation. All that one could do was to be unwavering in faith.

According to Anthony Giddens, "intense worldly activity is the most appropriate means to develop and maintain this necessary self-confidence" (1971: 129). Weber himself argued further that: "One of the fundamental elements of the spirit of modern capitalism, and not only of that but of all modern culture: rational conduct on the basis of the idea of calling was born...from the spirit of Christian asceticism." (Weber, 1976: 180). Although this form of rationalism is seen to have its roots in religion, something very important is believed to follow from this spread of rationalism. Giddens says that "this spread of rationalization can be indexed by the progressive 'disenchantment of the world' - the elimination of magical thought and practice" (1971: 183).

These arguments of Durkheim and Weber in classical sociology have been put forward in this way because they themselves have been used to develop further theories about the state of religion in the West. The process of increasing differentiation in modern society and the development of organic solidarity, spelt out by Durkheim, along with the notion of the spread of rationality and the consequent dis-enchantment of the world, detailed by Max Weber, have formed the basis for the theory of Secularization. This thesis is not about secularization, but it is seen as one of the outcomes of classical theory. Indeed, it has been a very powerful theory in its own right. A classic expression of this outcome of classical theory would Bryan Wilson's argument in *Religion In The Secular Society* that religious statistics "do provide some evidence of significant religious change. They are some sort of index of secularization, taking that word at its common-sense value" (1966: 2).

C. MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

Although this thesis starts from the premise that the classical theorists do not necessarily deal with the circumstances of the early twentieth century, that is not to say that those theorists have nothing to offer. Thier work can still offer insights. For instance, Dr Eileen Barker, in describing the operation of NRMs, can say that "Sociologists of religion can recognise in new religions both responses to and reflections of many of the processes that are referred to in classical theories of secularization"(1985: 7). She argues that sociologists can observe seekers after spiritual development and/or transcendent goals, following a charismatic leader who promises to remystify their lives and give them something better than the iron cage of rational and bureaucratic society.

Equally, she believes that sociologists can also observe the growth of bureaucracies, the routinization of office as leaders die and antinomianism that turns to anomie. Similarly, David Martin can say that "religion remains central to our understanding, even though, through the process of secularization - and in particular differentiation - it is no longer united to the state and is becoming decreasingly associated with political parties" (Martin, 1996: 2). Indeed, this thesis will use the notion of differentiation in a later chapter.

Nonetheless, there are arguments to say that the situation which the classical theorists were trying to describe is not that which we face. For this, we turn first to James Beckford. He argues that as this century has moved on past the 1950s the Western world has moved into what he calls "Advanced Industrial Society". Others have called it 'post-industrial' or 'late capitalist' society. He broadly defines "Advanced Industrial Society" as characterized by

> "growth of world markets in goods and services, the ascendancy of service industries over manufacturing and agriculture, the growth in the numbers and power of multinational corporations, the separation of corporate management from share ownership, the levelling out of social class differentials and the crucial significance of theoretical knowledge and information technology".(1992: 2)

During this time there have been developments which have shaken the sociological models of the Classical theorists.

In the late 1960s and 1970s the fortunes of functionalism declined and this coincided, in the United States, with major changes in religious organisations. The Liberal Protestant churches went into a phase of relatively rapid decline. There were the first stirrings of the fundamentalist revival. In the third world, specially, established sectarian movements continued to expand. There was also a bewildering variety of alternative, new and controversial religious movements. These latter, particularly, represent a break with classical theories. The very first studies "challenging the equation of religion with church-type bodies brought intensive examination of the dialectic relationship between ideology and religious organization" (Beckford 1985: 131). The irony and pathos arising from rationalization, the routinization of charisma and bureaucratization, noted as significant elements in Weber's theories, gave way to a concern with

paradox. The paradox was that it was "the frequent finding that, even for highly enthusiastic and spiritual movements, the key to success is effective organization"(Beckford 1985: 131). In addition, this effective organization was now used to explain continuing recruitment, socialization and mobilization - instead of the classical theory of some form of deprivation. For instance, considerable importance was now attached to the role of informal networks of relationships in all sorts of religious organizations, including established Christian denominations and churches. This change of focus, in turn, called into question the value of theorizing about whether a religious organization is a church or a sect. In these ways, the new movements, and research into them, called into question the classical theories.

In addition, Beckford argues that one of the preoccupations of sociologists in the 1960s and 1970s was the likely effect of various kinds of religious organization on whether churches would act on radical policies in areas such as civil rights, ecumenism and urban poverty. James Woods' studies in 1970 and 1981 of American religious organizations have significant implications. His conclusion was that, because of their organizational structure, the leadership of the Liberal Protestant churches was able to take action in these areas, action which did not represent the conservatism of the church membership. Such an outcome "departs sharply from classical thinking about religious organizations"(Beckford 1985: 130).It is also notable that studies such as Woods' began to acknowledge the importance of relating the organizational dynamics of churches to the pressures originating in their social environments. Beckford later formalized this in terms of open systems theorizing. Alongside this, other studies have continued to accentuate the significance of doctrine and teaching in determining the structure of religious organizations. "The outcome has been a greater sensitivity toward the internal *and* external conditions affecting religious organizations than was displayed in the classics." (1985: 131)

From the mid 1970s onwards, Beckford's analysis is that there were intensifying crises in both demand and command economies, the emergence of powerful and vociferous social movements of protest against various forms of discrimination and deprivation, the revitalization of moral and spiritual reform movements in the Islamic world and the acceleration of the nuclear arms race. All these things, he reasons, helped create a mood of despair and fear in industrial societies. Relgious organizations became involved in political and

constitutional controversies. It thus became apparent that religion could challenge the "taken for granted" basis of the social order in democratic societies instead of acting as an essential and integrating force as understood by the classical theorists. More problematic to this latter understanding of religion was the charge that "extremist" religious movements were unfairly availing themselves of the legal privileges and benefits granted to earlier generations of mainly tolerant and democratic churches. Indeed, we shall see that this charge plays its part in the history of the Church of England's relations with NRMs.

By the 1980s the situation had changed greatly from that which was presented to researchers and theorists in the 1950s and 1960s. Religions had come to represent a source of disorder in a world increasingly dominated by "Advanced Industrial Societies". In some instances religion was seen as a direct threat to the prevailing order, a threat associated with the fundamentalists in all the major world religions. It was also seen as an indirect challenge to the constitutive values of those societies, an indirect challenge coming from growing support for philosophies underlying various social movements, such as feminism, ecological concerns, the anti-nuclear movement, liberation theologies and so on. "(L)ate-nineteenth-century sociologists found religion interesting and important for its presumed capacity to supply order and continuity in the emerging industrial society."(Beckford 1992: 12) By the final decade of the twentieth century the whole situation had changed.

It is Beckford's argument that, taking all these things into account, "it is not easy to see how the growing conflicts between states and religions can be satisfactorily explained within the parameters of the dominant theories in the sociology of religion"(1992: 13). He takes the matter further by saying that "the legacy of 'classical' sociologists is so coloured by assumptions about the nature of industrial society that attempts to explain the character of religion in a world dominated by advanced industrial societies have been hindered"(1992: 2). In his general concern that the classical theories of the sociology of religion do not meet the present circumstances, he is not alone. We have already seen that Philipp E. Hammond agrees with him in principle. He, therefore, says that "the classical theories were not of the late twentieth century, but of the late nineteenth. It is true that by 1960 enormous technical advances gave these discussions greater sophistication....But they were nonetheless addressing the

same issues addressed by the founders" (1985: Introduction).

D. CONCLUSION

This dissertation takes as its starting point the assertion that the classical theories of the sociology of religion are essentially addressing the problems of the late nineteenth century for societies making the transition from a non-industrial to an industrial form of society. This is not to say that they have nothing to say to our present circumstances. But it is to agree with Beckford when he said in 1985 that

> "(w)hat is now required, therefore, is a greater sensitivity to questions about the relationship between societal change and religious change. Only in this way can we hope to understand the wider significance of the organizational adaptations which have begun to be documented in recent publications" (134).

This dissertation will, therefore, consider three major forces reckoned to be at work in the world now. These are Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. It is not proposed that these three forces sum up all that is at work in the world now. This dissertation will not, therefore, propose a general theory, for as Wade Clark Roof puts it, "contemporary sociology of religion is frustrated in its efforts to study religious change in the modern world....Virtually everyone admits that change has occurred in the twentieth century, yet few agree on specific patterns or implications"(75). However, the three forces specified above are now reckoned to be very significant. Two specific situations in the life of the Church of England will then be considered, that is the Church of England's formal and official relationships with NRMs and the reform of its formal liturgies - mainly during the 1980s. It will be argued that through these two specific situations it is possible both to show these forces at work in the life of the Church of England and to show how that organization has coped with them. As already indicated, it will be argued that it has tried to cope by opting for pluralism and working with the grain of those forces. But first the next chapter of this dissertation will consider the major forces of Globalization, Postmodernity. Chapter three will investigate their likely consequences in general and for religion. In chapter four, Culture Shift will be considered.

CHAPTER TWO

GLOBALIZATION & POSTMODERNITY

1. GLOBALIZATION - THEORY

A. INTRODUCTION

> "Have you ever taken part in a debate where one side loses all the arguments but through sheer weight of numbers wins the vote? If you lived in Britain through the 1980s the answer would be yes.....The economic debate then went through many turns.....Yet the people who blundered on these policies and lost the argument at each turn won the debate. Why?.....Globalisation and the loss of economic sovereignty is probably the main explanation. It is now difficult for governments anywhere to act in isolation. Consequently, opposition parties as well as governments are adopting policies that appeal to international investors and the financial community." (Lyons 1994)

Thus wrote Dr Gerard Lyons, then Chief Economist and Executive Director of DKB International, the subsidiary of Japan's Dai-ichi Kangyo Bank, in an article in the Observer Newspaper entitled "Globalisation Makes The World Go Round". Similarly, in his address at the Annual Discourse of the Royal Institute of British Architects on 25 October 1994, Martin Jacques said:

> "The meaning of the Nineties is defined by key characteristics: globalisation and the rise of East Asia; change, insecurity and flexible society; meritocracy and the decline of deference; the decline of traditional politics.....Change and insecurity were not contingent features of the eighties....but new permanent conditions of existence driven by globalisation..." (Jacques 1994)

In these and other ways, our attention is drawn to a feature of the sociological interpretation of the current world which has been termed "Globalization". William C Cockerham argues that in terms of this sociological interpretation of the current world, there are two major themes,

> "modernization, the process by which societies move to more technologically advanced levels, and globalization, the links that tie nations together. As two of the most important facets of social change, the processes of modernization and globalization are used to explain the form and direction of global society."(xviii)

Roland Robertson considers Globalization of such importance that he goes so far as to say that "the problem of globality is very likely to become a basis of major ideological and analytical cleavages of the twenty-first century"(1990: 22). What follows will establish what Globalization is.

B. GLOBALIZATION - DEFINITION AND HISTORY

"Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole."(Robertson 1993: 8) In this way, Roland Robertson offers a general description of what we might understand by Globalization. This has been expressed in a somewhat different way by Anthony McGrew.

> "Globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a process in which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe.....The existence of global systems....binds together, in very complicated ways, the prosperity and fate of households and communities and nations across the globe. Territorial boundaries are therefore arguably increasingly insignificant." (65-66)

This is not a new process. Although the use of the noun Globalization is a relatively recent development, the process has been going on for much longer. Roland Robertson, for instance, presents a scheme for the historical

development of Globalisation in five succeeding phases in Western Europe. This scheme is set out below:

Phase I - The Germinal Phase

Established in Europe from the early 15th to the mid-eighteenth centuries and characterised by the growth of national communities, expansion of the Catholic Church, the development of concepts of the individual and humanity,etc.

Phase II - The Incipient Phase

Mainly European and lasting from the mid-eighteenth century to the 1870s and characterised by a sharp shift towards the idea of the homogeneous, unitary state, sharp increases in legal conventions and agencies concerned with international and transnational regulation and communication etc.

Phase III - The Take-off Phase

Lasting from the 1870s to the mid-1920s. Robertson sees this as a period in which the various globalizing tendencies of previous periods gave way to a single, inexorable form centred upon four reference points - national societies, what Robertson calls generic individuals, a single 'international society', a conception of humanity as having a common identity, but not unified. This period was characterised by a very sharp increase in the number and speed of global communications systems. It was in this phase that there was the rise of the Ecumenical Movement and the First World War occurred.

Phase IV - The Struggle-for-Hegemony Phase

Lasting from the mid-1920s until the late-1960s. Characterised by disputes and wars about the fragile terms of the dominant Globalization process, the establishment of the League of Nations and then the United Nations, conflicting conceptions of modernity and the Cold War as a conflict within modernity etc.

Phase V - The Uncertainty Phase

Beginning in the late-1960s and into the present. Characterised by the heightening of global consciousness in the 1960s, the Moon landing and photographs of the earth, great increase in the number of global institutions and movements, sharp acceleration in the means of global communication, a global media system, societies increasingly faced with problems of multiculturality and polyethnicity, civil rights as a global issue,

> enhancement of concern with humanity as a species, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro etc. (Robertson 1993: 58-59)

This, of course, is but one theory of the historical development of Globalization and we may not agree on every precise detail. But it should be noted that David Harvey uses a similar time-scale and system of phases to indicate "the shrinking map of the world through innovations in transport which 'annihalate space through time'".(241) His four phases are:

a. **1500 - 1840**: Best average speed of horse drawn coaches was 10 m.p.h.
b. **1850 - 1930**: Steam locomotives averaged 65 m.p.h. Steam ships averaged 36 m.p.h.
c. **1950s**: Propellor aircraft - 300 - 400 m.p.h.
d. **1960s**: Jet passenger aircraft - 500 - 700 m.p.h. (241)

One might consider that the similarities in time-scale and phase are striking even though these two authors come at the problem from different directions. Indeed, one of the interesting observations made by most commentators and theorists is that they see the world's great religions as globalizing forces and that this has been the case over centuries. Malcolm Waters, for instance, says:

> "While it is clearly not the case that culture...has ever been totally globalized it has nevertheless shown a greater tendency towards Globalization...This is particularly evident in the area of religion. For many centuries, the great universalizing religions of the world...offered adherents an exclusivist and generalizing set of values and allegiances that stood above state and economy." (Waters, 1995: 124/5)

Indeed, David Held et al. go so far as to say that "the world's religions unquestionably constitute one of the most powerful and significant forms of globalization of culture in the pre-modern era, indeed of all time" (Held et al., 1999: 333).

Noting these things, it is not, however, the particular detail of the arguments and solutions which is of significance here, but a more general argument. That argument is that there has been a phase of Globalization starting in Europe

somewhere around the end of the middle ages, taking on a new character somewhere around the middle of the nineteenth century and gathering pace, with marked stages in acceleration and significant effects, ever since. The particular power and character of this period of Globalization is taken to be something new. From the point of view of this thesis, it is important to understand that this is not simply a short-term and, maybe, passing phenomenon, but one which has persisted and grown in significance and speed of development over several hundred years.

However, in considering the Church of England's relationships with NRMs and the reform of its liturgy, it is, naturally, the current stage of Globalization which is significant. Anthony McGrew, considering recent events in world history, believes we have entered an era of 'post-international' politics and argues that "(t)he notion of post-international politics suggests that, at the century's end, globalization - simply the intensification of global interconnectedness - is *transforming* the existing world order.."(63). In this he is supported by David Held et al. for they believe that in all areas and in content contemporary patterns of Globalization have surpassed those of earlier epochs. "In addition, we argue that the contemporary era represents a historically unique confluence or clustering of patterns of globalization..."(425). Roland Roberts concludes:

> "(w)ith the rapid growth of various supranational and transnational organizations, movements and institutions (such as global capitalism and the global media system) the boundaries between societies have become more porous because they are much more subject to 'interference and constraint' from outside. (At the same time) internal-societal affairs are themselves increasingly complicated and oriented to the outside by a variety of factors, including greater consciousness of other societies...., allegiances to groups within other societies...., economic penetration and the 'internationalization' of national economies." (1993: 5)

It will be argued, when the effects of Globalization are considered, that such a long-term and extensive trend and development as Globalization is bound to have effects on existing institutions such as the Church of England.

C. THE FORCES AT WORK

In coming to an understanding of Globalization, it is necessary to consider the

forces and dynamics at work in the world to produce this phenomenon. It has already been noted that Globalization is a very complex and long-term phenomenon and any attempt to set out the forces at work is likely, therefore, to be arbitrary. However, in a "shrinking" world, where transnational relations, networks, activities and interconnections of all kinds transcend national boundaries, it is increasingly difficult to understand local or national destinies without reference to those global forces. And since this dissertation is concerned with one such local destiny, that is the Church of England, it is appropriate to make the attempt.

More than one explanation is given in the literature for the development of Globalization. Generally, these explanations may be seen to fall into two camps. The first would be those who attribute the phenomenon to one causal logic. Three authors who are representative of this position would be Wallerstein, who stresses the significance of the development of capitalism, Rosenau, who argues that it is technology and its transformative possibilities which drive Globalization and Gilpin, who approaches the matter from a different perspective again. He is sceptical of claims that Globalization is transforming the world in which we live, but is prepared to acknowledge that nation-states are now profoundly inter-related. He argues that this is because of political factors and especially the existence of a 'permissive' global order. The second camp attributes Globalization to a multi-causal logic. Two authors representative of this position are Anthony Giddens and Roland Robertson. Giddens, for instance, offers four discrete, but intersecting dimensions to Globalization. These are capitalism, the inter-state system, militarism and industrialism. Roland Robertson disagrees with important aspects of Giddens' analysis, but he, too, argues for a multi-causal logic to Globalization.

Noting that there are these two approaches to the logic of Globalization, the position taken here is that, whilst the particular arguments espoused by those in the first camp have force, no one of their arguments is satisfactorily complete in itself. It is, therefore, accepted here that causation for Globalization is to be sought in multiple areas. Anthony McGrew offers an indication of the variety of forces which may be at work. The following is, therefore, an attempt to articulate something of what some of those forces might be and is presented as a simple list.

a. The dynamics of the Global Financial System.

b. The tremendous expansion of transnational corporate activity.

c. The existence of Global communications and media networks.

d. The Global production and dissemination of knowledge.

e. The escalating significance of transnational religious and ethnic ties.

f. The enormous flows of people across national boundaries - eg tourism, but also including migration.

g. The emerging authority of institutions and communities above the nation state - eg The United Nations and The European Union.

(Distilled from McGrew 1992: 63)

McGrew argues that these factors provide a powerful case for re-assessing the traditional conception of society as a bounded, ordered and unified social space, a coherent totality. What Globalisation, and the forces at work in it, suggest, therefore, is that the nature of society and its institutions, as traditionally understood, are being changed by these forces.

Beyond this, however, a number of sociologists believe that the forces described above are merely what may be seen on the surface. There are, they would argue, other even more profound forces and effects at work in Globalization - forces and effects which are to do with time and space and the very structure of societies. It is to a brief consideration of certain of these theories that we now turn. The theories chosen are of significance since they will inform the account of the effects of Globalization in the following section. One major theorist is Anthony Giddens. He believes that Globalization is one of the most visible consequences of modernity. This is because he considers that Globalization involves a profound re-ordering of time and space in social life. He calls it "time-space distanciation"(1991: 14). He stresses how the development of global networks of communication and the complex global systems of production and exchange diminish the grip of local forces, institutions and organisations over people's lives. A simple example might be the profound effect on Western economies, on jobs and inflation, of decisions made by the OPEC oil producing countries in the early 1970s. Certainly individual workers and local managements in the UK, but even individual governments, like the British government, had little control over what was happening and its effects.

Giddens argues that this disembedding of social relations is essentially the result of modernity. But he considers that Globalization expands the scope of

such processes. His point is that "larger and larger numbers of people live in circumstances in which disembedded institutions, linking local practices with globalized social relations organize major aspects of day-to-day life"(1991: 79). This means that now social relations are not dependent on simultaneous physical 'presence' in one place. Instead, circumstances in modern societies, along with almost instantaneous communications across the world, assist "relations between 'absent' others, locationally distant from any given situation of face-to-face interaction" (Giddens 1991: 18). So far as Giddens is concerned, the concept of Globalization embraces much more than a notion of interconnectedness. Rather "the concept of Globalization concerns the intersection of presence and absence, the interlacing of social events and social relations 'at a distance' with local contextualities" (Giddens quoted in McGrew 1992: 67). If we follow Giddens, we see, therefore, that Globalization is a profound movement deeply affecting human social life and thus our societies, our way of life and our institutions - one of which in this country is the Church of England. If we accept Giddens interpretation of Globalization, we might expect British society and culture and institutions such as the Church of England and its members to be significantly affected by it. The detailed effects of Globalization will be considered later.

A second theorist, David Harvey, also sees Globalization expressed in a changing experience of time and space.

> "In what follows", he says "I shall make frequent reference to the concept of 'time-space compression'. I mean to signal by that term processes that so revolutionise the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves."(Harvey 1990: 240)

These changes are so radical that "...time horizons shorten to the point where the present is all there is .....(and) we have to learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of the *compression* of our spatial and temporal worlds"(Harvey 1990: 240). What distinguishes Harvey from Giddens is his sense of the 'speeding up' or intensification of time-space compression. We noted above Harvey's scheme for time-space compression through innovations in transport. This went in four distinct phases and each of these phases was associated with a distinct burst of time-space compression. He associates these

discrete bursts with periodic crises in and the necessary restructuring of capitalism. Anthony McGrew argues that "(o)ne of the consequences of this speeding up of socio-economic change is an intensification of time-space compression, and with this comes an acceleration in the pace of globalization"(67). Indeed, Harvey confirms this interpretation when he says of time-space compression that "....space appears to shrink to a 'global village' of telecommunications and a 'spaceship earth' of economic and ecological dependencies"(240) - the very factors which have been used to define Globalization.

Harvey reckons that in the two decades leading up to the 1990s, there had been an intense phase of time-space compression.

> "I want to suggest that we have been experiencing, these last two decades, an intense phase of time-space compression that has had a disorienting and disrupting impact on political-economic practices, the balance of class power, as well as upon cultural and social life."(284)

This observation is of significance since most of the Church of England's work on developing its formal stance towards New Religious Movements was carried out during the second of the two decades to which David Harvey refers - that is during the 1980s - while very important elements of the reform of its liturgy took place in both those decades. It does not stop there, however. Most observers would argue that this process has continued apace during the 1990s and into the twenty first century with the develpment of further means of electronic communication such as the Internet. As with Giddens, therefore, we should expect significant effects coming from Harvey's theory of Globalization and the compression of time and space. In fact he says, "The experience of time-space compression is challenging, exciting, stressful, and sometimes deeply troubling, capable of sparking, therefore, a diversity of social, cultural and political reponses."(240) Later in this section of the dissertation we shall try to see just what those effects might be.

A third theory depends on the work of Functionalist sociologists and particularly the work of Niklas Luhmann. Because of the complex nature of Luhmann's work and theory, this will take a little longer to describe than the previous two theories. Luhmann's theory of sociology rests upon systems theory. This is

illustrated by his view of society, which is that it is "that social system that ultimately regulates all the relations of the human being to the world. Society is the social condition for the constitution of meaningful being-in-the-world"(Luhmann 1989: 4). At the centre of his analysis of society, therefore, is systems theory. He sees the system and its environment as being interdependent. A system *is* its difference from its environment. A central concept in Luhmann's theory is that the difference between a system and its environment is a difference of complexity - in this sense. The environment is always more complex than the system. There are always more possibilities in the environment than in the system. The difference between the complexity of the system and the environment is described by Luhmann as a "Complexity Gradient". Maintaining this complexity gradient constitutes the system as system. The way in which the system maintains the complexity gradient is by "Selectivity". Selectivity is the system's strategy for reducing complexity. This produces another key idea in Luhmann's theory and goes alongside complexity. Complexity implies selectivity if systems are to be established. Selectivity implies that certain things are chosen and others rejected. It follows that that selectivity could have worked out otherwise, that is, other things could have been chosen. This idea that things are "always possible otherwise" is encompassed by Luhmann's concept of "Contingency".

Luhmann's argument proceeds further. The difference between a system and its environment is a difference of complexity. The establishment of a system requires selectivity. Selectivity implies contingency, the idea that things are "always possible otherwise". Selectivity and resultant contingency are, thus, risky. The next question, and the most significant one for understanding how Luhmann's theory relates to Globalization, is to consider how contingency and its riskiness is coped with. Luhmann's argument proceeds in the following way. We have already seen that there is a distinction between a system and its environment. Because of time, complex systems cannot afford to rely on one-to-one relationships between external and internal events. They "need time to process information and come up with apt responses. As a consequence, they must include at least some structures or parts not directly embroiled in determining specific reactions"(Luhmann 1982: 230). This structural technique for solving the temporal problems of complex (ie time-consuming) systems situated in complex environments Luhmann calls "System Differentiation". In practice, what it means is that Differentiation reproduces the system within itself,

multiplying specialised versions of the original system's identity by splitting it into a number of internal systems with affiliated environments. This theory of System Differentiation is essential for understanding how Luhmann's theory throws light on Globalization.

Luhmann argues that "the evolution of society has often been described as a process of increasing system differentiation"(1982: 232). According to Luhmann, system differentiation requires the combination of two dichotomies; the dichotomy between system and environment and the dichotomy between equality and inequality. This dual dichotomy produces three distinct types of differentiation. These are:

> **Segmentation**, which differentiates society into equal subsystems and is characteristic of archaic societies.
>
> **Stratification**, which differentiates society into unequal susbsystems in which there is equality within any given stratum, but inequality between strata. This produces a society of hierarchies and rank order. A good example of this form of differentiation would be medieval society.
>
> **Functional Differentation**. Luhmann considers this particularly characteristic of modern societies. In Luhmann's theory of functional differentiation, sub-systems are characterised by function. Functional sub-systems are unequal in that each fulfils a different function - eg politics, the economy etc - but each functional sub-system is equal in that, at least in principle, everyone has access to them.

Luhmann asserts that modern society is characterised by the dominance of functional differentiation.

It is necessary to understand this background to see how Peter Beyer, using this model of differentation, is able to develop a theory of Globalization around the idea of territory and territoriality. He argues that the territorial limitation of pre-modern societies is bound up with their failure to develop sufficient means of communication and the tendency of elites in "Stratified" societies to use resources to "create, maintain and enhance stratified differentiation"(Beyer 1994: 47). He argues that from the point of view of the upper stratum in a pre-modern society, characterised by stratified differentiation, the extent of that society is delineated by the extent of elite communication. This reflects another

of Luhmann's arguments, that society does not consist of human beings as such, but of communications - within systems and between sub-systems. Beyer argues that the religion of those elites was a vital element of communication and a vital social identifier. "In a very Durkheimian sense, their gods (or equivalent) are the symbolic representation of their culture and their prestige. Those who cannot be brought under at least the formal influence of these gods are also those with whom it is formally difficult to communicate."(47)

However, Beyer argues that with the gradual shift to the dominance of functionally differentiated structures beginning in early modern Western society, Western society radically re-casts the whole notion of territoriality so that it is less and less a delimiter of societies and more and more a matter of functional efficiency. Representative of this is the emergence of a global economic system in parallel with the global system of nation states. These latter are now the dominant institutions of a now global political system which operates in the context of a world economy. Beyer argues that "commodity production for the money economy has been a very powerful way of tying almost all areas of the world into a single communicative network. The political system of states both reinforces and conditions that singleness."(48) It is Luhmann's argument, following functional differentiation, that the increased complexity of the economic system requires a corresponding increase in the complexity of the political system, so that for reasons of functional efficiency, the political system becomes co-extensive with the economic system. Since there is a global economic system, there is also a global system of nation states. Using Luhmann's theories, globalization is, therefore, dependent upon the working out of that part of Luhmannian systems theory now called functional differentiation. It will be apparent from what has been said that, according to Luhmann, this has to do with the very structure and function of the system of society.

2. POSTMODERNITY - THEORY

D. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

"Postmodernism was born in St Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972, at 3.32 pm." (Grenz, 1996: 11). On that day the Pruitt-Igo housing project in St Louis, hailed on its completion as a landmark of modern architecture, was razed tothe ground

on the order of government planners. "According to Charles Jencks...this event symbolises the death of modernity and the birth of postmodernity." (Grenz, 1996: 11). This leads Stanley J. Grenz to say:

> "Our culture is in the throes of a cultural shift of immense proportions. Like the Pruitt-Igoe housing project, the edifice that housed thought and culture in the modern era is crumbling. As modernity dies around us, we appear to be entering a new epoch - postmodernity." (11)

A good deal of space has been set aside for considering the development and theoretical meaning of Globalization. However, it is argued by many that there is a second force at work in the world now, also deemed to have great power. In part, it may come out of the some of the same forces that are driving Globalization. In part, it may come out of the fact that, due to Globalization, cultures which, in an earlier age would have remained generally unaware of each other are now brought up against each other. In part there may be other developments related to the stage reached with modernity. This second force has been called Postmodernity, and it is to this concept that this dissertation now turns.

> "Just as the whole socialist idea has gone into retreat, so too the great Modernist project has been largely abandoned. Into this vacuum steps Postmodernism, an eclectic movement of parody and pastiche that fits happily into a world where conservation has become the rage..."(Richard Gott quoted in Thompson 1992: 222)

In this way, Richard Gott, writing in the Guardian newspaper in December 1986 introduces that other major force at work in the world now, which has been called Postmodernity. Huyssens introduces the notion in like manner.

> "What appears at one level as the latest fad, advertising pitch and hollow spectacle is part of a slowly emerging cultural transformation in Western societies, a change in sensibility for which the term 'post-modern' is actually, at least for now, wholly adequate. The nature and depth of that transformation are debatable, but transformation it is.....(I)n an important sector of our culture there is a noticeable shift in sensibility, practices and discourse formations which distinguishes a post-modern set of

assumptions, experiences and propositions from that of a preceding period."(Huyssens quoted in Harvey 1989: 39)

Richard Gott, in the article cited above, suggests that most of those who write about Postmodernism believe it is related to the new social epoch of Postmodernity. As a consequence, many writers believe that various social developments in the world are of significance in the development of Postmodernity. Some of these developments have already been discussed in the foregoing consideration of Globalization. This has led to the suggestion that, to some degree, these phenomena are related. Indeed, it has already been noted that David Harvey's theory of time-space compression has been linked to Globalization. Anthony McGrew says, in respect of Harvey's arguments, that "(o)ne of the consequences of this speeding up of socio-economic change is an intensification of time-space compression, and with this comes an acceleration in the pace of globalization" (67). This is of significance here, since Harvey's whole argument about space-time compression is in support of his arguments about Postmodernity. In addition, Kenneth Thompson cites the following social developments as some of those involved in the development of Postmodernity:

a. The collapse of Communism and the consequent loss of confidence in revolutionary Marxism and social planning, which in turn has had the knock-on effect of calling into question the efficacy of large-scale planning for such things as the post-war housing estates and tower blocks.

b. The alleged economic changes from mass-production to flexible specialisation and the change from mass-consumption to 'lifestyle niches'.

c. The fragmentation of social classes consequent upon the above.

d. The growing belief that modernist ideas of technological progress and economic growth *may* be the cause of such problems as pollution, waste and war, rather than their solution.

e. The decline of the politics of party, parliament and trades unions and the growth of 'micropolitics' marked by struggles over power at

institutional and local levels, or over single issues.

f. The astonishing growth and pervasiveness of the mass media of communication; particularly the visual media of film, television and graphic design. (Thompson 1992: 223)

The power of these sorts of "background" developments has already been seen in the foregoing consideration of globalization.

For some theorists, Postmodernity is a reflection of a radical change in the fundamentals - a change of profound significance. Gregor McLennan argues that "(t)he post-modernist challenge to the Enlightenment model of social knowledge involves either rejecting entirely, or at least seriously questioning.....Enlightenment tenets" (330). He points out that the "post-modernist thesis is that, not only have the structures of modern *society*, but also that the foundations of modern social *thought* have become obsolete and dogmatic"(330).

David Harvey shows this concern in an area rather closer to the concerns of this dissertation, that is religious thought.

> "(N)o less a person than Pope John Paul II has entered the fray on the side of the postmodern. The Pope 'does not attack Marxism or liberal secularism because they are the wave of the future,' says Rocco Buttiglione, a theologian close to the Pope, but because the 'philosophies of the twentieth century have lost their appeal, their time has already passed.' The moral crisis of our time is a crisis of Enlightenment thought. For while the latter may indeed have allowed man to emancipate himself 'from community and tradition of the Middle Ages in which his individual freedom was submerged,' the Enlightenment affirmation of 'self without God' in the end negated itself because reason, a means, was left, in the absence of God's truth, without spiritual or moral goal. If lust and power are 'the only values that don't need the light of reason to be discovered,' then reason had to become a mere instrument to subjugate others (*Baltimore Sun*, 9 September 1987). The postmodern theological project is to reaffirm God's truth without abandoning the powers of reason."(Harvey 1989: 41)

What has come to be called Postmodernity has implications for the very ground on which the Church of England stands.

E. POSTMODERNITY - DEFINITION

Defining Postmodernity is not a straightforward matter. Thomas Docherty points to the difficulty of doing so.

> "There is hardly a single field of intellectual endeavour which has not been touched by the spectre of 'the postmodern'. It leaves its traces in every cultural discipline from architecture to zoology, taking in on the way biology, forestry, geography, history, law, literature and the arts in general, medicine, politics, philosophy, sexuality and so on. Yet this amorphous thing remains ghostly - and for some, ghastly - for the simple reason that the debate around the postmodern has never properly been engaged. The term itself hovers uncertainly in most current writings between - on the one hand - extremely complex and difficult philosophical senses, and - on the other - an extremely simplistic mediation as a nihilistic, cynical tendency in contemporary culture." (Docherty 1993: 1)

In the field of philosophy, Richard Tarnas sees Postmodernity as a new development in the history of Western thought and related to the thought of Nietzsche. This link with Nietzsche is of some significance for him since it offers him a way into thinking about what Postmodernity is.

> "Like Nietzsche, the postmodern intellectual situation is profoundly complex and ambiguous - perhaps that is its very essence. What is called postmodern varies considerably according to context, but in its most general and widespread form, the postmodern mind may be viewed as an open-ended, indeterminate set of attitudes that has been shaped by a great diversity of intellectual and cultural currents."(Tarnas 1991: 395)

He cites the range of influences in philosophy as being from "pragmatism, existentialism, Marxism, and psychoanalysis to feminism, hermeneutics, deconstruction, and postempiricist philosophy of science"(395). It is this complexity and ambiguity which we note and which contributes to the difficulty in providing a brief and neat definition of Postmodernity.

However, given the sorts of difficulty set out above and acknowledging their significance, The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology offers a way into coming to some understanding of Postmodernity, for the writers categorize the large number of features characterizing Postmodernity into four groups:

a. Social: Industrialization and capitalism brought with them a system of social classes. In Postmodernity, classes are not so important. Social structure is more fragmented and complex and the sources of differentiation include class, gender, ethnicity, age.

b. Economic: In Postmodern societies the economic system is 'Post-Fordist' (a term coined by "Marxism Today" and now used as a generic description of the changing nature of capitalism). This term is used to indicate that specialized batch production methods are used in industry, involving multi-skilled workers. Markets are segmented and niche, recognising that not everyone wants the same things. Firms are smaller and use sub-contractors more. Human relations techniques are used and Trades Unions are either not used at all, or only function at plant level.

c. Political: Postmodern states have, at least in terms of rhetoric if not always in actuality, attempted to reverse the trends of 'modern' states - that is they have moved way from the creation of the welfare state, public ownership of important utilities, significant intervention in the economy. Instead, they have promoted the virtues of self-reliance, competitiveness, the market and private enterprise, so that postmodern governments are increasingly reluctant to take responsibility for managing all aspect of the economy.

d. Cultural: Some theories of Postmodernity give culture the central role. Cultural factors include:

(i) the growing importance of the culture industries.

(ii) the aestheticization of everyday life, which means that the division between art and everyday life is being eroded in two senses (a) artists are taking everyday objects and using them as art objects (b) ordinary people are making their everyday lives aesthetic objects, aiming at a coherent style in their clothes, appearance and household furnishings, so that some may reach the point where they see themselves and their surroundings as art objects.

(iii) the construction of personal identity is by individual choice, rather than traditional ascription.

(iv) there is a fragmentation of personal identity, which changes over the course of a life and changes between different social settings.

(v) there are different ways of experiencing space and time.

(vi) Postmodernism. (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 1994: 326-7)

These four divisions give a clear indication of the scope of Postmodernity as a theory and its complexity. In this dissertation much of what is considered will fall within the division broadly designated "cultural", but there are also implications from the world of politics.

In attempting to define what Postmodernity might be about, David Harvey helps. He argues that "Postmodernism accepts the ephemerality, fragmentation, discontinuity and the chaotic that formed one half of Baudelaire's conception of modernity.....Postmodernism swims, even wallows in the fragmentary and chaotic currents of change, as if that's all there is" (44). In taking on board this ephemerality, Harvey, like Richard Tarnas, considers that Postmodernism harks back to Nietzsche. "(P)ostmodernism typically harks back to that wing of thought, Nietzsche in particular, that emphasizes the deep chaos of modern life and its intractability before rational thought." (44) The particular concern here, however, is to note that Postmodernity deals with ephemerality, fragmentation, discontinuity - in essence, chaos.

F. OPPONENTS OF THE THEORY OF POSTMODERNITY

It should be noted that although many social theorists accept the notion of Postmodernity as a *new* thing, this is not universally the case. Instead, some argue that what we now see and often interpret as Postmodernity, is in fact simply the operation of modernity. Bernice Martin, for instance, can say "I am almost tempted to suggest that much postmodern theory, as it relates to religion, looks more like a continuation of the Enlightenment secularization metanarrative than like a really radical break..." (1998: 102/3). The significant thing in this case is to note that it is temptation. However, to illustrate the position of those who reject completely the postmodernist thesis, we shall look quite briefly at some of the arguments put forward by two major theorists, Jurgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens.

In 1980 Habermas gave the Adorno Lecture. It first appeared in English as 'Modernity versus Postmodernity' and in somewhat later collections as 'Modernity - an Incomplete Project'. Although a densely packed lecture, it offers the kernel of his critique of Postmodernity and some of the arguments will be briefly set out here. He states that the 'modern' project was formulated by the Enlightenment philosophers and

> "consisted in their efforts to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art, according to their inner logic. At the same time, this project intended to release the cognitive potentials of each of these domains to set them free from their esoteric forms. The Enlightenment philosophers wanted to utilize this accumulation of specialized culture for the enrichment of everyday life, that is to say, for the rational organization of everyday social life."
>
> (Habermas, 1983: 9)

As Habermas sees it, so far as Postmodernists are concerned the Enlightenment project of modernity has simply failed and is lost. However, in Habermas's analysis, the project has not failed, but it has foundered because "under capitalism; the empirical theoretical, or cognitive-instrumental, rationality complex has marginalised all other modes of cognition and has thus thwarted the hoped for 'rational re-organisation of everyday social life."(Bertens, 1995: 118)

In this way, Habermas appears to accept the analysis Postmodernists make of what is actually happening in society, but argues that this is not because there is some new condition called Postmodernity, but because modernity has gone awry. He believes instead that the aims of modernity, as expressed by the Enlightenment philosophers and as set out above, are good and can be rescued. As a result, the project of modernity should not be abandoned. To give it up would be to hand over modernity to those who will abuse it and its aims, that is to those who will reify one of its spheres and "aestheticize politics" or alternatively, "replace politics by moral rigorism" or "submit it to the dogmatism of doctrine" (Habermas, 1983: 11).

Like Habermas, Anthony Giddens is not convinced that Postmodernity represents something completely new - something postmodern. In *The Consequences of Modernity*, he considers the claims of postmodernists and asks where one might look for a starting point for the phenomena they describe. He argues that a starting point for some of the phenomena might be the 'nihilism' of Nietzsche and Heidegger. Then he comments:

> "Yet the seeds of nihilism were there in Enlightenment thought from the beginning. If the sphere of reason is unfettered, no knowledge can rest

> upon an unquestioned foundation, because even the most firmly held notions can only be regarded as valid 'in principle' or 'until further notice'.
>
> (Giddens, 1990: 48)

He considers the argument that Postmodernity involves the end of history, in the sense that history is seen to have no intrinsic form and no teleology. He argues that these notions do not come from postmodernity. Instead, he says:

> "The disjunctions which have taken place should rather be seen as resulting from the self-clarification of modern thought, as the remnants of tradition and providential outlooks are cleared away. We have not moved beyond modernity, but are living precisely through a phase of its radicalisation." (1990: 51)

He concludes by summarising what he says are the dominant sources of the dynamism of modernity, some of which we have already encountered elsewhere in this chapter of the thesis. He says that they are the separation of time and space, the development of disembedding mechanisms and the reflexive appropriation of knowledge. He believes that these three features of modern institutions "help to explain why living in the modern world is more like being aboard a careering juggernaut...rather than being in a carefully controlled and well-driven motor car (1990: 53).

From this last quotation particularly, we see that, like Habermas, Giddens is not in dispute with Postmodernists about the experience of being in the world as it currently is. His dispute with them is what this means so far as modernity is concerned and so far as social theory is concerned. Both he and Habermas believe, in somewhat different ways, that explanations for the circumstances as they are observed in the world already exist within modernity. The disagreement persists and is not resolved. John Reader puts well the difficulty that social theorists face . He argues that it needs to be recognized that social theorists and historians are reading back into events "a pattern or meaning that has been constructed in retrospect. That makes Post-Modernity a particularly difficult concept to handle as it represents an attempt to describe developments that are still unfolding" (18). So far as this thesis is concerned, the really significant matter is the social phenomena themselves, like fragmentation and pluralism,

which are occurring and which no one doubts and which are affecting institutions like the Church of England. It is these phenomena which this thesis is investigating. The term Postmodernity, used to describe this wave of phenomena affecting the current world, encapsulates those phenomena and is, at the very least, convenient and carries with it a sense of the strangeness of the world which is emerging. As a result, a decision has been made to use that term in this thesis. It is, however, recognised that not all social theorists agree with it and that, because events are still unfolding, the issue has not been settled finally amongst those theorists.

G. CONCLUSION

In this section of the dissertation two major groups of forces in the world, those which have been termed Globalization and Postmodernity, have been described. Globalization has been defined as referring "to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections which transcend the nation-states"(McGraw, 1992: 65). It has been seen to be an historical movement which has persisted and grown in significance over several hundred years, starting in Europe somewhere around the end of the Middle Ages, taking on a new character around the middle of the nineteenth century and gathering pace ever since. Underlying it are very profound forces. On the surface these forces manifest themselves in such things as the dynamics of the Global financial system and the enormous expansion of transnational corporate activity. But beneath this level sociologists see even more profound forces at work. Anthony Giddens and David Harvey speak of a re-ordering of time and space, while Niklas Luhmann offers, through the concept of functional differentiation, a view of Globalization affecting the structure and function of societies.

Postmodernity has been seen to be a very diffuse phenomenon affecting many areas of modern life and to that extent it has been more difficult to define. In addition, it has been seen that some social theorists assert that what it is trying to describe is really a further version of modernity. However, it has been suggested that the roots of Postmodernity lie in similar forces to those driving Globalization. Its scope has been seen to be very wide, affecting social, economic, political and cultural life. In particular, it has been noted that Postmodernity deals with ephemerality, fragmentation and discontinuity. It has been argued that such long-term, powerful and pervasive forces are bound to have effects on institutions, such as the Church of England, in particular nation-

states. Having established these things, it is now possible to move on to consider the effects of these two major forces.

CHAPTER THREE

GLOBALIZATION & POSTMODERNITY

THE EFFECTS

A. PLURALISM AND RELATIVIZATION

In the previous section basic theories of Globalization and Postmodernity were set out. These are reckoned to be major forces at work in the world now and it must, therefore, be anticipated that they will have real consequences. This section of the dissertation will set out to chart those consequences preparatory to seeing them at work in the Church of England and particularly its dealings with NRMs and in the reform of its liturgy. In the previous section, Globalization and Postmodernity were seen as having a certain relationship. In like manner, their consequences are considered alongside each other.

"In so far as (present realities) have brought us a global present without a common past (they) threaten to render all traditions and all particular past histories irrelevant."(Arendt 1981: 541) In this brief quotation, Hannah Arendt raises a particular issue arising from the development of globalization, that is the sense in which influences from across the world offer a view of alternative possibilities for organising any particular society. In this sense, we see selectivity, as Luhmann would have it, operating in any given society and the recognition of contingency. For with globalization there is a recognition that particular societies have had to make choices about how they will organise themselves. The way things are done in any one particular society is only one from a number of possibilities. The felt presence of the influence of other societies makes it apparent that there are other choices which could have been

made, other ways of organising any given society. This process makes it clear that the particular organisation of any single society and its institutions are not absolute and "given". Equally, this bringing together of a variety of previously relatively separate and independent cultures and cultural influences in one geographical place is what is meant by pluralism in this dissertation. From this whole process flows 'relativization'.

Roland Robertson points to the relativization of individual societies and their institutions arising from globalization. Robertson points out that it was in the 1920s and 30s that the problem of relativism first became thematised in sociology and anthropology.

> "In sociology we find the attempts of Max Scheler and Karl Mannheim to deal with the issue of the relativism - or, which is not exactly the same, the relativity - of perspectives.....The rising concern with relativism can thus be regarded as a manifestation of the problems raised by increased global compression..." (Robertson 1992:18)

He makes clear what he takes the import of relativization to be.

> "..(I)n my representation of the global field I have emphasized a number of processes of relativization. That term is meant to indicate the ways in which, as globalization proceeds, challenges are increasingly presented to the stability of particular perspectives on, and collective and individual participation in, the overall globalization process.....An important aspect of this has to do with the ways in which school, college and university curricula are currently being revised in some societies along 'international' and/or 'multicultural' lines.(1992: 29)

Peter Beyer, drawing on Luhmann's functionalist theories set out in the previous chapter, takes account of the same process resulting from globalization and sees this affecting the operation of the state.

> "There is...only a limited sense in which the operations of a state, for instance, can be typically Japanese or typically American, because the demands of functional efficiency will temper the traditional cultural style. We arrive here at a key socio-structural reason for the relativization of

particularisms in global society." (65)

This phenomenon of relativism or process of relativization arising from globalization has important consequences so far as this thesis is concerned. What it tends to do is to call into question the "givenness' of existing institutions within a given society, especially if the roots of those institutions are in an earlier form of society. To a degree, the underpinnings of such institutions are shaken and perhaps, in extreme instances, even removed.

> "The upshot.....is that group cultures or socio-cultural particularisms operate in a very much changed socio-cultural context in global society. They no longer hold the self-evident position they did in societies dominated by segmentary or hierarchical differentiation. While their position is thus ambiguous and to some extent disadvantaged, they still constitute important phenomena in this modern context."(Beyer 1994: 67)

Thus Peter Beyer views the scene from the Luhmannian, functionalist, perspective. Such a process will clearly be of interest and concern to the Church of England. For the Church of England is just such a "socio-cultural particularism" which has its roots, and not least its organisational roots, in a society dominated by "segmentary or hierarchical differentiation".

If these theories of globalization are correct, one might well expect to see the position of the Church of England "relativized" and one might expect to see that it will not hold the "self-evident" position of an earlier time. Giddens points to a similar process from his perspective of viewing globalization as an inherent product of modernity. He argues that modernity is a highly reflexive form of life in which "social practices are constantly examined and reformed in the light of incoming information about those very practices, thus constitutively altering their character"(1990: 37-38). Once more the operation of the Church of England is such a social practice. It will be argued in this thesis that such a process of relativization has affected the Church of England and that examination of the process of liturgical change, internal to the life of the Church, and of the Church of England's relations with New Religious Movements, external to it, will give evidence of this process.

B. META-NARRATIVES AND TRUTH

Related to the influence of relativization coming from Globalization is the position adopted in Postmodernity by Foucault and Lyotard. The link is provided by Ernest Gellner in his reaction to Postmodernity.

> "The movement and its ideas are, I fear, a little too ethereal and volatile to be captured and seized with precision.....But there is a certain theme within this cluster of ideas which does profoundly concern (me)...., and that is relativism. Postmodernism would seem to be rather clearly in favour of relativism, in as far as it is capable of clarity, and hostile to the idea of unique, exclusive, objective, external or transcendent truth. Truth is elusive, polymorphous, inward, subjective....Straightforward it is not.....the postmodernist movement, which is an ephemeral cultural fashion, is of interest as a living and contemporary specimen of relativism." (Gellner 1992: 23-4)

This is polemic, but Gellner makes his point.

David Harvey, therefore, points out that Foucault and Lyotard, having accepted ephemerality and fragmentation as a proper and realistic description of the world, explicitly attack any notion that there might be a meta-language, a meta-narrative or a meta-theory through which all things can be represented. Abercrombie, Hill and Turner in *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* define a Meta-theory as "the general background of philosophical assumptions that provide rules for the construction of particular sociological theories and justify particular sociological methods."(263) Foucault and Lyotard argue that we cannot aspire to any unified representation of the world or picture it as a totality, full of connections and differentiations. From different standpoints, they condemn such general theories or narratives, which form the general landscape in which other more particular theories or narratives can be established, as 'totalising'. They insist upon a picture of perpetually shifting fragments.

> "Simplifying to the extreme", says Lyotard,"I define Postmodern as incredulity to metanarratives. This incredulity is undoubtedly a product of progress in the sciences: but that progress in turn presupposes it. To the obsolescence of the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation corresponds,

> most notably, the crisis of metaphysical philosophy and of the university institution which in the past relied on it. The narrative function is losing its functors, its great hero, its great dangers, its great goal."(Lyotard 1984: xxiii)

Amongst other things, Lyotard takes this view because of the way in which he understands language to work. "...(W)e do not necessarily establish stable language combinations, and the properties of the ones we do establish are not necessarily communicable."(xxiii)

An episode from the life of Michel Foucault illustrates the same approach and conclusion.

> "At the end of May 1975....Simeon Wade took the philosopher (Foucault) to visit a self-styled "Taoist" commune, where a number of young men lived in cabins nestled on the slopes of Mount Baldy in Southern California.....One of the young men plaintively remarked that he felt completely lost.
> '"You have to be lost as a young man,'" Waide recalls Foucault replying: '"You are not really trying unless you are lost. That is a good sign. I was lost as a young man too.'"
> '"Should I take chances with my life?'" the student asked earnestly.
> '"By all means! Take risks, go out on a limb!'
> '"But I yearn for solutions.'
> '"There are no solutions,'" said the French philosopher firmly.
> '"Then at least some answers.'
> '"There are no answers!,'" exclaimed Foucault." (Miller 1983: 282-3)

On the same occasion, the question of the viability of Freudian psychology was raised. "Foucault roared with laughter. Finally composing himself, he said, as Waide recalls, 'There cannot be a general theory of psychoanalysis - *everyone must do it for themselves*'" (Miller 1983: 283)

Such a positive acceptance of "the deep chaos of modern life and its intractability before rational thought!" and a consequent rejection of a meta-language and a meta-narrative will have very clear implications for the Church of England, for Christianity is nothing if not a meta-narrative. Christianity offers a

whole way of looking at and understanding the world and life itself. In this sense it is potentially, and has been in the past, all encompassing. It works as a meta-narrative through the story of Jesus, incorporating such ideas as the creation and the salvation of mankind and this story of Jesus is itself, set within the larger story of God's dealings with mankind. Christianity has developed claims to uniqueness based upon this meta-narrative and is worked out through a whole body of developed doctrine, which has sought to make Christianity internally coherent and generally applicable to the world in which it is set. Here is a very clear meta-narrative or meta-theory.

The rejection of the possibility that there can, in principle and in reality, be such a thing will have clear repercussions for an institution such as the Church of England which depends for its legitimacy on the acceptance of such a meta-narrative. Indeed, when we come to consider the reform of the liturgy, it will be argued that there has been just such a difficulty in maintaining a consistent doctrinal meta-narrative for the Church of England. The irony, of course, is that Postmodernity, with its insistence on general fragmentation and ephemerality, and having general consequences, might be seen as a sort of meta-theory itself. Nonetheless, the rejection in principle of the possibility of a general, encompassing theory or narrative will call into question the standing of an institution such as the Church of England, which depends upon the acceptance of such a narrative.

A further consequence arises both from the stance taken by Lyotard and Foucault and the general description of Postmodernity given in the previous section. The rejection of the possibility of a meta-theory or meta-narrative will have real implications for any claims to truth. If, that is, truth is understood to be an absolute and universal, rather than a relative, term. It has already been noted above that, using its meta-narrative, Christianity makes claims to uniqueness. Using that same meta-narrative, it also makes claims as to the truth, in an absolute sense, of what it claims through its story and doctrines. The rejection of the possibility of the meta-narrative also, then, begins to undermine the foundations of claims to such absolute and objective universal truth.

David Harvey comments on the implications for such a stance.

> "(I)f, as the postmodernists insist, we cannot aspire to any unified

> representation of the world, or picture it as a totality full of connections and differentiations rather than as perpetually shifting fragments, then how can we possibly aspire to act coherently with respect to the world? The simple postmodernist answer is that since coherent representation and action are either repressive or illusionary.....Action can be conceived of and decided only within the confines of some local determinism, some interpretive community, and its purported meanings and anticipated effects are bound to break down when taken out of these isolated domains, even when coherent within them." (53)

This dissertation will argue that there are signs of such developments arising from the general claim to fragmentation and ephemerality in the Church of England's reform of its liturgy, along with claims of turning inwards and sectarianism, and in its dealings with New Religious Movements.

A final consequence, related to relativization, arises from Postmodernity's concern with fragmentation and the ephemeral and the instability of language. David Harvey points to this further repercussion. "Preoccupation with the fragmentation and instability of language and discourses carries over directly, for example, into a certain conception of personality."(53) Harvey argues that this conception of the personality focuses on "schizophrenia"; not in a narrow clinical sense, but in the sense of an "inability to unify the past, present and future of our own biographical experience or psychic life" (53). This is often termed the 'de-centred self'. We shall meet this notion when we consider aspects of the reform of the Church of England's liturgy. Harvey argues that this "fits, of course, with postmodernism's preoccupation with the signifier rather than the signified, with participation, performance and happening rather than with authoritative and finished art object, with surface appearances rather than roots"(53). He argues that there are very particular consequences flowing from all of this.

He believes, for instance, that Modernism was greatly concerned with producing the possibility of better futures, but that Postmodernity "strips away that possibility by concentrating upon the schizophrenic circumstances induced by fragmentation and all those instabilities....that prevent us even picturing coherently, let alone devising strategies to produce, some radically different future"(54). He argues that this reduces experience to a series of unrelated

presents in which the surface appearance of events and their immediacy makes the greatest impact. He describes this as a breakdown of the normal temporal order of things, which gives rise to a peculiar treatment of the past. "Eschewing the idea of progress, postmodernism abandons all sense of historical continuity and memory, while simultaneously developing an incredible ability to plunder history and absorb what it finds there as some aspect of the present."(54) Harvey points out the difficulties this poses both for the historian and the philosopher. He concludes, "This loss of historical continuity in values and beliefs, taken together with the reduction of the work of art to a text stressing discontinuity and allegory, poses all kinds of problems for aesthetic and critical judgement."(56) This is certainly an issue which will be raised by opponents of the introduction oof the Alternative Service Book.

Such a situation will, therefore, create significant problems for an institution like the Church of England. For its standing is based to a degree on historical continuity, which is now called in question as a matter of principle. Christianity itself, particularly in the Catholic tradition, is linked to a sense of historical continuity with the Apostolic tradition. Postmodernity's move away from such a sense of continuity runs counter to this tradition in Christianity, and to a degree undermines it. This will have particular implications for the Church of England in that until the mid twentieth century its whole liturgy was based upon an historical continuity deriving from the Reformation. The Church of England, in its dealings with New Religious Movements, will also be seeking to establish a critique of their claims to truth and what they are doing. Yet, if Postmodernity is an active force the Church of England will find it more and more difficult to establish that firm basis for judgement which it needs. In the condition of Postmodernity there may merely be a series of religious organisations about which no judgement as to relative worth and truth is to be made. This dissertation will argue that the Church of England has been facing those difficulties - and that this can be illustrated from the reform of its liturgy and its dealings with NRMs.

C. CULTURAL IDENTITY

One final major matter related to pluralism and relativization is the effect of globalization on cultural identity. Karl Marx said of modernity that it is a "constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation...All fixed, fast-frozen relationships, with their train of venerable ideas and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed

ones become obsolete before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air...."(1973: 70). If we follow Marx's view, then modern societies are, by definition, societies of constant, rapid and permanent change. Anthony Giddens, particularly, cites the pace of change and the scope of change when he writes, "as different areas of the globe are drawn into interconnection with one another, waves of social transformation crash across virtually the whole of the earth's surface"(1991: 6). We have already noted Giddens' insistence that globalization is a natural outworking of modernity and we note here Giddens' insistence on the global nature of change. Giddens also points out the discontinuities which arise. "The modes of life brought into being by modernity have swept us away from all traditional types of social order in a quite unprecedented fashion." (1991: 21)

Recognising the impact of modernity and its globalising propensities, its effects are bound to be wide-ranging. Stuart Hall looks at the effects of modernity and globalization on national cultural identities and asks himself what it is that is so powerfully dislocating national cultural identities now. The answer he gives himself is clear.

> "The answer is, a complex of processes and forces of change, which for convenience can be summed up under the term 'globalization'..... Globalization implies a movement away from the classical sociological idea of a 'society' as a well-bounded system, and its replacement by a perspective which concentrates on 'how social life is ordered across space and time'. These new temporal and spatial features, resulting in the compression of distances and time-scales, are among the most significant aspects of globalization affecting cultural identities..."(299).

Harvey's arguments about the compression of space and time arising from bursts of globalization were discussed in the preceding section, as indeed were Giddens' ideas about time-space distanciation. Hall takes these developments to be of great significance for cultural identities. He argues that time and space are the basic co-ordinates of all systems of representation, such as writing, drawing, painting. He notes that Harvey points out the rational ordering of space and time of the Enlightenment, with its order, symmetry and balance, and contrasts that with the broken and fragmented time/space co-ordinates of the new Modernist movements of the late ninteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Hall argues that we can see new space-time relationships being defined in developments as diverse as Einstein's theory of relativity, the cubist paintings of Picasso and Braque, the works of the Surrealists and the experiments with time and narrative in the novels of Proust and Joyce. Given that Harvey sees another burst of time/space compression in the 1980s, it should be recalled that 1980 is a significant date for it marks the introduction of the Alternative Service Book. One might also mention other sorts of experiments now with time and narrative in the work of Martin Amis ("Times's Arrow") and Peter Ackroyd ("Hawksmoor" - in which different historical eras interpenetrate). Hall argues that "identity is deeply implicated in representation. Thus, the shaping and re-shaping of time-space relationships within different systems of representation have profound effects on how identities are located and represented"(301). In this way it is argued here that globalization has profound effects on cultural identity.

Just what the effects of globalization are on cultural identities is a matter for debate. Theorists see the effects of globalization and its time-space compression acting in more than one way. Some cultural theorists see greater global interdependence leading to the break-down of all strong cultural identities and the production of a multiplicity of styles, with an emphasis on the ephemeral, the fleeting and the impermanent and on difference and cultural pluralism. In this way, they argue, as national cultures become more exposed to outside influences it is difficult to preserve cultural identities intact or to prevent them from becoming weakened through cultural bombardment and infiltration.

> "The more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communications systems, the more identities become detached - disembedded - from specific times, places, histories, and traditions, and appear 'free-floating'. We are confronted by a range of different identities, each appealing to us, or rather to different parts of ourselves, from which it seems possible to choose." (Hall 1992: 303)

It is, thus, argued that cultural identities everywhere are being relativized by the impact of that time-space compression of globalization of which Giddens and Harvey have spoken so clearly. Such a development will clearly present difficulties for institutions like the Church of England and in ways which will be considered in the following paragraphs.

Other theorists see counter-tendencies to the argument that globalization threatens to undermine national identities and the unity of national cultures. Kevin Robins, for instance, argues that globalization "is also associated with a new dynamics of *re*-localization."(33) Robins argues that alongside the tendency to global homogenization, there is also a fascination with difference and the marketing of ethnicity and "otherness". In fact globalization, in the form of flexible specialization and niche marketing, exploits local differentiation. He believes it follows that one must think of a new articulation of the relationship between the 'global' and the 'local'. Indeed, the very tendencies we have noted above may lead some to try to protect the local and traditional. In religious terms, such a tendency as this latter might be seen in the rise of conservative religion. Having said all of this, however, Robins recognises that this new articulation of the relationship between global and local is not to be confused with older identities, firmly rooted in well-bounded localities. Instead this new tendency operates within the logic of globalization.

It is argued here that Globalization has the effect of dislocating "centred" and "closed" identities of national culture. It has a pluralizing impact, producing a variety of possibilities for identity. In this sense it makes "identities more positional, more political, more plural and diverse; less fixed, unified or trans-historical"(Hall 1992: 309). The effect is not completely uniform. Some identities gravitate towards what Robins calls 'Tradition', attempting to restore their former purity and to recover the unities and certainties which are felt as being lost. One illustration of this is the development of fundamentalism. One response to Postmodernization is that it "accelerates the search for a single, often mythologized truth that can reference all social mores and practices. Fundamentalist religious movements...thus respond to the hyperdifferentiating tendencies of posmodernization" (Waters: 1995, 130). While Globalization also contributes to the world-wide development of fundamentalism "because it carries the discontents of modernization and postmodernization to religious traditions that might previously have remained encapsulated." (Waters, 1995: 130).

Others accept that identity is subject to the play of history, politics, representation and difference, so that they are unlikely ever again to be unitary or 'pure'. One example of this would be the ecumenical movement. We have already seen that Roland Robertson has ecumenism as one trait of his 'Take-off

Phase' for Globalization. Malcolm Waters accepts that ecumenism is yet another possible response to Globalization and Postmodernity, but believes that it has been of significance beyond Robertson's 'Take-off Phase'. He points out that during the 1960s and 1970s Christianity experienced an ecumenical movement "in which dialogue between its denominations and ecclesia increased in an attempt to discover common principles and commitments and with a view to unification" (131). This will be seen to be a significant factor in determining the course of reform for the Church of England's liturgy. Looking at Britain, Kevin Robins argues that "(o)lder certainties and hierarchies of British identity have been called into question in a world of dissolving boundaries and disrupted communities. In a country that is now a container of African and Asian culture, the sense of what it is to be British can never again have the old confidence and surety". (41)

All these effects of globalization on cultural identity which have been discussed above will be of significance to the Church of England and particularly in its dealings with New Religious Movements and its concern for its liturgy, for the Church of England has, for so long, been bound up with British identity and what it means to be British. If that sense of what it means to be British is changing and becoming less certain, then the place of the Church of England in British culture will surely be changing too, along with its own sense of identity. We might expect to see the same tensions, noted above, between those who respond to such change by gravitating to "Tradition" and those who accept that "identity is subject to the play of history". Indeed, the question of identity will be a significant issue in considering the import of the opposition to the introduction of the ASB. Throughout this thesis, it will be argued that all these influences are at work in the Church of England's relations with New Religious Movements and in the reform of its liturgy.

D. THE EFFECT ON RELIGION - FUNCTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Having considered some of the general effects of Globalization and Postmodernity arising from relativization and the undermining of existing cultural identity, both of which we have seen could have implications for the Church of England, we can now turn to consider the possible general effect of Globalization and Postmodernity on religion in general. This will be considered in three distinct ways.

The first relies upon the analysis of Western societies and Globalization provided by Niklas Luhmann described in the previous section. If we take the thesis proposed by Beyer, based on Luhmann's work, then the more elaborate division of labour that accompanies the shift to functional differentiation increases the variety of life circumstances possible for individuals. The result of this is an increase in the individuation of individuals. The individual is left "free" to develop in a larger variety of directions. This legitimises "group" identities. In this way, modern society is inherently individualistic, but also culturally pluralistic - an effect we noted above. All of this, in turn, means that there is a greater range of possibilities for how individuals constitute themselves in a single global society. "In the abstract, the individual person must now select from a greater number of possibilities, and this with the relative certainty that, both locally and globally, other persons will select in a different way."(Beyer 1994: 61) We noted earlier the significance of selection and contingency in Luhmann's thought.

The problem everyone then faces, viewing the world in this Luhmannian way, is that globalised functional sub-systems do not provide selection criteria in any complete way and, additionally, these sub-systems can push people in different directions. For instance, if one identifies with one's career one may then face problems with one's family. Because of this complexity, Beyer, again using arguments generated by Luhmann, proposes that people seek ways of pre-filtering or ordering their choices so that the problem becomes more manageable. Because there are many possibilities, people may concentrate on one subsystem rather than another. They may concentrate on their career, or on groups of which they can be members, such as religious groups. This would apply to all religious groups, from established denominations such as the Church of England to New Religious Movements. In this sense, it may be argued that there is little difference between a mainstream denomination and a NRM - they are both means for managing contingency and selectivity.

Beyer does, however, make one distinction.

> "To be sure, most people in the world today still live their lives to some extent under the aegis of some, often taken-for-granted, group culture. By the same token, relatively few do so entirely. It would require a degree of communicative isolation from the power of the dominant sub-systems that is at best difficult.." (63)

It is this "communicative isolation" that is part of the difficulty with some NRMs, especially those sometimes called "cults".

The main question which religion must face in the globalising world of functional differentiation, is whether it can be a functionally oriented sub-system. Luhmann argues that under the conditions of modernity, religion is faced with the challenge of structuring religious communication in a way that parallels similar structures in other systems. "Religion, under modern and global conditions, forms a differentiated functional subsystem to the extent that the type of communication peculiar to it operates recursively and thus in relative independence of other types"(Beyer 1994: 102). Using Luhmann's arguments about the need to manage complexity and contingency, Beyer argues that "the primary function of such recursive religious communication is to lend meaning to the root indeterminability of all meaningful human communication, and to offer ways of overcoming or at least managing this indeterminability and its consequences." (102) Because religion operates in this way and seeks to offer "meaning to the root indeterminability of *all* meaningful human communication", it is potentially applicable to everything. This, in turn, reflects the argument of that earlier great functionalist sociologist, Émile Durkheim, that anything can be sacred.

> "The division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought.....But by sacred things one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house, in a word, anything can be sacred." (1976: 37)

However, there is a problem about this. Functional Differentiation aims at the creation of *specialised* systems. The result is that purely religious communication runs the risk of making religion *generally* relevant in all situations, but specifically relevant in few.

Certain very particular problems arise from this interpretation of Luhmann's theories about the condition of modern Western society. Beyer argues that Christianity responded to these developments by making its own version of religion a differentiated functional sub-system centred specifically around "faith"

as a mode of communication distinct from scientific truth. Beyer argues that ultimately this failed because of the increasing autonomy of other sub-systems. The result has been, he says, that Christianity and the churches are thrown back onto "faith alone". The result of this has been the long-term privatisation of religious communication so that

> "religion became increasingly a matter of concern primarily to voluntary adherents, witness to which, perhaps more than anything else, is the increasing or continuing diversity of religion while other, more powerful modes of communication as in science, health, education, politics, law and economy have become globally more homogeneous."
>
> (Beyer, 1994: 103)

Such a development as this, coming out of the globalizing effects of functional differentiation, is clearly of significance for the standing of the Church of England within British society. It has implications for both its liturgy and for its relations with other religious groups, especially, in our present context, NRMs. In the past, the Church of England has depended upon public acceptance of its position and role in society and not so much upon the private decisions of voluntary adherents. Such a change requires the Church to look afresh at how it can retain and recruit voluntary adherents. Equally, the "continuing diversity of religion" will bring the Church of England into contact, and perhaps conflict, with many more religious groups than in the past.These two effects alone have the power to cause the Church of England to reflect anew on its sense of identity.

Beyer can conclude:

> "If we accept this description, then one of the core problems of religion in modernity is that its way of relating to the world is too broadly-based to allow the sort of instrumental specialization typical of functional subsystems like economy, polity or science. It is precisely the highly selective nature of the specializations that makes these systems so effective, allowing them to spread around the globe in relative disregard for pre-existing cultural boundaries. Religion has not been able to follow suit because its general applicability has tied it closely to these identities."
>
> (104)

This latter point is clearly theoretically applicable to the Church of England. Beyer does not consider that all of this is necessarily negative. He argues that these changed circumstances coming out of the globalizing effects of functional differentiation offer new possibilities.

> "To understand how a disadvantaged modality (religion) has advantages under modern global conditions, I return to the fact that the dominant instrumental systems are not all-encompassing...(T)hese systems are effective, globalizing and totalizing; but there is much that they exclude. Among these are the meaning...of the social whole, the 'private sphere' or 'life world', and many problematic effects of their own operation. Now, within the meaning of the word, immanence, religion includes all those matters about which other functional sytems communicate, plus all that they leave out." (104)

However, although there may well be new possibilities within the global circumstances understood within the Luhmannian system, it is also clear that these will not be realised by adherence to older ways of doing things and that this in itself will cause existing institutions to look at themselves, their sense of identity and their ways of working. This dissertation will argue that there are signs of these effects in the revision of the liturgy of the Church of England and in its relations with NRMs.

E. THE EFFECT ON RELIGION - BELIEVING AND BELONGING

So far some general consequences coming out of Globalization and Postmodernity, which impinge upon religion, the institution of the Church of England, its liturgy and NRMs have been considered. It is also appropriate, however, to consider at this point one further effect coming out of Globalization and Postmodernity. It will be stated at this point that this further influence comes not directly from Globalization, for there would be other inputs for causation. In that sense it is tangential to globalization. But Globalization, with its attendant relativizing and pluralizing effects, will undoubtedly contribute to this final effect and accentuate its operation. Equally, the consequence of Postmodernity for meta-narratives and truth claims will also have its input.

In looking at statistics for church membership in Britain up to 1995 (although this latter year is a projection) Grace Davie can conclude,

> "(t)he bare bones of this summary of church membership are easily conveyed. Relatively few British people either belong to a church or attend religious services with any regularity, and those among the indigenous population that do either of these things divide their attentions pretty evenly between the Anglican, Catholic and free church categories.....And given this state of affairs, it could be argued, surely, that the religiously active - of whatever Christian denomination - have more in common with each other than with the majority of the population."(1994:69)

However, this does not show the whole picture. It is equally evident from surveys of opinion that between two-thirds and three-quarters of British people indicate fairly consistently that they believe in some sort of God, although it is not at all easy to say just what they mean by that term. For instance, a study took place in Islington in the late 1960s, which, although limited in scope, earned a high reputation for its rigour. One of the questions asked of respondents was "Do you believe in a God who can change the course of events on earth?". To which at least one respondent replied, "No, just the ordinary one."(Quoted by Grace Davie 1994: 79) It is very difficult to determine what attributes that "ordinary" God would have. But the point is made, nonetheless, that some sort of religious belief is much wider and current than simple statistics for attendance at church would suggest.

Grace Davie notes that the phrase "privatised religion" is frequently used to describe the state of religiosity in Britain now. And she argues that in some respects it is an accurate description of the present state of things, "for it is true that religion has very largely become a matter of personal or private choice"(76). This, of course is something noted above and described by Niklas Luhmann as deriving from the particular way in which religion operates in society and, at a more profound level, from the globalizing effects of functional differentiation. Davie prefers to call this phenomenon "Common Religion" because, she says, "(b)elief is not self-generated, nor does it exist in a vacuum; it has both form and content - albeit unorthodox form and content - which are shaped as much by the surrounding culture as by the individual believer"(76).This continuance, for the present, of some sort of "Common Religion" stands alongside the fact that it is only a minority of people, and a relatively small minority at that, which regularly attends church. Grace Davie calls this phenomenon "Believing Without

Belonging"(74). This juxtaposition of Common Religion with the fact that only a minority regularly attend church, believing without belonging, has real consequences.

Those consequences have been hinted at already in the "unorthodox" response to the question in the 1960s Islington survey about religious belief. Those consequences are spelt out rather more clearly for us by Abercrombie et al., the authors of the Islington report.

> "The analysis in the section above suggests the tentative conclusion that religious belief, when not associated with active membership of a church, tends to be associated with superstitious belief while church attendance tends to be antithetical to superstition. Moreover, we have some evidence that for those people who do not go to church yet say they are religious and pray often, religious belief has moved quite far from the orthodox church position and is really much closer to what would normally be called superstition." (Abercrombie et al. 1970: 124)

This indicates that although there is belief, without membership of a church, it may well not be Christian belief in any orthodox sense.

Grace Davie puts this into a somewhat wider perspective.

> "There is, in fact, no real gap between orthodox theologies and wider patterns of believing. The relationship between the two is a complex one, but it is better described as a continuum than as a dichotomy, in that very few individuals escape the influence of common religion altogether." (76)

However, she acknowledges that although this may well be the case, there is more to be considered.

> "Having said this, it is equally true that those who attend church less frequently are bound to have less contact not only with religious teaching, but with the associated sanctions as well. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that belief begins to drift further and further away from Christian orthodoxies as regular practice diminishes."(76)

Robin Gill makes the position even clearer. In 'The Myth Of The Empty Church' he considers how the results of the 1981 and 1990 surveys of the European Value Systems Study Group may be interpreted. One conclusion he notes is that "(o)n most indicators the 18-24 age group seems to be declining faster in terms of conventional Christian belief than any other age group....Today those aged 18-24 are the only age group not to record a majority claiming to believe in God"(1993: 205). He believes this to result from the decline in church attendance and attendance at Sunday School. This lack of "belonging" has a most significant result.

> "(M)ass questionnaires do suggest that in the absence of both churchgoing and Sunday Schools, a broad spectrum of Christian beliefs in any recognisable form is unlikely to persist in the general population.....None of this is to assume an absence of religious belief. It suggests mainly a shift away from specifically Christian beliefs."
>
> (Gill 1993: 205)

This outcome from "believing without belonging" is described by Grace Davie as "a greater challenge to the churches of the late twentieth century than the supposedly secular nature of the society in which we are obliged to live"(76).

It has already been said that "believing without belonging" is not a direct outcome of Globalization and Post modernity. There would be many factors contributing to the phenomenon. Grace Davie, for instance sees in it that "some aspects of working-class religious behaviour (notably the lack of regular religious attendance) - traditionally thought of as exceptions to the rule - are increasingly becoming the normal pattern of our society"(107). However, it can hardly be doubted that the effects of Globalization spelt out above - the privatisation of belief, the relativization and pluralism affecting institutions, the calling into question of cultural identity - will contribute to and accentuate the effects of 'believing without belonging'. Nor can it be doubted that the denial of claims to absolute truth observed in Postmodernity will assist such a process. It will also be clear that the effects noted in this section, the drift away from orthodox Christian belief,will have real implications for the Church of England, its standing in the country and the problems it faces in meeting and dealing with NRMs. This will also bring about a perception of pressure to adapt its liturgy to meet this situation and to stop, or even reverse this drift away.

F. THE EFFECT ON RELIGION - NEW AGE AND FAITH COMMUNITIES

For the final consequence for religion considered here, it is necessary to turn specifically to Postmodernity. In contrast to those who discern problems arising for religion from Postmodernity, a number of scholars discern in it trends which help challenge and offer constructive alternatives to what might be seen as the negative aspects of modernity - such things as materialism, secularism, individualism and ecological 'vandalism'. Kenneth Thompson argues that this "constructive" Postmodernism encompasses some phenomena that the modernist would have "regarded as marginal or antithetical to modern life: the sacred, charisma, passion, spirituality, cosmic meaning and unity, enchantment, community and the so-called 'feminine' qualities such as love and romance."(248) Constructive approaches do not have a romanticized view of the pre-modern. Instead, they seek to combine the benefits of modernity with values and qualities which may have been devalued by modernism as ideology.

Thompson considers one example of such 'constructive Postmodernity' to be New Age religion, which combines elements of religion, psychology and business. He describes much of New Age religion as "self-religiosity", that is concerned with the 'God within' and not requiring the traditional institutions. He believes that

> "the persuasiveness of self-religiosity may owe much to the failure of the ideology of progress to produce collectivist solutions by way of reforming institutions, leaving people to seek perfection and utopia within themselves. If this also serves to motivate them to perform their work and other institutional roles more effectively, then institutional encouragement is likely to be forthcoming"(Thompson 1992: 249).

Such an explanation of these developments, ascribing power to a reaction against ideas of progress, clearly sees them as a reaction to modernity. Since the development of New Age Religion may clearly be related to the growth of New Religious Movements in the United Kingdom, then these developments may, in part, be explained as being bound up with the development of Postmodernity. In this way, 'constructive Postmodernity' has very obvious implications for the Church of England and the concerns of this dissertation.

Related to this constructive view of Postmodernity is a final matter raised by Robin Gill. This is a matter which can be regarded as both problematical and constructive. In his book, "Moral Communities", Robin Gill argues that Postmodernism offers a way of interpreting cultural and religious changes without resorting to secularization theory. He takes up the idea spelt out by Harvey, who in turn was paraphrasing Rorty, which was quoted above, that "action can be conceived of and decided only within the confines of of some local determinism, some interpretative community, and its purported meanings and anticipated effects are bound to break down when taken out of these isolated domains, even when coherent within them".(52) In these circumstances, and under the influence of Postmodernity, religious communities of faith become important. Robin Gill sets out the argument in this way. He says that religious faith and orthodoxy are now established in a way that is fully conscious of the surrounding fragmentation of Postmodernity. This has significant consequences.

> "It is important to note", he argues, "that even assertions of 'religious certainty' or 'religious particularism' change their meaning in the context of postmodernism. It is one thing to claim religious certainty whilst the rest of society is broadly sympathetic, but quite another to claim certainty when the claim itself is a conscious defiance of fragmentation. It is one thing to claim that your brand of religious faith alone offers salvation when you have little experience of people of other faiths. It is quite another to make such claims when Christian and Islamic fundamentalists are living cheek by jowl and when both are surrounded by sceptics".(1992: 59)

Important consequences flow from this recognition of the concern of Postmodernity with the fragmentary and the bearing this has on real life, for it requires a new way of looking at what the adherents of particular religious faiths are doing. Robin Gill offers us a way of looking at this from the perspective of Postmodernity.

> "In a postmodernist context, declarations of religious certainty or religious particularism become conscious acts of defiance....(they) are knowingly made to counter fragmentation. If syncretism is modernity, then particularism is postmodernity. Yet this new particularism is held by those

> who are thoroughly aware of other particularisms. Being postmodernists they expect others to be particularists. Upholders of various types of apparently incompatible particularism survive together in postmodern society side by side - theoretically in contention and seeking to proselytise each other, but in reality respecting each others' particularisms and expecting few converts from other faith traditions." (1992: 59)

Such a way of viewing the relationships between religious traditions will clearly have implications for the relationships between the Church of England and New Religious Movements. But we shall also see that it has implications for the liturgy of the Church of England through reports such as that of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith In The City*. However, Robin Gill takes this further, for he, like David Harvey, makes the link between these developments and truth claims and their relationship to communities. He continues;

> "Postmodernism offers no outside planks. It sanctions no objective way of judging between contending faith positions; faith derives from communities that sustain faith. If modernists imagined that individual reason could act as a means of objective judgement between faith traditions (usually to dismiss them), then postmodernists no longer share this particular 'faith'"(Gill 1992: 59).

So, Robin Gill is saying, like Lyotard, that religious truth is directly related only to the faith community from which it comes - that is, there is no objective and universal religious truth, but simply that which is generated by the particular faith community from which it comes. Robin Gill regards this as a positive development, for he believes that the communities from which this "truth" comes are capable of containing and nurturing values and of fostering faith. What is also clear is that such postmodernity will have implications for the Church of England's relationships with New Religious Movements.

This outcome from Postmodernity carries with it, however, a further implication. It has been noted that both David Harvey and Robin Gill use the concepts available to them from Postmodernity to relate truth and faith directly to the communities which produce them in a symbiotic relationship. This raises difficult

questions for the Church of England which could reasonably bear on the way in which it relates to NRMs. In the earlier section on Globalization, Grace Davie's concept of 'Believing Without Belonging' was introduced. If one of the ways in which Postmodernity operates is through the direct relationship of religious truth to the particular faith community which produces it, then belonging to a particular faith community, such as the Church of England, is of great significance. In particular, the phenomenon of 'Believing Without Belonging' means that less people are likely to belong to the faith community - the Church of England. It was noted in the earlier consideration of the phenomenon of 'Believing Without Belonging' that when that happens "belief begins to drift further and further away from Chiristian orthodoxies".(Davie 1994: 76) The view of 'truth' of any particular faith community, such as the Church Of England, is, then, less likely to be generally accepted and its position vis a vis other religious groups, such as NRMs, is likely to be relativised and perhaps undermined in the wider community. Such a development would clearly have significant implications for the Church of England in its dealing with NRMs and would mirror other similar effects noted as coming out of Globalization.

G. CONCLUSION

This section has considered the consequences of the powerful group of phenomena seen as operating in the world now and which have come to be called Globalization and Postmodernity. These consequences have included relativization, both from the point of view of Globalization and as a result of the acceptance of ephemerality, fragmentation, discontinuity and the chaotic in Postmodernity. So far as this latter is concerned, it has been seen to result in the rejection in principle of meta-language, meta-narrative or meta-theory. It has been argued that such an approach has real implications for any claims to truth and the ability to establish a firm base from which to make 'objective' judgements. Relativization has also been seen to have effects on cultural identity. More specifically, the effects of Globalization and Postmodernity on religion have been considered in three ways.

So far as Globalization is concerned, it has involved considering the problems arising from functional differentiation. What has come to be called 'Believing Without Belonging' has been investigated as a rather more tangential consequence of both Globalization and Postmodernity. Finally, consideration has also been given to the possibilities within Postmodernity for offering

alternatives to some of the more negative aspects of modernity as they affect religion. Some of this might be seen as working itself out through New Age religion while consideration has also been given to the relationship between religious 'truth' and the faith communities from which those 'truths' come. Positively, this has shown that particular faith communities might be capable of containing and nurturing values and faith, which might otherwise be lost. Equally, it was discussed how this approach makes no judgement between particular religious groups and what might be the effect of this developments alongside 'Believing Without Belonging'. All of these things, it has been argued, will have a bearing upon the way in which the Church of England will have related to NRMs. It has also been argued that these outcomes will have had profound effects on the pressure for change in the liturgy of the Church of England and the particular form that that change took.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL TRENDS / SHIFT

A. INTRODUCTION

In addition to Globalization and Postmodernity, there is a third force operating in advanced industrial societies like Great Britain. In many ways, as will be seen, it is dependent on the same economic, technological and social forces as Globalization and Postmodernity and, in that sense, may even be seen as a further outcome of those same forces. It will, however, be described in a somewhat different way. Nevertheless, this third force may be seen as another manifestation of those same phenomena. The position adopted here is that although particular academic sociologists will be pursuing their own theories, nonetheless all these phenomena exist in relationship. What is important is what the theories are trying to measure and describe, not the precise name given. This third force may, then, be described as "value change" in advanced industrial society or 'Culture Shift'..

Since the Second World war, economic, technological and sociopolitical changes, precisely those forces seen to be at work in Globalization and Postmodernity, have been transforming attitudes and values and in this way making significant changes in the cultures of advanced industrial societies such as Great Britain. The argument has been put in the following way:

> "During the decades since World War II, advanced industrial societies have attained unprecedented levels of economic development, with real income per capita now four or five times as high as ever before in history

> in many countries, and as much as twenty times its highest previous level in some countries....this - together with the emergence of the welfare state, changes in the international system, and unprecedented scientific and technological developments - has led to gradual changes in prevailing basic values concerning politics, work, religion, the family, and sexual behaviour". (Inglehart 1990: 4)

To labour the point made above a little, the economic changes described here will depend on many of the same technological and economic changes described in the previous sections. The same author sums up the implications of these developments by saying, "One could go so far as to say that throughout advanced industrial society what people want out of life is changing." (Inglehart 1990: 3)

Evidence for these perceived changes will be drawn from surveys of attitudes sponsored by the Commission of the European Union between 1970 and 1988 and from World Values Surveys formulated from surveys carried out by a number of individual opinion research organisations in various countries during the 1980s. The implications of these changes for religious organisations and the observance of religion in Western Europe, and particularly the United Kingdom, will then be considered as a significant part of the background against which the Church of England has been trying to address the issue of its relations with New Religious Movements and changes to its liturgy. The presupposition is that the new circumstances with which the Church of England has been faced in dealing with these issues are intimately connected to social, political and economic change. Each factor is part of an interdependent system of causes.

It is also necessary to be clear about what the general theme of these perceived changes is. It may be described in the following way:

> "The values of Western publics have been shifting from an overwhelming emphasis on material well-being and physical security toward greater emphasis on the quality of life. The causes and implications of this shift are complex, but the basic principle might be stated very simply: people tend to be more concerned with immediate needs or threats than with things that seem remote or non-threatening. Thus, a desire for beauty may be more or less universal, but hungry people are more likely to seek

> food than aesthetic satisfaction. Today, an unprecedentedly large proportion of Western populations have been raised under conditions of exceptional economic security. Economic and physical security continue to be valued positively, but their relative priority is lower than in the past." (Inglehart 1977: 3)

The shift described above has been called by some sociologists such as Ronald Inglehart a shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist values. Because of dependence on such sociologists for the particular points to be made here, it is this language which will be used in this section of the dissertation. This shift is seen generally to involve a growing emphasis on quality of life, individualism, self-expression, aesthetic satisfaction and enhancing self-esteem, accompanied by a declining emphasis on traditional political, religious, moral and social norms. It will be recalled that it has been possible to show some of these same changes coming out of the forces driving Globalization and Postmodernism. In this way, the shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist values is seen as simply part of a broader process of cultural change that is re-shaping the religious orientations, gender roles, sexual mores and cultural norms of Western society.

This theoretical framework is itself based on two key hypotheses:

a. ***A Scarcity Hypothesis.*** An individual's priorities reflect his socio-economic environment. One places greatest subjective value on those things which are in shortest supply. This is a similar idea to that of Maslow and his theory that there is a "Hierarchy of Needs" and that it is only once basic needs for food and shelter have been met that one can move on to meet "higher order" needs.
b. ***A Socialisation Hypothesis.*** The relationship between the socio-economic environment and value priorities is not one of immediate adjustment. A substantial time-lag is involved because, to a large extent, one's basic values represent the conditions which prevailed during one's pre-adult days.

Ronald Inglehart argues that these two hypotheses generate a coherent set of predictions concerning value change. The Scarcity Hypothesis implies that prosperity is conducive to the spread of Postmaterialist values, while the Socialisation Hypothesis implies that neither an individual's values, nor those of

a society as a whole are likely to change overnight. Instead, he argues that fundamental value change occurs gradually, mainly as younger generations replace the older generations in the population. "Human development seems to be far more rapid during pre-adult years than it is afterward, and the great bulk of evidence points to the conclusion that the statistical likelihood of basic personality change declines sharply after one reaches adulthood." (Inglehart 1990: 69) He does not mean by this that adult attitudes and value priorities can never change, but that they are difficult to change. If this argument is correct and if change is, indeed, taking place, one might expect to see value changes expressed through progressive age cohorts.

B. MATERIALISTS AND POSTMATERIALISTS

First, however, the way in which the distinction between Materialist and Postmaterialist values has been measured will be considered in order that the process can be clearly understood and evaluated. Data was gathered in Western European countries from 1970 and, so far as this survey is concerned, concludes in 1988. The data gathering measures were specifically designed to measure Materialist and Postmaterialist value priorities. It is accepted that this is difficult to do directly, but it is possible to infer such attitudes from a given pattern of questions. Representative samples of citizens of Western European nations were, therefore, asked what they personally considered the most important goals from the following:

A. Maintain order in the nation
B. Give people more say in the decisions of government
C. Fight rising prices
D. Protect freedom of speech
E. Maintain a high rate of economic growth
F. Make sure that this country has strong defence forces
G. Give people more say in how things are decided at work and in their community
H. Try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful
I. Maintain a stable economy
J. Fight against crime
K. Move toward a friendlier, less impersonal society
L. Move toward a society where ideas count more than money.

In the first survey in 1970 only the first four questions were put, but in subsequent surveys, from 1973, all twelve questions were put. Between 1970 and 1988 these questions were put in six of the nine nations of the then European Community (Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands) and the United States. Surveys, sponsored by the E.C. Commission, were carried out first in 1970, then again in 1973 and subsequently at least once a year from 1976 to 1988. Questions A,C,E,F,I and J were designed to gauge emphasis on Materialist goals. Theoretically, therefore, emphasis should be given to these values by those who experienced economic or physical insecurity during their formative years. The remaining questions were designed to gauge Postmaterialist values and theoretically, once more, they should have been chosen by those who spent their formative years in relatively secure and prosperous conditions. If this were so, one would expect certain people to choose Materialist values consistently, while others should consistently choose Postmaterialist values.

> "Survey results support these theoretical expectations. Those who give top priority to one Materialist goal tend to give high priority to other Materialist goals as well. Conversely, the Postmaterialist items tend to be chosen together. Hence we can classify...correspondents as pure Materialists....; pure Postmaterialists....; or mixed types, based on any combination of of the two types of item." (Inglehart 1990: 75)

The results pooled from all six European Union countries now provide a database with approximately 2,000 cases in specific age cohorts at each survey point and make it possible to follow the value priorities of Western European publics across an 18 year period that began with high prosperity, which was followed by two recessions and runaway inflation and ended with renewed prosperity, but tempered by relatively high unemployment - a good range of economic circumstances.

Having considered how values have been assessed, it is now possible to move on to consider what interpretation might be given to the data collected. Figure One below traces the balance between Materialists and Postmaterialists in given age cohorts, born in the years indicated on the figure, across the eighteen year period. Each cohort's position on the graph at a given time is calculated by subtracting the percentage of Materialists from that of Postmaterialists. The zero

point on the vertical axis, thus represents a situation in which the two groups are even, while a negative number indicates a preponderance of Materialists.

Value Priorities Of Eight Age Cohorts Across Six West European Publics, 1970-88

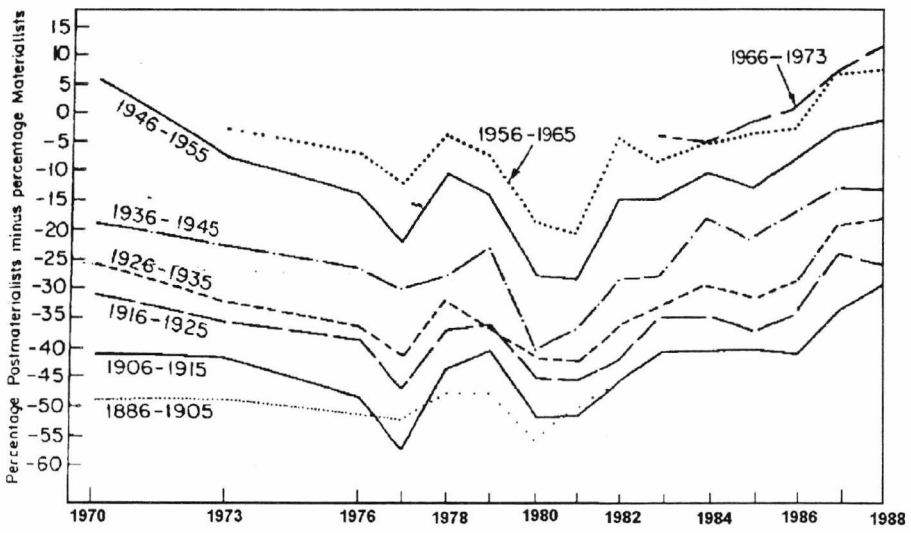

Figure One (Inglehart 1990: 85)

People enter the sample in their relevant age cohorts as they reach the age of 15. It will be seen from Figure One that age cohorts become progressively more Post-materialistic and that each age cohort retains its relative position throughout the 18 year period. The 1946-55 cohort is less Materialistic and more Postmaterialist than any of the older cohorts at every point in time. The only two cohorts even less Materialist are the other two post-war cohorts, the 1956-65 cohort and the 1966-73 cohort. The latter cohort enters the sample in the 1980s and is more Postmaterialist than the 1956-65 cohort.

If, therefore, we pursue the argument put so far and interpret the data in Figure One, the significant increases in prosperity during the immediate post-war years helped make the 1946-55 cohort *much* less Materialistic than its predecessors. However, slower growth rates in Europe towards the end of the period covered appear to be reflected in slower rates of change towards Postmaterialist values. Data is not immediately available for the economic and world changes which have occurred during the 1990s. On the data available, it would appear that this change may be slowing down between generations. For instance, the gap between the 1966-73 cohort and the 1956-65 cohort is rarely more than a few percentage points and sometimes drops to zero. But this does not mean that the

process of value change in society as a whole is slowing down.

> "It will not do so for decades. What is currently happening is that the 1966-73 cohort is replacing the 1906-15 cohort in the adult population - and the difference between these two cohorts is huge, so population replacement continues to produce a substantial shift in values."
>
> (Inglehart 1990: 86)

It should also be noted that there is no indication that each cohort becomes more Materialistic as it gets older as would be the case if these things were merely the result of life-cycle changes. "At the end of the 18 year period virtually all the cohorts were fully as Postmaterialist as they were in 1970. Indeed, there is something of an upward tendency, with most cohorts less Materialist in 1988 than they were in 1970." (Inglehart 1990: 86) Ronald Inglehart argues that although there are significant short-term fluctuations these represent what he calls "Period" effects due to the impact of inflation. Overall, we find large and enduring intercohort differences which cannot be attributed to life-cycle effects. Equally, although we have looked at aggregated data across the six European Union countries cited above, if one looks at the 13 E.U. countries individually similar results are broadly shown. As one moves from younger to older cohorts the number of Materialists increases and the number of Postmaterialists decreases. There is a similar pattern of results in the USA, although the detail is different.

Inglehart argues that this pattern reflects intergenerational value change. "...It seems clear that, period effects being equal, the cohort effects demonstrated here create a powerful long-term tendency for the publics of these societies to shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist priorities." (1990: 98) It will, of course, be noted from Figure One that except amongst the two very youngest cohorts, the percentage of Postmaterialists rarely exceeds the percentage of Materialists and so Materialist concerns still weigh heavily in Western European society. Nonetheless, the trend towards Postmaterialism in succeeding age cohorts and the way in which those younger age cohorts will replace firmly Materialist age cohorts impresses upon us the possibility of further significant value shift in Western European societies.

Indeed, further work on the "Eurobarometer" material carried out by Richard S

Katz, Professor of Political Science at the John Hopkins University, suggests that the differences between Materialists and Postmaterialists may reflect more than just a difference in point of view. He puts the problem in this way:

> "Do Materialists and Postmaterialists share a common opinion structure underlying the particular issue preferences voiced in the interviews - that is, not to ask whether they have the same distribution of opinions, which they clearly do not, but to ask whether they respond as if they saw the same interconnections among issues - or do they respond as if they see things as fitting together differently? In the former case, although we might say that Materialists and Postmaterialists approach the political world from different viewpoints, it would nonetheless be the same world they both see. In the latter case, however, the differences would be more profound, since the implication would be that Materialists and Postmaterialists do not share a common frame of reference. In this case we might indeed reasonably describe them, at least for political purposes, as inhabiting different worlds." (Katz 1991: 296)

Katz's solution to determining this conundrum is to factor-analyse the reponses of Materialists and Postmaterialists separately. That is, for each of the two groups separately, he inspects the data collected in the Eurobarometer surveys to look at the factors which appear to motivate the responses and thus give an indication of what the responses actually mean and the world-view implied in them. He accepts that his work is the "first step down this line of investigation" and he concludes his essay with "the traditional call for further research". (Katz 1991: 306) But bearing these provisos in mind and that his conclusions are, to that degree, tentative, his further work on the data leads him to say that "With this method....one is led to conclude that Materialists and Post materialists do indeed see different worlds." (Katz 1991: 306) The precise nature of Katz's work need not detain us too long here, but this suggestion that Materialists and Postmaterialists see different worlds helps to underline the point made above that the trend towards Postmaterialism in succeeding age cohorts and the way in which those younger age cohorts will replace firmly Materialist age cohorts suggests the possibility of a significant value shift in Western European societies. This is all, of course, on the assumption that some other unforeseen and radical factor, such as war or a major economic slump, does not intervene to stop this whole shift.

C. RELIGION AND CHANGE

Alongside this perceived shift in values from Materialist toward Postmaterialist there are other movements which have a particular bearing on religious observance in Western Europe and which intertwine with the shift in values noted above and which, together, have significant implications for established religious organisations like the Church of England. A consideration of these other issues began in 1981 when the European Values Systems Study Group carried out an extensive investigation of the value systems of representative samples of the publics of 10 Western European countries. This was subsequently repeated in 15 other countries and became the World Values Survey. This World Values Survey explored the beliefs, values and attitudes of these publics to a number of related issues including religion.

So far as religious values are concerned, this Values Survey indicates that by contrast with the weak structure usually associated with political orientations, mass publics seem to have relatively consistent and well-crystallised orientations to a wide range of religious and moral norms. However, there were certain clear messages from that Survey which relate directly to the foregoing material. In every country studied, Materialists are much more likely to adhere to traditional Judaeo-Christian norms than Postmaterialists. This outcome is clearly paradoxical, since Christian theology has tended to try to reduce emphasis on the importance of material security in this world in order to orientate followers to other non-material goals. But it is arguable that Postmaterialists, having experienced relatively high levels of economic and physical security throughout their formative years, feel relatively little need for the sort of security that Materialists might seek in religious observance. Indeed, with their concern for individual self-expression and self enhancement, they may find the structures of traditional religious organisations an unreasonable restriction on precisely those things which they value. Equally, the link with Globalization and Postmodernity can be made at this point too, for it has already been demonstrated that greater individualism and an undermining of existing institutions are what might be expected from those forces also.

Figure Two below extracts information from the World Values Survey 1981-2 and shows the links between Postmaterialism and an agnostic attitude to traditional Judaeo-Christian norms. It will be noted that in Britain 40% gave a low rating to the perceived importance of God, but that only 31% of Materialists gave

this rating as compared to 49% of Post materialists.

Perceived Importance of God by Value Type and Country

Percentage giving low rating: 4 or below, on a scale from 1 to 10

(Source: World Values survey, 1981 -1982)

Value Type	Denmark	France	Netherlands	Japan	W. Germany
Materialist	41%	37%	44%	38%	33%
Mixed	55%	54%	46%	45%	38%
Postmaterial.	68%	64%	56%	51%	61%
TOTAL:	56%	50%	48%	43%	42%
Value Type	**Britain**	**Italy**	**Hungary**	**Belgium**	**Spain**
Materialist	31%	26%	23%	26%	14%
Mixed	41%	33%	30%	28%	32%
Postmaterial.	49%	42%	46%	34%	48%
TOTAL:	40%	31%	30%	28%	25%
Value Type	**Canada**	**Northern Ireland**	**Republic of Ireland**	**South Africa**	**All Nations**
Materialist	8%	15%	3%	5%	23%
Mixed	17%	19%	14%	5%	29%
Postmaterial.	24%	30%	23%	10%	44%
TOTAL:	16%	18%	10%	6%	29%

Figure Two (Inglehart 1990: 186)

It follows from the above and the argument in the preceding section that if there is an intergenerational shift in values taking place towards Postmaterialism and if Postmaterialists are more agnostic towards traditional religious views and attitudes, then we might expect younger people to show what might be described as more "secular" attitudes. Figure Three below attempts to address that issue.

Perceived Importance of God By Age Group

Percentage giving low rating: 4 or below, on a scale from 1 - 10

(Source: World Values Survey, 1981 - 1982)

Age Group	Denmark	France	Nether-lands	West Germany	Japan	Britain
18 - 24	77%	63%	57%	60%	51%	56%
25 - 34	60%	63%	52%	54%	44%	48%
35 - 44	54%	49%	47%	36%	45%	35%
45 - 54	50%	30%	37%	34%	37%	32%
55 - 64	26%	35%	33%	28%	28%	19%
65+	21%	33%	36%	16%	32%	20%
TOTAL:	56%	50%	48%	42%	42%	40%
Age Group	**Italy**	**Hungary**	**Belgium**	**Spain**	**Northern Ireland**	**Canada**
18 - 24	34%	33%	43%	37%	36%	20%
25 - 34	42%	32%	35%	37%	30%	20%
35 - 44	24%	26%	22%	18%	13%	18%
45 - 54	21%	22%	20%	19%	4%	14%
55 - 64	31%	19%	22%	18%	8%	6%
65+	27%	17%	14%	12%	4%	8%
TOTAL:	31%	30%	28%	25%	18%	16%
Age Group	**Republic of Ireland**	**U.S.A.**	**South Africa**	**Mexico**	**Mean**	
18 - 24	16%	10%	8%	2%	41%	
25 - 34	15%	10%	6%	3%	37%	
35 - 44	11%	7%	4%	3%	27%	
45 - 54	4%	6%	2%	2%	22%	
55 - 64	6%	5%	8%	1%	20%	
65+	3%	6%	2%	-	17%	
TOTAL:	10%	8%	5%	3%	30%	

Figure Three (Inglehart 1990: 188)

In each country in the Figure there is an increase in the number saying that God is not important as we move from the old to the young. In Britain of those 65 years old and over only 20% said that God was not important, whereas of those

aged 18 to 24 56% said God was not important. Throughout the countries covered by the survey the youngest group is about 2½ times as likely to give a "secular" response as the oldest. The extent to which the young accord less importance to God than do the old differs from one society to another. It appears to characterise Western Europe and Japan to a far greater extent than the USA and South Africa. It suggests that there are particular factors at work in Western Europe. In Germany, for instance, the apparent decline is most notable and Britain and France are not far behind. Could these effects be due to life cycle effects?

> "Theoretically, the age group differences observed here might reflect either an historic intergenerational change or life cycle effects. In support of the latter interpretation, one might argue that among the young it is natural for God to be a minor concern, but as the end of one's life approaches, one accords more importance to God, religion and the afterlife. But the tremendous cross-national variations we observe in age group differences strongly suggest that there is no inherent linkage between being old and being religious." (Inglehart 1990: 189)

Instead, what is suggested is a link between the move towards Postmaterialist values and according less significance to God.

Further weight is given to this interpretation by the responses to a further question asked. This question was: "Independently of whether you go to Church or not, would you say you are a religious person, not a religious person, a convinced atheist?" These responses indicate that as the cohort becomes younger a decreasing percentage of the respondents regard themselves as "religious". In Britain, for instance, of those aged 65 years and over, 77% said they regarded themselves as religious, whereas of those aged 15-24 only 34% said they regarded themselves as religious. To the question as to whether this result is due to life-cycle effects, one could make the same response as above. These responses fit just as well with the possibility of intergenerational value shift which we have been considering throughout this part of the dissertation.

Indeed, each of these attitudes is linked with Materialist and Postmaterialist attitudes. In virtually every country for which there is data, Postmaterialists are significantly less likely to say they believe in God and less likely to call

themselves religious than those who might be called Materialist or of mixed values. Figure Four below is a clear indication of this.

Religious Attitudes By Value Type

(Source: World Values Survey, 1981 - 1982)

Value Type	**% Saying They Believe In God**	**% Saying They Believe in Life After Death**	**% Describing Self As 'A Religious Person'**
Materialist	89	63	67
Mixed	83	56	61
Postmaterialist	69	50	50

Figure Four (Inglehart 1990: 192)

There is a certain irony in the fact that Postmaterialists seem relatively unattracted to the organised religion of Western societies and particularly in Western Europe, for it has been argued throughout this piece that they are less likely to be caught up with the struggle for survival and so theoretically should be able to devote more intellectual and emotional energy to the fulfillment of higher order needs. Indeed, there is some indication that this is the case for responses to one further question, and the last to be considered here, seem to bear this out to some degree. The question in the World Values Survey which was put was, "How often, if at all, do you think about the meaning and purpose of life?" The responses indicate that, despite a relative alienation from traditional religion, Postmaterialists are more likely than Materialists to think about the purpose and meaning of life. In Britain, for example, of Materialists only 32% answered that question positively, whereas 43% of Postmaterialists did so. What seems clear is that they are less likely to think traditional religious institutions are appropriate vehicles for pursuing that question. Given that Postmaterialism is most prevalent amongst the younger age groups, it also throws a certain light on the operation of New Religious Movements in Advanced Industrial Societies and particularly in Western Europe.

D. CULTURE SHIFT AND GENDER

There is one further development resulting from this shift from Materialist to Postmaterialist values that is of concern for this thesis. This will become particularly apparent when changes to the liturgy of the Church of England are

considered. This further development is the effect on gender roles of Culture Shift. In this area, Inglehart argues that there are some general factors which are of significance. Postmaterialists, he says, can more readily accept deviation from familiar patterns than can people who still feel some anxiety concerning their basic existential needs. As a result one would expect Postmaterialists to accept cultural change more readily than others. Alongside this, he argues that although the family was once the key economic unit, in advanced industrial society people's working life is now overwhelmingly outside the home and at the same time "today the new generation can survive even if the family breaks up" (1990: 178). This clearly has general implications for the roles of both men and women.

Beyond these general issues, changing gender roles in culture shift can be illustrated in two discrete areas. The first relates to children and in two ways. Inglehart argues that traditionally child-rearing has been regarded as a central goal of any normal woman, being seen as one of her most important functions in life and one of the greatest sources of satisfaction in her life. However, over the period of the Eurobarometer surveys women have increasingly postponed having children or foregone having them completely. This is indicated in two ways. The first is that between 1960 and 1985 the birth rate declined according to Eurostat, Demographic Statistics 1987. In Germany, for instance, in 1960 the birth rate was 17.4 children per 1,000 of population, while in 1985 it was 9.6. In France the corresponding figures were 17.9 and 13.9, while in Luxembourg they were 15.9 and 11.2. Here is seen a consistent decline in birth rate which is mirrored across the E.U. countries. This decline in the birth rate reflects a combination of two things - the availability of effective birth control and then the fact that people choose birth control. Both components are essential. Birth control has been available for a long time, but its use is being increasingly chosen. "The fact that people have increasingly chosen to have children later in life, or not at all, in recent decades seems to reflect a gradual change in underlying norms" (Inglehart, 1990: 202).

This change can be set alongside another change which particularly affects women and their perceived roles. As part of the Eurostat surveys, the statement was made that "A woman needs children in order to be fulfilled" and people were asked to respond to that assertion. In each of the countries for which there is data, "younger repondents are less likely than older ones to feel that 'women

need children in order to be fulfilled'" (Inglehart, 1990: 199). At the same time the data indicates that Postmaterialists are far likelier to reject that idea than those holding other values. Of Materialists only 43% were prepared to reject the statement, while 63% of Postmaterialists rejected it. Here again is clear evidence of changing cultural norms so far as women are concerned. Inglehart adds that "Postmaterialists place more emphasis on self-fulfillment through careers, rather than through ensuring the survival of the species" (Inglehart 1990: 199). In these ways to do with children we see changing cultural norms affecting gender roles.

The second area relates to politics and politicization. In each of the twenty soceties for which there is Eurostat data, women are less likely to discuss politics than men. Combined data from European Community surveys from 1973 to 1985 indicate that the "gender gap" ranges from 27% in Italy to 5% in the Netherlands (Inglehart, 1990: 348). In Britain the gender gap was 13% across the period. However, formal education affects this issue and closer investigation of the data suggests that so far as education is concerned, in most of the countries covered "the gender gap tends to get smaller as we move from the older to the younger...birth cohorts" (Inglehart, 1990: 349). So far as higher education is concerned, the gender gap has more or less closed in the countries covered. At the same time, the "female politicization deficit seems to be eroding" (Inglehart 1990: 349). These data relating to children and to politics indicate that changes have been taking place in gender roles and that Postmaterialists demonstrate this more than those holding other values. This shift in culture is of significance for the Church of England. As was stated at the head of this section, we shall consdier a particular instance of the significance when liturgical change is considered.

E. CONCLUSION

It has been argued in this section that in advanced industrial societies there has been happening a shift in values from what have been called Materialist values towards what have been called Postmaterialist values, which are concerned with the quality of life, individualism and self-expression and it has been suggested that this shift will continue for some time because of the replacement of older generations by younger. The forces which have produced this shift have mirrored some of those driving Globalization and Postmodernity, but making a closer connection than that would be difficult to prove. This shift has happened

alongside and intertwined with other value changes which directly affect religious observance. It has been noted that in the World Values Survey of 1981-2, Postmaterialists are more agnostic towards traditional religion and religious institutions than Materialists, yet they are more concerned with questions approaching meaning and purpose in life. They clearly do not consider the traditional religious institutions to be an appropriate vehicle for pursuing those questions. In addition, it has also been demonstrated that there have been shifts in gender roles and perceptions.

These matters clearly have significant implications for the position of the Church of England in British society. When set alongside Globalization and Postmodernity they reflect major changes in British Society, along with the rest of Western Europe. These changes also reflect on the position and possibilities for operation of New Religious Movements in Europe. No less do they reflect on the position and possibilities for action of the Church of England. Indeed, it is being argued that one particular aspect of Culture Shift, changes in gender roles, will be seen to be of direct significance in aspects of the liturgical reform carrried out by the Church of England. In this first major section of the dissertation, therefore, the theoretical underpinnings for the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift have been set out. Their likely consequences have also been detailed.

Most of the rest of the thesis will deal with the actions of the Church of England and the way those forces might be observed in action in that institution through its relations with NRMs and the reform of its liturgy. In pursuit of this, it is now possible to move on to the first major study in this thesis. In the next chapter New Religious Movements will be considered as a social phenomenon. Then, in following four chapters, the particular actions the Church of England, as an institution, has taken to try to cope with their presence and impact will be considered. Throughout these chapters on the Church of England's relationships with NRMs, attention will be drawn to the operation, or likely operation, of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

A. INTRODUCTION

> "Whatever else may be said of it, the religious life of Britain in the period since the end of the Second World War has clearly demonstrated at least three marked qualities. First, it has displayed a profound capacity to confound those observers - both academic and popular - who have confidently predicted a steady demise of religion and the emergence of a more straightforwardly secular society and culture in late twentieth century Britain. Secondly, it has shown a marked tendency towards diversification and variety: the religious constituency and complexion of Britain in the last decade of the twentieth century is much more variegated and multi-faceted than that of the period immediately following the end of the Second World War. Thirdly, the religious life of Britain has also become much more complicated, more puzzling and more intricately interwoven in the decades from 1945 to the early 1990s."
>
> (Parsons, 1993: 7)

In this way, Gerald Parsons reflects on the complex scene in the religious life of Britain at the end of the twentieth century. He spells the situation out even more clearly. "In fact...the period since the end of the Second World War has been marked by a significant expansion in the number and range of religious groups and movements actively present within British society." (1993: 277)

It is apparent that during this time there has been the emergence of new communities from amongst the major world faiths. Flourishing Muslim, Sikh and

Hindu communities have established themselves. These are the result of immigration and, thus, part of that process of globalization with which this dissertation has so far been dealing. In addition, however, Parsons draws to our attention to the fact that there has been the establishment of "a remarkably wide variety of New Religious Movements" (1993: 277). Eileen Barker makes the point that while earlier generations of new religions could easily be recognised as deviations or heresies from within the Judaeo-Christian traditions, "the religions now to be found come from a wide range of traditions, many of which are quite alien to most of the West until fairly recently" (Barker 1989: 9). Because of publicity, a number of these new movements will be very well known - The Unification Church, Scientology, Rajneeshism, the Divine Light Mission, Transcendental Meditation (TM). Parsons points out, however, that these and other well-known groups are "only the most prominent examples of an immense, often bewildering, variety of New Religious Movements which have appeared within the British religious landscape since 1945" (Parsons 1993: 277).

Very significantly, from the point of view of this thesis, James Beckford has argued that the emergence of New Religious Movements is related to rapid social change.

> "It has been well-known among sociologists and anthropologists that periods of rapid social change have been marked by the rise of Messianic movements. These have often been seen as confined to a pre-industrial past in Europe...In the 1970s, however, it became obvious that the emergence and spread of new movements were in no way confined to pre-industrial societies." (Beckford: 1991, Preface: vii)

He anticipates some of the matters which are going to be raised in this chapter when he says:

> "rapid social change in the twentieth century is associated with the rise of a large number of new religious movements...new religious movements are important indicators of stressful changes in culture and society. They are also interesting attempts to come to terms with rapid social change by imposing new interpretations on it and experimenting with practical responses." (1991: xv)

These arguments clearly accord in general terms with the main argument of this thesis that it is possible to see the sociological forces of globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift operating in the world and in particular in the life of a religious institution like the Church of England.

This chapter of the dissertation will, therefore, consider, relatively briefly, the emergence of these New Religious Movements and any indications of their relationship to the forces in the world which have been considered in the foregoing part of the dissertation. This is to be an introduction to considering how the Church of England has responded to NRMs and through that response to NRMs to considering the Church of England's response to those wider forces.

B. NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS - WHAT THEY ARE

When we come to consider just how we might define what New Religious Movements are, John A Saliba finds that definitions depend on the perspective from which they are viewed. He says that from the point of view of a conservative American Evangelical Christian like Walter Martin such a religious movement is "a group, religious in nature, which surrounds a leader or a group of teachings which either denies or misinterprets essential biblical teaching" (Saliba, 1995: 2). Or again, from the point of view of a sceptical American psychologist like Philip Cushman, it is "a group that is controlled by a charismatic leader who is thought to be God...who fosters the idea that there is one correct belief...who demands unquestioning loyalty...who uses methods of mind control..."(5).

If, however we turn to a sociologist of religion like Dr Eileen Barker, then we are offered a rather different definition.

> "The term new religious movement (NRM) is used to cover a disparate collection of organisations, most of which have emerged in their present form since the 1950s, and most of which offer some kind of answer to questions of a fundamental religious, spiritual or philosophical nature."
>
> (1989: 9)

However, it soon becomes clear that it is necessary to go beyond this general description. Such movements, for instance, are new in the sense that they have become visible in their present form since about the Second World War - the

sort of timescale set out by Gerald Parsons. They are religious in the sense that "they offer a religious or philosophical world-view, or they claim to provide the means by which some higher goal such as transcendent knowledge, spiritual enlightenment, self-realisation or 'true' development may be obtained" (Barker, 1989: 145). She insists, however, that it is borne in mind that "it cannot be stressed enough almost any generalisation about NRMs is almost bound to be untrue if applied to all movements"(1989: 10).

The need for such caution is immediately recognised if one considers that there is no general agreement about what precisely constitutes a religion. Some definitions might exclude Buddhism because that world faith does not concern itself directly with a "god", while other definitions might be sufficiently broad as to include an ideology such as Marxism. Eileen Barker sets out a number of problems in trying to define what a New Religious Movement is:

a Sometimes their "religious" nature is in doubt and they fight to be seen as such. An example of this would be the Church of Scientology which has sought classification as a religion for tax purposes.
b Sometimes *they* prefer <u>not</u> to be seen "religious" for presentational reasons. The Brahma Kumaris organisation prefers to be seen as a 'spiritual' or 'educational' movement.
c Sometimes they will deny that they are new. The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON or the Hare Krishna movement) makes such a claim.
d Sometimes ideas about 'respectability' or 'cause for concern' enter into the consideration of what constitutes a NRM or 'cult'. (1989: 146 - 7)

In the light of this, Eileen Barker emphasises that attempts to define too closely what one means by a New Religious Movement are foolhardy. Instead she argues that the term "should be used within commonsense boundaries"(148). In this she is supported by James Beckford who argues that

> "the main requirement is for a lowest common denominator which will adequately mark off religion from other phenomena and draw attention to its common sociological characteristics. For this purpose the best strategy is to emphasize a shared capacity...to evoke and cultivate concerns of ultimate significance to human life." (Beckford: 1991, ix)

Bearing these considerations in mind, Gerald Parsons offers a typology for NRMs by dividing them into three very broad groups.

a "First, there are New Religious Movements which are clearly and straightforwardly derived from traditional world religions." (Parsons 1993: 281) Amongst such groups might be numbered ISKCON, coming from Hinduism, The Friends of the Western Buddhist Order, clearly from Buddhism, and the Jesus Army, from Christianity. Since a number of these movements come clearly from cultures other than British, it is argued here that such groups are a further indication of the operation of Globalization. The manner in which cultures previously geographically distant are now brought hard up against each other has also been argued to be a contributory factor in the pluralism and relativism of Postmodernity.

b "A second group of New Religious Movements, although identifiably related to major religious traditions....are manifestly less directly or conventionally derived from them and remain distinct and distant from the 'mainstreams' of the traditions involved." (Parsons 1993: 281) The parent mainstream religions might well be overtly hostile to this group. Christian examples of such groups might be The Children Of God and The Unification Church. Hindu examples might be The Divine Light Mission and the Transcendental Meditation movement.

c "The third group of New Religious Movements proposed here is both harder to define and even broader in its scope than the two preceding groups. The largest group of New Religious Movements - both in numbers of individual groups within it and in the diffused range of its overall influence within modern British life - is that clustered around the richly varied collection of 'self-religions', psychotherapies and New Age mysticisms and alternative spiritualities." (Parsons 1993: 283) Parsons proposes that this large and amorphous group can be divided into two sub-groups, which themselves would be made up of clusters of diverse movements around similar themes. "The first sub-group consists of the 'self-religions' and religiously 'flavoured' psychotherapies..." (Parsons 1993: 283) The second sub-group is made up of what he calls "New Age spiritualities and mysticisms". Such movements are "amazingly varied, eclectic and syncretistic, borrowing and combining elements from such sources as traditional religions, ancient and esoteric lore, alternative medicine, vegetarianism and ecology, environmentalism and feminism" (Parsons 1993: 284). The concerns of this third group of NRMs

reflect quite clearly the values which have been described earlier in this dissertation under the term "Postmaterialism" and which reflect the "culture shift" with which the preceding section of the dissertation dealt.

C. NUMBERS AND MEMBERSHIP

Assessing the extent of the influence of New Religious Movements is problematical. Given the difficulty of making a precise definition of a New Religious Movement, it will be readily apparent that it will be difficult to make a precise assessment of the number of NRMs in Britain. Eileen Barker points out that the actual number will depend upon the definition used. Relying, however, on her contention that the term should be used "within commonsense boundaries" she suggests that "a figure of around six hundred is not unreasonable" (1989: 148).

The same problem of definition arises in assessing just how many people are members of NRMs in Britain. The difficulty of defining a NRM has already been noted, to this must be added the difficulty of defining what is a member. Like most mainstream churches, and many other organisations, most NRMs have layers of membership. There will be those who work in full-time service, like the full-time clergy of the Church of England, there will be active followers, similar to devout lay members of a church congregation, and there will also be those who may be classified as sympathisers who have rather more limited involvement.

Numbers involved in full-time work are likely to be fairly small. The Unification Church, for instance, has about 350 full-time 'Core' members. Eileen Barker says that "it is unlikely that any of the NRMs has succeeded, at any one time, in accumulating more than a few hundred members who devote their whole lives to working for their movement" (1989: 150). She believes it is virtually impossible to estimate the numbers of people who are "active followers", but she believes that if an estimate were to be made "then it would be likely to be in the tens of thousands" (1989: 150). The Jesus Fellowship has a membership of about 950, of whom about 600 live in residential communities. In 1985, James Beckford estimated that there had only been about 15,000 committed members of NRMs in Britain at any one point during the previous decade. A greater number of people, clearly, would have some more peripheral interest and even more people might have come into contact with a NRM for a short time. "There could

be a million or so people who have, minimally, 'dabbled in' or 'flirted with' one or other of the movements in Britain at some time during the past quarter century." (Barker 1989: 150)

The significance of these figures, rough estimates and guesses though they be, lies in the numbers of fully committed members. For it is full commitment which has most effect on the lives of individuals and it is full commitment which is likely to put a NRM on the front page of a newspaper and it is full commitment which is likely to raise worries and concerns in the minds of family and friends. It is, similarly, full commitment which has raised most concern amongst members of the Church of England. Equally, one might look at the relatively small numbers involved and assume that this renders NRMs inconsequential. However, Barker makes the point that small, or even declining, numbers do not imply that NRMs are socially insignificant. She believes that other sections of society can be indirectly affected by their beliefs and practices.

D. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS AND AGE

If one considers what sort of people join NRMs, the temptation may be to think that "(c)ults and sects, like other deviant social movements, tend to recruit people with a grievance, people who suffer from some variety of deprivation" (Stark & Bainbridge: 1377). In popular thought this may have led many to think that it is the inadequate, those on the edge of society, those who have lost out who join NRMs. Certainly, in the Third World new religions have appealed to the poor and the oppressed. However, Eileen Barker argues that

> "(b)y and large Westerners who become involved with in movements such as the Brahma Kumaris, Elan Vital, ISKCON.....come disproportionately from the middle or upper-middle classes. They will have received a better than average education and they will have good prospects for their future careers." (1989: 14)

Peter Clarke adds a rider to all of this in saying that "while it was once more likely that the middle classes would be most directly affected by new religious movements, today their social composition is much wider" (Religion Today, Summer 1992: 1). Nonetheless, these are not pathetic, weak or susceptible characters. Indeed, Eileen Barker would take this further and say that "the vast

majority of members are unlikely to *become* pathetic, weak or susceptible characters" (1989: 33) as a result of their involvement. Precisely why this particular group of people should become members of such movements in the West is difficult to discern, but Ernest Gellner offers one way of looking at the issue.

> "What of the weaknesses of Enlightenment rationalism....? It has a number of weaknesses, from the viewpoint of its use as a practical faith, as the foundation either for an individual life or for a social order. It is too thin and ethereal to sustain an individual in crisis, and it is too abstract to be intelligible to any but intellectuals with a penchant for this kind of theorising.....In practice, Western intellectuals, when facing personal predicaments, have turned to emotionally richer methods, offering promises of personal recovery, such a psychoanalysis." (1992: 86)

In putting the weaknesses of Enlightenment rationalism in quite this way, he does seem to be describing just the sort of people who might join certain sorts of NRM in Britain.

It has been found that, although there are some movements which set out to attract the elderly, certainly those who joined these movements during the 1980s were most likely to be young adults with few responsibilities. Since most of the organisations were then relatively new, many of the members were likely to be converts and no doubt this remains the case. Commenting on this, Eileen Barker said:

> "Almost all movements with first generation believers have an age distribution that differs widely from that of the wider society. In new movements which people join in their twenties, there will be few babies and young children and not many middle-aged or elderly members."
>
> (1989: 11 -12)

The average age of 'core' members of the Unification Church at the end of the 1980s was 23 years. James Beckford and Martine Levasseur, writing in 1991, make a similar point.

> "In demographic terms Western Europe experienced a baby boom

> between approximately 1950 and 1965, giving rise to unprecedentedly large numbers of young people in the 1970s. Members of NRMs are largely drawn from this segment of the population."
>
> (Beckford & Levasseur, 1991: 32)

This particular age distribution allied to the likelihood of their being many first-generation believers is thought to give NRMs a certain flavour and certainly this was the case during the 1980s. Such movements have tended to be more enthusiastic than their main-stream counterparts, enquirers and members may be offered a direct and unambiguous promise of salvation. The 'truths' of the movement may be held more fervently and they may be relatively simple and absolute 'truths' so that the movement is likely to offer a particular sort of certainty and immediacy. It will also be apparent that when there is such a likely age range in a movement, many of the leaders are likely to be young and inexperienced - "a situation that has been seen as a contributing cause for some of the more extreme actions carried out in certain NRMs" (Barker 1989: 12). As will be seen, all these factors - age, supposed related vulnerability and the concerns of middle-class parents all played their part in the response of the Church of England to NRMs, as well as the enthusiasm and perceived certainty about doctrine.

E. PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES OF MEMBERSHIP

Whatever else one may say about NRMs and membership of them, it is almost certain that those join and stay in them are likely to believe that they are gaining something positive from their involvement. It is also of note that those who leave NRMs after a significant period continue to insist that they have gained a good deal from their involvement. Stark and Bainbridge argue that one of the factors which first makes people members of NRMs and then keeps them as members is the establishment and maintenance of personal relationships within the movement.

> "In the early 1960s, John Lofland and Rodney Stark conducted a participant-observation study of the first group of American members of the Korean-based cult of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon - popularly known today as the Moonies.....a close watch on recruitment as it occurred revealed the essential role played by interpersonal bonds

> between cult members and potential recruits. Where such bonds did not exist and failed to develop, newcomers failed to join."
>
> (Stark & Bainbridge: 1378)

They conclude their research paper in the following way.

> "In this paper we have attempted to use a variety of data to make firmer the evidential base for the thesis that social networks play an essential role in recruitment to cults and sects.....Whatever else they may be, religious organizations also are worldly organizations and have at their disposal resources to reward many members. Indeed, the affective bonds that constitute social networks.....are direct rewards." (1393 - 4)

One of the things which people might feel they gain from membership of a NRM is, therefore, the benefit of a social network. The fact that Stark and Bainbridge recognise that this applies just as much to mainstream religious institutions does nothing to reduce its significance.

There are other factors. Stark and Bainbridge reckoned that their research had not dealt sufficiently with a "missing element". "This missing element consists of the significant *direct rewards* available to members of religious movements." (1393) Eileen Barker suggests (1989: 26 - 30) what some of those direct rewards might be - apart from the provision of a social network:

a. Success in careers: She notes that those who attend courses given by the 'self-religions' may claim that they have become far more effective in their work. She argues that, as a result, in North America and Europe there are hundreds of large corporations which have arranged for their employees to go on such courses in the hope that they, too, will become more effective in their work. James Beckford agrees with this sort of interpretation. He says that NRMs will "offer to their participants various encouragements to translate their spirituality into *practical, everyday action.*"(Beckford, 1991: xv). In fact, he says that what appears to be happening in a number of NRMs is that "the conceptual boundaries between the spiritual and the material are being rethought or redrawn" (xv).

b. Improved health and longevity: Barker notes that numerous members of NRMs have testified that their health has improved after becoming involved with their particular movement. For instance, Transcendental Meditation's literature

claims that TM is practised and recommended by over 600 British medical doctors because they believe that it contributes to the prevention and alleviation of stress-related illnesses.

c. Kingdom Building: There is enormous variety in accounts of what is "wrong" with society and in the ideas for what any future society should be like and of the ways to proceed to that society. Many NRMs offer their members the chance to participate in a utopian, millennial, revolutionary or reforming effort.

d. Self-development: The religious nature of many movements will not be immediately apparent. Many involved with such groups will be wanting to improve themselves and may only gradually come to accept that the movement aspires to something more than simply the personal advancement of the members. Peter Clarke uses terminology set out by Robert Towler when he speaks of 'exemplarism' in this area. "*Exemplarism* is concerned with the possibilities of human achievement.....This is clearly in line with the thinking of the Human Potential Movement as a whole, the so-called Self Religions such as The Life Training, Exegesis....." (Religion Today, Autumn/Winter 1992: 5)

e. Religious Experiences: Eileen Barker says that "many members of NRMs explain that their conversion was due to a religious experience which convinced them of the truth to be found in the movement" (1989: 30). Grace Jantzen makes a similar point. "New religious movements are springing up by the dozen in many parts of the world.....In their efforts to gain converts, they frequently offer direct personal experience of God, or union with God (or Ultimate Reality)." (Religion Today, Summer 1990: 10) She believes that "(f)rom the viewpoint of the tradition of Christian spirituality, some of the characteristics of mysticism as propounded in NRMs involve serious misconceptions" (Religion Today, Summer 1990: 11). Nonetheless, the point she makes is essentially that of Eileen Barker.

Peter Clarke makes a related point, which touches on his own experience of trying to make sense of the doctrine of God. "There is no doubt that many new religionists find the Judaeo-Christian notion of God, both intellectually and psychologically, a tremendous obstacle and one which in some cases has taken years to overcome." (Religion Today, Spring 1993: 1) He had interviewed a number of converts to an Islamic sect who described the "Christian" God as too impersonal, too aloof, too abstract and beyond experience. Like Beckford, he concludes that:

> "What new religionists appear to be seeking is religion that is relevant,

> that enables them to cope with everyday life, that can be experimented with, tried and tested, and if it is found to work retained, otherwise abandoned. There is, then, little or no room here for faith as traditionally understood or for a religion such as Christianity that relies for salvation on an external agent, that locates the source of saving and creative power outside the self, proposes solutions to the problem of evil in terms of a future life and by means which cannot be verified."
>
> (Religion Today, Spring 1993: 4)

What a number of NRMs promise is just such a personal and transforming experience of God. The difficulty this poses for the Church of England, and specially the point made by Peter Clarke, does not need to be laboured. Equally, this whole list of perceived benefits of membership of an NRM reflects the concerns of Postmaterialists and is cited as further evidence of "culture shift".

Finally, Beckford makes a further related point. He argues that there is "a tendency of new religious movements to allow lay people to participate more fully in their activities than is common in many older religious organisations" (Beckford, 1991: xiv). In fact this argument is of particuar interest to this thesis, for the way in which Beckford treats it offers a bridge between this present treatment of NRMs and the Church of England's relations with them and the next major section of the thesis dealing with liturgical change. For he says that this trait in NRMs has meant that "Christian Churches and denominations in North America and Western Europe have been obliged to revise their liturgy and government to provide for greater involvement by lay people" (xiv).

F. CONCLUSION

This section of the dissertation has briefly considered New Religious Movements as a phenomenon. At the outset it was noted that James Beckford sees the emergence of New Religious Movements as a response to rapid social change, precisely the sort of social change we are charting through the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. Following from this, the difficulties of offering a clear definition have been pointed out, but a three-fold typology based upon the work of Gerald Parsons has been set out. Likely numbers of such movements and their membership have been considered, along with some indication of the membership's likely age and socio-economic

status. In addition, the perceived advantages of membership have been set out. Finally, indications of Globalization, factors contributing to Postmodernity and indications of Postmaterialism and "culture shift" have been set out. This section has generally been descriptive, but it provides a necessary explanatory introduction to these groups, prior to considering how the Church of England has responded to them. It is to this that the dissertation will now turn.

CHAPTER SIX

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

THE CofE RESPONSE - BEGINNINGS

A. INTRODUCTION

The following four chapters of this thesis will seek to set out the formal and offical response of the Church of England to New Religious Movements (NRMs). In these chapters there will be a concentration on the events which led up to the publishing, in 1989, of the report produced by the Board for Mission and Unity for the General Synod of the Church of England - GS Misc 317 - *New Religious Movements*. That report and the events surrounding it are the major formal and official response by the Church of England to NRMs. These chapters will also consider issues related to the eventual production of that report. To understand why that report was produced and why it covered the particular ground that it did requires a degree of historical research going back to the early 1980s - and that is the main concern of this study. However, it is clear that there had been concern about the operation of particular NRMs in certain sections of the Church of England for some years before that. More particularly, the aim of this first study of the thesis will be to show that the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift described in the earlier part of this dissertation are recognizably at work in the Church of England's response to NRMs. The detail of the Church of England's formal and official response will be considered in chronological order of events. This has the benefit of making clear the order of events. However, it means that operation of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift must be established through the events as they occur.

It should be noted from the outset, therefore, that the fact that such movements are seen as requiring an "official" response is itself indicative of the force of globalization and all that follows from it. In considering the appearance of NRMs, it has already been noted that a good number of the NRMs with which the Church of England came to concern itself had, and still have, their origins in countries and even cultures distant both in terms of character and location from Great Britain. The very fact that they are here and of concern to the Church of England is simple witness to the fact that cultures and parts of the world hitherto kept apart are now meeting. Equally, it has again been argued that the values ascribed to by some of the NRMs are witness to that shift in culture and cultural values described earlier as having taken place in Great Britain since the Second World War.

It seems clear that by the early 1980s concern about the existence and operation of NRMs was both widespread and worldwide amongst the established churches. It should be noted in passing that this is at precisely the time when David Harvey argues that there was an intense phase of time-space compression, related to globalization, "that had a disorienting and disrupting impact on.....cultural and social life."(284) The concern of the churches is made clear by the reaction of the of the Roman Catholic Church.

> "In response to the concern expressed by Episcopal Conferences throughout the world, a study of the presence of 'sects', 'new religious movements', 'cults' has been undertaken by the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, the Secretariat for Non-Christians, the Secretariat for Non-Believers and the Pontifical Council for Culture. These departments, along with the Secretariat of State, have shared this concern for quite some time." (Brockway & Rajashekar 1987: 180)

This reaction and concern was not limited to the Roman Catholic Church.

> "The mainline churches in many Western countries....were literally caught unawares by the sudden mushrooming of alternative forms of religion in the 1960s....In many respects NRMs are still (1987) a mystery to the Western churches. They have given rise to a sense of fear and threat."
>
> (Rajashekar 1987: xii)

This sense of fear and threat might be taken to arise from the recognition amongst the mainline churches that their position in Western culture was changing. In this we can see the relativizing force of Globalization, the calling into question of the "givenness of existing institutions", the pressure towards pluralism and the challenge to existing cultural identities.

The United Kingdom and the Church of England are part of this same world and have not been immune to precisely these pressures and concerns. In June 1983 a good deal of publicity was given in London newspapers to the activities of the London-based School of Economic Science (SES). Various Church of England clergy expressed their concern. The London Newspaper, 'The Standard & Evening News', ran a series of articles about the SES. These concentrated particularly on cases where it was asserted that association with the organisation had been at best unhelpful to particular individuals. There were assertions of secrecy, "*mystery links*" with the then Liberal Party and, more significantly from the point of view of this dissertation, links with Christian organisations. In particular, the newspaper alleged links with the European Christian Industrial Movement, the President of which was The Rt. Rev Ross Hook, former Bishop of Bradford, but then Chief of Staff to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It should, perhaps, be recorded that the Bishop denied that he had any knowledge of such links. In the newspaper articles, former members of the organisation were said to believe that they had been "brainwashed by the indoctrination techniques used by the SES".('The Secrets of the Secretive Sect': 2) The newspaper said that the SES was aiming to expand its operations and with this in mind, "a major part of the SES's expansion plans has been the operation of four independent schools for children aged four to eighteen".('The Secrets': 2)

Various Church of England clergy were interviewed on the issue. All of those quoted expressed concern about the activities of the School of Economic Science. Illustrative of this concern are the reported comments of the then Bishop of Woolwich, the Rt. Rev Michael Marshall, who was quoted as saying, "This is an insidious organisation. It is ruining people's lives"('The Secrets': 2). Elsewhere in the same newspaper a separate article was devoted to the Bishop's views. The headline over the article was "**I HELPED STUDENTS TO ESCAPE, SAYS BISHOP.**". In the article, the Bishop of Woolwich was said to have helped nearly 30 people "escape" from the School of Economic Science.

He was quoted as saying,

> "When religion goes wrong it doesn't just go a bit wrong, it goes very, very wrong. This is an insidious organisation. They are power maniacs, and really do want to manipulate people's lives. They are a society with spiritual aims that have gone wrong.....Every person I saw who had come out, and I am talking about 20 or 30 people, all say there is a lot of good in it...That's the disarming thing about it. There is a lot of good in evil. It's good corrupted. The worst evil is the corruption of the best.....I'm very worried that they are brainwashing people."
>
> ('I Helped Students to Escape': 6)

The Bishop's response expresses certain assumptions about the "rightness" of Christianity and the accepted nature of the Church of England which are already being challenged in this situation. However, the sort of concern expressed by the Bishop of Woolwich was mirrored in the comments of others. The then Vicar of Hampstead, the Rev Graham Dowell "calls it a 'heresy' and has compared the SES to the Moonies". ('The Secrets': 2) But of more significance in considering the formal response of the Church of England to New Religious Movements were comments which came from the diocese of St. Albans. "The Sub-Dean at St. Albans, Canon Colin Slee, is severely critical of the School's activities. He first encountered them while chaplain at King's College. He said:'I am very worried that they are brainwashing people.'" ('The Secrets': 2) In addition, the attitude of the Dean of St. Albans, the Very Rev Peter Moore, was reported upon. It was said that "He became concerned about their (The School of Economic Science) activities after members booked the Chapter House next to St. Albans Abbey for meetings".('The Secrets': 2) The article went on to say that the Dean of St. Albans intended to ask a question about the School of Economic Science at the General Synod.

No doubt all of this publicity - and the responses of the various Clergy quoted - reflect a feeling of concern about the activities of New Religious Movements in the country at that time. But, it should be noted that it was out of all of this, and particularly the Dean's intended question to General Synod, that there came the first formal and official response of the Church of England to New Religious Movements. Of course, this was not the first contact the Church of England had had with NRMs. The files of the Board for Mission and Unity (BMU) indicate that

letters showing concern about NRMs and asking for information had been sent to Church House and allocated to the Board for Mission and Unity since the early 1970s. However, before 1983, responses from the Church of England had not been in pursuit of any specific policy and, in respect of public response, were generally from particular individuals, expressing their personal views. To that extent they were *un*official responses - even if they were the views of reasonably significant and well-known figures such as the Bishop of Woolwich.

B. GENERAL SYNOD

Coming out of this, a question about NRMs was, indeed, asked in General Synod as the Dean of St Albans had reportedly promised. The precise circumstances around the asking of that question and the form of the question itself will be considered below. At this stage, however, it is important to note that the driving force in raising this issue was Canon Colin Slee, the then sub-Dean at St. Albans. His interest in NRMs and concern about their activities and modes of operation arose both out of his work as Chaplain to King's College, London and from having a member of his family involved with the SES. His concern was, therefore, both professional and personal. Canon Slee had already raised the issue of NRMs with Church House, writing initially to the Board for Social Responsibility and posing a semi-formal question along the lines of "What is the Church of England doing about NRMs?" However, because the BMU had already been involved in dealing with letters and queries about NRMs, Canon Slee's approach was passed to the Secretary of the BMU, Canon Martin Reardon.

Canon Martin Reardon decided to take the issue seriously and set about finding out rather more about NRMs. In pursuit of this, a meeting was arranged with Dr. Peter Clarke, head of the Centre For The Study Of New Religions at King's College, London. Out of these initial soundings and further discussion with Canon Slee, came a decision that more work needed to be done on the issue of NRMs and that the most appropriate way to pursue this was to put a question to General Synod. On the model of parliament, the question to General Synod was essentially a device, often used, to enable the issue of NRMs to be raised and dealt with. Canon Slee was involved with Martin Reardon in the drafting of the question and generally it expressed the Canon's concerns. It was decided that the question should be put to the House of Bishops because of their pastoral responsibility as main 'shepherds of the flock'. As reported in the newspapers,

the Dean of St. Albans was to ask the question. He was a willing vehicle for putting the question in General Synod because he was on General Synod at that time and Canon Colin Slee was not. He was also keen to be seen to be raising the issue as a sign of the Church's disapproval of some of the activities of certain NRMs.

The official record of the Proceedings of the November 1983 Group of Sessions of General Synod indicates that the Dean of St Albans was true to his (reported) word in raising a question in that meeting of General Synod. However, research has shown an interesting historical sidelight and indicates that the official record is incorrect. It had, indeed, been intended that the Dean should ask the question and he had been keen to do so. However, on the day of the sitting of General Synod when the question was to be asked, the Dean was unwell and did not attend the sitting. On the morning of the sitting it was, therefore, necessary to find, at very short notice, someone else from St Albans diocese to actually pose the question. That person was Canon Alan Freeman (Slee). The official record no doubt reflects what was on the Order Paper for the day, what is certain is that it does not accurately reflect what actually happened. It was, therefore, Canon Alan Freeman who asked the question in General Synod of the Chairman of the House of Bishops.

Following from this, research again indicates (Slee) that there has been some speculation that the absence of the Dean of St Albans on the day may have been influenced by the consideration that his own involvement with the Freemasons could have led to questions in General Synod as to his own activities. Naturally, this can only remain reported speculation. However, if this were the case, it would be a clear indication of the sensitivity of the issue of alternative religious movements, some of them not so new, within the Church of England at the time - and probably still. It is also an indication that dual membership of the Church of England and other "religious" groups is not an entirely new issue. It is also an indication that pluralism has been part of the Church of England's world for a very long time.

Beyond these observations, there are two specific issues raised by this question. The first is that dual membership reflects that schizophrenia, to which David Harvey refers, coming out of Postmodernity. It is argued here that dual membership implies two ways of being in the world. Harvey acknowledges that

the potential for this "schizophrenia" is already present within modernity - and, indeed, it has been noted that the Church of England has lived with dual membership with Freemasonry for many years. However, his argument is that this "schizophrenia" becomes more acute because of the action of Postmodernity. It is notable, therefore, that the Church of England, in recent years, has become more and more concerned about the issue of dual membership. Freemasonry itself, after centuries of toleration, has now been declared incompatible with membership of the Church of England. The question which is raised by this is, therefore, why this rejection of Freemasonry and concern with dual membership should be occurring now. In this respect, there is clearly a feeling amongst some in the Church of England that there is a need for the Church to define itself more clearly - both to itself and to the world around it. This has an uncanny resemblance to the development of doctrine in the early centuries of the history of the Church - another era of pluralism in the Roman Empire and within the Church. It is argued here that these current examples of dual membership are themselves outcomes of current Globalization and the fragmentation of Postmodernity. Equally, it is argued here that the concern and action engendered by dual membership is illustrative of those outcomes of Globalization and Postmodernity which have been detailed earlier - that is, a reversion to the "traditional".

Having made these points, it is possible now to return to the record of events in General Synod. The question put to the Chairman of the House of Bishops at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1982 by Canon Freeman was:

> "Will the House of Bishops put in hand a consideration of the influence of so-called 'new religious movements' in this country and invite the Board for Mission and Unity and the Board for Social Responsibility in consultation with other appropriate bodies (ie the BCC, the Centre for the Study of New Religions at King's College, London, FAIR, etc.) to examine the teachings propounded and report to Synod advising the clergy and people of the Church of England how to respond to help those who are damaged, and to teach the faith more clearly in order to remedy the influence of such movements particularly with regard to (1) those who claim membership is not in conflict with holding Christian faith, and (2) those who do not specifically claim compatibility with Christian faith but

use Holy Scripture and Church property in their activities?"

(Report of Proceedings 933-4)

The particular form of the question needs to be noted, since it gives a 'flavour' of the concerns of those dealing with the matter at that time, and especially the concerns of Canon Slee. In particular, the reference to the teachings of NRMs and the request for advice to clergy and the people of the Church of England on how to respond arose out of a dual concern. The first element, reflected in the question, was a concern that some NRMs were saying, and perhaps still do, that one could be a member of *their* religious organisation *and* the Church. There was, therefore, a need to be clear where NRMs differed from the Church. So far as the drafting of the question was concerned, this concern came directly out of Canon Slee's experience while Chaplain to King's College, London. In particular it comes out of his experience of conducting confirmation classes at King's College and finding that two candidates already belonged to the SES, but had been told by that organisation that there was no conflict between belonging at the same time to that organisation and the Church. (Slee)

There is a double issue recognisable here from the form of the question. The first issue is concerned with "truth claims", an issue which we have already seen to be at the heart of Postmodernity and here a concern to assert the "truth" in the face of pluralism. It is argued here that this assertion is becoming recognisable as the claim for truth from within a particular faith community and relating to that particular faith community. As we noted earlier from the work of Robin Gill in respect of Postmodernity, "(i)n a Postmodernist context, declarations of religious certainty or religious particularism become conscious acts of defiance...(they) are knowingly made to counter fragmentation"(1992: 59). Secondly, there is a concern with the problem of pluralism. There had for a very long time been pluralism within the Church of England. For pretty well the first time, the Church of England was having to face up to pluralism from outside itself and to try to cope with it. Here again the effect of Globalization and the fragmentation of Postmodernity is to be seen.

The second element, taken again from the form of the question, was a concern that a number of parishes were giving NRMs house-room, by renting out Church Halls and other facilities to them, without knowing that they were NRMs. In fact, the concern was that there had, in some cases, been a degree of deliberate or

apparent deception. It was thought that some NRMs had deliberately tried to hide their true identity to have use of the facilities and had then portrayed themselves as operating with the consent of the Church involved. The question was raised in General Synod so that ways of dealing with these and other situations and ways of offering advice might be established. This problem remains an issue, although not limited to NRMs. Current advice comes from the Board of Mission's Interfaith Consultative Group in their report, GS 1185, *Communities and Buildings*. It is about the letting of Church premises, Parish Halls and Church Community Facilities and accepts that "Christian relations with other faith communities...are at present limited, fragile and often controversial" (Board of Mission 1995: 48). The report then sets out to provide a "frank and detailed set of guidelines, divided into points for guest, and points for host churches to bear in mind" (49). Although this issue reflects an entirely practical concern, there is also underlying it a concern about the identity of the Church of England - in an age when this is somewhat more problematical than in the past. It is argued here that this reflects the action of Globalization and Postmodernity.

The Chairman of the House of Bishops, the Archbishop of Canterbury - then the Rt. Rev. Robert Runcie - was advised that the question was to be raised and he was briefed on an appropriate reply. He, therefore, replied: "This is a matter I am prepared to raise with the Standing Committee of the House of Bishops." (Report of Proceedings: 933-4) It should be noted that this whole area was clearly a matter of concern at the time, for Canon Freeman used the opportunity of asking the BMU's main question to pose a follow-up question of his own, a question which had not been "staffed" within Church House. This question also pin-points the concerns of the time and mentions particular NRMs, including the Children of God and the School of Economic Science once more. It also reflects the newspaper reports quoted above alleging links between the SES and Christian organisations, especially the European Industrial Movement. Canon Freeman asked:

> "Does the Chairman of the House of Bishops agree that it would be helpful to have more information about the work of the School of Economic Science, the Emin Foundation and the Children of God, especially since it has been suggested that the majority of the trustees of one of the organisations listed in the Church of England Year Book are members of one of the bodies I have mentioned." (Proceedings: 933 - 4)

The Archbishop of Canterbury's reply was circumspect, but marked the BMU once more as the department which would deal with these matters. He replied: "I am prepared to ask the BMU for their advice on this matter." (Report of Proceedings: 933-4) In the light of this and because of their previous involvement, the BMU was indeed given the task of advising the House of Bishops on both these questions.

C. REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF BISHOPS - PREPARATION

Once the question had been asked of the House of Bishops in General Synod, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's answer given, the way was left clear for the Secretary of the Board for Mission and Unity, Canon Martin Reardon, to carry out further research and to report back to the House of Bishops.

Initial discussions with the other organisations mentioned in the question to General Synod took place. These discussions made it clear, from an early stage, that one of the major problems with the Church of England's dealings with NRMs, indeed the problem was seen to be more general than that, was the lack of adequate, balanced information about them.It was felt that it was necessary to recognise that "most of the reporting of these movements in the Press has been of their idiosyncracies, their clash with the parents of their young converts, or of alleged misdemeanours. The popular view of these movements is therefore initially negative"(Reardon 1988 Appendix: 5). Although this quotation is, in itself, anachronistic coming from a letter of 1988, it represents thinking at this earlier time. It, therefore, seemed clear from early on that one of the things needing to be done was to establish a source of indepedendent and impartial information about specific NRMs to give to families, clergy and other interested parties.

It also seemed clear to the Secretary that this should not be a Church organization, since this might be felt to have too great a vested interest in the particular information or advice given. Although this was essentially the view of the Secretary to the BMU and there would, no doubt have been others in the Church of England who would not have been so concerned about such vested interests, this does illustrate part of the difficulty under which the Church of England was operating. The concern that the information should not be seen to come directly from the Church of England is surely a recognition and

acceptance of the fact that the Church itself is viewed with suspicion in some quarters and on some issues. It seems unlikely that, in an earlier age, such a decision would have been made. The Church of England's position as the foremost religious institution in the country would have been sufficient to give it authority to give clear advice on these matters. This change in the Church of England's perception of its own status, at this stage through the eyes of the Secretary to the BMU, can be related to the relativizing effects of Globalization, calling into question once more the "givenness of existing institutions within a given society". It will become apparent later in this dissertation that the Secretary's judgement on these matters became very important for determining the line to be taken by the Church of England in its "official" response to NRMs and in General Synod's publications.

A further practical factor became apparent as soon as it was publicly known that the General Synod was looking at NRMs. The Secretary to the BMU found himself inundated with requests for information and advice about particular NRMs or particular situations. This underlined the need for the sort of impartial advice - and the organisation to give it - mentioned above. But this situation made a further factor more apparent, if that was necessary. It became clear that

> "the greatest single problem in relation to New Religious Movements is the pastoral care of families broken up by the adherence of one or more of its members to a New Religious Movement. Parents affected by some of the more extreme things they have read in the Press or seen on television, sometimes over-react when they realise their son or daughter has joined a New Religious Movement. This reaction is often tinged by a deep sense of guilt" (Reardon 1988: 8).

It became clear at that stage that pastoral guidelines would be helpful and perhaps necessary for those dealing with such situations.

It also became apparent that there were legal issues affecting NRMs which bore consideration and monitoring. There was then, and there has been since, talk of making NRMs illegal and there has been discussion of the rights of parents in relation to young people who join NRMs. This, ofcourse, bears upon the question of Religious Liberty. In particular, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

> "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance." (United Nations: Article 18)

What is apparent from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, simply from its title, is a global view of human beings. This Declaration is to apply to all human beings wherever they happen to be. This, no doubt, reflects an Enlightenment concern with "humanity", but it is also a "global" concept. Indeed, it was earlier noted that Roland Roberts sees the enhancement of concern with humanity as a species to be part of his fifth phase, that beginning in the 1960s, in the development of Globalization. Indeed, it might benoted that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was not ratified by the UN until 1968. The concentration on the individual follows from this global view. Those such as Foucault would argue that in Postmodernity this individualism is accentuated.

Finally, there is, in Britain the particular question of the operation of the "Charity" laws. The secretary to the BMU came to think that, given the far-reaching nature of any changes to these provisions for Religious Liberty and Charity status, a watching brief should be kept on the law as it affected New Religious Movements. Informal discussion indicated that this would best be done by the Board for Social Responsibility and that the Board officials would be prepared to take the work on. It will be seen that this later became a matter of some significance.

D. PAPER RECOMMENDATIONS

On 7th June 1984, the BMU presented a paper to the House of Bishops with three main recommendations. These were that:

> a. "There should be an independent agency, not simply an agency of the Church, which should try to provide objective information about the new religious movements.
>
> b. Some general pastoral guidelines should be drawn up on issues raised in the debate about these movements. " (BMU 1989: 1-2)

c. "The Board For Social Responsibility should keep a watching brief on the law as it affects New Religious Movements." (BMU 1989: 2)

The House of Bishops accepted the first two recommendations, but rejected the third - generally on the grounds that it would involve too much work. The House of Bishops also recommended that the BMU should work in close co-operation with the British Council of Churches (BCC), as the BMU itself had suggested(BMU 1989: 2). So far as this latter recommendation was concerned, this was part of an on-going process already in train. Like the Church of England, the BCC had been receiving correspondence and requests for information about NRMs since the early 1970s. During the 1970s the BCC Youth Department had produced a pamphlet about the 'Moonies'. More generally, however, the BCC was concerned with relations with other faiths and in 1981 they produced a paper called "Relations with People of Other Faiths: Guidelines for Dialogue in Britain", a revised edition of which was produced in 1983, the very year in which NRMs became a formal "issue" for the Church of England. The way in which the BCC approached relationships with other faiths provided a way into thinking about the Church of England and NRMs. In that document, the BCC sets out four Principles to govern relationships with other faiths. These are:

a. Dialogue begins when people meet each other.
b. Dialogue depends on mutual understanding and trust.
c. Dialogue makes it possible to share in service to the community.
d. Dialogue becomes the medium of authentic witness.

These particular principles were drawn upon at a later stage. Two things can be noted at this stage. First there is a clear acceptance in these four principles of some degree of pluralism - an acceptance of the validity of other faiths and the possibility of working together. This runs alongside an insistence by the House of Bishops of the Church of England on the importance of an ecumenical approach to the problem of NRMs. It has already been pointed out in our consideration of the theory of Globalization that Roland Roberts considers the emergence of the Ecumenical Movement to be part of Phase III, the "Take-off phase", for modern Globalization. Bearing these things in mind, we need to note that it was agreed with the BCC that since the Church of England was first off the line in formally considering NRMs, the way should be left clear for the BMU.

E. CONCLUSION

Even in this introductory section providing a background to the Church of England's response to New Religious Movements, it has been argued that issues raised in the preceding sections dealing with theoretical matters concerning Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift continually bubble to the surface. It has been argued that the very fact that NRMs have been seen as requiring an "official" response is indicative of the power of Globalization. In the concern about NRMs has been discerned a deeper concern about the relativization of institutions and problems relating to cultural identity which goes beyond the Church of England. It has been argued that this same force, relativizing the position of the Church of England is at work in the assumption that advice on NRMs should come from an "independent" organisation and not from the Church itself. The events surrounding the putting of the question in the General Synod and the issue of dual membership have been interpreted as indicative both of that "schizophrenia" which David Harvey associates with Postmodernity and of one sort of response to Globalization and pluralism found in the writings of Kevin Robins. In the approach adopted by the BMU in its paper to the House of Bishops and its adoption of the principles promoted by the BCC has been discerned the acceptance of some degree of pluralism. The pressure to provide authoritative advice on appropriate belief has raised the issue of truth claims, so significant for Postmodernity. Equally, legal issues, the concern for freedom of religious expression allied with a concern for humanity as a species and ecumenism have all been noted as related to Globalization.

These and other issues will continue to come to the surface in succeeding chapters. The rest of this study of the Church of England's relations with NRMs will argue that there were three stages in the Church of England's consideration of its response to NRMs between the posing of the question in General Synod in 1983 and the production of the report in 1989. Those three stages will be set out and considered.

CHAPTER SEVEN

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

THE C of E AND "INFORM"

A. POSSIBLE ORGANISATIONS

Having acquired the agreement of the House of Bishops to two of the recommendations in the BMU paper, it was now for the Secretary to the BMU to set about implementing those recommendations. He, therefore, entered upon the first of the three stages in the Church of England's formal response to NRMs. The first step was to investigate the establishment of the "Independent agency (which was to) provide objective information" (BMU 1989: 1) about the New Religious Movements. This section of the dissertation will describe that process. Unlike the preceding section, comment on the process will not be made as events unfold. Instead, for convenience, comment on the relationship of these events to Gobalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift will be made at the end.

Investigation by the Secretary to the BMU of the establishment of the independent agency which could provide objective information about NRMs required contact and discussion with the four main organisations as they then were. These were the The Centre for the Study of New Religions at King's College, London along with the Centre for the Study of New Religions at Selly Oak, Birmingham, FAIR and the Roman Catholic, "Housetop Centre". However, it became apparent that, although these agencies were very helpful, something else was necessary. "None of them on its own had both the expertise and availability to enquirers which appeared to be needed."(BMU 1989: 2) The considerations in respect of these organisations were different in each case.

FAIR

One of the difficulties was the stance toward New Religious Movements taken by some of the agencies. FAIR, for instance has adopted a stance which has clearly been opposed to the NRMs or "cults". Their name suggests this. FAIR is an acronym for Family Action Information and ***Rescue***. Their approach may be discerned from this notice for their 1993 AGM. "Our guest speaker this year will be Dr Bryan Tully, psychologist.....Dr Tully has worked with victims of hostage situations and has discovered many parallels to cult involvement."(MacKenzie Summer 1993: 2) Or, again, a report on Transcendental Meditation gives a feel for FAIR's concerns:

> "The Maharishi's offers to clear whole geographical areas of crime with the aid of a fixed number of people meditating for an unspecified time, do not seem to attract many takers.....Is there any clear evidence that the anti-crime campaign, the 'Maharishi's Master Plan to Create Heaven on Earth' actually works? It is doubtful, considering that the mammoth former monastery in the Dutch countryside, which is the Maharishis's residence and presumably accommodates many advanced meditators, needs perimeter fence patrols by security men with dogs. What about Fairfield, Iowa, a rural town with hundreds of meditators always gathering morning and evening in golden domes?....According to (Police) Chief Cooksey there has been a steady increase in crime in Fairfield.". (MacKenzie Summer 1993: 9)

FAIR is not afraid to dismiss newspaper reports which show a NRM in a reasonable light. In an item on The Children of God (also known as The Family), for instance, it reflects on a report on that organisation in The Guardian on 19 March 1993 in the following way.

> '"**Children of a Lusty God**' was written by Walter Schwarz after he had visited The Children of God at an undisclosed address in Leicestershire. Needless to say, as in any other situation where cult premises are visited by journalists with the intent to write articles, he saw nothing untoward whatever, only happy families in such a wonderful moral set-up that newcomers might be forgiven for thinking this could be a role model for today's youngsters.....The reason for the Family's image polishing is no secret; later in the year a wardship court case will come up, which they

> want to win. They went as far as to bring Celeste (a young woman born into the Children of God and subject of another FAIR report) into the country. Now 18, she herself has nothing to fear concerning wardship proceedings. She is supposed to tell everyone about the happy life she leads in the Family.
>
> (MacKenzie Spring 1993: 6)

The BMU decided that FAIR had very particular aims in view, which in their way were legitimate, but that there was a need for an approach involving a little more objectivity and intellectual rigour than that seen above. As we have already seen, the BMU believed that this more detached and academic approach would be of greater help to individuals and families in providing realistic, accurate and impartial information and so helping them to deal with and understand NRMs. It is also worth reflecting that FAIR comes closer to offering one of Kevin Robins "new localisms" in response to Globalizing pressures than anything else we shall find here - at least in the sense of rejecting these new developments and opting for a more "traditional" view of religion and British society. It is equally worthy of note that those organising a formal response from the Church of England, an approach which in the end was accepted, rejected this approach.

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF NEW RELIGIONS AT SELLY OAK, BIRMINGHAM

At first sight, such an approach could have been provided by the Centre for the Study of New Religions at Selly Oak, Birmingham. The then Director of the Centre, Dr Harold Turner, was - and is - a world expert on African religions. He had spent his ministry in Africa and people from all over the world consulted him on these matters. However, he was not an expert in the same way on the situation in England. Since special expertise in the English situation was essential, this tended to rule out the Selly Oak Centre. In addition, Dr Turner had had a good deal to do with the Unification Church and this made him "suspect" in the eyes of some.

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF NEW RELIGIONS AT KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

The Centre at King's College, seemed very hopeful. Its Director, Dr Peter Clarke, was *very* helpful and interested. He knew the English scene and background very well. The Centre was setting up a database of information

about NRMs and could provide the sort of impartial "academic" approach the BMU sought. It was also already producing its regular magazine/newsletter entitled "Religion Today" under the editorship of Dr Clarke. For some time it looked as though the Centre could be the organisation the BMU could use.

However, it became apparent that there were difficulties. It has already been noted that when it became known that General Synod was interested in NRMs, this generated a good deal of contact and correspondence for the BMU from individuals and from NRMs themselves - in fact more than the BMU wished to cope with. It was initially thought that the King's College Centre might take this work on. However, in discussion it became apparent that the Director's focus was on teaching students - that was what he was employed to do by the University - and because of his duties in the University, he was not necessarily easily available to members of the public. Equally, staffing of the Centre was very limited; only one research student helped Dr Clarke. By this time, the BMU had come to think that the availability of the "Experts", from whichever organisation was chosen, to members of the public for consultation, guidance and discussion of particular cases was necessary. It had become apparent that the Centre, in its then form, could not provide this.

HOUSETOPS

The Secretary to the BMU was *very* impressed with this Roman Catholic organisation and specially its Director, Hans Wijnegaards (Reardon 1994). But, the Director's abilities and expertise meant that he was head of an international organisation, always going across the world and simply not available in the way that the BMU really wanted. For this reason, too, the BMU had to set Housetops aside.

INFORM

The outcome of all this was that approaching the Winter of 1986 nothing specific had been settled. However, at just this time, the Secretary to the BMU became aware that Dr Eileen Barker, then lecturing in Sociology at the London School of Economics, was thinking about setting up just the sort of independent academic institution the BMU was seeking. The BMU, through its Secretary, therefore set about co-operating in setting up this organisation. Dr Barker called together an informal group to explore the possibility of setting up an independent centre. This later acquired the name INFORM, an acronym for Information Network

Focus on Religious Movements. The original intention was that this organisation

> "would liaise with other centres who were willing to co-operate with it and have access to acknowledged experts in this field. It would seek the support of leading academics, the traditional Christian Churches and other bodies. It would seek to provide as objective information as possible, and would be willing to pass enquirers on to networks of counselling and advice, some secular, some Christian, according as the enquirers requested." (BMU 1989: 2)

Dr Barker managed to obtain funding, mainly from the Home Office, but also from other bodies including the Church of England. Charitable status was also obtained for INFORM. The Secretary to the BMU was involved in much of this work and in this way the "Independent Agency" which was going to "try to provide objective information about the new religious movements" to which the House of Bishops had given their backing was established.

B. THE WORK OF INFORM

INFORM was set up as a non-sectarian Charity. It was established to have the following five main functions

:

a. To help "enquirers by giving them information either directly or by putting them in touch with its extensive network of experts.

b. INFORM's research was to cover the collection, analysis and publication of information about the diverse beliefs, practices, membership, organisations and whereabouts of new religious movements, and the consequences of their existence.

c. INFORM's international network of contacts was to include scholars and organisations engaged in research, the friends and relatives of members of the movements, current and ex-members of the movements, and others with specialist knowledge in a wide variety of areas....

d. Although INFORM was not to offer a counselling service itself, it could put enquirers in touch with a network of those who could offer help.....INFORM was to provide training for a small group of professional counsellors....

e. INFORM was to organise Seminars for counsellors, clergy, social workers and others...." (Adapted from INFORM Leaflet *INFORM*)

INFORM aimed to provide information about NRMs in a number of different ways. The system established was that enquiries to the organisation by letter, telephone or in person were to be dealt with, first, by a Case Officer. Specific information about a NRM might be provided on the spot by reference to INFORM's own database. If INFORM did not already know of a specific organisation, it would carry out research to find out about it and would then pass on that information. Alternatively, it would write a series of leaflets about NRMs and make these available tp the public. By the middle of the 1990s several had been produced about specific organisations. Examples are:

a. The School of Economic Science
b. Rajneeshism
c. The Family
d. Opus Dei
e. The London Church of Christ
f. The House Church Movement

In addition, there were two further leaflets; one on the general work of INFORM (quoted above) and a second directed at those who might be interested in a NRM and giving sensible warnings.

> "There are some new religious movements ("cults") that promise solutions to life's problems but can land you with more problems than you started with! Some are dishonest or secretive about who they really are. Some demand more of your time than you might have bargained for. Some could cost you a lot of money.....INFORM can help you: by providing accurate, up-to-date information about new religious movements....". (INFORM Leaflet *Searching)*

In doing its work, INFORM has tried to maintain reasonably open contacts with the NRMs. If possible, its information leaflets have been agreed with the NRMs themselves. The leaflets follow a common format, aimed at giving basic and accurate information. The information is shown under headings which are generally common to all the leaflets. These headings, referring to the specific NRM, are "What are they called". In respect of The London Church of Christ, this section might tell an enquirer:

> "The London Church of Christ used to be known as the Central London Church of Christ. On some occasions it has arranged meetings using different names, such as the 'Biblical Literature Society', the 'North London Christian Fellowship' or the 'Manchester Christian Church'"
>
> (INFORM Leaflet *The London Church of Christ*)

Other headings have been "Where are they from?" and "Where are they found?". Under this latter heading, one was told of Opus Dei,

> "Opus Dei is active in over forty-five countries around the world. Individuals need not change their work on becoming members and are free to run or own shares in any business concern, or be employed in any section of trade, industry or public services".
>
> (INFORM Leaflet *Opus Dei*)

Further headings have usually covered such topics as "What do they believe?", "How are they organised?" or "How do they live?". Information is provided on the sort of people who join the movement and there is always a section on the question of leaving the NRM. In this regard, INFORM says of Rajneeshism,

> "The history of Rajneeshism to date is one in which there have been periods of a high degree of organisation and commitment demanded and periods of a relative lack of organisation, such as at present in the UK. At those times when organisation has prevailed, some leavers have complained of being hounded and oppressed. Given the low boundaries at present in place between the group and the rest of the world, however, those who decide to 'drop sannyas' usually do so without incurring overt hostility..." (INFORM Leaflet *Rajneeshism*)

Finally, the leaflets have usually had a section on "Problems, controversies". This, understandably, is the section which causes most difficulty with the NRMs. This section on 'The Family' advises that

> "Berg's interest in sex has involved The Family in much criticism and many attacks from the media. The most controversial practice, Flirty Fishing, by which female members became 'hookers' for Jesus, just as Jesus had encouraged 'fishers of men' was instigated and supported by

> highly erotic literature written by Berg. These activities can perhaps be seen as a phase in the history of the group which has now moved on to a less radical stage." (INFORM Leaflet *The Family*)

In addition to this work of giving information to enquirers, we have already seen that one of INFORM's purposes is to provide seminars for interested groups, such as clergy. A typical seminar might be that which took place on Thursday, November 26, 1992 at the Free Church Federal Council in Tavistock Square. This day seminar was titled, "New Religious Movements - The Churches' Response?". The Chairman was The Ven. Fred Hazell, then Archdeacon of Croydon and Governor of INFORM and speakers covered such matters as "The proliferation of New Religous Movements and the Challenge to the Churches", "The Attraction of New Religious Movements for Individuals" and " Dealing Pastorally with Families Involved in New Religious Movements." Speakers included Dr Jack Thompson then from the Selly Oak Colleges, the Revd Dr John Wijngaards, Director of 'Housetop', Dr Eileen Barker, then Director of INFORM and the Revd Dr Martin Eggleton, then Governor of INFORM. INFORM was set up to carry out its work in all these ways.

C. INFORM AND THE C of E

INFORM remains the Church of England's main means of dealing with New Religious Movements. Although there is a desk officer in the present Board for Mission in Church House dealing with NRMs, most requests for information and assistance coming to the Board for Mission are passed on to INFORM. Indeed, most of the Board for Mission's files on NRMs have been passed over to INFORM. Occasionally a case is kept within the Board, but this is not the usual procedure. The Church of England has very formal links with INFORM. The Archbishop of Canterbury has, from the outset, been one of the patrons of INFORM. As one might expect he cannot necessarily take a very active role in the organisation. However, he is formally represented on the Board of Governors. His first representative was the Ven. Frederick Hazell, the former Archdeacon of Croydon. Mr Hazell was appointed as Archbishop's representative at the request of the General Synod, Board for Mission and Unity. Having said that, it is a little disingenuous to put it in just that way. When appointed, he was already on the Board for Mission and Unity and known to have a personal interest in NRMs. As he has put it himself:

> "...40 years ago this year (1993) as a Cambridge undergraduate I cut myself loose with great anguish from the extreme Protestant cult (the Exclusive Brethren) in which I'd been brought up, and wondered whether after such an experience of bigotry and intolerance, I could remain a Christian...." (Hazell)

The role of the Archbishop's representative on the Board of Governors is to participate fully in the policy making and management of INFORM and to make reports to the Board for Mission.

In addition to the Archbishop's repesentative there are usually other members of the Church of England on the Board of Governors of INFORM, including the desk officer from from the Board for Mission, who is an observer on the Board. In the mid 1990s, for instance, there were two other Anglican clergy, the Rev. Canon Martin Reardon and the Rev. Alan Walker, Chaplain to Westminster University. It will be seen, therefore, that the Church of England has been strongly represented in INFORM. It has also been noted already that the Church of England made a small contribution to the initial finances of INFORM and still makes a small grant to INFORM's running costs. In all these ways, INFORM has become a major factor in the Church of England's response to New Religious Movements. In turn, its own measured, objective, even academic approach has helped inform the Church of England's response centrally to NRMs and helped to shape the Church of England's responses. With the setting up and operation of INFORM, which took some years to achieve, this first and major stage in the Church of England's response to NRMs is completed. It is now necessary to proceed to consider the second of the three stages proposed as describing the Church of England's direct and formal response.

D. COMMENTARY

The way in which INFORM works and its relationship to the Church of England have been spelt out in some detail and so far no comment on these matters has been made. It is now appropriate to offer some reflection on these matters. The way in which the Church of England has handed over to INFORM its regular involvement with NRMs has a two-fold aspect. On the one hand, no doubt it makes sense to hand over these matters to an organisation like INFORM. These

are sometimes fairly technical matters and certainly they are matters requiring a good deal of background information and expertise, which are only built up by experience and over a period of time. Yet it is also clear that this is an organisation which has, within limits, accepted the reality of the existence of NRMs and, up to a point once more, is non-judgemental about them. Certainly it does not view them simply from the one point of view of the Church of England. There is, therefore, a general acceptance here of religious and cultural pluralism. These organisations are here and they are not going to go away. There is also an acceptance by the Church of England, already noted, that it is no longer the institution which would be entirely trusted in this area. The argument here is that these perceptions derive from the relativization that goes with Globalization and reflect Peter Beyer's theory that "...group cultures or socio-cultural particularisms operate in a very much changed socio-cultural context in global society. They no longer hold the self-evident position they did..."(65). Beyond this, it is argued that the Church of England, in its formal and official response, has essentially accepted this changed perception of the world and accepted that it must respond to it.

This may be taken a step further. Given what was his very formal role in representing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the former Archdeacon of Croydon's own view of the relationship between the Church of England and NRMs will be of some significance and warrants consideration at this stage. At an international conference on NRMs organised in conjunction with INFORM, he put it in the following way:

> "I think it is fair to say that you cannot really understand the C of E's attitude to NRMs unless you know something of the Church's history and that fact that it has over many centuries been woven into the fabric of English society. It was this understanding of itself as simply the English nation viewed from a religious perspective, which made it difficult for it to admit the right of other denominations, and eventually other religions, to exist.....But in the last 50 years the ecumenical movement has changed the ecclesiastical landscape in this country. The old suspicions and bitterness have been replaced, not simply by tolerance and mutual respect, but by a growing recognition that, in a secular age, what the churches have in common is far more important than what divides them.....It is, therefore, very sad from our perspective that at the very

> time we are establishing ever closer relationships with other religious bodies and removing the old divisions we find ourselves deeply worried about certain beliefs and activities of certain NRMs. And I think the C of E and other mainstream churches must ask themselves why it is that a considerable number of people, particularly young people, are attracted by NRMs and are bored with them.....In my view, what, from a traditional and Catholic perspective we call 'heresies', usually begin when the mainline churches neglect part of their heritage and belief, or allow institutional forms to have precedence over faith and worship and prayer and commitment to God." (Hazell)

Although Mr Hazell went on to highlight features of the NRMs that "the C of E would deplore", it is nonetheless notable from the above that his approach is not simply to dismiss them. First, it should be noted that he uses the example of developing co-operation between the C of E and other Christian denominations through the ecumenical movement as a model for the C of E's relationship with NRMs. In this respect it is notable that he says, "It is therefore very sad from our perspective that at the very time we are establishing ever closer relations with other *religious* bodies"(Hazell), rather than speaking of closer relations with other *Christian* bodies. Such an approach and acceptance of some degree of plurality clearly makes some acceptance of the validity of NRMs more possible. Indeed, his general concern for working together between Christian denominations, for dialogue, and comparing this with concern over a sensed pushing away of NRMs is reminiscent of the four principles the BCC establish for relationships with other faiths and noted in the previous section. Mr Hazell's approach is also generally consistent with the approach taken by Canon Reardon and reflected in the "formal" response of the Church of England to NRMs through its reports and the decisions of General Synod.

Mr Hazell's endorsement of ecumenism and then extending it even further to include NRMs ties in his approach even further with the effects of Globalization in two respects. His use of ecumenism as a model takes us back once more to Roland Robertson's scheme for the development of Globalization in which he places ecumenism in phase III, the "take-off" phase for modern Gobalization and to Malcolm Waters' recognition of the significance of the burst of ecumenism in the 1970s. The use of that model refers us back to Globalization once more. The extension of that model to relationships with NRMs, some of which reflect

non-British culture, indicate that pluralism and fragmentation which has been found both in Globalization and Postmodernity and which has been described both in the section on "relativization" and in that on the effect of Globalization on cultural identity. Equally, it reflects that change in cultural expectation which has been discussed under the heading of "Culture Shift".

Secondly, by pointing out the need for co-operation between religious groups in the face of a "secular" world, and by juxtaposing this with views about NRMs, he appears to have a certain sympathy, or at least fellow-feeling, with NRMs when faced with a non-religious world view. This impression of accepting NRMs as having some general validity, even if care (perhaps considerable care) needs to be exercised, is strengthened by his comments about their appeal for younger people over against the established denominations and his assertion that "heresies usually begin when the mainline churches neglect part of their heritage...or allow institutional forms to have precedence over faith and worship..."(Hazell) His assessment of the changes which have occurred to the standing of the C of E within this country and the way in which it views and now works with other denominations once more suggests an acceptance of a degree of religious pluralism in the United Kingdom.

In addition, his assessment of the changed and changing position of the Church of England within Great Britain is yet again indicative of a recognition of that process of relativization and change in cutural identity which may tend to undermine existing institutions like the Church of England. The acceptance that in some way or other the Church of England and NRMs will live together in British society now is also a reflection of Robin Gill's contention that "(i)n a postmodernist context....(u)pholders of various types of apparently incompatible particularism survive together in postmodern society side by side"(1992: 59). Related to this, we may note, finally, that in this seeming acceptance of the reality of NRMs there is a side-stepping of the question of claims to "truth". It has already been shown that such a development is implicit in Postmodernity and it is to this movement that this side-stepping of the issue of specific truth claims is attributed.

It is, therefore, argued here that in all of these matters the powerful processes of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift are seen at work. It is also argued that at a practical, if not necessarily conscious, level these forces are

seen to be accepted as the condition of the world in and with which the Church of England must work.

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS GUIDELINES & ADVISERS

A. BACKGROUND

The history and development of the first of the two recommendations accepted by the House of Bishops from the paper presented to them on June 7th 1984 has been traced so far and commented upon. The second recommendation was "that some general pastoral guidelines should be drawn up on issues raised in the debate about these (new religious) movements." (BMU 1989: 2) In the ensuing period, this basic idea underwent a process of development. It is now intended to describe that development and to reflect upon it. This covers the second phase of the Church of England's formal and official response to appearance and operation of New Religious Movements.

Following the meeting of the House of Bishops in June 1984, the BMU drafted a set of Guidelines, which, alongside various other papers from other churches, were considered at a Day Consultation on New Religious Movements run by the British Council of Churches on April 28th, 1986. This, of course, was in line with the wish of the House of Bishops that there should be consultation with the BCC.

> "A report of this consultation was given to the Board and to the Executive Committee of the British Council of Churches. It became clear that written guidelines in themselves were not enough. A church network of advisers was also needed." (BMU 1989: 4)

Written Guidelines would not be sufficiently flexible nor, indeed, sufficiently comprehensive, to meet the sorts of questions, enquiries and problems which had already been encountered and were perceived as likely to arise in the future. Pastorally, too, it was felt that personal contact was necessary. It has already been noted that it was considerations such as these which ruled out the Centre For The Study of New Religions at King's College, London as the independent agency chosen to provide objective information about NRMs. The application of such considerations was, therefore, consistent with the overall approach taken to NRMs.

It has also been noted that the Church of England was the first into this field. Subsequently, the BCC Executive Committee met on October 2nd, 1986 and :

> "Agreed to ask the Church of England to consider whether it would be possible through the Board for Mission and Unity....to prepare guidelines and initiate a network of advisers based upon dioceses. The intention would be for this network to be as ecumenical as possible."
>
> (BMU 1989: 5)

However, time passed and no particular action was taken. This was because NRMs were not necessarily the most pressing matter with which those involved were having to deal. It was intended, for instance, that dealing with NRMs should only occupy a relatively small part of the working life of the Secretary to the BMU. However, the issue was discussed again at a meeting of the BCC Executive Committee on January 6th, 1988. At that meeting it was decided that action really ought to be taken and that an inter-denominational system of advisers and counsellors should be established throughout the UK and Ireland. The BCC Executive Committee, therefore, asked the BMU "to invite the Bishops of the Church of England to take the initiative in England..." (BMU 1989: 5)

B. GUIDELINES AND ADVISERS

The Secretary to the BMU attended a meeting of the House of Bishops on 26th January 1988, at which it was "agreed that (he) should write to all Diocesan and Area Bishops inviting them to consult with the leaders of the other churches in their area and jointly appoint a Churches' Adviser on New Religious Movements." (Reardon 1988) The outcome of this decision was that:

"The BMU, assisted by the staff of the Board for Social Responsibility and with the help of INFORM, produced a further draft of the Guidelines. These included:

a. An outline of some existing resources (Agencies, bibliography, addresses).

b. A general description of New Religious Movements (which did not contain details of individual movements), and an estimate of their size and influence in the UK.

c. An outline of the principles of religious liberty as they affected New Religious Movements.

d. An outline of suggested principles for relations between the Churches and the movements.

e. A simple outline suggesting what attracted people to the movements, and therefore what Christians who joined them may have found lacking in the Church.

g. Some consideration of points of doctrine and ethics which should be examined to discover the difference between some of these movements and the orthodox Christian Churches. (Item g. follows e. in the Report)

h. Some advice for relatives and friends of people who become involved in a New Religious Movement." (BMU 1989: 5 - 6)

These Guidelines will be considered in greater detail below.

The Guidelines were sent to Bishops of the Church of England on 26th May 1988 as an Appendix to a covering letter entitled 'New Religious Movements'. It should be noted that "relationships with Cults/New Religious Movements (was) a highly controversial matter" (Reardon 1988) and as a result, these guidelines as a whole were marked "CONFIDENTIAL". Research has indicated that this had as much to do with the fear of an adverse reaction from particular groups and elements within the Church of England as from concern about such a reaction from groups, such as parents of 'Cult' members, outside the Church.(Slee) Indeed, research indicates that when the matter was first raised in the House of Bishops, Bishops of the Church of England were split as to whether the matter should be addressed at all. They were concerned both with the possible reaction from within the Church to anything being said officially and with the possibility that any official pronouncement might leave the way clear for a member of a NRM to take libel action against the Church of England. Those wishing to address the issue won the day. (Slee) The Secretary to the BMU was clear

about the controversial nature of the issue, "Some Christians regard all the Cults as the work of the devil; others believe they should be respected in the same way as the older religions." (Reardon 1988)

The acceptance of pluralism reflected in this second reaction of Bishops has already been considered in the previous section. The first reaction of Bishops is equally capable of interpretation as one possible reaction to that dislocation of cultural identity considered by Stuart Hall. It has already been noted that Kevin Robins identifies the possibility that one reaction to these social and cultural changes will be a counter-tendency to "re-localization" seen in a reversion to the local and traditional. In religion this will manifest itself in an adherence to traditional or fundamentalist forms of religion. Seeing NRMs as "the work of the devil" may reasonably be interpreted in this latter light. In these two perceived ways of reacting, therefore, it is possible once more to see the forces of Globalization and fragmentation at work. It should be noted in what follows that the formal response of the Church of England, through the BMU, is to eschew a "re-localization" in the form of traditional or fundamentalist religion.

As already agreed at the meeting of the House of Bishops in January and noted above, the letter also asked the Bishops to take the initiative in their dioceses in consulting with the leaders of the other Churches to consider the appointment of someone to act as an adviser to the Churches on New Religious Movements. This letter was copied to the headquarters of other main churches in the country. In passing, we note once more the insistence on ecumenism and its roots in Globlization. The intention was that these advisers should at least be able to provide information to Bishops and any other enquirers (INFORM would be a suitable avenue for acquiring the necessary information), that perhaps they should be able to provide counselling if necessary, or that they should be able to pass on those needing counselling to others who were able to provide it.

A full survey of dioceses having appointed advisers was carried out by the Board of Mission in September 1992. At that time most dioceses had appointed an adviser. There were some notable examples. Ely, Exeter and Gloucester dioceses had declined to appoint anyone specific. The Bishop of Peterborough named himself as the contact and the Board for Mission records that

> "the Bishop said he did not want Peterborough to appear on any list; that

> any problems would be dealt with internally; that he wishes the Diocese to be distanced from INFORM and that he regarded his own problems with e.g. Jesus Army to be a delicate issue and not to be shared more widely than the Diocesan boundary" (Board of Mission 1992).

Similarly, although the request from the BMU was that these appointments were to be ecumenical, the list of those appointed suggests that the advisers were generally restricted to clergy of the Church of England. Discussion with the adviser from Guildford Diocese suggests that even when appointed, they have not been greatly used. This view is supported by comment in respect of the diocese of York: "The Archbishop decided he (the diocesan adviser) would not be replaced while there seemed to be insufficient need." (Board of Mission 1992)

The question arises as to why this extensive and quite complex system of advisers was set up. In part, it was because the then Secretary to the BMU considered that this was a role the churches, and specifically the Church of England, could or should undertake (Reardon 1994). Beyond this, however, it was seen to be necessary because INFORM is unable to undertake counselling directly. This came out of their application for Charitable status. The Charity Commissioners were not sure initially that INFORM should be granted Charitable status. They were very concerned about them doing counselling, arguing that it would be difficult to determine where counselling ended and de-programming began. If they were to be a Charity, they had to be completely objective. INFORM was, therefore, required to eschew counselling: although, ironically, as soon as they acquired Charitable status the Home Office asked them to take on counselling. In fact they have not done so directly to preserve their status. In these circumstances the Churches were the obvious vehicle for this work.

C. ADVICE TO ECUMENICAL ADVISERS

Having established that the churches should set up an ecumenical system of advisers and having formally requested Diocesan and Area Bishops to make the necessary appointments, by his letter of 26th May, 1988, the Secretary to the BMU also sent, under cover of that letter and as an Appendix to it, guidelines as set out above. In particular, guidelines were provided for the Advisers. These set

out to provide background information and advice on how to proceed. This background information and advice provides both a good insight into how the BMU regarded NRMs and gives us a further insight into some of the more general issues with which the Church of England was faced. The particular subjects covered in this advice to the Ecumenical Advisers were:

a. What are New Religious Movements?
b. Religious Liberty
c. Relations Between Churches And New Religious Movements
d. What attracts people to New Religious Movements
e. The teaching of New Religious Movements compared with Christian doctrine.
f. A theology and strategy of mission towards New Religious Movements

These topics reflect, of course, the subject headings of the draft Guidelines produced earlier that year, subsequent to the meeting of the House of Bishops on 26th January.

Because it gives the clearest understanding it is likely we shall obtain of the attitude of the Church of England centrally to NRMs, this advice to the Ecumenical Advisers will now be considered relatively briefly under the topic headings.

What are New Religious Movements?: It is notable that the advice to Advisers puts NRMs into a global, or even "Globalized" perspective and it clearly sees NRMs and this particular perspective as a new development, particular to the twentieth century. Once more it is apparent from the material itself that Globalization is at work. The advice given here is that

"(the) twentieth century, and especially the second half of the twentieth century, has seen the multiplication of new religious movements, very many of which have deviated from the mainstream of the traditional world faiths...They have occurred all over the world, but most of those which have occurred in Britain have had their origin either in eastern religions or in Christianity."

(Reardon 1988 Appendix: 3)

That this "Globalizing" perspective is at work is suggested further by a sense

that the Church of England's view of itself in relation to the NRMs has been relativised to a degree so that the Church of England sees itself as being in a world where such phenomena as NRMs exist and, more importantly, where they *may* have a certain value which must be considered in each case and on its own merits. That this relativising and pluralistic force has been active and changing the Church of England's own perception of itself is apparent from the views of the Ven. Frederick Hazell, noted in the previous section.

In the light of this relativized understanding of the Church of England's position, the formal advice from the BMU reflects these forces at work and the advice is that NRMs

> "vary enormously in their values, and no attempt will be made in these Guidelines to categorise them into groups...In dealing with these movements it is very important to study each particular movement and not to assume that they all behave in the same way.....Some contain insights and spiritual practices of considerable worth. Others are superficial or even dangerous in the methods they use....Some of them have used methods of raising money or winning converts that have been socially unacceptable. Where this has simply been due to the over-enthusiasm of a young movement, there has sometimes been a willingness to alter methods. In other cases it has been due to a set of values which are fundamentally at variance with those of the rest of society. We should not assume the worst." (Appendix: 3)

This relativising pressure is held in a certain tension with, what was at that time, the Church of England's feeling of relative ease with it's position in this country, although this may now have changed somewhat in the light of events such as the financial crisis brought about by the Church Commissioners. However, this "feeling" may be indicated by the attempt to put NRMs into a particular numerical perspective.

> "Because of their novelty the New Religious Movements have received a disproportionate amount of media attention.....the impression has been given that they have a large membership and influence. This is not true. They are at present surprisingly small and volatile, although very active. It would be a serious mistake for the Churches to over-react to them. Their

> total fully committed membership in the UK has been estimated at less than 15,000." (Appendix: 3)

This apparent feeling of relative ease about the Church of England's position in the UK is allied to a pastoral concern to help people not to over-react, in the belief that this can make matters worse in particular situations. "We should not assume the worst". But here in this section we see Globalization at work and held in tension with the Church of England's perception of its traditional position and role in the UK.

Religious Liberty: It has already been noted that in preparing his initial report to the House of Bishops, the Secretary to the BMU had in mind the need to safeguard religious liberty and to be aware of the "legal" safeguards already in place to try to protect religious freedom. In this regard the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have already been noted. The advice to Ecumenical Advisers spells this out and sets a reaction and response to NRMs within a context of individual "rights".

> "Tension most frequently occurs in late adolescence or early adulthood. It is when young people assume responsibility for running their own lives that some of them are attracted to New Religious Movements, very often to the shock of their parents, who are sometimes tempted to re-act as if their children were still infants without rights to choose their own beliefs and way of life....Here we merely state the principle that when a child comes of age he or she also has the right and responsibility to choose his or her own religious affiliation." (Appendix: 4-5)

This way of looking at things has become such a commonplace to us that we may fail to see within it some of the same pressures as have already been noted above. It has already been argued that the notion of universal "rights" is itself a global concept coming out of Enlightenment ideas and, according to Roland Robertson, particularly evident in the latest phase of Globalization.

> "One of the most significant legacies of the Enlightenment for modern social and political thought has been the belief that the universal community of humankind is in all respects '...the end or object of the highest moral endeavour'. Underlying this vision is the assumption that at

> root the needs and interests of all human beings are universally similar. Such a vision has shaped the emancipatory aspirations of both liberalism and Marxism, which have been committed to the destruction of those structures....deemed to suppress the realization of a cosmopolitan world order based upon liberty, justice and equality for all humankind."
>
> (McGrew 1992: 62)

This concern for universal human rights of the kind argued for by the Secretary to the BMU, almost unreflectively as a given, is seen by some to point to the reality of a world society. In this is seen the very same influence of "Globalization", albeit based in attitudes and approaches inherited from the Enlightenment, already noted.

This presupposition of the individual human right and responsibility to exercise a choice in religious affiliation, already noted as a consequence of Globalization, leads the Church of England, through the person of the Secretary to the BMU, to make the significant assertion that attempts to push members of NRMs in any particular direction are wrong. "All attempts to use physical or psychological force in either proselytism or 'deprogramming' run counter to the principle of religious liberty and are therefore *fundamentally* (my italics) unacceptable." (Reardon 1988 Appendix: 5) This argument is essentially deontological. Such action is, by its nature wrong, no argument is offered to justify that position, it is simply assumed. Following this deontological argument, a secondary consequential argument is put for not using physical or psychological force, which is that such attempts "can be very damaging to personality and rarely achieve their presumed goals." (Appendix: 5) Through the notion of universal rights we see, once more, pressures and attitudes derived from the wider world, that is from the perspective of Globalization, at work in the way in which the Church of England seeks to apply itself to particular problems.

Relations Between Churches And New Religious Movements: It has already been noted that in 1981 the British Council of Churches published a document titled "Relations with People of Other Faiths: Guidelines for Dialogue in Britain." It has also been shown that this sought to give guidance about dialogue with other faiths under four headings. The advice to Ecumenical Advisers stated that "the Four Principles there set out apply fundamentally also to relations with New Religious Movements." (Appendix: 5) In this way, the Church of England is

putting NRMs on the same footing as the other major world faiths. Here, once more, there is a recognition that the Church of England has to operate in a world, in which the perspective is global, a situation which relativises the Church of England, in which there is pluralism and which means that it must take seriously religious views and perspectives other than its own. This also reflects the view arising from functional differentiation that there is little difference between the various forms of religious organisation, or institution. In effect, they are all means for managing contingency and selectivity. The significant point to draw from this is that all are placed on an equal footing.

The advice acknowledges that there are factors which may make relations with New Religious Movements more difficult at present than relations with the great traditional faiths. One of these factors is the lack of adequate balanced information, implicitly arguing for an organisation like INFORM. Nevertheless, it also assumes that there will be, indeed must be, dialogue between the Churches and the NRMs. This is the whole thrust behind the BCC paper of 1981 as it relates to the major world faiths and it is this same approach which is extended to the NRMs.

> "Most of the reporting of these movements in the Press has been of their idiosyncrasies...The popular view of these movements is therefore initially negative....As has been mentioned earlier many New Religious Movements are still developing their teaching and theology. It is all the more important, therefore, that there should be quiet, unpublicised dialogue between responsible people from the Churches and responsible members of these movements." (Appendix: 5)

The advice recognises that there will be mistrust between the Churches and NRMs, in part because members of NRMs may formerly have been Christians and because "many Christians believe that some representatives of some New Religious Movements have used unscrupulous methods to advance their cause."(Appendix: 6) This is seen as cause for giving the same advice."Whether this is true or not, it is an argument for quiet and unpublicised dialogue to precede any public statement." (Appendix: 6) It is worth repeating, that here there is a recognition that the Church of England has to operate in a world in which the perspective is global, a situation which relativises the Church of England, in which there is pluralism and which means that it must take seriously

religious views and perspectives other than its own.

Reflected in the advice is the concern expressed in the question to the House of Bishops in General Synod, put in 1984, that NRMs will misrepresent themselves. The advice accepts that there may be something to learn from NRMs, "This is not to say that many experienced Christians have not learnt much from eastern techniques of meditation"(Appendix: 7). We note, therefore, the suggestion that it is possible, at least in principle, to take from various religious traditions. However, this is heavily qualified.

> "Particular methods of meditation have been developed in particular religious traditions, and that it is likely that an unwary person, learning to use a particular technique of meditation, will absorb elements of the religion in which it was developed....they need to be learned under experienced Christian guidance if the learner is to avoid the risk of unrecognised syncretism." (Appendix: 7)

The advice goes further in warning against specific misrepresentation.

> "The other circumstance has been where the New Religious Movement using the church premises has either regarded itself as being in the Christian tradition, or has claimed that it is a philosophy or way of life rather than a religion. In these cases, the unwary Christian may think it is possible to belong both to the New Religious Movement and to his or her own Christian Church. As a general rule we have found that this is not possible..." (Appendix: 7)

We see here a certain tension between the recognition that NRMs exist in the world, that certain of them may even have something of value to offer, certainly that they cannot simply be ignored, and a wish to retain a view of Christian distinctiveness, maybe even uniqueness, a concern reflected in the original question to General Synod.

This tension, negatively one might even say confusion, is further illustrated in the advice given about accepting invitations to speak at conferences organised by NRMs. Earlier in the advice we have seen that it was said dialogue with NRMs was valuable or even necessary presumably because good relations

were thought to be of some benefit to the Church living in the world as it is. However, the advice about accepting invitations to conferences is first that they should be treated with caution because "we have to recognise that some New Religious Movements have in the past used such collaboration for publicity purposes, seeming to imply a greater level of support for their actvities than was intended."(Appendix: 7) But, on the other hand, these are also seen as possible avenues for Christian mission. "Moreover, they are occasions for Christians to witness to the Gospel - and we should remember that a number of ex-members of New Religious Movements have found their way (back) into the Christian Church." (Appendix: 7) It is argued, therefore, that the approach taken here is ambivalent - on the one hand recognising the realities of the world , the need for co-operation and dialogue and even mutual support, but at the same time wishing to retain older certainties relating to Christian distinctiveness and uniqueness which lead to rivalry and competition.

What attracts people to New Religious Movements: This section of the advice raises further interesting issues. Whilst being clear that generalisations can be dangerous or misleading, the advice to the Ecumenical Advisers is that "the evidence suggests it is not often the teaching of some of these Movements so much as their idealism, enthusiastic spirituality, and warm supportive groups" (Appendix: 8) that encourages people to join them. "In a materialist, depressed and individualistic society these qualities stand out."(Appendix: 8) This is a clear reflection of the view expressed about the impenetrability of Modernity by Ernest Gellner. The advice given to the advisers and more generally to the Churches is clear cut. "The best antidote to New Religious Movements would be an enthusiastic and idealistic Church made up of supportive groups of Christians...The New Religious Movements will therefore not be overcome by theological argument alone, but by a renewal of the life of the Christian Church." (Appendix: 8)

Although there may be a certain truth in this advice, it surely ignores the arguments and evidence put forward earlier in this dissertation for Culture Shift, which may be adversely affecting the institutional churches - in part because of a particular sort of perception as to what they are or stand for, but also because of what they teach. The view of Dr Peter Clarke that "(t)here is no doubt that many new religionists find the Judaeo-Christian notion of God, both intellectually and psychologically, a tremendous obstacle" (Religion Today Spring 1993: 1).

Equally, it seems to assume that the mainstream denominations are still one of the first places to which people will turn for their religious life. However, this in itself takes no account of the phenomenon of "Believing Without Belonging", which was associated with the effects of Globalization. This phenomenon of itself makes the whole situation much more difficult for the mainstream churches and alone suggests that the Secretary to the BMU was not entirely conscious of all the forces which are at work in the religious life of Great Britain now. Simply renewing the life of the Christian Church, and many different attempts have been made in recent years, will not touch those for whom "Believing Without Belonging" has become their normal mode of coping with religious issues. It has already been pointed out, too, that the longer people remain detached from the churches the further their "doctrinal" position moves from the orthodox, so that even in this regard the churches, their actions and doctrines, may come to seem inexplicable to those beyond their borders. It may be felt, therefore, that in this area the Secretary to the BMU has not been aware of the extent of the problem facing those trying to deal with NRMs.

The Teaching of New Religious Movements compared with Christian Doctrine: The advice to Ecumenical Advisers on matters of doctrine is relatively brief and general. This is because, as has already been noted, the writers did not consider teaching and doctrine to be of fundamental importance in determining whether people become members of NRMs although certain writers, such as James Beckford, have suggested it may be significant in determining whether they leave NRMs. The point is also made that NRMs are very different in character and teaching, whilst the teaching of many is still developing. However, it is considered that certain areas can be seen as highlighting the difference between orthodox Christianity and many of the NRMs. These are:

a. The doctrines of Christ and God, including the Trinity and the uniqueness and divinity of Christ.

b. On the part of NRMs, "an over sanguine belief in the capabilities of men and women to work for their own perfection."(Appendix: 9) The doctrine of justification by faith.

c. The grace of God.

d. Resurrection as against reincarnation.

e. The end of the world and salvation - some NRMs are seen as teaching utopianism, millenarianism or messianism.

This brief check list is seen as being helpful in countering those NRMs "which are popularly considered compatible with Christianity or which themselves claim to be Christian"(Appendix: 9), and in this way seeks once more to answer the concern expressed in the original question to General Synod for advice how to "teach the faith more clearly in order to remedy the influence of such movements." The ambivalence in the overall advice as to whether NRMs are organisations to be recognised within a "globalised" and pluralist society and with which to hold dialogue or whether they are movements to be countered and competed with seems apparent in this section.

This is one more point at which it should be noted that the matter of truth claims is touched upon once more. Again, although the teachings of orthodox Christianity are set out and a comparison made with the teachings of some NRMs, it is also clear that no specific claims are made as to the "truth", in an absolute sense, of Christian claims. This refers us back once more to Postmodernity's concern with truth claims, and their impossibility. It is recognised that part of the reason for dealing with this matter in this particular way was to address the concern that there might be NRMs with a passing resemblance to Christianity which try to argue that dual membership was not a problem. Nonetheless, it is argued here that the particular way in which things were done is still a reflection of the difficulty of making claims as to absolute truth in the postmodern condition. Equally, the pressure to make some sort of "truth" claim is, it is argued here, a reflection of the pressure on the Church of England in some quarters to make its position clearer and more obviously defined. This is not necessarily a new thing, for there would be many historians of Church history who would see the development of central tenets of doctrine in the early centuries of the history of the Church, coming out of a reaction to what was considered "heresy" at the time. Nonetheless, even then it was a response to pluralism and may now be interpreted in the light of Kevin Robins' theory that new "localisms" may be one response to pluralism and relativization coming out of Globalization.

A theology and strategy of mission towards New Religious Movements: This same dilemma seems apparent in the final section of proposed advice to the Ecumenical Advisers. For this starts by saying,"The fourth principle of the British Council of Churches' Guidelines for Dialogue with People of Other Faiths is that dialogue becomes the medium of authentic witness. This is the least well

understood of the four principles." (Appendix: 9) The advice then is:

> "true encounter, meeting at depth, depends on listening as well as speaking....Listening always comes first....The principle of listening rules out spurious forms of mission, like proselytism. Proselytism is whatever violates the right of the human person to be free from external coercion in religious matters..." (Appendix: 10)

It is really quite difficult to discern just what is meant by mission in these circumstances, for it seems to want to avoid an active attempt to persuade, except indirectly. "A situation therefore in which Christians and members of New Religious Movements listen to one another and learn about one another is an excellent opportunity for authentic Christian witness and evangelism."

(Appendix: 10)

Here one sees a Church which understands its own changed position in the world, but wishes to maintain its traditional role as a missionary organisation, but does not feel able to be especially robust about that in what is perceived to be a pluralist society. One way of understanding this apparent dilemma would be to accept Robin Gill's contention that in Post modernity "the upholders of various types of apparently incompatible particularism survive together....side by side. Theoretically in contention and seeking to proselytise each other, but in reality respecting each others particularism"(1992: 59). It is also once further indication that the Church of England has accepted, even if not quite consciously, this interpretation of its situation.

D. ADVICE TO RELATIVES AND FRIENDS

> "The greatest single problem in relation to New Religious Movements is the pastoral care of families broken up by the adherence of one or more of its members to a New Religious Movement. Parents affected by some of the more extreme things they have read in the Press or seen on television, sometimes over-react when they realise their son or daughter has joined a New Religious Movement. This reaction is often tinged with a deep sense of guilt. They feel they have failed as parents, and they often react in a totally unsuitable or authoritarian way." (Appendix: 8)

In this way the section of the advice to Ecumenical Advisers on "What attracts people to New Religious Movements" ends.

It serves to explain, however, why the "Guidelines" sent to Bishops on 26th May 1988 included a section which contains advice from a "Counsellor" to those who are concerned because a relative or friend has joined a NRM. This advice was amended somewhat by the Secretary to the BMU.(Reardon 1989: para C) It was provided so that Diocesan Advisers might have some idea of how to respond to those who might come to them and offers an insight into the sort of advice which might be given. It is of significance here because it is part of the overall advice given from the Church of England centrally and offers a clear insight into the way in which the Church of England, through the official channel of the BMU, felt that NRMs should be approached and adherents dealt with. This section is also clearly pastoral in nature and reflects, once more, a concern expressed in the original question to General Synod that the House of Bishops should advise "the clergy and people of the Church of England how to respond to help those who are damaged" by being a member of a NRM.

The advice to be offered to a relative or a friend of someone joining a "cult" aimed first at encouraging restraint and a degree of objectivity.

> "On the one hand, it is best not to re-act on impulse, but to give yourself time to take in what has happened to acknowledge your feelings and your right to have them whatever they are.....It will probably help to talk to someone about your reactions, for example to a friend or another relative. However, they may feel as strongly as you do and need help themselves. In this case consider talking with someone not immediately involved such as a counsellor. Choose someone you know or to whom you are referred who will respect your feelings and give you the time and attention you need to work out in your own way what you feel and think, and what else you need to know and consider before you take any action. *Try not to rush this, but give yourself the opportunity you need* " (my italics). (Appendix: 10)

The Church of England was clearly advising that, if possible, immediate and extreme reactions should be avoided.

This was not to say that there may not be circumstances in which swift action would not be appropriate.

> "There may well be good reason for acting quickly. Your friend or relative may be under pressure to relinquish large sums of money or possessions to the group. He or she may be expected to marry someone of the group's choosing, or to travel abroad out of contact with all previous family or friends. In these circumstances, it is important to seek expert advice as quickly as possible from those who know the group or movement concerned." (Appendix: 11)

This apart, however, the advice is in favour of caution, moderation and not over-reacting. Indeed, this fits with the response noted above throughout the advice. "Recognise that you are not as helpless in the situation as you may feel. Your relative or friend is not necessarily a victim of some conspiracy or brain-washing. It is more likely that he or she has had a religous experience, or is in process of making an important decision."(Appendix: 11) The parent or relative is advised to find out as much about the organisation as possible, seeking always accurate and unbiased information so that they know what they are dealing with. Then they are advised to maintain contact with the person in the NRM in a number of different ways and circumstances.

> "Work out from the information that you collect the best way to make or maintain contact with your relative or friend....Try to communicate interest in what your relative or friend is doing. Be honest but not hostile...The most hopeful message to convey is: 'I know that whatever our differences now we will continue to relate and love each other. I respect your right to your opinions and way of life.....' If your friend or relative comes back to you for a visit try to relate as openly, honestly and respectfully as you can....Act in ways that communicate." (Appendix: 12)

The advice given is to try to avoid seeing or describing the NRM or the person who is the member of it as deviant or defective. Parents and friends are told,

> "This may be very difficult if he or she appears to have changed completely from the person you once knew. Many people do not have much self-confidence, and often take major decisions as part of their

> attempt to build up their confidence. At such a time personal criticism can feel very threatening, and to protect themselves, individuals will often move even further away from their critics." (Appendix: 12)

Such a way of reacting to the NRM and its adherents fits once more with the line generally taken in the advice to Ecumenical Advisers and whilst, no doubt, being very practical denotes an acceptance of the situation which opponents of "cults" and some within the Church of England might find surprisingly non-judgemental. This approach is exemplified in the advice that parents or friends should "try not to convey a sense of disappointment or of rejection. Statements like, 'Do this and you cannot expect to be a child of mine', are understandable but also very damaging." (Appendix: 12)

This advice to caution, restraint, avoiding judgement, accepting what has happened, all based on a concept of the freedom of the individual to make a free choice as to their religious affiliation reflects the approach taken throughout the advice given to Ecumenical Advisers and we may see similar factors and pressures applying throughout. It is thus with the setting up of this system of Advisers and the offering of these Guidelines and advice that the second phase of the Church of England's formal and official response to NRMs concluded.

E. CONCLUSION

Throughout this consideration of the history and development of this second of the BMUs recommendations accepted by the House of Bishops attention has been drawn to those features which, it has been argued, are likely to result from or are consistent with Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. On several occasions, in the reported version of informal discussions in the House of Bishops, in the advice to Ecumenical Advisers on what NRMs are, on relations between Churches and NRMs, attention has been drawn to the effects of pluralism and the relativization of the position of the Church of England. These effects have been attributed to the operation of Globalization and the fragmenting potential of Postmodernity. It has been argued that in the establishment of a group of advisers, the Bishops' insistence on ecumenical action has, following Roland Roberts, its roots in Globalization. Similarly, the advice to Ecumenical Advisers about the significance of religious liberty has been attributed to a wider concern for a universal view of humankind, which,

according to Anthony McGrew, has its roots in the Enlightenment and which, according to Roland Robertson, is particularly evident in the latest phase of Globalization.

It has been argued that in its advice about relations between the Churches and NRMs, the C of E has effectively put NRMs on the same footing as other world faiths and in this has been seen the insight from functional differentiation, that in such globalizing systems theory there is little difference between religions and religious institutions, they are all ways of managing contingency. Indications of Kevin Robins' theory of the possibility of "new localizations" resulting from Globalization have been found in the reported informal discussions in the House of Bishops and in the insistence on a formal statement of the difference between the teaching of NRMs compared to Christian Doctrine in the advice to Ecumenical Advisers. But equally, it has been argued that reticence to establish "truth claims" in the formal documents reflects that same reticence found in Postmodernity. In considering the advice about what attracts people to NRMs, it has been argued that it is possible to discern the importance of Culture Shift and of the potential significance of 'Believing without Belonging. Finally, in the advice about a theology and strategy of mission to NRMs it has been argued that here is illustrated Robin Gill's assessment that in Postmodernity "the upholders of various types of incompatible particularism survive together...side by side. Theoretically in contention and seeking to proselytise each other, but in reality respecting each others particularism" (1992: 59). In all of these ways, it has been argued, it is possible to see the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift in the implementation of the BMU's second recommendation to the House of Bishops.

CHAPTER NINE

REPORT - GS MISC 317

AND

A PRIVATE MEMBER'S MOTION

A. GENERAL SYNOD REPORT GS MISC 317

> "In recent years within the General Synod of the C of E there has been much disquiet over the activities of certain NRMs and 2 years ago (*in fact 1989*) there was a private member's motion introduced to the General Synod which attempted to exclude one particular NRM, the Unification Church, from charitable status." (Hazell)

In this way The Venerable Frederick Hazell describes the mood of General Synod as regards NRMs in and around 1989. This is also a reflection of feeling elsewhere in the country and more widely in Europe. An MEP had put down a motion in the European Parliament that there should be laws prohibiting NRMs. The motion was rejected. It was also around this time that the Government produced a White Paper entitled '*Charities - A Framework For The Future*'. And so, the position of NRMs in Western European society and their charitable status was a "current" issue and once more we are given a clear indication that this is more than a 'local' issue. This is something which is of concern to Europe as a whole and which is perceived as being in some way external to Europe itself. In this sense we are brought back to a very broad, even 'Global', perspective. It is intriguing, too, that the centre of all this concern, the Unification Church, takes for itself a "global" perspective. Its full name, "The Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity", is indicative of this. The

founder, the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, makes this clearer.

> "Unification Church members worldwide work tirelessly to comfort the suffering heart of God by striving to end the enduring pain of humanity....The original goal of uniting Christianity, and eventually all people under God as the Heavenly Parent of humankind is still the fundamental purpose of the Unification Church." (Moon 1988: 3)

It is with this background that the third phase of the Church of England's formal response to NRMs is now to be considered.

It became known to the BMU early in 1988 that the Rev Dr John Saxbee, then General Synod member for Exeter Diocese and now Bishop of Ludlow, was intending to introduce a Private Member's motion into General Synod concerning the charitable status of the Unification Church, the Moonies. His Private Member's motion was tabled on 5 February 1988, although it was not actually discussed in General Synod until the November Group Sessions in 1989. It was tabled two days after the then Attorney General, Sir Patrick Mayhew had announced his decision not to go ahead with an appeal against the Charity Commissioners' refusal to remove the Unification church from its register of Charities. This was a controversial decision at the time and occasioned questions in Parliament in the House of Commons. Indeed, the Attorney General considered it a matter of such public concern that he took the very unusual step of giving a verbal answer in Parliament to a written question. Because of the controversial nature of this decision and its relationship to Dr Saxbee's Private Member's motion, I set out below part of the Hansard transcript for 3 February 1988 is set out below to indicate both the concern at the Attorney General's decision and his action in answering verbally a written question.

> "*The following question stood upon the Order Paper:*
>
> **Mr Tom Sackville** (Bolton West): To ask the Attorney-General what progress there has been in relation to the charity proceedings now pending in his name in connection with the Unification Church; and if he will make a statement.
>
> **The Attorney-General** (Sir Patrick Mayhew): With permission, Mr Speaker, I will now answer question No. 89.

Proceedings were instituted in the high court by my predecessor in December 1984 in connection with two trusts associated with the Unification Church. Those trusts were respectively known as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity and the Sun Myung Moon foundation.....In 1984 each of those trusts was, and each still remains, entered in the statutory register of charities maintained by the Charity Commission. That register properly comprises only those trusts whose objects are truly and exclusively charitable in English law.....(My predecessor) appealed against the refusal of the Charity Commissioners to accede to his request that they remove the association and the foundation from the register of charities....Whatever view may be taken of its tenets, the Unification Church must, as a matter of law, be regarded as a religion. In English law there is a strong presumption that any trust for the advancement of any religion, without distinction, is charitable unless the contrary is proved by evidence admissable in court proceedings..... Since the proceedings were begun, the Treasury Solicitor has gone to immense lengths to in seeking out additional evidence from those who have been associated with the Unification Church. Some further witnesses have approached him on their own initiative.....The most careful analysis has now been made of the totality of the evidence available to me, set against the legal presumption to which I have referred. Some of it, when tested in the light of all the material now available, has proved to be insufficiently reliable. The remainder, when seen in the overall context, is shown to be of insufficient weight to rebut the legal presumption. I have now been advised by leading counsel that it is most unlikely that, if the appeal proceeded to trial, I should be able to dislodge that strong legal presumption of charitable status. After the most careful consideration, I agree with that advice.

Mr. Sackville: Is my right hon. and learned Friend aware that his answer will come as a grave disappointment to many people, particularly to those families who have been the victims of the so-called Moonies, Scientologists, and other cults and who have experienced the ruthless methods and unacceptable behaviour of those cults?.....

Mr. Alex Carlile (Montgomery):.....Does the Attorney-General agree that it is regrettable that, nearly four years later, our charity law is wholly

inadequate to deal with Moonies? Will he now set about reforming the charity law quickly before more people are reduced to misery and destruction....

Mr. David Wilshire (Spelthorne): Does my right hon. Friend accept that his statement is outrageous to many of us?.....

Mr. Tam Dalyell (Linlithgow): What was the parliametnary precedent for the Attorney-General coming to the House and answering orally a written question?....

Mr. Speaker: Order. I share the hon. Gentleman's concern, but there are precedents for this.

Mr. Tony Banks (Newham, North West): Can we be assured that the Moonies have not got at the Treasury Solicitor or the Attorney-General himself, in view of this disappointing statement? Will the Attorney-General tell the House why he thought it necessary to answer in this way, by making a statement from the Dispatch Box?....

The Attorney-General: I hoped that the wide concern expressed in this House over a number of years about the Unification Church would be its own justification for my coming to the Dispatch Box...."

(Hansard, 3 Feb 1988: Cols 973 - 978)

These extracts from Hansard for 3 February 1988 will illustrate the strong feeling in the country, expressed through Parliament, about the activities of NRMs such as the Unification Church and particularly the dropping of the court case to remove charitable status from them. They also indicate the seriousness with which the Attorney-General took the matter, to the extent that he took the unusual step of replying verbally to a written question.

The Private Member's motion, tabled by Dr John Saxbee on 5 February 1988, reflected the concern expressed by Members of Parliament and in particular the concern of Alex Carlile that the law should be changed so as to exclude the Unification Church. The motion, as it appeared at the November Group Sessions in 1989, read:

> "I beg to move:
>
> 'That this Synod supports the introduction of legislation to exclude the Unification Church (known as the Moonies) from any presumption of charitable status given to religion by English law."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1275)

General Synod: November Group Sessions 1989 - Report of Proceedings: Vol 20 No.3 Page 1275 The issue was discussed within the BMU. This discussion resulted in two lines of action. The first conclusion reached was that the motion should be opposed. And this opposition and the debate in General Synod will be considered below. The second line of action was that it was decided that the Secretary to the BMU should produce General Synod Report GS Misc 317 - New Religious Movements. This was published before the debate at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1989. In general, the first part of the General Synod Report includes little that has not already been included in the preceeding chapters of this section of the dissertation. The first six pages of the Report cover the history of the Church of England's consideration of its response to NRMs, from the question posed in General Synod on 8th November, 1983 (still attributed to the Dean of St Albans), through the setting up of INFORM and a brief description of its work and what it could offer, to the matters covered in the BMU's letter of 26 May 1988 to Diocesan and Area Bishops - the pastoral guidelines and network of advisers together with the doctrinal differences between mainstream Christianity and NRMs. All of these matters have been considered earlier in this dissertation.

The second half of the report (from page 9 to page 24) covers new material. Paragraphs 29 and 30 offer a draft code of practice, which it is suggested "all religions, new and old, should adhere to" (BMU 1989: 9), including Christianity and the Church of England. These refer to some of the concerns expressed in the 1983 question to General Synod, but also to perceived problems associated with the practices of particular NRMs. The draft Code of Practice also seeks to provide some protection for NRMs, as a matter of justice. It is interesting to note that this draft Code of Practice was based upon a code of practice drawn up by a Church of England Missionary Society when it, too, came under attack and criticism because of its own practices in seeking to commend Christianity to other cultures (Reardon 1994). It is interesting to reflect that what is acceptable in our own culture may be quite unacceptable elsewhere and vice versa. The

draft Code of Practice is as follows:

> "The Board deplores:
>
> **(a)** Inviting people to an event under false pretences, without explaining the true nature and purpose of the event;
>
> **(b)** Raising money under false pretences, or not making clear the purposes for which the money will be used and the name and nature of the organisation for which it is being collected;
>
> **(c)** Hiding the true nature of persons trying to raise money or to attract others into their movement;
>
> **(d)** Using unfair or immoral means of persuasion such as 'heavenly deception', 'flirty fishing', sleep deprivation, food deprivation, hypnosis, or any form of emotional, psychological or spiritual 'blackmail';
>
> **(e)** Concealing from prospective adherents some of the implications and consequences of accepting membership of the movement before requiring commitment;
>
> **(f)** Serious discussion with minors without the knowledge of parents, guardians or schoolteachers, and refusal or unreasonable hindering of access to adherents or prospective adherents;
>
> **(g)** Offering financial gain as an inducement;
>
> **(h)** Failure to be publicly accountable in use of finance and resources where money has been raised from public sources;
>
> **(i)** Irresponsibility in employment of students and staff, failing to pay national insurance contributions, refusing reasonable access to medical care etc.
>
> 30. On the other hand the Board also deplores:
>
> **(a)** All attempts at the forcible 'deprogramming' of adherents of New Religious Movements;
>
> **(b)** All attempts to declare illegal or withdraw rights from a New Religious Movement without evidence, acceptable by a court of law, that it is acting illegally or has done so;
>
> **(c)** Any lack of concern for the truth and spreading misinformation;
>
> **(d)** Any denial of an individual freely to choose his or her religious beliefs." (BMU 1989: 9 - 11)

We may note once more that the BMU's starting point seems to be personal

autonomy and the freedom of the individual to choose his or her own religious beliefs. The relationship between this philosophical position and Globalization has been noted and discussed previously and is, therefore, simply noted here.

Beyond this matter of philosophy there are two other very significant inferences which may be drawn from the use of this code of practice. The first is derived from the original source of the code, that is, the fact that it comes directly out of the experience of a Missionary Society operating in other cultures. In this sense, there is an indication here that such a way of proceeding is considered appropriate across the world and British culture is no different. This code of practice, therefore, comes out of a 'Global' background, is dependent upon Western institutions operating in other cultures and using pluralism in those cultures. It assumes that British culture and society is, in principle, no different from those other cultures. There is, thus, a Globalizing and relativizing force at work, which in principle accepts pluralism.

Secondly, the assertion that this code of practice is to apply to all established religious traditions and the NRMs draws us back to the sense, taken from the earlier consideration of Postmodernity, that "there is only a series of religious organisations between which no judgement is to be made". This same sense is taken, as in previous instances, from the earlier consideration of functional differentiation, which led to the conclusion that within functional differentiation there is little difference between mainstream denominations and NRMs, in the sense that both are means for managing contingency and selectivity. It is argued here that these three inferences drawn from the proposed code of practice indicate that the Church of England, through the BMU, was proposing to proceed along lines which acknowledge and work with the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift.

The final section of the General Synod Report is an Appendix dealing with 'Charitable Status', largely based on the Government White Paper, "Charities: A Framework for the Future." This issue will be considered later in the thesis and a consideration of this section is, therefore, delayed until that point. However, it should be recognised that the inclusion of this Appendix in the Report came out of the conviction of the then Secretary to the BMU that the law as it affects religious bodies was important and that it was his attempt to cover at least the important area of Charitable Status following the refusal of the House of

Bishops in 1984 to accept the BMU's recommendation that the Board for Social Responsibility should keep a watching brief on the law as it affects NRMs. The General Synod Report was published in June 1989.

B. THE PRIVATE MEMBER'S MOTION

It has already been noted that the tabling of Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion engendered discussion within the BMU from which two lines of action followed. The first, the publishing of General Synod Report GS Misc 317 has been considered above. The second line of action decided upon was that Dr Saxbee's motion should be opposed.

The Ven. Frederick Hazell, the former Archdeacon of Croydon, describes the reasoning which led to the decision that Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion should be opposed.

> "On behalf of the Board for Mission and Unity of the C of E I opposed this (Private Members Motion) on the grounds that it seemed to us to be an arbitrary act discriminating against the Unification Church when it was public knowledge that the Attorney General had found no evidence that would be admissible in a court of law for taking such action. In fact we believed that for the Synod to approve the motion would be highly dangerous, for it would be the first step down the slippery slope of discrimination against one religion rather than another - and not for any crime that had been proved but because it was disapproved of by the government of the day. *The question would inevitably be "which one next"?* (My italics)" (Hazell).

The significance of this sentence will be considered later in this dissertation.

A good deal of discussion took place between the BMU and Dr Saxbee, in part to clarify his motivation in putting the Private Member's motion, but also to see whether it would be possible to persuade him to change the motion so that there could be unanimity. This explains the long delay between tabling the motion and the debate in General Synod. In the end, the BMU's approach to things came to nothing. The BMU had originally intended that the Bishop of Chelmsford should oppose the motion, but when approached he declined to do so and we may take it from this that the BMU's approach to NRMs has not always had the support of

all the hierarchy of the C of E. In passing, this may be taken as an indication of pluralism within the Church of England. In the light of the Bishop of Chemsford's refusal, the Venerable Frederick Hazell, Archdeacon of Croydon, opposed the motion as BMU member and Archbishop of Canterbury's Representative on the Board of Governors of INFORM. A speech was prepared for him by the Secretary to the BMU, but he decided to use his own. Mr Hazell proposed an amendment to Dr Saxbee's motion. His amendment, as proposed at the November Group of Sessions of General Synod in 1989, was as follows:

> "'In line 1 *leave out* all words after "This Synod" and *insert*:
>
> (i) welcomes the publication of the Government White Paper *Charities - A Framework for the Future*, and encourages Her Majesty's Government to make explicit, and if necessary to strengthen, the existing powers of the Charity Commissioners to remove a charity from the register where there is evidence the it is acting in pursuit of its objects in ways which are not for the public benefit; and
>
> (ii) commends for discussion GS Misc 317 and especially paragraphs 29 and 30 as a draft code of practice, contravention of which may constitute evidence that a religious body is not acting for the public benefit.'"'
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1275)

It is instructive to consider the arguments brought forward in the debate itself by Dr Saxbee, Mr Hazell and others. Dr Saxbee's concern about the Unification Church, like that of Canon Slee in pressing for the 1983 question to General Synod, came out of personal experience.

> "I was ordained to a curacy in Plymouth in 1972 and inevitably I was deployed to run the youth club. The following year two youth club members became involved with the Unification Church, and I set about trying to understand the movement and to assess its beliefs and objectives. Since that time, I have had contact with a large number of families affected by the Unification Church and have tried to keep abreast with developments.....Nothing has happened in that time to allay my anxieties about this movement; on the contrary, I am now more than ever

> convinced that the presumption of charitable status given to religion by English law should no longer extend to this movement."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1275)

There was, however, a second reason, going beyond personal experience, which had persuaded Dr Saxbee to bring the motion forward. In 1981 the Unification Church had brought a libel action against The Daily Mail, which had accused them of breaking up families and subjecting recruits to unacceptable psychological pressures.

> "The jury found in favour of *The Daily Mail* and, in giving its verdict, added a rider to the effect that the charitable status of the Unification Church should be investigated on the grounds that it is a political and not a religious organisation. It seems to me that when a jury makes such a request with regard to a particular movement the general public is entitled to have that request acted upon with thoroughness and without delay. The Attorney General's decision of 1988 related specifically to the Unification Church and was the Government's late and, some may feel, lame response to the jury's specific request."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1276)

It is also clear that Dr Saxbee recognised that his motion had implications going far beyond the Unification Church. In fact, he believed it might affect all NRMs. As he said:"I believe the measures and criteria introduced to restrict the charitable status of the Unification Church would almost certainly have implications for other movements of a similar kind."(Report of Proceedings: 1275) It appears he was not bothered with the wider implications of his motion, so long as action was taken against the Unification Church. "Whatever may be the implications for other movements, it is the Unification Church which has been the subject of public concern.....and so it is the Unification church which is targetted in this debate."(Report of Proceedings: 1276) Dr Saxbee's motivation for bringing the Private Member's Motion forward is, therefore, clear. It came out of his personal experience of dealing with those touched by the Unification Church and his own consequent belief that this demanded action against the Unification Church, the concerns of the general public shown through the recommendation of the jury in the 1981 libel case and his recognition that this could have implications affecting all NRMs. He does not seem to have

considered whether the action he proposed could have implications for the Church of England itself. His assumption appears to be that the position of the Church of England is established and beyond questioning. This is presumably either because he does not believe the Church of England capable of acting in a way which might be viewed unfavourably or because he feels the Church of England to be so much part of the established order of things that questioning its actions simply does not arise as an issue. He did, of course, have some reason for thinking along these lines.

The historical embededness of the Church of England in British society and its "establishment" is made clear by the Attorney-General in an answer to two written questions in Parliament about the position of the Unification Church from David Wilshire, the MP for Spelthorne:

> "**Mr Wilshire:** To ask the Attorney-General which religious organisations were approached for assistance when preparing the now abandoned appeal against the decision not to remove charity status from the Unification Church.
>
> **The Attorney-General:** Such an approach was made to the Church of England. I also received representations from the following organisations:
> The Churches Main Committee
> The Council of Christians and Jews
> The General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches
> The Ayra Samaj in London
> The Ethiopian Orthodox Church
>
> **Mr Wilshire:** To ask the Attorney-General which of the Christian religious organisations, approached for assistance when preparing the appeal against the decision not to remove charity from the Unification Church, were prepared to state that the Unification Church was not a bona fide Christian organisation.
>
> **The Attorney-General:** The Church of England expressed no view on whether or not the Unification Church is a bona fide Christian organisation. It did, however, declare doubts about the wisdom of attempting to prove in secular court proceedings that the Unification

> Church is not an organisation of Christian character. It expressed the view that the issues were very far from simple, requiring as they did the making of theological distinctions between orthodoxy, heresy and Christian deviations. Similar view have also been expressed by other Christian Churches and Church organisations." (Hansard: 1988)

We may note from the above that although representations were received from various religious organisations, the Attorney-General makes a clear distinction between those organisations and the one organisation which his Department actively approached. That one organisation was the Church of England. Equally, when asked which Christian religious organisation was prepared to say that the Unification Church was not a bona fide Christian organisation, the Attorney-General quoted the advice received from the Church of England and not from any of the other organisations. In this sense, the Church of England is the organisation to which the government turns and its advice is the touchstone for determining what line might be taken. Seeing this, the precedence given to the Church of England and the use made of its advice in establishing Government policy, one can understand Dr Saxbee's position, although we shall see that there are other factors which come into play. There is, however, one further important matter we might note from this exchange. This is that the advice given by the Church of England is very similar to the position taken by the Archdeacon of Croydon in the General Synod debate, the implications of which will be considered later as questioning the solidity of Dr Saxbee's assumptions.

At this time, however, we note the implied presumption lying behind the approach adopted by Dr Saxbee. Yet, it is also clear from the debate itself that Dr Saxbee was very careful to make clear that he was not trying to limit or infringe some of the basic assumptions under which the BMU itself was operating and specifically those relating to personal autonomy and the freedom of the individual to choose his or her own religious beliefs. What is notable is his assertion that what the Unification Church believes is not at issue at all, but merely the way in which they act. There is, here, an implicit acceptance of a pluralistic view of the world, in which holding to the tenets of the Church of England is one choice among many. As he said in the debate, "...We are not about beliefs here. I yield to no-one in my desire to protect the right of individuals to believe the strangest things." (Report of Proceedings: 1277)

This comment raises a most important matter. At one level, Dr Saxbee is no doubt attempting to ground his objections to the Unification Church on that issue which he considers would weigh most heavily with Government and the Charity Commissioners in considering whether an organisation should be defined as a charity, that is its mode of operation and the outcomes of its actions. Further consideration of this issue will be given in the following chapter of this dissertation. Beyond this, however, the result of this line of approach is that Dr Saxbee appears to be accepting the general position of those such as Lyotard and Foucault who argue that there cannot be a meta-narrative or meta-theory. Certainly he is shying away from making claims as to the truth, in an absolute sense, of what Christianity teaches. The position he seems close to adopting is that of Lyotard and Robin Gill, coming out of Postmodernity, that truth is not an absolute. It also illustrates, so far as doctrine is concerned, the difficulty the Church of England might have in establishing a firm position for constructing a critique of the doctrinal position of a NRM. It was earlier proposed that such a situation was a possible consequence of the operation of Postmodernity. As David Harvey says, the "loss of historical continuity in values and beliefs, taken together with the reduction of the work of art to a text stressing discontinuity and allegory, poses all kinds of problems for aesthetic and critical judgement". (1990: 56)

There is a further matter. It is the very belief in personal autonomy and freedom of choice in religious belief, to which Dr Saxbee holds so strongly, which is held against the Unification Church.

> "Basically, movements like the Unification Church are significant less for their beliefs than for their methods. They are rather like lobster pots - easy to get into and very difficult to get out of. It is the tactics used to attract and retain recruits which should concern us more than their beliefs. Failure to appreciate the distinction has bedevilled so many responses to the Moonie phenomenon.....however innocent a creed, unacceptable behaviour perpetrated in support of that creed must render forfeit any presumption of charitable status given to religion by English law..." (Report of Proceedings: 1277)

To pick up the point made earlier, there is apparently no question in his mind that the actions of the Church of England might be regarded in a similar light. He

makes his point even clearer.

> "At this point I want to say something about religious freedom because there have been those who have seen my motion as an attack upon that freedom which I, and all members here, hold dear.....The jury in the *Daily Mail* case was persuaded by the evidence...that recruits to the Unification Church had been subjected to unacceptable psychological pressures....Because they saw this as an abuse of individual freedom of choice and consent in matters religious, they challenged the right of the Unification church to continue to enjoy the charitable status accorded to religion in English law." (Report of Proceedings: 1278)

He pursues this same line when considering the summary of the Government's White Paper on Charitable status in GS Misc 317.

> "Certainly the Paper is right to seek the making explicit of the Charity Commissioners' powers insofar as these are not clear, but this will stop far short of providing for the possible exclusion of the Unification Church from charitable status. Such exclusion depends upon the drawing up of criteria for evaluating not the beliefs of a movement but the behaviour of that movement.....In GS Misc 317, paragraph 29, we are offered a draft code of practice by the Board for Mission and Unity. This is helpful.....The draft code shows that it is possible to identify realistic criteria for evaluating the behaviour of NRMs....The White Paper doggedly holds to the view that it is impossible to draft criteria and virtually impossible to obtain good quality evidence. My contention is that legislators sufficiently determined to re-establish English charity law as it affects religion could do so without too much difficulty and, more important, without raising any spectre of threat to either religious freedom or civil liberties."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1278-79)

In noting this extract from his speech, my argument is that Dr Saxbee, like the Church of England in general, in accepting a pluralistic view of the world, which has been seen to derive from such movements as Globalization, does not quite see or understand just what he is dealing with - the global and historical nature of these movements - and does not see or understand just what the implications for the Church of England already are and what they may be in the future - not

simply from his proposals but from these world movements in general.

In his response to Dr Saxbee, the Archdeacon of Croydon, the Ven Frederick Hazell, does at least seem to have some grasp of this wider perspective and, just as importantly, some of its implications. He has sympathy with Dr Saxbee's motion because of his own personal circumstances. "I was myself brought up within an extreme religious sect. I owe a great deal to that body yet it destroyed the life of my family because, when I dared to join the church of England, I became an apostate, indeed a sort of non-person." (Report of Proceedings: 1279) But he sees these things in a wider perspective.

> "Yet in spite of this I believe that Dr Saxbee's motion should not be supported as it stands. When the Board for Mission and Unity discussed it, members found themselves in quite a quandary. On the one hand, they believed that if the General Synod were to vote for the motion it would appear to be asking the Government to introduce into Parliament a Bill which would single out one religious movement by name and exclude it from charitable status, and that this would appear to be an arbitrary act, discriminating against the Unification Church, when it is public knowledge that the Attorney General found no evidence that would be admissible in a court of law for taking that particular action. In our view, to do this would be highly dangerous because it would be the first step down a slippery slope, discriminating against one religion rather than another, and not for any crime that had been proved but simply because it was disapproved of by the government of the day. Inevitable the question would be 'Which one next?'" (Report of Proceedings: 1279)

This final question is most revealing. It seizes upon the difficulty which the Church of England now faces even if inchoately and almost unconsciously. The Archdeacon seems to see that the world is changing and that the position of a cornerstone of the establishment, like the Church of England is relativized. The argument being made in this dissertation is that this has happened through such movements as Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. His final point is a recognition of that changing position. Indeed the dangers of these changes for the Church of England are made clearer a little later in his speech.

> "Clearly the Government are very sympathetic to those like Dr Saxbee

> who have deep anxieties about the present situation....The White Paper reveals that one option considered by the Government is the removal of religion altogether as a ground for charitable status."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1281)

Such a development might have been unthinkable some years ago, but is now clearly a possible option and, if ever pursued, this would have profound implications for the Church of England. And it should be noted that there is no indication here that the Church of England would have been exempted from such a move - that is, it would have been seen as one amongst many religions and traditions. It is this recognition which puts into a somewhat different perspective the certainty which Dr Saxbee seems to have about the position of the Church of England. Although the Government, through the Attorney-General's Department sought the views of the Church of England about the exclusion of the Unification Church from charitable status, it was prepared to consider the possibility that *all* religious organisations be removed from charitable status.

This combination for the Church of England of relativization and pluralism alongside continuing significance in British life is prefigured in the work of Peter Beyer, using the categories established by Niklas Luhmann and seeing Globalization bound up with functional differentiation. He argues that the upshot of relativization

> "is that group cultures or socio-cultural particularisms.....no longer hold the self-evident position they did in societies dominated by segmentary or hierarchical differentiation. While their position is thus ambiguous and to some extent disadvantaged, they still constitute important phenomena in this modern context". (1994: 67)

The line adopted by the Church of England in answering the Attorney-General's Department about exclusion, a line paralleled by the approach taken by Mr Hazell, begins to take account of the changing position of the Church of England in the nation and national life.

Mr Hazell noted that the Government had backed off from removing religion altogether as a ground for charitable status and from making charitable status

dependent on meeting a test of positive worth.

> "Instead it is proposed that if there were evidence that the behaviour - and I emphasise "behaviour" - of a religious charity was against the public good it could be warned to change its ways or be removed from the register of charities. This seems to us in the Board for Mission and Unity to be the right way forward, and that is why we have produced GS Misc 317....our way would avoid discriminating against any religion on the ground of its belief and thus would preserve the essential basis of religious liberty. What it does is to focus on action, on behaviour. (And) our amendment does not single out any Church, not even the Unification Church....it recognises that there are other cults in this country which give even more cause for concern than does the Unification Church. I believe that in the long run it will be wiser and more effective to provide a way of combating harmful and destructive behaviour in all religious movements and cults than to single out one without specifying any reason."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1281)

Indeed, the considerable publicity given by the media in mid 1995 to the "9 O'Clock Service" in Sheffield is proof that it can even happen to the Church of England. In the light of all this, Mr Hazell proposed GS Misc 317, with its draft code of practice, as a more appropriate way of dealing with the Church of England's relationships with NRMs and he moved the amendment accordingly

Before a decision could be made, however, an amendment to the BMU's amendment was moved by the Revd Peter Broadbent from London Diocese. From 1980 to 1983 Mr Broadbent had been chairperson of FAIR, but in this instance was not moving the further amendment on behalf of FAIR. He generally supported the BMU's amendment to Dr Saxbee's motion. However, his amendment sought to draw special attention to the statement of the Church of England's understanding of Christian belief contained in GS Misc 317. He said that while he was Chairperson of FAIR

> "the media often asked for the Church of England's response to the beliefs of this or that new religious movement. On FAIR's files we had something like 95 movements and the number increased all the time; it was quite hard to keep abreast of things....Nonetheless, it puzzled the

> media that, as I was being forced on the hoof to spell out the theological nuances of the differences between mainstream religious faith and new religious movements, there was nowhere for them to go where they could actually find the differences for themselves."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1283)

He, therefore, proposed that the Archdeacon of Croydon's amendment be amended in the following way:

> "Insert after "especially" in paragraph (ii), in line 2 "paragraphs 20-28 as a statement of the doctrinal position of the Church of England in relation to new religious movements; and".'" (Report of Proceedings: 1284)

In replying to Mr Broadbent's amendment to his own amendment, Mr Hazell sought to deflect General Synod from adopting the approach set out by Mr Broadbent and to retain the thrust of his previous arguments. He argued:

> "What I am trying to do in my amendment is to establish a criterion for dealing with the new religious movements, and I am emphasising that we must concentrate on their activities and behaviour. Mr Broadbent's amendment, though well intentioned, deflects us from this main purpose and so I must resist it." (Report of Proceedings: 1284)

Mr Hazell's insistence on concentrating on the activites and behaviour of NRMs draws attention once more to the reluctance, previously noted in Dr Saxbee's approach, to rely upon claims to "truth". After one or two contributions from members of General Synod, Peter Broadbent's amendment was rejected and Dr Saxbee's motion, as amended by the Archdeacon of Croydon was passed by 205 votes in favour and none against. The final form of the amended motion was as follows:

> "That this Synod
>
> (i) welcomes the publication of the Government White Paper *Charities - A Framework for the Future*, and encourages Her Majesty's Government to make explicit, and if necessary to strengthen, the existing powers of the Charity Commissioners to remove a charity from the register where there is evidence that it is acting in pursuit of its objects in ways which are

not for the public benefit; and

(ii) commends for discussion GS Misc 317 and especially paragraphs 29 and 30 as a draft code of practice, contravention of which might constitute evidence that a religious body is not acting for the public benefit."

In the end, General Synod rejected Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion, preferring instead to conclude that

"with NRMs of the kind about which public anxiety has been expressed, it is not usually a question of whether their objectives are contrary to the public interest. The question is whether, if the actual conduct of the movement causes harm, a trust which is set up to advance beliefs should be deprived of charitable status on the grounds that it is not of public benefit." (Hazell)

With this, the consideration of the action taken by the C of E to produce a formal and official response to New Religious Movements concludes.

C. CONCLUSION

As in previous sections of this second part of the dissertation, throughout this consideration of the General Synod Report, GS Misc 317 and the passage of Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion through the Synod attention has been drawn to those features which illustrate or are consistent with Globalization and Postmodernity. It has been noted that events surrounding the raising of the issue of NRMs both in Parliament and the C of E in 1988/9 put the matter in at least a European perspective, and arguably a "global" perspective. It is also notable that the group at the centre of all the trouble, the Unification Church, is global in its outlook and intention. Similarly, the Code of Practice offered in the report GS Misc 317 itself comes out of a global background, in that it derives from the work and experience of a British Missionary Society which got into trouble while working abroad.

As so often before in this dissertation, attention has been drawn to signs of pluralism and relativization, with all that flows from it. It has been noted in the approach taken by Dr Saxbee in proposing his Private Member's Motion.

Holding to the tenets of the C of E is one choice among a number. "I yield to no-one in my desire to protect the right of individuals to believe the strangest things." (November Group Sessions 1989. *Record of Proceedings*. 1277) This relativization and the recognition of its power to affect the position of institutions has been noted also in the former Archdeacon of Croydon's question, "Which one next?". This same force has yet again been discerned in Government's consideration of the possibility of removing all religious organisations, presumably including the C of E, from charitable status. It has consistently been argued that these phenomena are simply what one would expect from the operation of Globalization.

In addition, the application of the Code of Practice contained in the report to General Synod to all religious traditions without distinction can be seen as symptomatic of Postmodernity. At the same time it has been argued that this reflects the possibility contained within functional differentiation, as described by Niklas Luhmann and interpreted by Peter Beyer, that in an important sense all religious institutions are on an equal footing in that their function is to deal with contingency. Peter Beyer figures again in the contention that the tension between the relativization of the position of the C of E posited above alongside its continued significance in certain areas of British life, demonstrated in Dr Saxbee's assumptions, is consistent with his view of the operation of Globalization based on Luhmann's work.

Finally, Dr Saxbee's unwillingness to rely upon doctrine to justify his opposition to the Unification Church and Mr Hazell's insistence on concentrating on the activities of NRMs, rather than their doctrines, raises the same issue with regard to a reluctance to make "truth claims" which has been noted in earlier sections of this dissertation and which, it has been argued, is consistent with the operation of Postmodernity as seen in the arguments of Lyotard and Foucault. In all these ways, therefore, it is argued that Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift can be seen at work in the General Synod Report, GS Misc 317, on NRMs and the debates surrounding Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion seeking to exclude the Unification Church from charitable status. Indeed, it has been the argument throughout this study of the Church of England's relations with NRMs that in all that has happened and in all that the Church of England has done, it is appropriate to see the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. It has further been argued that in its formal responses to

NRMs, the Church of England, usually through the BMU, has accepted, even if not consciously, the reality of these forces and has worked with the grain of them. It is now appropriate to turn to the second study in this thesis and to consider the reform of the liturgy of the Church of England through some of the history and through the published texts. As with this first study, the main focus will be the period through the 1970s and 1980s. The aim, again as in this first study, will be to consider the assertion that it is possible to discern the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift through those internal reforms.

CHAPTER TEN

REVISION OF THE LITURGY

BACKGROUND

A. INTRODUCTION

This thesis has set out to consider the implications for the Church of England as an institution of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. This is being done through two case studies. The first was the Church of England's formal and official relations with New Religious Movements. This second case study, which now begins, will consider liturgical change and reform in the Church of England. Potentially, this is an enormous subject. In order to give it certain limitations and thus to make it manageable, it is proposed to cover the same sort of timescale as that covered in the first case study. This is convenient, too, since this coincides with certain constitutional changes which made it easier for the Church to experiment with and change its liturgy. It coincides, too, with the greatest degree of liturgical reform in the Church of England since the seventeenth century. It is intended, therefore, to limit the investigations in this second case study to two of those liturgical texts published officially and authorised by the General Synod of the Church of England for use in the Church of England between the late 1970s and the end of the 1980s. This second case study will, therefore, look for evidence of the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift in the production and text of *The Alternative Service Book* and the most recent publication, *Patterns for Worship*.

Two other books of liturgical material and services were produced in 1986 and 1991. These were respectively, *Lent, Holy Week and Easter* and *The Promise of His Glory*. The first provided material and services additional to the ASB for the period of the liturgical year running up to and around Easter, while the second provided a similar resource for the season from All Saintstide to Candlemas and

revolving around Christmas. Neither of these books was dealt with in the same way as the ASB. Although produced by the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, they were not formally authorised for use in the Church of England by General Synod under the legislation normally used for major reforms of the liturgy, the Doctrine and Worship Measure, 1975. Instead, they were "commended" for use by the House of Bishops. In 'The Promise Of His Glory' the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, put it this way:

> "This volume of Services and Prayers....is published with the agreement of the House of Bishops of the General Synod. The Services and Prayers have been commended by the House of Bishops....Under Canon B4 it is open to each Bishop to authorize forms of service to be used within his diocese and he may specify that the services should be those commended by the House. If the Bishop gives no directions in this matter a priest remains free, subject to the terms of Canon B5, to make use of the Services as commended by the House."(ix)

That these two books were not seen as being specially innovatory, but providing material supplementary to the ASB, is made clear by Douglas Jones, the Chairman of the Liturgical Commission at the time. In his Preface to 'Lent, Holy Week and Easter' he wrote,

> "This collection has certain characteristics which make it potentially useful to our people. First, the services are closely tailored to the ASB....(But) there are some things we have not done. We have not provided alternative versions of services for use with the Book of Common Prayer.....Again, we have not sought to be innovative. The time to introduce that which departs from the traditional usages is when new experiments have already been tested and won approval. Liturgy is essentially conservative..." (1)

Since these two publications were not intended to be specially innovatory, it is not intended to look closely at them in the context of the concerns of this thesis. They are noted as part of the on-going work of the production of new liturgical material for use in the Church of England, but are clearly to be related to the implementation of the ASB.

However, before setting out upon the main elements of that study, there is a preparatory matter to be considered. Although it has been stated above that the main area to be considered in this second case study begins with the production of the Alternative Service Book, that is not where liturgical change began in the Church of England. In order to understand the developments in liturgy which have occurred since the 1970s, it is necessary to establish reasonably briefly the earlier background to these developments. It is only from within such a context that later developments can be understood and, it will be argued, that this earlier background context shows signs of those sociological forces with which this thesis is concerned. By way of preparation, therefore, it is with a brief exposition of significant elements of that earlier history that this second case study begins.

B. EARLY BACKGROUND

The use of the Book of Common Prayer in the Church of England was established in law by the Act of Uniformity of 19 May 1662. It is for that reason that that book is often called the 1662 Prayer Book even though it is, in its essentials, Archbishop Cranmer's Prayer Book of 1552. "Under this act, 'every parson, vicar or other minister whatsoever' had to declare his 'unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed' in the new edition of the Book of Common Prayer." (Edwards 1984: 428) It was hoped that the Act and the Prayer Book would help lay to rest the religious disputes of the seventeenth century. In that sense it was, as R. C. D. Jasper says, "a compromise fulfilling neither Laudian nor Presbyterian expectations". (Jasper 1989: 1) The Preface to the 1662 Book concludes by saying, "Yet we have good hope, that what is here presented, and hath been by the Convocations of both Provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious Sons of the Church of England" (Book of Common Prayer: 9). From this somewhat tentative beginning, the Act of Uniformity and the Prayer Book which it imposed defined liturgy, and official doctrine too, in the Church of England for nearly 300 years.

Of course, this is not to say that there were no developments at all in the field of liturgy while the Book of Common Prayer remained the sole 'legal' Prayer Book. As G J Cuming writes, "Few of those who signed the...*Book* (annexed to the Act

of Uniformity) can have imagined that the rite was to remain in force for three hundred years. Even before it had become law, Convocation was looking further afield"(1982: 128). However, once the Book of Common Prayer was established as the Church of England's Prayer Book, by and large such work did not impinge greatly on the 'official' worship of the Church of England. Gerald Parsons argues that

> "(e)ven until 1830 the Church of England remained essentially settled and possessed a doctrinal consensus which rested upon clear acceptance of the reformed aspects of the Church of England, the supreme authority of scripture, and the ideal of an established religion in which church and state were seen in England as one society". (1989: 8)

Central to this situation was acceptance of the role of the Book of Common Prayer in determining the liturgy and worship of the Church of England.

Yet by 1906, it had been necessary to hold a Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. It is clear that much had happened during the nineteenth century. So far as liturgy and worship were concerned, one of the most important developments was the rise of the Oxford Movement and its successors in the form of the Anglo-Catholic and Ritualist movements. The Oxford Movement advocated a rediscovery and acceptance of the catholic and apostolic nature of the Church of England and this alone broke the tacit consensus over doctrine in the Church of England. The Ritualists and Anglo-Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth century set out to "catholicise the worship of the Church of England and introduce to the Church of England ritual, liturgical and devotional practices of an explicitly catholic kind". (Parsons 1989: 10) The outcome was a series of very bitter controversies.

Attempts were made to restrain Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic clergy. Bishops tried persuasion and local ecclesiastical discipline. This failed. Church courts and a Royal Commission were tried. These failed. In 1874 a Public Worship Regulation Act was passed to try to control certain of the clergy. This led to priests of the Church of England being imprisoned for conscientiously held convictions. "They became martyrs and public opinion turned against the 1874 Act which became a dead letter" (Parsons 1989: 11) and the second Royal Commission, this time on Ecclesiastical Discipline, was set up.

That Royal Commission reported its conclusions in 1906. After surveying much material, the Commission's report comments,

> "The law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and the ornaments of churches is, in our belief, nowhere exactly observed; and certain minor breaches of it are very generally prevalent. The law is also broken by many irregular practices which have attained lesser, and widely different, degrees of prevalence. Some of these are omissions, others err in the direction of excess". (Quoted in Cuming 1982: 163)

The report then went on to produce two main conclusions.

> "First the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Church people, including many of her most devoted members value.....Secondly, the machinery for discipline has broken down.....It is important that the law should be reformed, that it should admit of reasonable elasticity, and that means of enforcing it should be improved; but, above all, it is necessary that it should be obeyed." (Quoted in Cuming 1982: 163)

It will be seen that this concern for some sort of orthodoxy in liturgy and in doctrine, which is capable of being made to work, will be a recurring issue even in the latest liturgical publications. The Royal Commission's report ends with ten recommendations. Of these, the most important to note from the point of view of this thesis is the following:

> "Letters of Business should be issued to the Convocations with instructions: (a) to consider the preparation of a new rubric regulating the ornaments (that is to say, the vesture of the ministers of the Church, at the times of their ministrations), with a view to its enactment by Parliament; and (b) to frame, with a view to their enactment by Parliament, such modifications in the existing law relating to the conduct of Divine Service and to the ornaments and fittings of churches as may tend to secure the greater elasticity which a reasonable recognition of the comprehensiveness of the Church of England and its present needs seems to demand...It would be most desirable for the early dealing with

> these important subjects that the Convocations would sit together, and we assume that they would take counsel with the House of Laymen.".
>
> (Quoted in Cuming 1982: 164)

Some space has been given to dealing with this Royal Commission and its conclusions and recommendations for two reasons. The first is central to this chapter of the thesis in which the background to the reform of the liturgy is being traced. G J Cuming can conclude of this episode in the history of the Church of England that "Letters of Business were duly issued, and the way was once more open for a revision of the Book of Common Prayer after the lapse of nearly 250 years" (Cuming 1982: 164). That is, the impetus for liturgical revisions throughout twentieth century, not least those of most recent times of particular concern to this thesis, have their roots in the conclusions and recommendations of this Royal Commission.

The second set of reasons relate to the sociological forces with which this thesis is concerning itself. First, what is clearly being witnesses here is cultural change or shift - not precisely that which is described in the first part of this thesis, but an earlier round. Second, the movement to introduce greater ritual into the liturgy of the Church of England, to which the Royal Commission was a response, was not an isolated event. It is a reflection of a far wider movement in the nineteenth century which saw the introduction of greater ritual into elements of the life of most of the world's great religions. In this sense it was part of a global phenomenon and thus demonstrative of that stage of globalization reached around 1870, what Roland Robertson sets as the very beginning of the 'Take-off phase' of Globalization in his scheme for the development of Globalization. Finally, the conclusion of the Royal Commission that the law of public worship in the Church was too narrow for that generation and that the machinery governing discipline should be reformed to accommodate greater "elasticity" is highly suggestive of an awareness of greater pluralism, itself attendant, it has been argued in this thesis, on globalization.

C. THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The authorities of the Church of England did not grasp the opportunity offered by the Letters of Business with any enthusiasm. Archbishop Davidson reflected a widely held view when he said that "such changes as are made in the Rubrics should be reduced sternly to the smallest possible dimensions". (Quoted in

Cuming 1982: 165) Nonetheless, the steady rise of the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England, and the conclusions of the Royal Commission, had produced great pressure for 'enrichment' of the Book of Common Prayer. The Church of England therefore embarked upon a process of responding to the Letters of Business and subsequently drawing up proposals for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer. This was not a swift process.

It was not until February 1927 that the Bishops of the Church of England had proposals for the revision of the Book of Common Prayer which they were prepared to put before Convocation. In July that year the National Assembly of the Church of England, set up in 1920, passed the new Book by 517 votes to 133, a majority of 79%. By this time there were clear wings to the Church of England, Anglo-Catholic and Evangelical, and these united, for quite opposite reasons, to oppose the new Book. In passing it should be noted that these developments themselves speak of a shift in culture and pluralism within the Church of England. However, in December 1927 the Measure to legitimise use of the Book reached parliament. It was carried in the Lords by 214 votes to 88, but was lost in the Commons, after an acrimonious debate, by 238 to 205. The Bishops decided to reintroduce the Measure into the Church Assembly as soon as possible, having made such changes to the Book as they thought were necessary to allay the fears of opponents in parliament. Mostly, these amounted to removing certain limited concessions which had been made to Anglo-Catholics. The Measure was passed in the Church Assembly in April 1928 by 396 votes to 153, a majority this time of 72%, a small number of Anglo-Catholics having been alienated. Two months later it went back to the House of Commons and, after a debate of a much higher calibre than in the previous year, the Measure was defeated once more and this time by 266 votes to 220.

The bishops of the Church of England were in a difficult situation. G J Cuming describes it thus:

> "The bishops were faced with a paradoxical situation: here was a book which still commanded the votes of 72% of the members of the Church Assembly, but had twice been rejected by Parliament by a comparatively small majority. They met the situation by issuing a statement declaring the Church's 'inalienable right.....to arrange the expression' of its faith 'in its forms of worship'".(Cuming: 171)

It was then arranged that the Book would be published at the end of 1928 with a note saying that publication did not imply that it was authorised for use in Church. But it began to be used with the tacit agreement of the bishops, on the assumption that its use was agreed by the Parochial Church Council in the individual church. In this way, it can be seen that behind the simple issue of revision of the Book of Common Prayer there lay significant constitutional issues relating to the position of the Church of England within the constitution. Indeed, by asserting its 'inalienable right....to arrange the expression' of its faith, the line taken by the bishops starts to raise issues relating to establishment and thus the position of the Church of England in the country. This issue will be considered in a little more detail a little later in this chapter when the 1970 report of the Archbishops' Commission, *Church and State* is considered. We merely note here that this issue touches upon those developments which, it has been argued throughout this thesis, follow from Globalization.

There is a further matter which is of note. This process of the revision of the Book of Common Prayer is not limited to the Church of England. It is a process which stretches across the world. In 1908 the Fifth Lambeth Conference appointed a committee to discuss 'Prayer Book adaptation and enrichment'. The committee's report sparked off what can only be called an explosion of revisions. Scotland and Ireland began revisions in 1909. The Scottish Episcopal Church's proposals were authorized for experimental use in 1912. The Irish revision had to wait until 1926 for approval. Canada and South Africa began work on revision in 1912, with revised services appearing during the 1920s. A new Canadian Book was introduced in 1922. In 1913 the United States Episcopal Church started a major revision. This was completed in 1928.

Given the increasing ease of communication and the timescales involved, it was possible for those undertaking these various revisions to exchange views and texts. These technological changes bring us back to David Harvey's notion of time-space compression. Indeed, these events all fall into the final years of the second of the four phases of time-space compression, which he establishes and which were set out in chapter two of this thesis. The years in which these reforms were carried out also fall into the final years of Roland Robertson's 'Take-off phase' for Globalization. In all these circumstances, the moves made by the Church of England to revise its liturgy are here seen in a much wider perspective. They are seen to be part of a worldwide movement within the

English-speaking world to revise traditional liturgies. What appear to be local problems for the Church of England are, on reflection, seen to part of much wider changes. The Church of England is seen to be working in a global context.

D. THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

So far as the Church of England was concerned, after the debacle in 1928 interest in revision of the Book of Common Prayer slackened. This is not to say that nothing happened, for it did. Nor is it to say that the pressure for liturgical change had gone away. Instead, the perception of the precise need from which that pressure arose may well have changed. That pressure arose no longer simply from the need to accommodate the changes effected by the Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic movements, as had been the case at the end of the nineteenth century. That need was still there. But, in addition, there was now a perception that the wider culture within which the Church of England was set had changed. This was a perception which had been growing since the First World War and, in part, it grew out of the experience of Service Chaplains. The way in which that perception came to be expressed will be drawn out a little later. The fact that interest in revision of the Book of Common Prayer slackened does not, therefore, mean that nothing happened at all, nor does it mean that a perceived need for revision just went away. It does, however, mean that nothing formal happened until the passing of the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure, 1965.

That Measure is of some significance and it is, therefore, worth setting out its main terms:

> **Section 1** gave power to the Convocations and to the House of Laity (and subsequently to the General Synod of the Church of England) to authorise services alternative to those of the 1662 Prayer Book for periods which, in practice, could not exceed 14 years.
>
> **Section 2** provided for the sanctioning of alternative services in selected parishes for two years as a preliminary action under Section 1.
>
> **Section 3** provided that the parochial church council had to consent before an alternative service was used in any parish.
>
> **Section 4** declared it lawful for the Convocations to authorise services for use on occasions for which the Prayer Book made no provision.

Section 5 allowed the Minister to make minor variations in the authorised services.

Section 6 gave the Minister certain powers to use forms of service which he considered suitable for occasions not covered by the Prayer Book.

Section 7 required that services under Sections 5 & 6 must be reverent, seemly and doctrinally sound, and provided for reference to the Bishop in cases of difficulty.

Section 8 defined 'lawful authority' specifying both the sources of lawful authority and the forms of service which were lawful - i.e. the 1662 Prayer Book and the services or variations authorised under this Measure.

This Measure and the provisions of its eight Sections set the Church of England itself on a new wave of liturgical reform, a wave of reform which is still in progress.

The 1965 Measure came into operation on 15th May 1966. The Church Assembly had two principal objects in promoting the Measure - "to make it possible for the Church to embark lawfully upon liturgical reform through experiment, and so ultimately to establish an agreed and tried order in liturgical matters". (Standing Committee 1973: 1-2) From this it can be seen that the purpose behind liturgical reform remained two-fold; to revise the liturgy and to do it such a way that order and discipline returned to the liturgical practices of the Church of England. One might say that it reflected a desire for a return to the order of "Common Prayer".In this sense, little had changed since the recommendations of the Royal Commission in 1906. This is a very significant issue for the church of England and will become a major concern when the publication of *Patterns for Worship* is considered in chapter thirteen.

Once the Measure had come into operation, the first action taken was to authorise, for seven years, the Alternative Services - First Series. These embodied some of the variants from the Book of Common Prayer which were already in use in many churches. These fairly common usages were brought within the law for the first time. Following this, the Convocations and the House of Laity embarked on the process of scrutinising and authorising new forms of service. Between 1966 and 1970 approval was then given to a Second Series of alternative services. These were entirely new forms of service derived from drafts prepared by the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England and then

scrutinised by the Convocations and the House of Laity. The main characteristic of this Second Series of alternative services was that they were experimental in form, in the sense that no particular attempt was made to keep to the forms of the Book of Common Prayer. Generally, however, these services were cast in traditional language or language sympathetic to it. They had also been constructed so that there was room to exercise a good deal of choice, compared, that is, to earlier services. This notion of choice and variety in texts is another very significant issue and will be addressed directly both in relation to the text of the ASB in the next chapter and in most detail in the consideration of *Patterns for Worship* in chapter thirteen. We might simply note here that, once more, it has implications for the notion of common prayer, and also for doctrinal orthodoxy. It raises concerns about pluralism and fragmentation. It will be argued in much greater detail in chapter thirteen that all these things are associated with Globalization and Postmodernity.

It has earlier been noted that this liturgical reform was related to deeper changes in the relationship between Church and state and it has been argued that this itself reflects a change in the position of the Church of England within the nation and the constitution. This is emphasised by the fact that in 1970 the report of a Commission set up by the Archbishops was published. This report was entitled "Church and State". The preface to that report makes the position clear.

> "Your Graces, We were appointed to serve under the terms of a resolution passed by the Church Assembly on 10th November 1965....The Assembly approved our terms of reference thus:'to make recommendations as to the modifications in the constitutional relationship between Church and State which are desirable and practicable and in so doing to take account of current and future steps to promote greater unity between the Churches." (Archbishops' Commission 1970: Preface ix)

This clearly speaks of a shift in the position of the Church in relation to the state. It was argued in chapter three that such changes might be expected from Globalization. Indeed, Peter Beyer was quoted as saying, in relation to Niklas Luhmann's concept of functional differentiation, that: "The upshot...is that group cultures or socio-cultural particularisms operate in a very much changed socio-cultural context in global society. They no longer hold the self-evident position

they did in societies dominated by segmentary or hierarchical differentiation." (1994: 67) This impression of the influence of globalization is emphasised by the explicit reference to ecumenism, itself argued by Roland Robertson to be related to the 'Take-off' phase of globalization.

That this questioning of the existing constitutional position is indirectly related to liturgical reform (amongst other things, of course) is made clear by the recommendations contained within the report.

> "In 1965, by approving the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure of that year, Parliament granted temporary powers to the due authorities of the Church to approve new forms of service, of an experimental character and alternative to the Prayer Book of 1662. These powers will effectively expire in 1980. We understand that it was the expectation of those who framed the Measure that at the end of the experimental period, the Church would return to Parliament and a new Measure authorising another Prayer Book in place of, or alternative to the Prayer Book of 1662, which Parliament would then be asked to approve. Once again, as in 1927 and 1928, the Church's proposals for liturgical reform would be debated on the floor of the House of Commons and might again be rejected. Even if the Measure were passed, the Church would not gain freedom over its worship." (17 - 18)

The Commission considered arguments for the continuing of this state of affairs, but concluded that

> "many members of the Church do not like the existing constitutional position over control of worship. Our predecessors of 1935 and our predecessors of 1952, both declared that the present situation was 'indefensible'. We have not found this feeling to have diminished, but rather the contrary". (Archbishops' Commission 1970: 20)

As a result of reaching this conclusion, the Commission made the following recommendation:

> "that a Measure be prepared to ensure that the authority to order forms of worship, already granted in part and for a time by Parliament to the

> Convocations and House of Laity, should be granted finally to the General Synod; under safeguards to be mentioned hereafter". (23)

In order to ensure that control over the forms of worship was even more clearly with the Church, the Commission made the following further recommendation:

> "the new Measure should take the form of enabling the Church to order its worship by Canon or by the exercise of powers conferred by Canon, and should repeal the relevant Acts of Parliament and Measures. The most important of these are the Act of Uniformity, 1662, the Clerical Subscription Act and the Prayer Book (Alternative & Other Services) Measure 1965." (26)

Lest there should be any doubt that the concern with reform of the liturgy was closely bound up with a changing understanding of the constitutional position of the Church relative to the state, minority reports, attached to the main report, make this clear. A minority radical report from Miss Valerie Pitt said:

> "Although the Commission genuinely intends to devolve responsibility from the State to the Church, it preserves intact the legal apparatus of Establishment and so leaves the State with a real, though no doubt formally exercised power, in the Church's affairs. The Commission's attempt to conserve the historical forms of the Church/Crown relationship in England springs from assumptions about the Church, the constitution and the community which I do not share." (68)

Miss Pitt was supported in taking this line by another minority report from Mr Peter Cromwell. It has so far been argued in chapter three of this thesis, and illustrated above, that one of the most powerful forces pressing changes in relationships between institutions and changing their position in society is Globalization. The Measure recommended by the Report, and now called the Worship and Doctrine Measure, was finally put, after revision, to the November Group Sessions of the General Synod in 1973 and approved for final drafting. Thereafter it went to Parliament and was passed.

That Measure and the Canons which proceeded from it had many significant effects. In themselves, they led to no change in General Synod's work of

liturgical reform. But the Synod's powers were now to be permanent and this meant that the law would no longer set a time limit to the process. Equally, the Measure and the Canons preserved the Book of Common Prayer as an authorised Book and it gave power to local parochial church councils to decide whether to use the new services or to retain the 1662 Book. This meant, in effect, that the Church of England now accepted, as a permanent feature of its life, the possibility of local choice. Once more this notion, when fully developed, will be a major issue raised by publication of the report, '*Faith in the City*' in 1985 through its influence on *Patterns for Worship*. This made it "impossible to secure by force of law that strict uniformity which was the undoubted aim of the promoters of the Prayer Books of 1549, 1552 and 1662" (Standing Committee 1973: 6). In this way, the Church of England was consciously embracing pluralism. This notion and its implications for common prayer and the authority of bishops will, again, be developed further when *Patterns for Worship* is considered.

E. GENERAL SYNOD REPORT - GS 161

Meanwhile, also in 1973, a report drawn up by the Standing Committee of the General Synod, GS 161, entitled "The Future Course of Liturgical Revision" was placed before the General Synod. The rationale behind the production of the report was that

> "(t)he Standing Committee consider that the time has come when the General Synod needs to stand back from the process of scrutinising amending and authorising alternative services, in order to assess the progress which has been made since the *Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure 1965* came into operation, and to lay down general guidelines for the future course of liturgical revision in the Church of England." (Standing Committee 1973: 1)

By this time, General Synod had embarked on a *Third Series* of alternative services. At the time of the publication of the report, only one Third Series order of service, that for Holy Communion, had been submitted for authorisation and scrutiny by the Synod, but others were planned. The Standing Committee report pointed out that "(l)ike Series II, the Series III forms were experimental in order.....Unlike Series II, the Series III services (were) cast in more modern language". (Standing Committee 1973: 3) Revision of the liturgy of the Church

of England was, therefore moving on apace. The significance of this move to the use of modern language in terms of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift, will be considered in some detail in the next chapter.

This report is of some significance since it offers, for the first time in an official document , a clear and coherent rationale, provided by the authorities of the Church of England, for revision of the liturgy and it gives support to some of the points already made in this section of the thesis. There is a frank recognition of cultural change and shift.

> "The Church's responsibility, in the formulation of its liturgy, is heavy. If the Church's worship is 'to exhibit the aim and meaning of human life in the light of the Incarnation', to inspire devotion in the worshipper, and to express the Church's life and witness, then undoubtedly there must be in the forms of her worship that which worshippers find adequate as an expression of their belief and of their understanding of the deep things of God. It may be that their needs will find full expression in an ancient and unchanging liturgy. But the evidence of the past hundred years is that, although this may be the experience of some parts of Christendom, it is not a universal experience: and in the particular and peculiar case of the Church of England, it has been recognised, at least since the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1906, that the 1662 Book is insufficient for the expression in worship of the life and witness of the people." (Standing Committee 1973: 8)

In the subsequent debate at the July Group Sessions of General Synod in 1973, this same recognition of cultural change and shift is made apparent, even if in a slightly bizarre and eminently patronising way, by the then Archdeacon of Canterbury.

> "One of my main objects is to get the 1552 Common Prayer Book out of the Church as far as I can, in the form in which we now have it.....(referring to Series III) Now we have taken into our confidence people who are masters in the use of modern English and we have benefited from their experience and knowledge. We have got much nearer to the language style - though not the vocabulary, happily - of *Billingsgate* (my italics), and this is something which in many cases and

places is appreciated immensely." (Report of Proceedings: 362)

One is inclined to ask just which world the Archdeacon inhabited if he thought the language style of Series III was near that of *Billingsgate*! But the point is made. Similarly, the Revd J StH Mullett, speaking in the same debate, believed that liturgical revision was a pastoral necessity. "This (revision) is necessary to the parishes and villages, the homes and colleges of England. It is a pastoral necessity to the young confirmation candidates and a comfort to the aged at home." (Report of Proceedings: 367) It is clear from what he says that he considers this revision of the liturgy to be necessary on pastoral grounds to meet a shift in culture. Things have changed; the older services no longer speak to people.

It was argued, too, in the Report that this process of revision was not a closed one. The Report argued that

> "if liturgy is to be related adequately to the needs of the age, then it would seem to be clear there can be no question of providing in, say, 1982, forms of service which - when taken together with the 1662 forms - will close for another three hundred years the process of liturgical revision in the Church of England. If this was ever the aim and expectation of any sizeable body of opinion within the Church, then surely it needs now to be recognised as impossible of attainment. Rather, it must be recognised that it is in the nature of things that forms should be altered, or supplemented." (Standing Committee 1973: 10 - 11)

This is a matter which is reflected in the speech made by the Revd J StH Mullet, and quoted above. He said,

> "There is a very fine phrase in the report, that we must beware that the Prayer Book does not become 'ossified'. We shall have to take great care of this and my suggestion for a Book of Common Prayer 1980 presupposes that we will then go on and aim at another one for 1990."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 367)

It is given even greater force by the then Chairman of the Doctrine Commission, Canon R C D Jasper, speaking in the debate on the Standing Committee's

report at the July Group Sessions of General Synod in 1973.

> "At the present moment I have not the slightest idea what will come out of this operation....When one bears in mind that only in 1966 did we begin any of this liturgical experiment, and considers how far we have got in this short period of time, it is almost impossible to envisage, if the same rate of progress is maintained, what the situation will be at the end of another comparable period of six years." (Record of Proceedings: 363)

Dr. Jasper is supported by the report itself.

> "It is difficult at this time to make confident forecasts about the liturgical situation of the Church of England five or six years ahead: as indicated in the first section of this memorandum, the pace of liturgical change since 1966 has been fast, and the tide is still running strongly."
>
> (Standing Committee 1973: 12)

This quotation from the report and the intervention in the General Synod debate from Dr. Jasper gives us the sense that cultural change both within and without the Church is accelerating, so that what is going to happen next is quite unpredictable.

The Standing Committee Report also puts the then liturgical revision in a much wider perspective.

> "The progress of the ecumenical movement provides another and vital perspective: a greater knowledge and experience of the worship of other Christians enriches our own understanding of our own worship, and sharpens our awareness of shortcomings. At the present time, liturgical revision and reform is a preoccupation of many parts of the Christian Church: in the Roman Catholic Church it was given a particular impetus by the Second Vatican Council and there is a parallel movement in the reformed Churches. It would be foolish and misguided for any Church to pursue liturgical revision regardless of the liturgical thinking and experience of others." (Standing Committee 1973: 10)

It has been recognised in chapter three of this thesis that the rise of ecumenism

is representative of the 'Take-off Phase' in Roland Robertson's scheme for Globalization. Indeed, in that same chapter it was noted that this particular burst of ecumenism in the 1970s was also seen by Malcom Waters as representative of the same phenomenon. As a result, this concern with the ecumenical approach is here seen as an indication of the operation of the force of Globalization.

The final matter of significance arising from this report, so far as this thesis is concerned, arises from a section of the report entitled "Practical Questions". It is clear from the report that the Standing Committee of the General Synod did not envisage the production of a "new Prayer Book of the kind envisaged in 1928.....that is an agreed single alternative to each of the 1662 forms of service. Instead there will be running parallel with the 1662 forms of service, sometimes one, sometimes two or even three, duly authorised forms."(Standing Committee 1973: 12) And it might be noted that once more this speaks clearly and profoundly of that pluralism, which was argued in chapter three to follow from Globalization and Postmodernity. However, the report then went on to qualify what this might mean. It said:

> "it is important to distinguish the question of authorisation of forms of service.....from the practical question of the actual printed texts which worshippers are to have in their hands when they come to church. No doubt there will be a desire, on the part of some, whether or not a new Prayer Book as such is authorised, to have bound up in a single volume both the 1662 services and the other authorised forms....Another possibility would be to have the newer services brought together in a single volume. But the needs of the great majority of worshippers could be met in a practical way, by a 'People's Service Book' incorporating the various authorised forms of Morning and Evening Prayer and Holy Communion, with psalms, collects and lections. This would be the book which would be found in the pews..." (Standing Committee 1973: 13).

It became one of the firm recommendations of the Standing Committee in the report that there should be "set up a working party to give further thought to the form in which authorised services are to be made available to worshippers and, in particular, to the proposal for a 'People's Prayer Book'..." (Standing Committee 1973: 19) This proposal was agreed at the July Group of Sessions of

General Synod in 1973 and it was out of the work of that working party and the passing of the Worship and Doctrine Measure that the Alternative Service Book 1980 came.

In the debate on the Standing Committee's report and in particular its suggestion that there should be the working party to consider a 'People's Prayer Book', it was suggested that the title of the book might be the Book Of Common Prayer 1980. The then Archbishop of Canterbury, Michael Ramsey, took a different view. In the debate at the July Group Sessions of General Synod in 1973, he said:

> "I should regret it if the amendment were carried. I do not like the suggestion about the year 1980. The pastoral need is far more urgent than that. It is really urgent, as a number of speakers have pointed out, to have the book in the hands of the people really soon - I would hope in two years from now (1975), not more than that."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 369)

In this, he was to be disappointed, although his sense of urgency is inidicative of the way in which he felt things had changed, that is his consciousness of Culture Shift. However, it is to the text of the Alternative Service Book 1980 that this thesis now turns.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

REVISION OF THE LITURGY

THE ALTERNATIVE SERVICE BOOK

A. INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter the history of liturgical reform in the Church of England over about the past century was fairly briefly set out. This was done both to establish a context for all that follows and also to establish that there have been indications of the operation of the sociological forces with which this thesis is concerned throughout this same period. That previous section ended with those developments in the 1970s which led to the production of the Alternative Service Book 1980. The rest of this chapter of the thesis will be mainly concerned with the texts which have been produced and authorised for use in the Church of England since the passing of the Doctrine and Worship Measure and the acceptance of the General Synod Standing Committee's report, GS 161 "The Future Course of Liturgical Revision." As was indicated in the last chapter, two main texts will be considered in this case study. They will be *The Alternative Service Book 1980* (The ASB), and *Patterns For Worship*.

In this chapter of this second study, it will be the Alternative Service Book which will now be considered. The assessment of the Alternative Service Book will fall into two parts, which will be covered in this present chapter and that which follows. This chapter will concentrate mainly on the text of the Book. It will look successively for those specific signs of the operation of Culture Shift, Globalization and Postmodernity, which were set out in chapters two, three and four. The text of the ASB will be used to support the argument. Chapter twelve will consider opposition to the ASB, for this will illuminate other aspects of the ASB and the ways in which Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift work. First, however, it is to the text of the ASB that we now turn.

B. LANGUAGE: A SHIFT IN CULTURE

Before looking at the detail of the text, there is something else about it which should be considered and that is the language in which it is cast. The ASB is the first formally approved Prayer Book of the Church of England written in modern English, with God addressed as 'You'. It is proposed that this represents a shift in culture. We have seen in the previous section of this thesis that there was a series of experimental rites which were cast in modern language. The most notable and influential of these was Series 3. The publication of the draft Series 3 Communion service in 1971 marked a decisive break with previous tradition. God was addressed as 'You' for the first time in public worship in the Church of England, instead of the archaic 'Thou'. This fuelled a debate on the nature of liturgical language. John Fenwick and Bryan Spinks believe this to be such a significant development that they feel able to say: "Few areas of liturgical change in the second half of the twentieth century have produced such violent reactions as that of the language of worship." (147)

Much of the debate had taken place by the time of the publication of the ASB and the issue was effectively decided by then. Nevertheless, the ASB would not have been the book it now is without the earlier debate and especially the debate in General Synod at the Autumn Group Sessions in 1971 at which the draft form of the Series 3 Holy Communion Service was approved. The Series 3 rite was very influential so far as the form and content of Rite A in the ASB was concerned. Elements of that 1971 debate are, therefore, doubly of interest here. Not only was that debate of significance for the particular form of the ASB, but elements of it are germaine to the arguments being put forward in this thesis, for it will be attested that the arguments put forward for adopting the experimental service indicate that Shift in Culture with which this thesis has in part concerned itself.

At the Autumn Group Sessions of General Synod in 1971, the then Chairman of the Liturgical Commission, Ronald Jasper, opened the debate by moving acceptance of the experimental rite. In doing so, he was very concerned to show that in adopting a modern language form of service for Holy Communion, the Church of England was merely following an existing and powerful trend throughout the English-speaking world, which was leaving behind the traditional approach and language.

> "Experience has shown that it is quite impossible to try to construct liturgical forms which are really contemporary in style if at the same time you insist on using the second person singular (thou). We must remember that we are not one of the first Churches to produce a liturgy in *you*-form. We are in fact remarkable for dragging our feet, and we are one of the last Churches to produce a liturgy in *you*-form. I think there is a real danger, if we insist on sticking exclusively to *thou*-forms of prayer, that the time will come, and it may be sooner than we expect, when we shall be a complete oddity in the Church at large and we shall be worshipping in complete isolation from the rest of our brethren..."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 621)

As has already been indicated, it is proposed here that this part of his address indicates an acceptance that the world around the Church of England had changed and that the Church of England needed to change, too, or become quite out of step with the world in which it was set and much of the rest of Western Christendom. Here we see an acceptance of that Culture Shift described earlier in this thesis. That this is an acceptance of such a change or shift is indicated by the fact that the subsequent debate makes it clear that this view represents a change of view for the Chairman of the Liturgical Commission himself. Dr H. M. Williams of Salisbury diocese said,

> "I remember that when Series II texts were first made available to the Church Assembly and when some of us pressed at that time for the use of modern English, we were told - I believe by Canon Jasper - that modern English was not a suitable language for liturgy. I am delighted that Canon Jasper has changed his mind." (*Report of Proceedings*: 630)

That this change in language really was an attempt to address cultural change in the Church and particularly in wider society is illustrated by the contribution to debate from Mrs J M Myland, representing Sheffield diocese. Mrs Myland was also a member of the Liturgical Commission.

> "I have constantly advocated the presentation of the Service in a more contemporary form of language....in all humility I would submit that what is so often proclaimed in the traditional language of our worship is not the transcendence of God, but the irrelevancy of the Christianity and the

> Church. I do not live in an ivory tower, but I do live half way up a very steep hill in one of the most heavily industrialised areas of the country, and I am more and more impressed by the apparent impossibility of making the Christian faith and belief in God have any meaning to the majority of people among whom I live....As a number of them recently told a member of the young wives' group, they could not care twopence if the Church closed tomorrow. If any of these people do ever have cause to come into Church for an act of worship, so often the language which we use merely confirms their view that Christianity has nothing to say to them in their lives and as they live them." (*Report of Proceedings*: 623-4)

This is a long quotation from Mrs Myland, but it serves to illustrate that she clearly perceived the world beyond the Church to be changing and shifting and moving away from the Church and orthodox institutions and forms of worship. This is precisely what the protagonists of Culture Shift describe in the move from Materialism to Postmaterialism. She makes it clear in the rest of her speech that she did not believe that simply changing the form of language of the services would suddenly make Christianity completely relevant to masses of people in the country. And this is probably just as well, for she was almost certainly encountering in Sheffield some form of that 'Believing without Belonging' which Grace Davie describes. But it is clear that she believed, whether rightly or not is irrelevant, that in the face of these social and cultural changes the Church of England needed to respond. Dr Williams, again, makes a similar point. "If modern English could not be used, I would be forced to conclude that our faith really is irrelevant or that our liturgy is entirely out of touch with our living faith." (*Report of Proceedings*: 630) It is argued here that the proposed use of modern English forms is a response to Culture Shift.

A second issue relating to language was raised.

> "It was realised that there was no such thing as a single form of 'modern English'. Spoken language differs from written language; should the language used be that of the 'popular press' or that of the 'quality press'...Should it be plain and functional or poetic, allusive and dignified?" (Fenwick and Spinks, 1995: 151)

The debate in General Synod indicated that this was a live issue. The Dean of

Guildford made it clear that he favoured the poetic, allusive and dignified. He believed the Liturgical Commission had been given an impossible task.

> "The first reason for the impossibility of the task they were given stems from the fact...that a liturgical rite is more closely related to an epic poem or a Shakespearen play...if there is one thing I can be sure of it is that a committee...can never be expected to write a poem or become joint authors of a new Hamlet...The second reason arises from the fact that we live in an age which, in comparison with may other ages in the past, is one of literary infertility and linguistic poverty."
>
> (*Report of Proceedings*: 627)

It is clear the the Dean of Guildford was not merely reflecting on a particular use of language, but also on the nature of the times in which he found himself.

The main reply to his argument came from the Revd Professor Dennis Nineham, representing Oxford University. This rather lengthy quotation indicates that Dennis Nineham was also reflecting on more than the language. He also was reflecting on the nature of the times in which he found himself and on the changes in circumstance and culture which meant that the Book of Common Prayer was no longer an appropriate liturgy.

> "I am bound to say that I share to some extent (the Dean's) evaluation of the liturgy as an aesthetic product. It certainly is not great poetry...But how much significance should we attach to that criterion?...One of the difficulties for many of us about the 1662 liturgy is that ...it does not say or prescribe our views at this most important moment of Christian worship...it is surely of overriding importance that the liturgy should be the means whereby Christian people can express in word and deed before God the central mystery of their faith. If we feel that in that respect the 1662 liturgy needs to be revised...if we are to have a natural and appropriate expression of our faith...then it seems to me incontestable that we need a new liturgy, and if at the present time we cannot produce a liturgy which, from an aesthetic point of view, will stand comparison with 1662, then that surely is something we have to put up with at this particular stage."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 636)

So far as Dennis Nineham is concerned, the liturgy should be appropriate to the time. And the times, the culture have so changed that the 1662 service is no longer appropriate. Even if the language of the Series 3 service, a form of language which is carried over into the ASB, is not beautiful, it reflects that shifted culture and is thus appropriate.

If there remains doubt that this is about shifts in culture, then the Revd Ivor Smith Cameron, representing Southwark diocese, provides further evidence.

> "The Archbishop of Canterbury has told us...that one of the things we must note is the division occurring between the institutional church...Part of the church of the future will not worship within traditional buildings and will not have all the marks of traditional Christianity...Such acts of worship must be relevant to the people where they are. I believe that Series 2 and Series 3 have provided for some of us a halfway house where we are able to grow into new liturgies more relevant for some Christian communities of the future." (Report of Proceedings: 646)

Here we have that move away from traditional institutional religion of which the move to Postmaterialism speaks. Here, the change in the language of worship is reflecting cultural change and shift.

C. THE PREFACE TO THE ASB

It is now possible to turn to a consideration of the text of the ASB, but before undertaking a detailed consideration of the text, it is intended first to consider the Preface to the ASB. The reasoning behind this is that the Preface will give an indication of the sorts of forces which in general have produced the material to be found in the text of the ASB. In this regard, therefore, the Preface to the ASB makes it clear that a good deal of the motivation for the production of the Book can be found in Culture Shift in precisely the sense in which it has been described earlier in this thesis. The Preface says that "Rapid social and intellectual change....together with a world-wide reawakening of interest in liturgy, have made it desirable that new understandings of worship should find expression in new forms and styles."(ASB Preface: 9) It is precisely a social and intellectual change which was described in the earlier section on Culture Shift and which has clearly helped drive the production of the ASB.

That same quotation offers an indication of a further of those forces with which this thesis is concerned. That same quotation speaks clearly of Globalization, for the Preface tells us that this Book derives from a *world-wide* reawakening of interest in liturgy. The ASB is immediately put into a global context. This is both confirmed and accentuated when the Preface tells us that "(t)here are few parts of the Church which have not been affected by the recent phase of liturgical revision."(ASB Preface: 10) The Preface, therefore, suggests that an investigation of the text of the ASB will give a clear indication of the operation of Globalization. Later in this section, it will be argued in greater detail that what appears to be suggested in the Preface is true for the text itself.

Linked to the suggestion of the operation of Globalization, is relativization. In this particular instance it is relativization of the liturgy so that any particular liturgy is seen as being relevant only to the time and culture of its production. For a very long time, it is clear that such a view was not taken of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. It is, however, a view which is taken of the text of the ASB and which is alluded to in the very title of the Book.

> "The Church of England has traditionally sought to maintain a balance between the old and the new. For the first time since the Act of Uniformity this balance in its public worship is now officially expressed in two books, rather than one....The addition of the date to (the) title (of the ASB) may serve as a reminder that revision and adaptation of the Church's worship are continuous processes, and that any liturgy, no matter how timeless its qualities, also belongs to a paticular period and culture." (ASB Preface: 9)

Finally, there is a further matter illustrated within the Preface which relates both to Globalization and to Postmodernity. This further matter might reasonably be termed pluralism. In particular, this pluralism relates to the life of the Church of England. The Preface also suggests that an acceptance of this pluralism has been easier to effect in more recent times, which itself accords with the arguments put forward elsewhere in this thesis.

> "Christians have become readier to accept that, even within a single church, unity need no longer be seen to entail strict uniformity of practice....As long ago as 1906 a Royal Commission reported that 'the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the

> religious life of this present generation'. Three quarters of a century later it can be said with even greater certainty that the gospel of the living Christ is too rich in content, and the spiritual needs of his people are too diverse, for a single form of worship to suffice." (ASB Preface: 9)

Such a statement might merely seem like common sense now, but it would not always have appeared so. Indeed, for a long time uniformity of practice was seen as an end to be valued. It is argued here that the pluralism of which the Preface to the ASB speaks comes out of the current stage of Globalization and the force of Postmodernity.

In the Preface to the ASB it has, therefore, been possible to find indications of Culture Shift, Globalization, relativization and pluralism allied to Postmodernity. It is now intended to turn to the liturgical texts within the ASB to determine whether these and other indications of the operation of the forces of Culture Shift, GLobalization and Postmodernity can be found. The text will be considered under the headings of these forces and related indicators.

C. GLOBALIZATION

The following two sub-sections of this chapter of the thesis will deal with indications of the operation of Globalization as a force behind the ASB. This will be considered in two quite separate ways. In the first sub-section, indications in the text of the ASB of the operation of Globalization proper will be considered. In the following sub-section, indications in the text of the pressure of ecumenism will be considered. It will be argued that ecumenism is a second-order indication of the operation of Globalization as a force. In a subsequent sub-section it will be argued that the text shows signs of pluralism and Postmodernity as well as Culture Shift. First, however, this first sub-section considers Globalization.

In their official commentary on the ASB, the Liturgical Commission says that "(t)he years 1968 to 1970 saw English-speaking Christians everywhere beginning to accept the use of contemporary language. This was epitomised by the formation in 1969 of the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET)."(1980: 15) It has already been argued that the use of modern English is an indication of Culture Shift. In addition, the above quotation makes it clear that the texts eventually incorporated within the ASB were not simply produced in

England - or even the United Kingdom. They were influenced, and often directly produced by scholars on an international basis. In this sense, the ASB is not simply an "English" book, even though it is produced by the Church of England. This international, or global, perspective is emphasised when the Liturgical Commission writes that ICET

> "produced draft texts for all English-speaking Churches. National and denominational Commissions responded to (their) proposals, and ICET published interim reports in 1970 and 1971 and a final report in 1975, all under the title *Prayers we have in common*". (1980: 15)

So far as the text of the ASB itself is concerned, one clear indication of Globalization is to be found in considering the 'Collects' written for the Book. The 'Collects' are formal prayers written to be said by the President at the Eucharist.

> "The collect has formed part of the eucharistic rite of the Church of Rome at least from the early years of the fifth century.....(T)he collects of the ASB are related on every occasion to the themes of the readings and may therefore be understood as a preparation for the Ministry of the Word." (Liturgical Commission 1980: 49)

The Liturgical Commission makes it clear that these prayers were not simply a construction of the Church of England, nor even simply of English Christianity, but is set in an international or global perspective. "Many of the new collects are the product and exchange of drafts, both within the Anglican Communion and outside it. Some of the principal participants in this process of consultation have been the provinces of Ireland and South Africa." (1980: 52)

Similarly, the First of the four Eucharistic Prayers provided for the first rite (Rite A) for the eucharist in the ASB gives a further example of this international or global setting and perspective. The 'Acclamations', "Christ has died: Christ is risen: Christ will come again." (ASB: 132) were placed after the Narrative of Institution, the recollection of institution of the eucharist at the Last Supper.

> "There is good logic in the position after the anamnesis (*ie that part of the Eucharistic Prayer in which the church understands itself to be offering the bread and the cup in obedience to the command of Christ*), and it was

> tried in Australia in the 1973 draft rite....and in the 1974 North India rite...But the Australians rejected it in their 1977 draft, and in their 1978 definitive text in *An Australian Prayer Book*, not because of problems in logic or theology, but because in use it was found that congregations wished to respond to the presidential utterance at roughly equal stages through the prayer." (Liturgical Commission 1980: 88 Note 64)

It is quite clear that in constructing the Eucharistic Prayer, expertise and experience from across the world were used. The Church of England is clearly operating here in a global setting. In this and the other ways indicated above, it is argued that the Globalization is seen to be at work in the Church of England and in its new liturgies. In the next sub-section it is intended to demonstrate the operation of this same force through ecumenism.

D. ECUMENISM

> "In addressing globalization I have paid particular attention to what I have called the take-off period of modern globalization, lasting from about 1870 through to the mid-1920s.....During the period lasting from about 1870 to 1925 basic geohuman contingencies were formally worked out in such terms as the time-zoning of the world and the establishment of the international dateline; the near-global adoption of the Gregorian calendar and the adjustable seven-day week....At the same time, there arose movements which were specifically concerned with the relationship between the local and the panlocal, one of the most notable being the ecumenical movement which sought to bring the major 'world' religious traditions into a coordinated, concultural discourse."
>
> (Robertson, 1992: 179)

In this way, Roland Robertson describes the significance he attributes to the ecumenical movement in his formulation of Globalization as a force in the world. It has already been noted, in the section of this thesis on the effects of Globalization, that Malcolm Waters considered ecumenism to be one specific response to Globalization. He thought particularly of that burst of ecumenism which took place in the 1960s and 1970s. It is, of course, that same burst of ecumenism which has influenced the ASB. It is precisely in this way that ecumenism is understood here and, as a result, in this sub-section ecumenism

is seen as a firm indication of the presence and operation of Globalization.

There are many instances of ecumenical endeavour in the text of the ASB. It centres around the work of two ecumenical bodies. The first body is the Joint Liturgical Group (JLG). This Group was composed of all the main churches in England and Scotland. Set up largely owing to the initiative of the Church of England, it came into being in 1963, at the start of that burst of ecumenism to which Malcolm Waters refers. The second body is the International Consultation on English Texts (ICET).

> "Several of the best known and most important parts of our new services have been written by this group. It was drawn together from various English-speaking nations, from both protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, and given the task of drawing up translations of the most universally used parts of our services."
>
> (Buchanan, Lloyd & Miller, 1980: 28)

This quotation comes from a rather more "popular" commentary on the ASB than that provided by the Liturgical Commission itself, but it is, nonetheless, one given 'official' backing in the form of a Foreword by the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie. It indicates the significance of the ecumenical dimension to the final form of the text of the ASB. In the rest of this section particular examples will be considered and documented.

The influence of the work of the Joint Liturgical Group is seen in a number of places. The Calendar is that cycle of ordinary Sundays, great festivals, saints days, red-letter days and so on, which go to make up the Christian year. R. C. D. Jasper says that in "1967-8 this group produced radical proposals for a revision of the Calendar..." (1986: 26). One of those proposals was to change the start of the Church's year from Advent Sunday to the ninth Sunday before Christmas. There was historical precedent for a longer Advent than the four weeks, which have become traditional in the Church of England. However, this particular proposal came from the JLG in its first report, *The Calendar and Lectionary*, in 1967. "The scheme of the seasons in the ASB owes much to this report andnot least to the proposal that the season of preparation for Christmas...be extended to nine weeks." (Liturgical Commission, 1980: 19)

The title of that first report indicates that the JLG was not simply influential in establishing the form of the Calendar for the ASB, but also in determining the particular Lectionary used. In the 1967 report, the Group proposed that Sunday Communion readings should be arranged on a two year cycle, with a particular theme for each Sunday of the year. Three readings were provided for each Sunday, but because of the themes at certain times of the year, particular readings were considered 'controlling' and so were obligatory. For instance, in the nine weeks before Christmas the Old Testament reading was the 'controlling lection'. The Liturgical Commission acknowledged that the "scheme of Communion readings for Sundays and the great festivals is after a little amendment the scheme originally drawn up by the Joint Liturgical Group". (1980:29)

A number of other examples of the influence of ecumenism through the work of the Joint Liturgical Commission could be given. However, a consideration of the form of the Daily Office, Morning and Evening Prayer, will conclude. In 1968 the JLG had produced a report called *The Daily Office*. This report was very comprehensive, since it not only comprised a suggested new structure and content for Morning and Evening Prayer, it also included a new lectionary and psalter. The forms of Morning and Evening Prayer proposed were based on earlier Anglican forms - ie the 1662 Book of Common Prayer - but were much more flexible. The Church of England published these proposals, with some adjustments, as *Morning and Evening Prayer Second Series (Revised)* in 1970. In 1975 *Morning and Evening Prayer Series 3* were authorised and these were substantially Series 2 Revised forms in modern language and with some supplementary material. "With some very minor changes, these were the forms which finally appeared in the Alternative Service Book" (Jasper & Bradshaw, 1986: 95). The line of descent is directly traceable to the JLG's 1968 report.

In addition, there were two other things of interest about specific texts in Morning Prayer. First, a completely new Canticle appeared in the ASB, called 'Great and Wonderful'.

> "Great and wonderful are your deeds Lord God the Almighty:
> Just and true are your ways O King of the nations.
>
> Who shall not revere and praise your name, O Lord?

for you alone are holy.

All nations shall come and worship in your presence:
for your just dealings have been revealed.

To him who sits on the throne and to the Lamb:
be praise and honour, glory and might for ever and ever. Amen."

(ASB: 54)

This, too, owed its appearance in the ASB to the JLG, but its history is even more ecumenical. "It first appeared in the draft proposals for the revised Roman Breviary, and from there the JLG used it as the canticle for Saturday morning in its 1968 Daily Office." (Jasper & Bradshaw, 1986: 108).

The second of these two specific texts was that of the second option for the third collect at Morning Prayer.

"Eternal God and Father,
you create us by your power
and redeem us by your love:
guide and strengthen us by your Spirit,
that we may give ourselves in love and service
to one another and to you;
through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." (ASB: 60)

This, too, owes its presence in the ASB, and indeed its existence, to the JLG. It is "a modern prayer, first produced as the constant morning collect in the JLG Daily Office in 1968. It owed much to the inspiration of the Rev. James Todd, the Congregational liturgist and member of the Group" (Jasper & Bradshaw, 1986: 124). In the ways detailed above, the influence of ecumenism, through the work of the Joint Liturgical Group, can be seen at work in the ASB 1980.

It has already been noted that the second ecumenical body to influence the text of the ASB was ICET. The Liturgical Commission makes the position clear. "The existence of ICET texts as *prima facie* deserving inclusion in modern language liturgy was a feature of the 1970s..."(1980: 15). The influence of ICET is mainly seen in Rite A. There are some exceptions to this. One is the text of the

'Magnificat' at Evening Prayer. Jasper tells us that the "text used in the ASB is that of ICET" (Jasper & Bradshaw, 1986: 127). The rest of the examples given here will come from Rite A, although they are not necessarily used exclusively there. As with the work of the JLG, these examples of the work of ICET are not exhaustive, but illustrative.

The first and simplest example is the text of the 'Gloria in Excelsis' in Rite A. The Liturgical Commission simply says that the "text of this is that proposed by ICET in 1970, 1971 and 1974, and commands wide support." (1980:67). The case of the form of the Lord's Prayer is similar, although more independence of the ICET original is shown. "The modern text is little changed from the 1662/Series 2 forms. It is based on the ICET form..." (Liturgical Commission, 1980: 91). There is one significant difference from the ICET original in the ninth line. The 1974 ICET version had "do not bring us to the time of trial" at that point in the prayer, but the ASB reverted to the traditional, "Lead us not into temptation". The Liturgical Commission comments that "when the text was considered by the General Synod in 1978-79, a wave of conservatism produced a return to the traditional 'Lead us not into temptation'" (1980:92). Since we have seen from the work of Kevin Robins that protection of the local and traditional is one possible response to Globalization. This change to the ICET text is, therefore, taken in that light - it was clearly a step too far for General Synod in the direction of change and the acceptance of ecumenical texts.

The final example of the acceptance of the ecumenical ICET texts is the Nicene Creed. As with the texts already considered, the Liturgical Commission notes the "text of this is that proposed in the final report of ICET in 1974, with one minor variant..." (1980: 70). In places, ICET had made some very particular proposals for translating the text of the Nicene Creed. Two examples will be given to show the difference from the text in the Book of Common Prayer. The first is that whereas in the Book of Common Prayer the creed started, "I believe", the ICET version included in the ASB begins, "We believe...". This follows the Greek and "the statement at Chalcedon made it clear that it was regarded as a corporate expression of orthodoxy, and not as an individual profession..." (Jasper & Bradshaw, 1986: 198). This is mentioned not merely because of the change from the Book of Common Prayer, but also because this change will be one issue taken up, particularly by David Martin, in the following chapter of the thesis dealing with opposition to the ASB. The second example is that in the

Book of Common Prayer, the final section of the Nicene Creed begins, "I believe in one catholic and apostolic church...". The same section in the ICET version in the ASB begins, "We believe in one holy, catholic and apostolic church..." (ASB: 124). The inclusion of the word 'holy' reflects the original Greek. Cranmer, when writing what became the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, simply decided to omit that word. Presumably this was because of concern about attributing such an adjective to the church in the light of exalted medieval theologies of the church. On the assumption that this is correct, here is an indication that British society and culture has changed.

This section on ecumenism began with the argument put forward by Robertson and Malcolm Waters that ecumenism is one specific response which has been used in the face of Globalization. Indeed, Waters cited the ecumenical work of the 1960s and 1970s as indicative of the operation of Globalization at that time. It has been argued in the above examples that ecumenism has been very influential in determining both the shape of some of the services in the ASB and in the content of the texts themselves. It has been argued that this has been effected through the work of the Joint Liturgical Group and ICET. These examples are clearly indicative of the operation of Globalization in the liturgical life of the Church of England through the reform of its liturgy. In the next sub-section the operation of Postmodernity will be considered.

E. PLURALISM AND POSTMODERNITY

There are other indications in the text of the ASB of those forces with which this thesis is concerned. In chapter 3 it was demonstrated that pluralism is one of the outcomes of Globalization and Postmodernity. There are clear indications that pluralism has influenced the text of the ASB. Even in respect of the 'Series 2' Communion Service, the Liturgical Commission said that "there was a new freedom of presentation, including many options on the one hand, and opportunity to introduce new or local material into the intercessions on the other." (1980: 58)

When it came to Rite A in the ASB, the Commission explained that there was a much greater variety of material. These choices were "meant to give flexibility, elasticity, and sensitivity in the use of the text" (1980: 63). For instance, at the intercession in Rite A there is the rubric: "Intercessions and thanksgivings are

led by the president, or by others. The form below, or one of those in section 81, or other suitable words may be used." (ASB 1980: 124) This gives enormous freedom and particularly the phrase "or other suitable words". For the Liturgical Commission said in 1980 that this "might imply any forms of prayer supplied by the person leading the intercession, or it might apply to free or extemporary prayer." (1980: 74-5) This multiplicity of choices meant that there were many different versions of Rite A which could be used or celebrated.

This very variety raises an issue, which is of considerable importance for the Church of England. The Liturgical Commission alludes to it when it says that throughout "the preparation of the service, the options offered are not meant to represent divisive doctrinal choices..." (1980: 63). This issue is the future of common prayer in the Church of England and, through it, of doctrinal consistency and orthodoxy. Here we find the first hints of a realisation that the sort of pluralism offered by the ASB might raise serious questions about common prayer in the Church of England, which for long had depended upon the uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer. This will not be considered here because the whole issue is raised more sharply and with greater clarity by the publication of *Patterns for Worship*. The issue will be considered in relation to that publication, but the pluralism evident in the ASB and the response of the Liturgical Commission points up common prayer as an issue for the first time.

One further indication of pluralism is the inclusion at the Preparation of the Gifts in Rite A of the response, 'Blessed be God for ever'. The Liturgical Commission makes it clear that the inclusion of this small response reflects a pluralist approach to the Preparation of the Gifts, which would have been unimagineable in the Book of Common Prayer. It also raises once more the issue of doctrinal consistency and orthodoxy, which, again, wll be considered in more detail in relation to *Patterns for Worship*. The Commission wrote:

> "The text hints, by printing out the response (Blessed be God for ever), that the new Roman 'Offertory Prayers' might be used...But the rite also hints, by not printing the text of those prayers, that not everybody is agreed on the theology and suitability of this Roman Catholic provision."
>
> (1980: 77)

The matter is not decided, it is simply left open-ended and available for more

than one interpretation. In these ways pluralism is seen to have affected the text of the ASB.

Beyond pluralism, there are other indications of Postmodernity. The Third Eucharistic Prayer is a new piece of writing for the ASB. However, its inspiration was the eucharistic text in Hipplytus' *Apostolic Tradition* from the third century. "Its primary source is Hippolytus together with the second canon in the revised Roman rite, which is also based on Hippolytus."(Jasper and Bradshaw, 1986: 230). Jasper acknowledges that the pattern of this Eucharistic Prayer is the least Anglican in the ASB. Back around 1980, the Liturgical Commission was accused of being too 'historical' or antiquarian for constructing a Eucharistic Prayer based on material from the third century. However, we shall see in the chapter which follows that David Martin makes a different point. He argues that this is not really a return to an historical precedent. Instead, it masks pressures operating in the present. This reflects that aspect of Postmodernity, discussed in chapter 3, and dependent on David Harvey's work, in which he says that Postmodernity "abandons all sense of historical continuity and memory, while developing an incredible ability to plunder history and absorb what it finds there as as some aspect of the present." (1990: 54)

This aspect of Postmodernity is further illustrated by considering the provenance of some of the other material in the ASB. For instance, the Collects come from several sources. Many are versions of Collects from the Book of Common Prayer, but placed in a totally different theological context and liturgical structure. The Collect for Christmas Eve comes from the 1549 Latin Missal, that for Pentecost 16 comes from the Leonine Sacramentary, while the Collect for Pentecost 8 comes from the 1929 Scottish Prayer Book. There are many other examples of the 'pick and mix' approach to texts. One final example is the Canticle, 'O Gladsome Light' used in Evening Prayer. This is "an anonymous composition dating from the third century. St Basil (379 AD) witnessed to its early established position in Eastern worship..." (Jasper & Bradshaw 1986: 125). These are texts used without context, simply as text, and without any specific regard for their history, historical context and provenance. In these ways it is argued that the ASB is a Postmodern document.

F. CONCLUSION

In this chapter of the thesis, the text of the ASB has been considered. It has

been argued that in the consolidation of the use of 'modern' English, the ASB embodies Culture Shift. We may also see in that decision a reflection of the changing culture in which the Church of England finds itself and must operate and, in particular, we see the need to recruit and retain voluntary adherents. It has further been argued that clear direct signs of the operation of Globalization in the life of the Church of England. This is seen, for instance, in the fact that from the 1960s into the 1970s English-speaking Christians all over the world began to reform their liturgies and use 'modern' language. Another aspect ofGlobalization, that is Ecumenism, has also been considered. It was argued that the inclusion in the ASB of numerous texts produced by theJoint Liturgical Group and ICET was a clear indication of the operation of this further aspect of Globalization. Finally, it has been argued that there are clear indications of pluralism and Postmodernity. Indeed, it has been argued that in certain respects the ASB is a postmodern document.

The final point to be made is that all of these sociological features have been incorporated into the formal liturgy of the Church of England in the most radical and most significant reform of its liturgy since the introduction of the 1662 book. It is, therefore, argued that this is clear evidence that the Church decided, whether consciously or not is not entirely the point, to go with the grain of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. In doing so, it incorporated those forces into its formal liturgy. This is also taken to be a further indication of the power of these forces. Having seen the implications of the adoption of the ASB, it is now appropriate to consider opposition to the book, for that too will offer insight into the operation of the sociological forces with which this thesis is concerning itself.

REVISION OF THE LITURGY

THE ALTERNATIVE SERVICE BOOK - OPPOSITION

A. INTRODUCTION

Thus far, in considering liturgical reform in the Church of England, the forces which have driven that reform and the Church of England's response to them have mainly been considered. However, in the same way that the Bishops were concerned that consideration of their response to New Religious Movements should remain confidential because of the possiblity of strong opposition, it would be wrong to imagine that reform of the liturgy and the production of the Alternative Service Book were effected unopposed. It has already been noted in this thesis, in the consideration of the effects of Globalization particularly, that Kevin Robins argues that one "must think of a new articulation of the relationship between the 'global' and the 'local'" so that the very forces with which this thesis is concerned "may lead some to try to protect the local and traditional". It will be argued in this chapter that there is evidence for such moves.

However, Globalization and Postmodernity have been seen to produce effects which are, in some ways, more profound and more subtle than this. In particular, it has been argued that these forces disturb, undermine and change existing identities. These disturbances and changes affect the identity of the individual, but also that of the wider group, institutions and even the nation. Stuart Hall describes the situation in the 1980s in this way,

> "The old identities which stabilized the social world for so long are in decline, giving rise to new identities and the fragmentation of the modern individual as a unified subject. This so-called 'crisis of identity' is seen as part of a wider process of change which is dislocating the central structures and processes of modern society." (274)

This situation of destabilized identities is seen as coming from more than one source. It has already been noted that Globalization is seen as entailing changes in the way in which time and space are understood and experienced, as different areas of the globe are drawn into interconnection with one another. As we have seen in chapter two in this thesis, David Harvey calls it 'time-space compression' and Anthony Giddens calls it 'time-space distanciation'. This process has real implications at a wide level for national and cultural identities. To understand how this might be, three things need to be set side by side. First, Stuart Hall argues that "national cultures have dominated modernity and national identities have tended to win out over other, more particularist, sources of cultural identification" (299). In this sense, national cultures and national identities have been very important in modernity. Second, however, Hall argues that "(a) national culture is a *discourse* - a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves."(292) In conjunction with this, he argues that national cultures are composed both of cultural institutions and of symbols and representations. The difference between nations lies in the different ways they are imagined. Third, he argues that time and space are the basic co-ordinates of all systems of representation. For instance, writing, drawing, painting must translate their subjects into spatial and temporal dimensions.

It follows, therefore, that if, as has been argued, identity is deeply identified with representation, then the re-shaping of the relationships between time and space will have profound effects on the way in which identities are located and represented. For instance, "cultural flows and global consumerism between nations create the possibilities of 'shared identities'...As national cultures become more exposed to outside influences, it is more difficult to preserve cultural identities intact, or to prevent them from becoming weakened through cultural bombardment and infiltration" (Hall: 302). In this way cultural identities are shifted and changed and in this way, it is Globalization that affects and disturbs national identities and cultures.

This effect is not simply to be noted at a national level. Individual institutions within nations and cultures are affected. Anthony Giddens argues that this process results in the "disembedding" of social systems. He says, "By disembedding I mean the "lifting out" of social relations from local contexts of interaction and their restructuring across indefinite spans of time-space" (1991: 21). This leads him to talk of changes in particular institutions.

> "Everywhere we look, we see institutions that appear the same as they used to to be from the outside, and carry the same names, but inside have become quite different. We continue to talk of the nation, the family, work, tradition, nature, as if they were all the same as in the past. They are not. The outer shell remains, but inside all is different - and this is happening not only in the US, Britain, or France, but almost everywhere." (1999)

If Anthony Giddens is right, we should expect to see this happening in the Church of England.

If Globalization is associated with potential change in the identities of Nations, cultures and national and local institutions, then we find similar concerns in Postmodernity, although often related to the individual person. We may illustrate this in considering ways in which notions of individual and personal identity are changed. John Reeder offers an "Enlightenment" view of what it is to be human.

> "...(I)t can be summed by the phrase 'rational autonomous agent', implying that the individual can have direct knowledge of themselves that leads to a reasoned and independent self-control. This is part of the Grand Narrative of Modernity....This is a person who will judge and then make decisions according to universal rational criteria." (113)

This is a fixed, singular and unchanging identity for the essence of the human being, to whom the vagaries of class, gender, creed or ethnic orgin make no difference.

In Postmodern thinking, however, the very idea of being able to establish an authentic, fixed and universal identity for human beings is now in question. The whole notion is challenged from two different directions. First there are the

external challenges of a rapidly changing society. There is, for instance, a feminist critique which interprets human beings in terms of gender - the Enlightenment view of the human being desribed above is merely one local narrative among many and one told by men about men. Or again, we are now conscious of racial identity and various ways of interpreting human beings in its light. Global communications make us aware that there are very different cultures and different ways of understanding people in those cultures. Second, for a philosopher like Foucault there is no true self to be understood: the very notion is itself another cultural creation.

> "The subject is still discursively and socially conditioned for Foucault, and still theorized as situated within power relations: the difference is that now he sees that individuals also have the power to define their own identity, to master their body and desires, and to forge a practice of freedom through techniques of the self."(Kellner & Best: 65)

It follows from these notions that someone like Robert J Lifton can write of the Protean Man.

> "Now we know from Greek mythology that Proteus was able to change his shape with relative ease from wild boar to lion to dragon to fire to flood. What he found difficult, and would not do unless seized and chained, was to commit himself to a single form most his own, and to carry out his function of prophecy. We can say the same of Protean Man....I want to stress that this Protean style is by no means pathological as such, and in fact it may be one of the functional patterns necessary to life in our times." (126)

As was pointed out in chapter two, Postmodern thinkers describe this sort of human being as the 'de-centred self'. In these sorts of ways both Globalization and Postmodernity concern themselves with changed notions of identity. If these theoretical forces are indeed operating in the world, we might expect to see such developments reflected in the life of a significant national, religious institution such as the Church of England and in the lives of those who are part of it. It will be argued in this section that as well as leading "some to try to protect the local and traditional" as Kevin Robins says, the forces of Globalization and Postmodernity have led to disturbances in identity and that those opposing the introduction of the ASB were responding to this.

B. OPPOSITION AND THE THREE PETITIONS

In order to examine this assertion, we begin in 1984 when Colin Buchanan, then a member of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, Principal of St John's College, Nottingham, and subsequently Bishop of Aston and Assistant Bishop in Rochester Diocese, wrote that

> "(m)ost of the arguments about a modern style of English (in Christian liturgy) were largely conducted on the world's liturgical commissions and committees between 1966 and 1973 and although the first texts of the Church of England's Commission, *Modern Liturgical Texts*, were published in 1968, the backlash against modern English in the liturgy did not really gather force until around 1978." (1984: 26)

Colin Buchanan was then, and is now, a firm supporter of the revised liturgies and 'propagandist', if that is not a prejudicial term, for them. His conclusion is that the opponents of the ASB were ten years too late and, as a result, were unable to make very much difference to official policy. While his conclusion may be valid, any reading of the arguments of the opponents of the ASB will indicate that in the above quotation Colin Buchanan does not do justice to the scope or depth of those arguments. Opponents of the introduction of the ASB were not simply arguing about the use of modern English. Their arguments were more extensive and subtle than that and are an indication that their proponents were aware that these liturgical changes presaged far more than simply a change in style of language, as in reality Colin Buchanan was aware. It will be argued here that they indicate both an attempt to "protect the local and traditional" and a concern that existing identities are being disturbed and changed, as one might expect from the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity.

As Colin Buchanan describes it, "the first signs of a concerted attack (on the ASB) were occasional articles by Professor David Martin in *The Daily Telegraph* around 1977 and 1978." (1984: 26) Then in 1979 at the November Group Sessions of the General Synod, at which the ASB services were to be given final approval so that publication could go ahead, the Chairman of the House of Laity, Mr Oswald Clark presented a Petition signed by 600 eminent persons. This petition asked that the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version of the Bible should be given a fair chance in the future. In fact, the Petition was constituted of three separate petitions. The Petition arose from a particular

edition, volume 6 No 5, of the journal 'PN Review 13', 'PN' in this case meaning 'Poetry Nation' Review. That particular edition had Professor David Martin as its guest editor. The edition was entitled 'Crisis For Cranmer and King James'. As Colin Buchanan describes it somewhat floridly, "Article after article by the literati and the dons attack the modern services and their 'imposition' by the clergy on an unwilling laity." (1984: 26)

At the end of this edition of PN Review 13 came the three petitions. The main one, signed by the largest number of complainants, described the signatories as 'deeply concerned by the policies and tendencies which decree the loss of both the Authorized Version of the bible and The Book of Common Prayer'. The second petition, signed by fewer people, was merely 'concerned for' the Authorized Version and the Book of Common Prayer, while the third petition, called 'The Saint Cecilia Petition', was concerned with the traditional forms of music which had accompanied the traditional forms of service and was signed by musicians, Cathedral organists and directors of music. These three petitions were presented as a composite petition to The General Synod on the opening day of the November Group of Sessions in 1979 and appears in the Report of Proceedings as "PETITION: THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND AUTHORISED VERSIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES" (Report of Proceedings: 935).

Although this procedure of introducing a Petition is quite permissible under General Synod Standing Order 121, it is a most unusual step to take and is an indication of the seriousness with which opposition to the introduction of the Alternative Service Book was taken, even if belatedly. The remarks of the Chairman of General Synod, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Donald Coggan, on the first day of the November Group Sessions in 1979, indicate just how unusual use of this procedure is. For he introduced Mr Oswald Clark and the Petition by saying: "This is a moment in history, for we have to go back to the days of the Church Assembly, in 1946, when some of us were scarcely born, to find the last occasion on which a member exercised his right to present a Petition." (Report of Proceedings: 935)

Mr Oswald Clark introduced the Petition in the following way:

> "In accordance with Standing Order 121 and acting in a wholly personal

> capacity, I beg to present a Petition, or rather three Petitions, comprising in all 650 responses from persons well known in public and political life, persons eminent in the world of letters and the arts and those concerned supremely with a humane education, and persons outstanding in the world of music, especially the field of the unique choral traditions of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church.
>
> While welcoming experiment and change and the use of contemporary language and idiom, the petitioners combine to urge that alongside these wholly accepted innovations the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version of the Holy Scriptures shall continue to occupy a central place in the public liturgy, teaching and regular usage of the Church of England, and to this end they humbly and respectfully pray this Synod to take active and urgent steps to redress present tendencies and policies so as to ensure that the mighty achievement of those two texts shall remain as part of our living heritage and in loving use as a memorable inspiration of saving power as well to this generation as to its predecessors." (Report of Proceedings: 935)

In response to the presentation of the Petition following those introductory and explanatory remarks, the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Chairman of General Synod, undertook to make the Petition available for inspection by General Synod members and to circulate its contents, although not the list of signatories, to members present at that Group Sessions.

It has already been remarked that here we clearly have a procedure, which is very rarely used. In addition, it is suggested that it was used on this occasion to present a point of view which it was felt had not been adequately heard hitherto and to try to retrieve somewhat a position and perspective which had almost been lost - for it is introduced right at the end of the process of liturgical reform. It is argued here that four things coming out of the presentation of this Petition should be noted. First, the Petition is an indication of just how far the Church of England as an institution had moved, or been moved, during this process of liturgical reform. This is underlined by the very moderate language used by Oswald Clark in his introductory remarks. Experiment and change is "welcomed", as is the use of contemporary language and idiom. In that respect reform of the liturgy appears to be accepted, for these are "wholly accepted

innovations". The petitioners merely "urge...humbly and respectfully" that the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version "continue to occupy a central place in the public liturgy." If we depend simply upon these introductory remarks, even those who were sufficiently concerned about the speed and direction of events to present a Petition to General Synod, have no serious dispute to make about the validity of liturgical reform - nor indeed of the particular reforms proposed. Or perhaps, it might be more appropriate to say that, because of the tide flowing for reform of the liturgy, it was not considered politic or practical to press that matter in principle. It has been argued elsewhere that this pressure and this tide come out of the operation in the world and in the life of the Church of England of Globalization and Postmodernity and Culture Shift.

The second matter of note, which gives some support to the view that the tide flowing in favour of reform of the liturgy was so great, is that in all the subsequent debates at that Group Sessions leading to the authorisation of the forms of Serivce to be included in the Alternative Service Book no mention of that highly unusual procedure and equally unusual Petition was made - except by two members. Given that it is being argued in this thesis that the pressure for the reform of the liturgy of the Church of England came from the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift, the lack of interest in the Petition in the General Synod is taken as an indication of the power of those forces. So far as the two references to the Petition are concerned, they occurred during the debate on the adoption of the revised Series III Holy Communion service, which was to become Holy Communion Rite A in the Alternative Service Book, for the period from 1 May 1980 until the publication of the ASB.

The third matter of note is that, despite the very moderate language, the use of this unusual procedure indicates just what a serious matter for the Church of England proponents of the Petition considered reform of the liturgy to be. Illustrative of this are the two references to the Petition mentioned above - and specially in the light of the very moderate language used by Oswald Clark to introduce the Petition. These two references are indicative of the depth of feeling lying behind Oswald Clark's very moderate language in the debate. It would seem that it was not considered politic to state those strong feelings openly to the Synod. It is argued here, however, that that strength of feeling, although deliberately obscured, shows that it was believed there was much at

stake. Just how much will become apparent later, as we consider some of the reasons for the opposition to the ASB.

We turn, therefore, to those two references to the Petition within the larger debate at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1979 on the adoption of the revised Series III Holy Communion service. The first reference comes from the Revd R. D. Silk, then a member of the Committee which had worked on the revision of the Series 3 Communion Service. He began his contribution to the debate with these remarks:

> "I was one of the members of the Revision Committee and one of the "Scorpions" of Dr Martin's article in this scurrilous piece of paper that I am holding in my hand. If it took more note of the rite instead of attacking some of those who had had a part in drawing it up, it would be considerably more useful." (Report of Proceedings: 1112)

David Silk's language is strong and he is clearly responding strongly to what he considers a strong personal attack from Professor David Martin - he takes himself to have been called a "Scorpion". Both in the attack and in David Silk's response we see indicators of the strength of feeling engendered by the reform of the liturgy. Even so, Silk's reference to the Petition was in passing and did not constitute his main contribution to the debate.

The only person to make a speech concerning itself directly with the Petition, and that alone, was the Revd Michael Saward, who ignored the main debate in which he was speaking and addressed his speech to the constituency which had produced the Petition. Like Silk, his language was forceful and indicative of very strong feelings on both sides and of a recognition on both sides that they were dealing with very significant issues for the Church of England. He said, in part:

> "I make this speech...in a sense, for the record, for those who are not here but who have fired their salvo at us. They are, if I may put it this way, literary White Highlanders. As W.S. Gilbert put it, 'They pooh-poohed everything that is fresh and new, and declare it base and mean, since it stopped short at the cultivated court of the Empress Josephine'.

> The attack that is levelled against us is that we are really barbarians and vandals. I reject that charge. I am not ashamed of the new Series III Communion Service and, having had a little hand in it in the Revision Committee, will to my dying day, if the Synod passes it, be glad that I was on that Revision Committee and glad that this Synod has the opportunity to vote for it. I have always had to work in parishes, and I am glad that I have worked in parishes. I do not work in literary salons, and I know that, in my experience, this service will be welcomed all over this country."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1119)

The fourth matter of note is that many of the signatories to the Petition were not regular worshippers with the Church of England - nor any other church for that matter. This may seem a small latter, but it will be argued that this small detail has a direct bearing on the concerns of this thesis, and in particular the operation of the force of Globalization. Just why this should be will once more become apparent when we consider the reasons for the opposition to the Alternative Service Book and the presentation of the Petition to the General Synod.

C. A QUESTION OF IDENTITY - RELIGION AND LITURGY

It might be argued that all of this can be explained by Kevin Robins' argument that Globalization might lead "some to protect the local and traditional". Indeed, it is accepted here that this argument has some force and that it did, indeed, reflect the views of some of the opponents of the introduction of the ASB. However, it has already been argued that the introduction of the Petitions at the November 1979 General Synod indicated a concern that changes were being made which were radical in the sense of being at the root of things for the Church of England. It has also been argued that one of the issues which the forces of Globalization and Postmodernity bring into focus is that of identity. It is proposed here that changes in notions of identity are, indeed, radical and that it was such changes which were being effected. It is, therefore, to this issue that this thesis now turns.

Because of David Martin's involvement in Oswald Clark's Petition and in the more general opposition to the introduction of the ASB, cited by both Colin Buchanan in his later writing and David Silk in the above debate, it is intended to start with some of the arguments David Martin has put forward against allowing

the introduction of the ASB to displace the Book of Common Prayer. Furthermore, it is intended to devote some space to his arguments since it will become apparent that so far as David Martin was concerned, the introduction of the ASB had radical implications for the Church of England. It will also be argued that his arguments have a direct bearing on the perception of the forces with which this thesis is concerned in the life of the Church of England.

We now turn, therefore, to a major argument which he develops revolving around the role of liturgy in establishing and maintaining identity. First, however, to understand Martin's argument about liturgy and identity, it is necessary to start further back with his view of religion and the role of liturgy in religion. In his book '*The Breaking Of The Image*', written at precisely the time when the ASB was being introduced, he argued that religions like Christianity start with an individual or group having some profound religious experience which changes their perception of the world and perhaps their view of existence itself.

> "This then is the Christian Sequence.....Somebody perceives the world in an altered light, as other than it seems. The great biblical paradigms are Moses and the bush on Sinai, the disciples and Jesus on the mount of transfiguration. Both incidents convey alterations of perspective." (81)

However, two things follow. First, such experiences are highly volatile and possibly unstable in nature - they introduce instability precisely because they change perceptions. Secondly, although this sort of experience may be transforming for the individuals involved, it will remain essentially sterile and will die away if it is not communicated to other people.

These two things lead in a single direction, that of an agreed and accepted liturgy. "Norms, standards, formulae, routines: these exist to stabilize the molten wax of vision and pass on the imprint." (Martin, D. 1980: 82) So far as Martin is concerned, liturgy is of great significance for religion and has a twofold function. The first is to pass on the new insight and to ensure its continuance in the lives of more people.

> "To some people....the religious imprint is merely a set of rules which are legitimated by a higher authority....(But) Religious visions are not so much rule books as compelling, inclusive pictures of transformed selves and

> altered worlds....Believers are sucked forward and transported into a powerful pattern which incites them to make it real....(L)iturgy discloses a future possibility by imprinting a compulsive, compelling norm....Religion is less a rule book than a set of spells in which people are set in a particular direction. A community is held spell-bound by an image, transfixed by a verbal incantation." (1980: 82)

Liturgy, that 'verbal incantation', is, then, one of the means of passing on, in a dynamic way, the original vision which created the religion and of making the vision real in the lives of adherents to the religion and of the religious communities of which they are part. Liturgy, in this role, is seen as being transforming.

Martin is concerned, however, that if left at this, all may be mere flux, change and movement. Liturgy, therefore, has another role to play and another task to perform. Religious experience must be set within a context and at this point his language has the feel of the Platonic. "All journies to freedom pass through an enchanted garden of spell-bound ideas. Activity has to be arrested in a timeless heaven of *exemplary form* (my italics). Mere flux is without form and void, whereas what has been arrested defines and persists." (1980: 83) Liturgy is the defining context. The role of liturgy, at this point, is somehow to exist outside the flux of change and chance and to resist or hold up change or flux which would otherwise drive religious experience into meaninglessness. "Liturgy is a way of holding things up, a stronghold which protects the treasure and creates a standard....Liturgy is transport through an act of recognition. I re-cognize the image and so I can know it in a new way." (1980: 83) Martin's argument is that liturgy is, therefore, fundamental to Christianity - and by extension to the Church of England. It is a dynamic means of passing on the new vision and of transforming lives, through 'spell' and 'incantation'. It is the means of protecting the transforming vision from dissipation in mere flux - it is a 'stronghold'.

This space has been devoted to David Martin's understanding of the relationship between foundational religious experience and the liturgy of a religious institution because he builds arguments about identity upon the very important, foundational role he attributes to liturgy. Identity is directly related to this foundational liturgy in a variety of ways. In '*The Breaking Of The Image* ' and in "*No Alternative; The Prayer Book Controversy* ", a book which he jointly edited

with Peter Mullen, he pursues arguments about the relationship between liturgy and identity. His contribution to "*No Alternative; The Prayer Book Controversy*" was an article entitled "Personal Identity and a Changed Church." He begins that article in this way, "I want here to explore here both the relation of liturgy to personal identity and the relation of liturgy to the identity and character of the contemporary Church." (1981: 12) Liturgy which is fundamental to the passing on of a religious experience and vision and the protection of that experience and vision is now linked directly to personal identity and the identity of the Church. It is argued here that this is of particular significance to the Church of England because its liturgy, embodied in the Book of Common Prayer, has, in the past, been the vehicle carrying its perception of itself and even the expression of its doctrine.

D. A QUESTION OF IDENTITY - THE ROLE OF LITURGY

Martin's argument follows a number of strands. First "(o)ur faith and our way of prayer is tied in with all our personal linkages and social bonds." (1981: 13) He argues that liturgy is about use, usage and familiarity. It can be one of the things which are part of a network of known and accepted activities binding people together. "It may even be part of the definition of a group....So each quirk and oddity and each familiar known way enter into a definition of the self." (1980: 85) This operates both, on the one hand, at a personal and local level and, on the other, at a universal level. "On the one side the sacred rite links the local congregation with the wider church at large. On the other side quirks and quiddities give a special character to local, particular sentiment." (1980: 85) Through the networking and social connection, the liturgy is capable of giving a sense of identity to the person, the local congregation and the wider church. It should be stated at this point that it is accepted in this thesis that Martin here correctly describes a way in which particular liturgies and their relationship to a variety of social networks can impart identity as he describes. Following from this, it will be clear that changes to the liturgy are capable of changing that complex dynamic and thus significantly affecting the identity of the individual, the local church and the wider church.

There is more. The particular way in which the liturgy is framed and written is of importance. Martin believes that there is a need to have in the liturgy repetition, rote and rhythm. This is because such things go on at a low and automatic level of activity in the mind of the person and free and enhance our attention so that

"an absolutely familiar sequence allows the mind to stand outside for a moment...A man is enabled to re-collect himself. He stands re-collected" (1980: 87). In this way, personal identity is re-established. David Martin argues that worship through the repetition, rote and rhythm of the liturgy is a form of attention. It is attention to a series of images, which are "linked together by tables of poetic affinity. Common prayer is sharing common images. These images are dense, concentrated reserves of meaning and implication, centring around suffering and hope, forgiveness and judgement, birth and re-birth, death and resurrection." (1980: 89) At the personal level he believes that liturgy "anchors us in signs and images which furnish our mental interior" (1981: 17) and thus give us a sense of personal identity, but they are also shared images which contribute to a sense of shared identity. The individual is thus linked to the universal.

Finally, there is poetry, which is a real concern of Martin's. Through poetry signs and signals are conveyed. This process is, he argues, directly linked to repetition, incantation, rote and rhythm. Poetry offers a form of language which cannot be reduced to some clearer form of statement. It is a form of language which stretches the imagination opens up the individual to a transcendent world, the world of beauty and holiness, an infinite world. In addition, liturgical poetry is "shared quotation, known by heart" (1980: 90). It is part of that process, once more, whereby the liturgy contributes to identity. He believes that the Book of Common Prayer has such a language. And for him, "liturgical quotations have an integrity which is wrecked by even the most minor transpositions" (1980: 90). If the liturgy is changed and the language which stretches is replaced, then that infinite world is closed off and that 'mental interior' is no longer furnished in the same way. In other words, in all these ways, the sense of personal and corporate identity of worshippers is affected and changed. David Martin's concern was that he did not perceive in the liturgy of the ASB the sorts of principles set out above, which he thought so important for individual and corporate identity and which he believed he found in the Book of Common Prayer.

But there is even more to all of this, Martin argues. He believes that the changes in liturgy involve a change in the identity not merely of the individual and the individual church, but also of the Church of England itself. His concern is illustrated by his consideration of the disposition of space and the way the

human body is used in the revised liturgy. An example he gives is not required to follow from the changes in the texts of the liturgy, but in practice has often been effected along with those changes. In this case, he is referring to the practice of the celebrant facing the congregation while celebrating Holy Communion according to the ASB rites, that is adopting a 'westward position'. In newer churches, and older churches when re-ordered, this has often gone along with having the congregation standing or sitting in something approaching a semi-circle facing the celebrant. This is compared to the former practice of having the congregation kneeling and everyone, including the priest, facing eastward.

He recognises that this change in practice has often been justified by an appeal to practice in the early church - in particular appealing to what is known of liturgical practice in the third century. But he argues that this appeal to antiquity masks the pressures operating in the present age. It is not, therefore, a simple return to an historical precedent. In particular, he believes that this change in practice represents a new version of sectarianism.

> "The sectarian element is symbolized in the closed or semi-closed circle, where the faithful set their backs to the world. This is not a transition; it is a closing off and a *closing in*. The westward position can be simply the way the circle is closed on the priestly side."(1981: 20)

There are also, Martin argues, other ways in which this new sectarianism is expressed. For instance, it is expressed through what he terms the promotion of "a whole pseudo-communitarian ideology" (1981: 20). Representative of this is the exchange of the Peace in the ASB Holy Communion service. This is important for him because once more he sees the members of the church turning in upon themselves. He sees the exchange of the peace as the 'touchy-feely' element in this turning inwards. It is further expressed in the change of the wording of the Creed from '*I* believe' in the BCP to '*We* believe' in the ASB.

Pursuing this idea of a shift to a sectarian 'pseudo-communitarian ideology', he asserts that the change in the wording of the opening of the Creed is illustrative of even more profound change. That change is not strictly related to the actual texts of the ASB liturgy but to the social ambience in which they are used. And, he argues, this change "concerns the deepest level of personal identity and the

subtler levels of change in the Church" (1928: 21). These are clearly very important matters so far as Martin is concerned. What is it that is so significant for him? He says that this 'communal consciousness' was, in the past, somehow a lower form of religious sensibility and activity. It was never specifically Christian and it was a stage through which the Church had to grow and which, in the Book of Common Prayer, was left behind. What replaced it, as of a higher order, was a sense of individual and personal responsibility and potentiality.

> "The Church....tried to urge men and women towards a new personal potentiality in the human relationship to God. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the potentiality was realized and you may find it articulated in the Book of Common Prayer. The 'I believe' is something we take on ourselves personally..." (1981: 21)

In the social ambience of the new liturgies, in the circumstances in which the priest faces the people for instance, the clergy become active leaders of a new inward looking, sectarian communal feeling. The individual member of the congregation is manipulated and the exchange of the Peace becomes a technique for creating this 'lower' communal feeling, under the control of the clergy. The identity of the individual and of the local church is changed. These are radical changes.

However, the purpose here is not consider Martin's arguments in detail, although it would, of course, be possible to do that. One or two things might simply be mentioned in passing. The Reformation understanding of the relationship between the individual and God, which is of such concern to Martin, is now a matter of some debate amongst current Biblical scholars and specially the use made of St Paul's writings by the thinkers of the Reformation. Significant Biblical scholars working now would probably want to present a somewhat different picture. Equally, clergy may well wish to dispute the suggestion of power held in the proposal that they orchestrate this new 'pseudo-communitarian ideology' of which Martin writes. Indeed, many clergy may feel that in many ways they are power*less* and that that sort of control is entirely absent. What one can say is that one of the things which is clear from the switch to the use of modern English, considered at the beginning of the last chapter, is that pressure for revision and change came just as much from lay members of The Church Assembly and General Synod as it did from clergy. However, in an important

sense this is splitting hairs. David Martin's concern is with identity. He feels the need to press upon his contemporaries the understanding that a fundamental sense of identity of individual believers, of individual churches and of the Church of England as a whole is being re-shaped by the liturgical changes expressed in the texts of the ASB and in the social ambience accompanying those changes. It is accepted in this thesis that on that matter David Martin was correct.

The general argument made by David Martin throughout has been that the identity of the individual, the local church and the Church of England were changed by the new liturgies in the ASB. The general argument put forward in this section of this thesis has been that these developments are entirely consistent with the general operation of Globalization and Postmodernity in the way set out at the start of this section. It is now argued that this can be taken further through the consideration of two matters. In considering the effects of these changes on the individual, we should note the model of the individual with which David Martin works. Our sense of personal identity and responsibility is anchored "in signs and images (from the liturgy) which furnish our mental interior". Repetition, rote and rhythm in the liturgy constantly re-establish a unified sense of identity. The highest order of individual identity is offered by Reformation Christianity and embodied in the Book of Common Prayer and it involves personal responsibility and potentiality. "The 'I believe' is something we take on ourselves personally."

All of this bears remarkable similarity to the notion of the individual in modernity described earlier in this section by John Reader. "..(It) can be summed up by the phrase 'rational autonomous agent'm implying that the individual can have direct knowledge of themselves that leads to a reasoned and independent self-control. This is part of the Grand Narrative of Modernity..."(1997: 113) Theorists of Postmodernity argue that it is this notion of the individual which is undermined by Postmodernity. It is David Martin's complaint that it is this notion of the individual which is undermined by the new liturgy of the Church of England as expressed in the ASB and the related liturgical practices. Indeed, we might see something of Robert J Lifton's Protean Man in the picture Martin gives of the individual in the new liturgies and related liturgical practices. It is, therefore, argued that Martin's arguments give us good evidence of the operation of Postmodernity in the life of the Church of England.

The second matter relates to David Martin's concerns that the Church of England, through these new liturgies and related liturgical practices, is becoming something new. He argues that it it is becoming sectarian, with a 'pseudo-communitarian ideology'. To all outward observance, the Church of England is unchanged in that the Churches are all still there, the clergy are still in place (more or less), the parochial structures are still in place, the hierarchies are still there. So, simply looking at the outward appearance it might be thought that the Church of England as an institution was unchanged. But David Martin is saying that through the liturgical changes in the ASB and in the related changes in liturgical practice, the Church of England has changed radically on the inside. It is argued here that this is effectively what Anthony Giddens is talking about in saying that because of the operation of Globalization, "(e)verywhere we look, we see institutions that appear the same as they used to be from the outside, and carry the same names, but inside have become quite different"(1999). It is argued here that David Martin has discerned the operation of Globalization on the Church of England.

E. A QUESTION OF IDENTITY - THE EUCHARIST AND SACRIFICE

That these changes are real and have real effects can be illustrated in more than one way. When, between 1548 and 1552, Thomas Cranmer wrote his revised liturgies which eventually became the 1662 Book of Common Prayer he had certain very specific objectives in view. In 1532 he had secretly married the niece of Andreas Osiander, a leading Reformation theologian of the German Lutheran Church. He became committed to the Reformation cause. But it was not until the reign of Edward VI that he was able to introduce decisive liturgical reforms designed to shape the Church of England into a Reformed Church when he undertook a revision of the text of the mass in which the English language and the theology of the Reformation were substituted for the Latin and Roman Catholic original. He had grasped the importance of liturgy as means of mediating both piety and a theological view. Alister McGrath, an Anglican theologian from the Evangelical wing of the Church, argues that "the fundamental principle to emerge was that liturgy was a means of expressing and enforcing theological orthodoxy" (1998: 107). Colin Buchanan points out that "because Cranmer the theologian and Cranmer the liturgist were one and the same person....there are strong verbal resemblances between his theological and his liturgical writings" (1982: 9). The point being made here is that in his revisions of the liturgy of the Church of England Cranmer gave the Church a

clear identity as a Reformed Church in the Protestant tradition. McGrath argues that his "wish to use liturgy as a means of communicating theology remains of major importance to Anglicanism; indeed, it can be pointed out that, for much of its history, Anglicanism has been defined with reference to the Book of Common Prayer"(107).

The significance of the changes made with the introduction of the Alternative Service Book for the identity of the Church of England, both its self-understanding of that identity and as perceived from outside, can be illustrated with a consideration of a rather technical discussion of the treatment of sacrifice in the Communion Service. Since the Reformation there has been a debate about the relationship between the sacrifice that Christ himself offered on the cross on Calvary and any sacrifice offered by the Church. The medieval Roman Catholic view was that Christ was slain, albeit mystically, at every mass and that this mystical "killing" had a propitiatory effect as regards God. At the Reformation, this view was challenged strongly on the grounds that it undermined the efficacy of Christ's all-sufficient sacrifice on the cross and its 'once-for-all' nature.

Thomas Cranmer, when he came to revise the liturgy and specially in his 1552 Prayer Book, which essentially became the Book of Common Prayer, stands clearly in this latter tradition. Like the other European Reformers he reacted against the medieval Roman Catholic view. He conceived the eucharist, the Communion service, to be primarily a "communion" in which the communicants participated in the benefits of Christ's 'once-for-all' sacrifice. So far as the Church was concerned, it offered no sacrifice itself except one of sacrifice and praise *after* the communion. The first *post-communion* prayer in the Book of Common Prayer Communion Service, therefore, says,

> "O Lord and heavenly Father, we thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion."(309).

Rejecting the medieval view, there is no notion of any human offering at the

heart of the eucharistic action in the eucharistic prayer itself. Instead, Christ's atoning sacrifice is seen as the primary activity and that atoning sacrifice is ontologically distinct from any sacrificial offering human beings might make. Cranmer's eucharistic theology, therefore, has three tenets:

a. the eucharistic pattern necessarily consists of communion and response.
b. the entirety of Christ's sacrificial action before God consisted solely in his actual death on the cross at Calvary.
c. any sacrifice the Church offers is necessarily ontologically distinct from Christ's unique offering at Calvary.

This view dominated the 1552 Prayer Book and thus the Book of Common Prayer. Through the Book of Common Prayer it was definitive for the Church of England and whatever people might think amongst themselves, the liturgy continued to express this Reformation view and to define the Church of England in its light.

However, in chapter ten of this thesis it was seen that in the nineteenth century 'Catholic' influences began to grow in the Church of England through the Oxford Movement and the Ritualists. In the same chapter it was noted that as a result, the Royal Commission could say in its 1906 Report, "...the law of public worship in the Church of England is too narrow for the religious life of the present generation. It needlessly condemns much which a great section of Church people, including many of her most devoted members, value" (Quoted in G J Cuming 1982: 163). Through developments such as these, the medieval view of the sacrifice of the mass was revived in the Church of England, and has been held in undiluted form by some members ever since. In the twentieth century 'Catholic' members of the Church of England have tried to re-assert the sacrificial nature of the eucharist - albeit in ways which have tried to avoid the sixteenth century divisions. This has involved a reconsideration of the three tenets of Cranmer's theology set out above.

Some have revisited Cranmer's first tenet, that the eucharist consists necessarily of communion and response and have claimed, for instance, that Christians can and should make an 'offering' at the heart of the eucharistic action and not just as a response to communion. J L Houlden has argued that the whole orientation of the Christian life, of which the eucharist is taken to be a liturgical focus, is to be a sacrificial offering to God. Cranmer's second tenet and

third tenets have been challenged in two distinct ways. First, there has been a revival of a seventeenth century notion, expressed in the work of Richard Baxter and Jeremy Taylor, that while the sacrifice of Christ was complete on the cross, nonetheless he continues to 'plead' the merits of his sacrifice before the Father, so that there is a continual memorial in heaven of the one sacrifice of Christ. Dom Gregory Dix propounded a version of this argument. He argues that in the eucharist, although there is no re-enactment of Calvary, there is a *memorial* sacrifice. This challenges Cranmer's second tenet, but it also challenges Cranmer's third tenet, for Christ's continual pleading of the once-for-all sacrifice is understood to correspond to the Church's eucharistic worship so that there is not quite the ontological distinction required by the Reformation theologians. The second trend challenging Cranmer's second tenet goes beyond the notion of memorial sacrifice and claims that the eucharist can be understood as containing an offering of Christ to God. This also represents a more systematic reconsideration of Cranmer's third tenet, since it asserts that the true sacrificial offering of the Church is essentially and ontologically one with the essence of Christ's own sacrificial offering. Such an approach has been influentially expressed in the work of F C N Hicks.

Evangelicals have taken a fundamentally different approach. While agreeing with the 'Catholics' that the Church's sacrifice involves obedience, praise and thanksgiving, they continue to assert that the Church's offering can only be a response to receiving the benefits of Christ's unique sacrifice. There is, thus, a difference of view amongst 'Catholics' and a fundamental disagreement between the 'Evangelicals' and the 'Catholics' on this issue. One additional approach beyond those set out above is established in the 1971 ARCIC Agreement between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. This asserts, on the one hand, that "Christ's death on the cross...was the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world" (Section 5). On the other hand, it argues that in making a memorial of Christ's death at the eucharist, the Church is able to participate in its benefits by making those benefits present and thus allowing the Church to enter into Christ's self-offering.

It is clear from the above that whereas in the Book of Common Prayer Cranmer's Reformation theology concerning sacrifice was presented in a consistent way, during the twentieth century there has been a plural approach to the technical matter of sacrifice in the eucharist, with no one view gaining

ascendancy. David Glover argues that this plurality of approach is entirely recognisable in the four eucharistic prayers included in the ASB Communion Service. He says that "at least to some degree all the above notions of eucharistic sacrifice can be seen as expressed in one or other" (1993:61) of the four eucharistic prayers included in the ASB. An example may serve to make the point. Glover's argument centres on the 'anamnesis' in the eucharistic prayers. Glover's definition of anamnesis is that

> "(t)he contemporary understanding of the biblical concept of anamnesis, or 'remembrance', has chiefly been that that which is remembered has a dynamic and active effect in the present.....What the Church now does with the bread and wine is....expressive of the sense in which the Church's sacrifice of obedience, thanks and praise is being offered in relation to Christ's own sacrifice." (1993: 61)

This might be seen as a 'Catholic' position.

The anamnesis in the first eucharistic prayer in the ASB may at first sight seem to adhere to the Reformation theology of Cranmer; "we remember his offering of himself made once for all upon the cross, and proclaim his mighty resurrection and glorious ascension. As we look for his coming in glory, we celebrate with this bread and this cup his one perfect sacrifice.". This would appear to do no more than contrast Christ's eternal and all-sufficient sacrifice with the Church's response of proclamation and celebration. However, Ronald Jasper, so involved in producing this rite, argues that

> "an extensive study of the verb (celebrate) has produced the following conclusion: It can mean no more than "to do" or "to perform" in a liturgical context; on the other hand it can carry all the meaning which is conveyed by the expression "to make anamnesis of", depending on the contexts in which it is used." (Jasper & Bradshaw 1986: 225)

Glover uses this to say, "We would want to argue that its contextual use in ASB 1 makes the second of these definitions more appropriate and that the meaning of the words 'remembrance' and 'memorial' in recent Anglican discussion suggests the presence of theology in line with the writings of Moule, Scott and ARCIC" (1993: 63).

This is all a somewhat technical argument, but it is used to indicate a change of identity and self-understanding in the Church of England. Whereas, in the Book of Common Prayer, the foundational text of the Church of England, the doctrine of the Church of England was presented in an unambiguous way representative of the 16th century Reformation, the texts of the ASB are capable of plural interpretations. In this way, the identity of the Church of England, as expressed through its liturgy and associated doctrine, is changed, fragmented and made more diffuse. It is argued here that in this respect David Martin was entirely right in his arguments and it is also argued that these developments are entirely consistent with operation of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. Indeed, more than this, it is argued that these developments are what one might expect from the operation of these forces.

F. THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

There is final matter which David Martin addresses and which should be of concern to us here. He argues that beyond the matters which are of direct relation to the Church of England, something else is lost. That something else is a sense of the wider community. Martin quotes the seventeenth century Anglican divine, Richard Hooker, when he describes this sense as that of 'Commonwealth'. Martin argues that the revisers of the liturgy of the Church of England, whether consciously or not, were wanting to withdraw from a sense of being embedded in this wider set of attachments. "The revisers are so aware of a menacing secularity in the larger social world that they lose a vital contact with it, either in the neighbourhood or in the national 'commonwealth'" (1981: 22). We have already seen from his earlier argument that he is concerned that by the introduction of the ASB, the sense of identity of individuals, the local church and the national church is changed. It is pushed in a sectarian direction.

Martin now takes matters even further and suggests that the Book of Common Prayer must be set alongside the King James version of the Bible as being jointly a resource for establishing both the identity of the nation and the common identity of the English-speaking peoples internationally. He argues that the changes in liturgy which, we have already seen in the previous two chapters of this thesis, are going on across the English-speaking world, are making radical changes.

"What is going on in Australia, New Zealand, the USA and (soon)

> Canada, is the engineered dispersal of a joint inheritance, by those appointed as its guardians. In order to pursue ecumenical politics, they have both excised the unique character of the Anglican Church and cut a thread uniting all those who have the privilege of speaking English." (1981: 22)

His conclusion is almost despairing. "From being a Church with roots, possessing identity and conferring identity, the Church of England, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, could end up as a featureless international sect. And then why should we care for her or love her?"(1981: 22)

It is at this point that we finally see the significance of the fourth matter raised as of note arising from the presentation of the Petition placed before General Synod at its November Group Sessions in 1979. It was pointed out that many of the signatories to the Petition were not worshippers with the Church of England - nor any other church for that matter. Here is a recognition that a change in the status of the Book of Common Prayer, and with it the Authorised Version of the Bible, carries significance which goes far beyond the Church of England. David Martin argues that through the Book of Common Prayer and the Authorised Version, identity has been conferred both on the nation and on the international grouping of English-speaking peoples. He is clearly saying that with the introduction of the ASB this unified and unifying sense of identity is threatened and may be destroyed. It is clearly arguable whether such a clear sense of identity ever existed, but we must take seriously the sense that both national and even international identity is being disturbed.

There is support for Martin's argument from elsewhere. It is not, for instance, a new argument. At the time of the attempt to introduce a revised Prayer Book in 1928, Sir William Joyson-Hicks wrote, opposing the Revised Book,

> "The Book of Common Prayer is, next to the English Bible, the most important literary monument of the Reformation of Religion in this country, and next to the Bible has probably been the most potent force in the development of the English character from the sixteenth century to the present day"(1928: 1).

He, too, works with a notion of personal identity which we have described here

as 'modern'. "(T)henceforth was placed upon each individual man the responsibility for learning and practising the truth which God had revealed."(1) Like this thesis, he considered doctrine and sacrifice in particular.

> "The laity were taught to believe that the sacrifice of the Mass which was thus offered by the priest.....It followed from the concentration of attention upon the sacrifice in the Mass that men's minds were drawn away from reliance upon what Christ had done for them on the Cross to what the priest was doing for them day by day before their eyes." (7)

He argues that the Book of Common Prayer embodies a proper sense of identity for the person, that it imparts correct doctrine and replaces error and that through these things it imparts identity, tied up with the Reformation, to individuals, the Church and the nation. His concern is that these things are being disturbed. How familiar he sounds.

But these concerns are echoed contemporaneously with David Martin elsewhere, too. In respect of this consideration of the relationship between the BCP and national identity, it will be of note that those concerned about the introduction of the ASB did not merely raise the matter in General Synod. They took it beyond the Church, even though this was a questionable tactic after the 1974 Worship and Doctrine Measure, and made the matter political and national in the broadest sense by introducing 'The Prayer Book Protection Bill' into the House of Commons. It was introduced on 8 April, 1981 by Viscount Cranborne, then sitting for the seat of Dorset South. It is instructive to consider the grounds on which Viscount Cranborne introduced the Bill.

> "It is a sad occasion when any hon. Member should feel impelled to seek leave to introduce a Bill such as this. The Book of Common Prayer is one of the glories of English literature. I am gratified that so many of my right hon. and hon. Friends and Opposition Members have seen fit to give me their support because the Book of Common Prayer and the forms of service contained therein have permeated the English language....The clerics of the Church of England have brought about the beginnings of the slow strangulation of one of the greatest glories this country enjoys." (Hansard: col. 959)

Viscount Cranborne is demonstrating by introducing this Bill and in the way that he does it, that the Book of Common Prayer had come to be seen as being about more than straightforward religious observance. It is a glory of English literature, its forms of service have permeated the English language, it is one of the greatest glories of this country. By taking the matter to Parliament in this particular way, he is demonstrating that one of the issues at stake is the nature of the nation; that is, its identity. It is argued in this thesis that this is entirely consistent with the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity. Indeed, it is what one might expect. And it is further argued that those concerned about the effect of the introduction of the ASB on usage of the BCP and the Authorized version of the bible, in this case on national and international identity, were responding, whether wittingly or unwittingly, to those forces.

G. CONCLUSION

Throughout most of this part of the thesis dealing with the liturgy of the Church of England, it is the forces which have been driving change which have been considered. However, in this substantial section of the thesis, consideration of the opposition to the introduction of the ASB and the possibility of it replacing the BCP and the Authorized Version of the Bible has offered further insight into the operation of Postmodernity and Globalization particularly upon the life of the Church of England. Kevin Robins has proposed that Globalization could lead some to protect the local and the traditional and it has been argued that this might explain some of the opposition to the introduction of the ASB. However, it has also been demonstrated that one might expect both Globalization and Postmodernity to lead to the disturbance, the undermining and the change of existing identities.

This has been examined through examining the introduction of Oswald Clark's petition to the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1979 and the responses of R D Silk and Michael Saward to that petition. The work of David Martin has indicated the role of liturgy in religion and its contribution, along with related liturgical practices, to constructing identity for individuals, the local church and the Church of England. His argument is that in virtually every way those identities would be disturbed, undermined and changed by the introduction of the ASB. It has been argued that in this he is entirely correct and that this is just what one might expect from the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity. Indeed, so far as identity for the indvidual person is concerned it

has been argued that David Martin operates with a model of the person which expresses modernity. It is precisely such a model which could be expected to be disturbed and undermined by both Globalization and Postmodernity. As an example of a general change of identity for the Church of England, consideration was given to the technical matter of 'Sacrifice' in the Eucharistic Prayers in the Communion Service in the ASB. These examples of change were related to Anthony Giddens' argument that as a result of the operation of Globalization, institutions can appear the same on the outside but be radically changed within. It has been proposed that this is what one finds with the Church of England through its change of liturgy and liturgical practices.

Finally, consideration has been given to David Martin's argument that change to the liturgy of the Church of England, and in particular the possibility of the demise of the BCP and the Authorized Version of the Bible had implications for national identity and even the identity of the English-speaking peoples. It was noted that this was an issue raised at the proposed revision of the BCP in 1928. It has been argued that this notion is supported both by aspects of the Oswald Clark's petition and the introduction into Parliament of 'The Prayer Book Protection Bill'. It has also been argued that this is entirely supportive of the argument that the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity is discernible in the change of the Church of England's liturgy and in the opposition to it.

In opposing the revision of the Book of Common Prayer in 1928 and reflecting on the forces driving the writing of Cranmer's liturgy, Sir William Joynson-Hicks wrote,

> "The discovery of the New World by Columbus and his companions, and the reports which they and their followers brought back with them, gave men a wider and more distant horizon and a new spirit of adventure. It is difficult to conceive the amazement with which the people of the day pondered this new geographical knowledge with its revelation of strange peoples, distant lands and other worlds far beyond their ken. It altered their whole conception of the world in which they lived, and prepared them for other additions to their knowledge and yet further changes of thought. It was impossible that, when long established beliefs were thus shaken to their foundation, those concerning the Church should escape."
>
> (1928: 13-14)

There is a certain irony in the fact that it is the argument of this thesis that it is precisely this sort of process in the very changed circumstances of our own day, and which is here described as the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift, which has driven the production of services alternative to those which Sir William was seeking to defend.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

REVISION OF THE LITURGY: PATTERNS FOR WORSHIP

A. INTRODUCTION

The Alternative Service Book was never intended to be the final word in liturgical revision in the Church of England. It was seen as one phase in an on-going process of revising the liturgy of the Church. The un-named writer of the Preface to the ASB makes this clear.

> "There are few parts of the Church which have not been affected by the recent phase of liturgical revision. The Church of England set up its own Liturgical Commission in 1955.....Since then the Commission has prepared revised forms, sometimes as many as three distinct series, for almost every aspect of the Church's worship. Those which are judged to be most generally useful are here gathered together in a single book. Its publication marks a pause in a programme of liturgical business..."
>
> (The Alternative Service Book 1980: 10)

According to the writer, the publication of the ASB represented, therefore, a bringing together, in a sytematic way, of a body of material previously dispersed. As such it was merely a pause in an on-going process of revision and the production of new material and services.

It was noted in chapter ten that subsequent to the publication of the ASB, two further books of supplementary material were produced. These were *Lent, Holy Week and Easter* and *The Promise of His Glory*. But since these were not seen

as specially innovatory, but were supplementary to the ASB, the main part of what is to follow, is a consideration of the report known as *Patterns for Worship*. It was published as a book by the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England and authorised for use in 1995. Although its publication date is outside the period of time set at the outset of this thesis for discussion, consideration of it is included here for two reasons. First, much of it was produced well within the period of time covered by this thesis and in many ways reflects those times. Indeed, it is closely based on The Liturgical Commission Report GS 898 published in 1989. Second, it raises significant issues of concern to this thesis. It is, therefore, to a consideration of the publication known eventually as "Patterns For Worship" that this thesis now turns.

B. PATTERNS FOR WORSHIP - BACKGROUND

It has already been mentioned that *Patterns For Worship* started life in 1985 with the report of the General Synod Standing Committee called GS 698 *The Worship of the Church*. This report included the suggestion that

> "a 'directory' with a wealth of resource material including supplementary material for each of the main points in the service where there is room for the individual's own words. The directory would need to set boundaries to the proposed freedom, and points which might be theologically divisive would have to be watched."(21).

This report was addressed to the House of Bishops. Patterns For Worship set out to be such a directory. In one sense, therefore, it is of a piece with 'Lent Holy Week and Easter' and 'The Promise of His Glory' for the writers of those publications also saw themselves as responding to this suggestion in GS 698. However, in the end it went far beyond these publications.

The motivation for 'Patterns For Worship' was, therefore, the report of the Standing Committee of General Synod. The next stage occurred in 1986 when the House of Bishops agreed that the Liturgical "Commission should proceed to prepare a handbook(s) which aimed:

- to provide some indication of the different ways of doing liturgy, taking into account sociological, architectural and churchmanship differences
- to indicate where advantage might be taken of notes and rubrics in the ASB

to develop and enrich the liturgy

- to provide outline structures and mandatory sections for some main services, which, if authorized alongside the ASB, would provide greater freedom for those who wish either to enrich or shorten the services (including family services and worship in urban priority areas)." (Stancliffe 1995: vii-viii)

It was this authorisation from the House of Bishops which really set in motion the process of producing Patterns For Worship. However, in acknowledging this, the first of the Bishops' criteria for this handbook, that it should be a publication which aimed to give "some indication of the different ways of doing liturgy, taking into account sociological, architectural and churchmanship differences", should straightway be noted. It is proposed here that this is indicative of that very pluralism which, it has been argued elsewhere in this thesis, arise out of the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity. The bulk of the rest of this section of the thesis will seek to establish in more detail that these sociological forces, along with Culture Shift, are reflected both in the book and in the concerns of those producing it.

But first we briefly complete a review of the process by which 'Patterns for Worship' came into being. Having been given freedom by the House of Bishops to proceed, the Liturgical Commission set about producing a report for General Synod. In doing their work, the Commission consulted with a variety of other bodies. Once more, it should be noted that the bodies consulted are indicative of the operation of those forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift with which we are concerned in this thesis. This consultation was "not only with the regular meetings of the Diocesan Liturgical Committee Chairmen and Secretaries, and with bodies such as the Board of Education and the Committee for Black Anglican Concerns" (Stancliffe: viii). The approaches to the Committee For Black Anglican Concerns might themselves be seen as indicative of that same pluralism which has already been noted, and thus indicative of the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity, for in those approaches can be seen an assumption that there is more than one set of cultural expectations to be met.

As has already been mentioned, the eventual publication was based on Report GS 898 "A Report of the Liturgical Commission of the General Synod of the Church of England". This was the Liturgical Commission's report to General

Synod and was viewed by the House of Bishops as a consultation document. In his Prefatory Note to that report on behalf of the House of Bishops, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, acknowledged a number of other factors and requests which had prompted the production of the Report. He lists the following:

> "Since June 1988 there have been other requests relating to Liturgy to which the Liturgical Commission offers the attached Report as its response:
>
> - The Report *Children In The Way* (received February 1988) called upon the Liturgical Commission to examine the need for new liturgies to serve all-age worship and in particular for a form of Eucharist for when children are present.
> - The Report *Called to be Adult Disciples* (GS794) (received November 1987) welcomed the flexibility provided by the Alternative Services book and recommended that each parish find ways of affirming lay vocations within its liturgy....(and that) the Liturgical Commission produces material which values and celebrates the daily lives and experiences of lay people.
> - A motion passed at a separate session of the House of Laity of the General Synod in February 1988 asked that steps be taken towards ensuring in our parishes an adequate provision of non-eucharistic as well as eucharistic services." (vi).

Although the reports quoted by the Archbishop will not be considered in detail in this section of the thesis, the above quotation is reproduced in full because it is regarded here as an indication of a shift in culture within the Church of England, reflecting larger shifts in wider society. Each of the reports quoted is reflecting on changed and changing circumstances. There is a changing role for children, reflecting changes in the way children are regarded in wider society. There are changing roles for lay people and a feeling that the Churches official liturgy should reflect and even celebrate that change. This will be reflected upon in a somewhat different way later in this section when consideration is given to the changing roles of women and how and whether that might be reflected in the liturgy. There is interest in the balance between eucharistic liturgy, requiring a priest, and non-eucharistic liturgy, not requiring a priest and allowing for a more

enhanced role for lay people. James Beckford's comment that rapid social change and the influence of NRMs has led Christian churches and denominations "to revise their liturgy and government in order to provide for greater involvement by lay members" (Beckford 1991: xiv). In the light of this, it is proposed here that these things reflect that Culture Shift with which this thesis has, in part, concerned itself.

Much of that 1989 report to General Synod is included in the 1995 publication. However, Report GS 898 was produced on the clear understanding that there were elements of it which could only be authorised for use after due process of liturgical business and approval in the General Synod. In particular, this related to proposals for some new Eucharistic Prayers. Equally, there was concern that the document to be finally published should have general assent in the Church of England and that the degree of choice available should not exceed that which was customary in the Church of England. The then Archbishop of Canterbury concluded his Prefaratory Note by saying,

> "The House of Bishops, having received the Report, now agrees to its publication as a General Synod Paper so that the process of discussion and comment on what is proposed can be widened *before any authorisation or commendation such as to allow the proposals to be used liturgically is given*. In due course the House hopes that there may be a general wide-ranging 'take note' debate in the General Synod."
>
> (Runcie 1989: vi)

Although, there was much in the 1989 report which could be used without any authorization, as has been noted above, there was other material which would require specific authorization. The first of this material did not reach General Synod for authorization until 1992, "when a *Service of the Word*, including Aternative Confessions and Absolutions, and *Affirmations of Faith* were authorized by General Synod from November 1993" (Stancliffe 1995: viii). None of the eucharistic material contained in the 1989 report to General Synod was authorized when it came before General Synod and it was not, therefore, included in the 1995 publication.

'Patterns For Worship' is now constituted of a series of possible service outlines for various kinds of Church of England service along with a bank of resources

for material to include in those services. The Preface to the 1995 book says that "(t)his is one of a series of books produced by the Liturgical Commission and its individual members since 1984.....which act as a kind of hinge between *The Alternative Service Book 1980* and it successor in the year 2,000"(Stancliffe: vii). The Preface then spells out the nature of the book.

> "These books share some characteristics which distinguish them from the ASB. They all contain large sections of resource material - as the introduction to *Lent, Holy Week, Easter* says, 'We are providing a directory from which choices can be made. We think of this book as a manual to be used with selectivity, sensitivity and imagination.' The element of choice, present in the rubrics in the ASB, is exploited to the full."(Stancliffe: vii)

It is argued in this thesis that this latter point is of considerable importance for the Church of England, its self-understanding, and its cohesion. Consideration of this argument will form the major element of one of the later parts of this chapter of the thesis.

The rest of this chapter of the thesis will consider three major issues arising out of the production of 'Patterns For Worship'. The first issue to be considered will be the implications flowing from the effort to take seriously a call to recognise "local cultures" in Urban Priority Areas and to reflect that recognition in 'Patterns For Worship'. The second issue will be that of the notion of 'Common Prayer' and what it might be taken to mean in a book like Patterns For Worship as compared to, say, the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer. This was raised as an issue arising from the publication of the ASB, but confronts us with much greater clarity and sharpness in *Patterns for Worship*. It will, therefore, be treated in some detail and also will involve consideration of such issues as authority and the orthodoxy of doctrine. The third issue will be that of gender as presented in the call for the use of Inclusive Language in the liturgy of the Church of England and as reflected in the language of 'Patterns For Worship'. It is proposed here that these are three major issues arising from the production and introduction of 'Patterns For Worship' and that through consideration of these issues it will be possible to demonstrate the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. We turn, therefore to the first of those three issues, the implications of taking seriously a call to recognise local cultures in

Urban Priority Areas.

C. FAITH IN THE CITY AND THE CHURCH'S PROBLEMS IN UPAs

The writers of 'Patterns for Worship' are explicit in saying that one publication in particular had great influence on them and that one of their very particular purposes was to address the concerns of that publication. That publication was The Report of the Archbishop's Commission on Urban Priority Areas, *Faith In The City*, published in 1985. It has already been seen that the Bishop of Salisbury writes of the wide consultation undertaken by the Liturgical Commission in his Preface to 'Patterns for Worship', "In preparing *Patterns for Worship*, the (Liturgical) Commission consulted widely, not only with the regular meetings of the Diocesan Liturgical Committee Chairmen and Secretaries, and with bodies such as the Board of Education and the Committee for Black Anglican Concerns" (Stancliffe: viii). He alludes directly to the concerns of 'Faith in the City' by adding that consultation was carried out not only with those bodies, "*but with those who live in inner urban areas*"(my italics) (viii). It has already been argued that the approaches to the Committee for Black African Concerns might themselves be seen as indicative of pluralism. But it is the emphasis on the consultation with "those who live in inner urban areas" which is considered specially here.

The particular concern to which this alludes is made specific in the introduction to 'Patterns for Worship'. "The flexibility of the *Patterns* approach will help churches to do what the *Faith in the City* report suggests, in moving away from a 1300-page book for the congregation, and providing for liturgy to 'emerge out of and reflect local cultures'." (Liturgical Commission, 1995: 2). In order to understand this concern to address the recommendations of the *Faith in the City* report, it is it is appropriate to consider what that report said, what its concerns were and how it believed the Church of England needed to operate in Urban Priority Areas (UPAs).

The model of British society with which the Report writers work is one in which there is no single over-arching culture. Indeed, they appear to be operating with a plural view of British society in which it seems no one can communicate across the whole of society and there are major problems in communication between discrete 'cultures'. It seems that 'middle class' people cannot communicate effectively with those operating within different 'cultures'. We note here, but do

not pursue, the question of whether this is a strictly accurate analysis of the Church of England's problems. It depends upon an analysis of the problems faced by the Church of England based largely around class. We also leave aside a certain feeling of unease on re-reading this report at the rather patronising notion that middle-class culture is really beyond those living in UPAs. We note, instead, that the report's interpretation of the problems the Church of England has historically encountered in operating in UPAs offers a picture of pluralism, a society encompassing a number of 'cultures', and fragmentation. It has been argued throughout this thesis that such a picture is just one which Globalization and Postmodernity would lead us to expect.

In addition,the Report recognises, as has also been recognised earlier in this thesis, that many surveys of opinion have indicated relatively high percentages of people in this country saying that they believe in God. It is also recognised in the Report, again as has been recognised earlier in this thesis, that this does not necessarily result in conventional Christian belief nor in Church attendance. The Report reflects on this and concludes that

> "it can be argued that the most urgent task facing the Church is that of nurturing this common belief in God towards an authentic Christian faith. But the same evidence also shows the need for great flexibility in tackling it....A Church which has only a single highly intellectual style of doctrinal formulation and which orders even its most contemporary forms of worship by reference to a closely printed book of over a thousand pages can never hope to bridge the gulf which separates it from ordinary people". (Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission 1985: 66-67)

They do not quite explain what 'ordinary people' means!

The *Faith In The City* report has much to say about how the Church might address the situations and issues it finds. For instance, it has things to say about the policy and practice of the Church of England in selecting candidates for training for Ordination. However, it can be seen from this last quotation that the Report writers clearly believe that the situation in UPAs has significant implications for the Church's Worship and thus its liturgy. Indeed, the last quotation makes it clear that the Report writers did not think that the publication of the Alternative Service Book was any real answer to the problems of the

Church in Urban Priority Areas. The "closely printed book of over a thousand pages" is, of course, the ASB. The *Faith In The City* Report therefore had its own recommendations to make about worship in UPA churches. It is to these recommendations and their implications that we now turn.

D. FAITH IN THE CITY AND PATTERNS FOR WORSHIP: WORSHIP AND LOCAL CULTURES

The *Faith In The City* Report makes its position clear so far as the role of the Church of England in UPAs is concerned. "At the heart of our vision, as it has emerged over the last two years, is a commitment to God and His call, and the faithful response of His Church in the UPAs." (134). So far as they are concerned, the Church of England should remain committed to maintaining its work and presence in the UPAs and this at a time when some other churches were pulling out of those areas. But the Report writers believe that the Church's approach needs to be specific to the very particular area and culture in which it finds itself and they are clear that this has implications for the worship of the Church. "For the local UPA Church to respond to God by commending his gospel, it must talk people's language....The Church in the UPA has to live in and be part of the local world. The roots of liturgy must be found in the ground of society." (135) Their swipes at the ASB make it clear that the Report writers do not agree with the Archdeacon of Canterbury, speaking in General Synod twelve years earlier, that with the modern language services "(w)e have got much nearer to the language style - though not the language, happily - of Billingsgate" (General Synod, July Group Sessions 1973. *Report of Proceedings*: 362)!

Instead, they believe that there is much further to go in terms of the diversity of language, approach and form to be used in the liturgy of the Church of England.

> "Worship in the UPAs must emerge out of and reflect local cultures...It will be more informal and flexible in its use of urban language, style and content. It will therefore reflect a universality of form with local variations, allowing significant space for worship which is genuinely local, expressed in and through local cultures and reflecting the local context."
>
> (Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission 1985: 135)

We might complain that there is little specific content in these calls for "worship

which is genuinely local", but the message to readers of the Report is clear. There is no single "British" culture. This, ofcourse, mirrors the argument of Kevin Robins in the third chapter of this thesis, that "the older certainties and hierarchies of British identity have beencalled into question...the sense of what it is to be British can never again have the old confidence and certainty" (Robins, 1991: 41). This, he argues is a direct outcome of Globalization.

Instead of one unified culture there is a plurality of "local cultures" and it is this plurality of local cultures which should be reflected in the worship and liturgy of the Church of England, for otherwise those who inhabit those "local cultures" will not be able to feel part of that worship. Here there is an acceptance of a pluralism and a fragmentary view of society which, it has been argued in this thesis, are entirely consistent with the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity. It accords entirely with the view of Malcolm Waters when he says that "Globalization is, in general, a differentiating as well as a homogenizing process. It pluralises the world by recognising the value of cultural niches and local abilities" (Waters 1995: 136). Indeed, he is able to throw further light on some of the concerns of *Faith In The City*, which are imported into *Patterns for Worship* by saying that Globalization "weakens the putative nexus between nation and state releasing absorbed ethnic minorities" (136). In addition, we can see here a reflection of the issue with which the last section of this thesis was concerned, that is the identity of the Church of England. Clearly here there is no single identity, but because of association with a diversity of local cultures, there is a multiplicity of identities. It was argued in the previous section that this is entirely consistent with the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity.

Of course, *Faith In The City* was only a report with recommendations, even though a very high profile and, in some quarters, controversial report. It could, nonetheless, simply have been left to gather dust on the proverbial shelf in Church House or Lambeth Palace. In order to be of significance for the purposes of this thesis it needed to be acted upon and embodied in the liturgy and worship of the Church of England so that that outlook and approach discerned above could become part of the formal activity of the Church of England. It is here that *Patterns For Worship* is of great significance. It has already been noted that the Liturgical Commission argues that *Patterns For Worship* will "help churches to do what the Faith In The City report suggests in

moving away from a 1300 page book" (1995: 2). The influence of *Faith In The City* is clearly accepted and acknowledged. In addition, the Introduction to *Patterns For Worship* has a section on Urban priority areas and it is made clear there that the writers of the new liturgies and liturgical material had consciously set out to meet those recommendations of *Faith In The City* which have been set out above.

The Liturgical Commission recognises that in moving away from the 1300 page book of the ASB they were accepting the recommendation of the *Faith In The City* Report that they should be "providing for liturgy 'to emerge out of and reflect local cultures'" (1995: 2). It asserts that it has responded to another recommendation of the Report. "That report asked for 'short functional service booklets or cards', and we have provided these." (1995: 2) They also argue that they have responded to another of the Report's recommendations, which we have noted above. "The report also asked for liturgy that promoted 'greater involvement of the congregation' and was more 'concrete and tangible than abstract and theoretical'. (2) The specific recommendations coming out of *Faith In The City* and which have been argued to illustrate the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity are specifically accepted as directing both the approach taken and some of the specific texts provided in *Patterns For Worship*.

The Liturgical Commission says that those influences are indirect as well as direct. "The new writing we have done is designed to meet those needs, as may be seen from our writing criteria." (1995: 2) Those criteria include fairly obvious references to the recommedations made in *Faith In The City*. They adopt as one criterion, for instance, that writers should "(u)se concrete visual images rather than language which is conceptual and full of ideas" (Liturgical Commission 1995: 218). This fairly clearly reflects the recommendations in *Faith In The City* that the UPA Church will "be prepared to communicate through feeling rather than the mind, through non-verbal rather than verbal communication" (135) and that it will take seriously "the concern of local UPA people for things to be more concrete and tangible rather than abstract and theoretical" (135). Along similar lines are the guidelines that writers should "avoid complicated sentence structure" (218) and if there is a choice they should "prefer a word with fewer syllables" (218). Such guidelines on language produced by the Liturgical Commission are fairly clearly in line with the recommendations of the *Faith In The City* Report.

It is argued here that in these indirect ways, as well as the direct ways set out earlier, the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England has accepted the recommendations, and with them the outlook, of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas. It has been argued that the Report of the Commission, *Faith In The City*, through its call to discern and act upon what it understands to be a series of "local cultures", reflects and accepts the operation of the sociological forces of Globalization and Postmodernity - even if this is not necessarily a conscious decision. It is further argued that *Patterns For Worship*, by accepting that approach, has embodied in the liturgy of the Church of England that pluralism, cultural relativism and multiplicity of identities which can be discerned as coming out of the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity.

E. COMMON PRAYER

In making this argument, a further issue is raised and it is the second of the three major issues coming out of the publication of *Patterns For Worship*. This second issue is what effect the developments we have been considering so far have had on the notion of Common Prayer. It has already been noted that this was an issue arising from the introduction of the ASB, but it now takes a much greater prominence. The significance of the notion of Common Prayer is indicated by Michael Perham, a member of the Liturgical Commission of the Church of England, when he says that "Common Prayer is part of the Church of England's heritage. By it Anglicans have meant a sufficient degree of uniformity in liturgy that people, moving around the country, may find in any church a family likeness in worship" (1993: 3). It is to the issue of what effect the developments we have considered so far have had on the notion of Common Prayer and what this may indicate of the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift on the Church of England, that we now turn.

A concern about Common Prayer is clearly indicated in the debates which have surrounded the introduction of the new liturgies. The debate at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1979, which led to the approval of the form of communion service to be included in the ASB produced this contribution from Mr B. J. Stanley of Portsmouth diocese:

> "In the last days of the Church Assembly, the House of Laity, under the guidance of Sir Norman Anderson and Chancellor Wigglesworth, stated

> clearly that we wanted common prayer, something we could all use. I believe that this was a right principle and that we should continue it now. Therefore, with regret, I ask that we should not approve this service."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1111)

His concern is mirrored by that of the Bishop of Derby in the General Synod debate about the Report of the Revision Committee on the same piece of liturgy in the February Group Sessions of General Synod that same year. He was a supporter of the new liturgy, he introduced the Report of the Revision Committee and moved its acceptance, but he had a warning.

> "We are dealing here with an issue which has troubled me for years and to which the Synod has not applied itself with any thoroughness. The Church of England, for the first 400 years or so of its distinctive life, accepted the principle of liturgical uniformity and lived by it fairly loyally in practice. In the last hundred years or so, this principle has been eroded by several different influences, doctrinal, aesthetic, pastoral, missionary and in more recent times by an ignorance of the theological and devotional values of liturgical worship. Liturgy requires a fairly large measure of uniformity if it is to do its proper work. The Synod has recognised this in authorising alternative services, but it has also recognised the need for some degree of liberty within the liturgical framework of order and words. This liberty cannot be allowed to be merely individualistic if liturgy is to be preserved. What is morally wrong is when people insist on a uniform order of prayer for others, but claim freedom to alter it for themselves." (Report of Proceedings: 139)

In order to understand these concerns, it is necessary to see where the "liturgical uniformity", of which the Bishop of Derby spoke, came from. In fact, it derives from the first generation of sixteenth century Reformers in England and it is specially demonstrated by Thomas Cranmer. It seems very likely that the sorts of developments in liturgy which the Church of England has seen in the past decades would have been anathema to Thomas Cranmer and there is good reason to think that he would have had no truck with an "alternative service book". He wrote a Preface to his 1549 Prayer Book, and this was included in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer as the essay 'Concerning The Service Of The Church'. In it he wrote:

> "And whereas heretofore there has been great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm; some following Salisbury use, and some the use of Bangor, some of York, some of Lincoln; now from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use. And forasmuch as nothing can be so plainly set forth, but doubts may arise in the use and practice of the same; to appease all such diversity (if any arise) and for the resolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to understand, do and execute the things contained in this Book; the parties that so doubt, or diversely take any thing, shall alway resort to the Bishop of the diocese..."(Cranmer: 12).

As was seen in chapter ten, the Prayer Book (Alternative and Other Services) Measure of 1965 gave clergy permission to make minor variations in authorised services and to use suitable forms of service for occasions not covered by the Prayer Book. Nonetheless, these variations had to be doctrinally sound and had to be referred to the Bishop in cases of difficulty. Even in 1965, therefore, this was seen as an important role for a Bishop.

F. THE RATIONALE FOR COMMON PRAYER

The question needs to be asked as to why this uniformity of practice has been seen to be of importance to the Church of England, for from the answer to that question will come some of the issues with which this sub-section of the thesis is concerned. For Cranmer himself there was an issue of authority. His insistence on having just one book was not simply to say that everything in it was invariably 'right' and that other things were invariably 'wrong'. Such an approach applied particularly to ceremonies surrounding the liturgy. Instead, his concern was that where there was doubt, then any interpretation should be made by due authority. It is for this reason that, in the above quotation, he is insistent that any such question should invariably be referred to the Bishop of the diocese. This was "to appease such diversity".

It is entirely understandable that such an approach would commend itself to the Reformers of the sixteenth century, trying to establish in England the doctrine and practices of the Reformation. It is equally clear why such an approach would be attractive to those in 1662 who were seeking to re-establish and shore up the monarchy, the rule of Charles II and the Established Church after the English Revolution, Cromwell and the Commonwealth. But in our own day, and

in a very different way, the issue of authority is also important and this will be considered a little later.

There are other reasons why Common Prayer is considered of importance to the Church of England now. The first is pastoral and covers a cluster of subsidiary reasons. The first of these pastoral reasons relates to the mobile nature of British society at the end of the twentieth century. It will be understood that this relates quite closely to the sort of social change which has been considered in this thesis. In such a society, then, it is thought that people need to find the familiar in the liturgy. Second from a pastoral point of view, people need to be set free in the liturgy from the need to be constantly studying a service book or sheet. Third from a pastoral point of view, people need to be able to draw on a reservoir that is available to them without having to think about it very much.

The second major reason why Common Prayer is considered important to the Church of England touches upon the arguments around which the last section of this thesis circulated, that is identity. Michael Perham says that this is to do with the Church's koinonia or fellowship.

> "Traditionally Anglicans particularly have looked to their liturgy as something that binds them together, creates a family likeness and holds them in unity and fellowship. Indeed it was in the past the Book of Common Prayer, seen as the distillation of one strand of the Western liturgical tradition, that as much as anything cemented Anglicans the world over..." (1993: 4)

These are precisely the arguments raised by people like David Martin about the retention of the Book of Common Prayer and covered in the last chapter. These arguments are noted, but given the coverage of this issue in chapter twelve, it will not be considered further here. Nonetheless, as was seen in that chapter, this remains an important issue and one which is greatly affected by pluralism and relativization coming out of the operation of Postmodernity and Globalization.

The third major reason for defending Common Prayer has significant links with the last reason, and again it was dealt with in some detail in the last chapter of the thesis, but it is nonetheless, an independent and significant reason. It has to

do with the maintenance of doctrinal integrity. It was noted in the previous chapter of the thesis that through the liturgy now contained in the Book of Common Prayer Thomas Cranmer had expressed the doctrine of the Church of England. We quoted Alister McGrath as saying, "the fundamental principle to emerge was that liturgy was a means of expressing and enforcing theological orthodoxy" (1998: 107). Michael Perham makes this argument rather wider in scope than simply the Book of Common Prayer itself and attributes that function of ensuring theological orthodoxy to Common Prayer in general. He says that this third reason for defending Common Prayer is, in the end, the most crucial.

> "It is that common prayer protects the doctrinal integrity of the Church....If there is no common prayer....That places a heavy burden on the liturgists, but it also means that the liturgy needs to be properly authorised, so that sound doctrine is both assimilated and protected.....It is possible to have common doctrine without common prayer....But Anglicanism would be a very different sort of Church if its doctrine ceased to be found primarily in its liturgy." (4)

The reasons set out above for recognising the significance of common prayer to the Church of England cover areas which are fundamental to the life, identity and the doctrinal integrity of the Church of England, or any church for that matter. It is clear that anything which profoundly disturbs this notion of common prayer is going to be of great significance for the Church of England.

It is of significance, therefore, that the Liturgical Commission is clearly aware that *Patterns for Worship* does not stand in what has been regarded as the usual tradition of Anglican common prayer. In both the Report version, GS 898, and the final published version of the book they say,

> "Inevitably, a directory approach such as that in *Patterns for Worship* raises questions about the concept of 'common prayer', and about whether or how doctrinal conformity can be secured. 'Common Prayer' does not in fact exist in the sense of being able to walk into any church in the land and find exactly the same words to follow.(1989: 5)

In reality, of course, Common Prayer, in the sense of which the Liturgical Commission writes of it above, had not existed for some time. The

developments in the nineteenth century and later, documented in the section of this thesis dealing with liturgical developments leading up to the introduction of the ASB, the split in approach to liturgy between Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics and the official experiments in liturgy starting in the 1960s all ensured this. Indeed, the variety of forms of liturgy being used in the Church of England, often without authorisation, was commented on by the then Bishop of Southwark, Mervyn Stockwood, in response to Mr B. J. Stanley in the debate at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1979. He said, in defence of the introduction of the ASB communion service, "I found in my first three months (as Bishop of Southwark) that there were 21 different uses, some of them very mild variants, but sometimes we had the liturgy of the Church of South India, sometimes Taize, and quite a few who were from the other side of the Thames used the book called the Missal" (Report of Proceedings: 1120).

For some, the introduction of the ASB offered the chance of greater uniformity of usage and practice and, therefore, of common prayer in the sense in which it had been traditionally understood. Mervyn Stockwood was of this view. He continued his comments in the General Synod debate by saying:

> "In this new service there is a real chance that people of different points of view and different approaches to spirituality will find their needs more or less satisfied....I would say....that if this is thrown out, if we do as the Bishop of Winchester is asking us to do, I believe that we shall increase division and open the gates to liturgical chaos" (1120).

For others, like Mr B. J. Stanley, the introduction of the ASB itself, with its many possible variants, and the subsequent publication of the additional seasonal material in *Lent, Holy Week & Easter* and *The Promise Of His Glory* were signs that the traditional notion of common prayer was further breaking down.

It is clear, therefore, that a purist notion of common prayer, based on the use of identical texts and the approach taken by Cranmer in the sixteenth century, was, in practice, already in great difficulty under the pressure of events. But it is also clear, whatever was happening on the ground, that so far as the official policy of the Church of England was concerned that purist notion of common prayer, based around the use of identical texts, was retained as a sort of ideal - and for the sorts of reasons set out above. The Bishop of Derby's concerns and

comments in the debate in 1979 are witness to the pull which this notion has had on the Church of England. The entirely innovative aspect of *Patterns For Worship* was that, for the first time, it was seen to be the official policy of the Church of England, enshrined in its liturgy, to move to a quite new notion of common prayer.

It is no longer the texts which are normative, it something very much more nebulous and rather difficult to pin down. The Liturgical Commission put it in this way. "'(C)ommon prayer exists in the Church of England in the sense of recognising, as one does when visiting other members of the same family, some common features, some shared experiences, language and patterns or traditions." (1989: 5) They appeal to history for support for this radical move from official policy - as opposed to actual usage - and argue that "(t)o accept a variety of forms, dictated by local culture, is part of our Anglican heritage"(1989: 5). Here they are clearly accepting, once more, the arguments about the importance of local cultures made in *Faith In The City.* It has already been proposed in this section of the thesis, that these arguments in that report reflect that fragmentation and pluralism which come out of the operation of the sociological forces of Globalization and Postmodernity. It is also intriguing that they appear to feel the need for good authority for, what it argued here to be, a novel change of formal policy, and so they return to the founding fathers of the Church of England and quote Cranmer.

G. COMMON PRAYER, AUTHORITY & DOCTRINE

These developments in the notion of common prayer will clearly have implications for two further areas in the life of the Church of England. These are those of authority, particularly that of the Bishop, and uniformity and orthodoxy of doctrine. These two things are veryclosely intertwined. Notions of authority and doctrinal orthodoxy were clearly important to Thomas Cranmer. But, as with the general notion of common prayer, with the introduction of the ASB such concerns might be considered to have been weakened. That is all now taken a stage further. The open acknowledgement of the significance of local cultures and the concern that these should be reflected in the worship and liturgy of the Church of England has resulted in a multiplicity of ways of including approved texts. Although these texts themselves have been approved, it is certain that the way in which they are put together and the various possible contexts in which

they may be used will lead to different emphases of meaning. This has a clear effect on the traditional lines of authority, and particularly that of the Bishop in his traditional role as arbiter of doctrinal orthodoxy.

At first sight there appear to be two distinct and contradictory movements, but it will be argued that these are, in fact, directly related. Both movements relate clearly to the authority and role of the Bishop in settling disputes about the interpretation of meaning in the texts. In this respect, Richard Bauckham argues that whereas there was inherent in modernity a rejection of authorities, postmodernity takes that form of rejection to an extreme which subverts even modernity itself. Richard Baukham argues that the sort of elitism which the "modern" exaltation of experts entails is a means by which some gain power over others. As a result, in Postmodernity freedom or autonomy comes to be opposed to every kind of authority. He comments on postmodern religion that "in the modern period all religious authorities suffered a rationalist critique...Postmodernist people believe in all kinds of....irrational things - astrology, UFOs, crystals, reincarnation and so on. But they reject any kind of authority beyond their free preference, which is often exercised in a pick-and-mix choice of seemingly...incompatible elements." (1999: 9) It will be argued that it is this sort of development which is seen in *Patterns for Worship*. The bishops' role was one which, as we have seen, Thomas Cranmer saw as being very important and which was still considered to be very important in 1965. That role is almost abolished in Patterns for Worship. The locus of that authority is now made more diffuse.

Authority is moved upwards to the General Synod and the Liturgical Commission. In this case, the authority which is placed in the General Synod and the Liturgical Commission is general in nature. The Liturgical Commission chooses the texts and the General Synod approves them. It is, of course, true that the House of Bishops remains powerful and that the Canons of the Church of Enlgand permit individual diocesan bishops to authorise services and in that sense authority still resides with individual Bishops. However, the Liturgical Commission has proposed and the General Synod has approved a very great diversity of texts and there is encouragement for diversity in the way in which they may be used. In these circumstances, there is little place for the role of the Bishop as envisaged by Thomas Cranmer to use any authority which may attach to his office "to appease such diversity". The opposite happens; diversity is

encouraged by the Liturgical Commission and the General Synod.

Alongside this movement of authority away from the Bishop up to the Liturgical Commission and the General Synod, there has been a movement in the opposite direction. Authority is now delegated and spread more widely downwards to individual clergy and the parishes. Whilst the Liturgical Commission chooses texts and the General Synod approves them, it is individual parochial clergy, others who construct services and their congregations who now determine precise meanings and interpretations for these texts by the way in which they use them. The collapse of traditional Common Prayer in Patterns for Worship represents a diffusion of authority away from the traditional seat of authority in the bishop and renders a conformity of worship very much more difficult, if not impossible. This diffusion of authority is the first of the two distinct and apparently contrary movements mentioned above.

The second movement, apparently contrary to this diffusion of authority, is seen in the fact that Patterns for Worship appears to represent a movement in the direction of exerting and establishing greater control over the liturgical life of the Church of England. That element of the liturgical life of the Church is what has been called 'The Family Service'. There are clear indications that by the mid 1980s various authorities in the Church of England had come to believe that something needed to be done about this new development in the life of the Church, which was quite outside the normal liturgical forms. Indeed, The Bishop of Chelmsford was charged with investigating this new development and reporting upon it. The Chelmsford Report on non-statutory worship, *For the Family* was produced. Parts of it are quoted in the Introduction to both the 1989 Liturgical Commission report, GS898 *Patterns for Worship* and the eventual 1995 book.

The Introduction to the 1995 *Patterns for Worship* book puts it in this way:

> "The family service in the Church of England varies enormously from place to place. In some places it is but a pale and timid reflection of the standard fare: the Chelmsford report on non-statutory worship, *For the Family*, uses words like 'inhibited and awkward', 'stilted, uncreative and frankly boring' about some services, 'led in a very staid fashion'." (3). It

> notes, as one of the criticisms of family services, that "both structure and content are so free and variable that people see no links with traditional Anglican worship....Worship depends on the whim of the worship leader because so much is new; and because it is not a 'statutory' service, there is sometimes little or no consultation with the PCC." (3).

Over against these negative comments, the Liturgical Commission, in the Introduction to *Patterns for Worship* clearly believes that there are also positive things to be said, which mean that they do not wish to reject the family service. "But in other places the family service is the main sign of hope for the Church, reflecting an enormous amount of creative energy and the kind of God-centred worship that is resulting in a considerable growth of new Christians." (3) This leads them to conclude:

> "more could be said about the family service, such as the need for clear aims for the planning group, and for a regular review of where this service fits in relation to the rest of the local church's worship. We hope that the *Patterns for Worship* proposals and guidelines will encourage change away from the unhelpful aspects of the 'Family Service', while ensuring that its creative, vibrant life is not locked up in non-statutory, non-eucharistic and mini-family centred worship. It must be part of the living, contemporary tradition of the whole Church's worship." (5)

This support for the family service reflects an important point of recognition on the part of the Church of England. It understands, even if not quite consciously, that relativization of the position of the Church of England, which was seen in chapter 3 as arising from Globalization and Postmodernity. As Niklas Luhmann's theories of functional differentiation suppose, the Church of England understands that it cannot simply rely on a public acceptance of its role and position in society, so that it must now look to ways in which it can recruit and retain voluntary adherents. In this way we see Globalization and Postmodernity at work.

Beyond this, here is clearly an attempt to exert some control over the burgeoning field of family services, which are non-statutory and thus outside the traditional structures of authority and control. Bryan Spinks was a member of the Liturgical Commission in the early 1990s. He reflects on the developing use

of the family service in the Church of England and says that the "result has been the compilation of *Patterns for Worship*. This collection attempted to rein in some of the excesses found in Family Services; provide examples of good practice; and present materials which which the Commission regarded as not contrary to the scriptures and the doctrine of the Church of England." (65) Looked at in this light, therefore, the publication of *Patterns for Worship* represents an attempt to re-establish some control and due authority.

That this was, indeed, a concern is further illustrated by something else which the Liturgical Commission mentions, but does not develop very much, in the Introduction to the 1995 book, *Patterns for Worship*. In order to meet concerns about Common Prayer and doctrinal orthodoxy, the Commission suggests the development of a common core of Anglican worship. It argues that, to some extent, such a notion had already been tested in General Synod in the authorisation process for *A Service of the Word*. The Commission recognises that this will be seen by some as an attempt by the 'centre' to take power and establish control, but it is ready to meet that charge.

> "There will be some who will think that even such a minimum amount of regulation as this goes counter to what we have said about local creativity, and infringes local control of worship. To them we would point out the traditional function of 'catholic' faith and worship in providing a critique or alternative viewpoint for looking at local (or national) culture." (1989: 6)

The Liturgical Commission does not develop the notion of a 'common core' of Anglican worship very far in the Introduction to *Patterns for Worship*. Instead, it points readers to a series of essays, written by Liturgical Commission members and advisors and published, with the authority of the Commission, in 1993 under the title *The Renewal of Common Prayer*. The most substantial essay in the collection on this subject is written by the late Michael Vasey, then a Commission member, and entitled 'Promoting a Common Core'. In that essay Michael Vasey makes clear the concern. "The Liturgical Commission believes that the question of common prayer - that is, of whether there will continue to be patterns of prayer which unite English Anglicans past and present in their worship of God - is an important question that needs to be addressed at national, diocesan and parish level." (81) He spells out the problem as he and the Liturgical Commission see it. "Clerical individualism and parochial

isolationism are major barriers to the sustaining of liturgical core. Christian leaders and parishes need to attend not only 'to their own interests but also to the interests of others (Phil. 2. 4)." (97)

Michael Vasey suggests a number of factors which might contribute toa common core. One of the more important picks up the notion of common prayer associated with *Patterns for Worship*, that is that there should be a recognisable shape to the services. He believes, further, that a recognisable and reasonably consistent arrangement of the liturgical space and use of certain liturgical furniture and dress would form part of this common core. Then there would be familiar words. "Prayers, creeds and canticles obviously form a very important part of the common core." (93) In this respect, the Introduction to the 1995 *Patterns for Worship* book is reasonably explicit. The "creed, confession and absolution, specific prayer about the departed, and the eucharistic prayer" (page 6) are parts of the service which should have a limited number of options. Michael Vasey then believes there should be agreed norms and boundaries. "The common core is eroded when elements are introduced which clash strongly with received Anglican doctrine or which raise conscientious difficulties for significant groups of Anglicans." (95)

It is proposed here that these arguments for a common core are attempting to establish limits to the deregulation to local cultures described earlier in this section, to re-establish some element of due authority and with it the basis for doctrinal orthodoxy. The concern which this all reflects is put with considerable piquancy by Michael Perham in his essay in the same collection.

> "The liturgical life of the Church of England in the last generation has seemed to be marked by an undervaluing of common prayer. The desire to make liturgy fit its local culture and the spirit of an age that has put much emphasis on freedom and variety has resulted in too little attention to common prayer, and to what might be lost without it should it be further eroded." (Introduction: 3)

It might appear at first sight that the movement to permit greater deregulation to local cultures and the move to establish greater control over the family service and to argue for a common core are contradictory movements. It is argued in this thesis, however, that they are both related and are two sides of the same

coin. They are both reflections of and reactions to the same sociological forces at work in the world and in the life of the Church of England. We have, for instance, already noted the concerns about identity and changing identity arising out of the "fraying" of the traditional notions of common prayer. This issue was considered at length in the preceding section and so it will not be considered further here. It is simply noted that changing notions of identity were found to reflect the operation of postmodernity and globalization. Similarly, in the preceding section the arguments of Kevin Robins were considered as one explanation for opposition to change. Equally, it might be argued that they can be used again as part of the explanation for the concerns of those who wish to put a break on the "de-regulation" of worship found to some extent in the ASB, but to a much greater extent in *Patterns for Worship*.

There is also, what has been called in this section of the thesis, the de-regulation of worship and the breakdown of traditional notions of common prayer. This is entirely in accord with everything which has been said in earlier sections of this thesis about the fragmentation and breakdown or undermining of traditional structures which accompany postmodernity and globalization. Similarly, an agreed or indeed imposed orthodox doctrine, established through the liturgy, of the kind which Thomas Cranmer seemed to envisage provided a 'totalizing metanarrative' for the Church of England. It is precisely the collapse of such a totalizing metanarrative which Jean-Francois Lyotard saw a resulting from Postmodernity. Indeed, both these factors are related. J. Richard Middleton and Brian J. Walsh put it in this way. -

> "The trouble is that from a postmodern perspective the deepest answer to the question What's wrong? points to the tendency to oppress and exclude minority voices and peoples precisely by recourse to a totalizing metanarrative which claims to tell the story of the world. We are to renounce the desire for metanarratives and, instead, to embrace heterogeneity, allowing for a radical plurality of local stories, each giving voice to the history and aspirations of a different group." (83)

We have considered at some length changing notions of authority in relation to the role of Bishops in determining liturgy and the control of doctrine through the interpretation of liturgical texts. Richard Bauckham was quoted as suggesting that Postmodernists "reject any kind of authority beyond their free preference,

which is often exercised in a pick-and-mix choice of seemingly...incompatible elements" (1999: 9). It is argued here that this is precisely the sort of development which we see affecting the traditional role of bishops and which we see embodied in *Patterns for Worship*.

It is also argued here that these developments reflect that Culture Shift which has been one of the concerns of this thesis and which has been traced through the life of the Church of England. Writing about the political developments in the then USSR in the 1980s under Mikhail Gorbachev, before the fall of the Berlin Wall, Ronald Inglehart relates these developments to the sorts of shifts in culture which he has been tracing in western countries. He argues that the motivation of the then USSR authorities may be primarily a concern to restore the Soviet economy to a competitive position.

> "But it also gives rise to a labor force that is capable of, and likely to seek, more significant input into decision making, in both the economic and political domains...The impact of technological modernisation is reinforced in parallel cultural developments that take place in advanced industrial society." (428)

It is argued here that it is precisely this sort of cultural change or shift which can be discerned at work in the liturgical life of the Church of England.

H. GENDER AND INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE

It is now possible to turn to the third significant issue coming out of the publication of *Patterns for Worship*. To understand this, it is necessary to return to the 1985 report of General Synod Standing Committee, *The Worship of the Church*. This report went out under the name of Robert Runcie, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and stands between the publication of the ASB and the production of the report version of *Patterns for Worship* in 1989. In *The Worship of the Church*, the report writers reflect on the ASB as it had then been experienced for a few years and in particular on its language style. At paragraph 26 of the report, in a section headed 'The Language of Worship', they then say this:

> "Secondly, there is the matter of inclusive language, a principle which (although it may have many applications across age, ethnic, class and

> intelligence barriers) is usually invoked in relation to the apparent 'male-ness' of the English generic terms for the human race ('to love and serve all men', etc). The present Liturgical Commission sees this as a 'problem' which will not go away, and needs to be solved by a sensitive recasting of offending passages. The Commission does not share the view sometimes heard that male pronouns and possessive adjectives in relation to God are in appropriate, and on that issue simply wishes to conform to scriptural and traditional usage. It does, however, consider that the general issue requires serious and continuing attention by the next Commission and, in due course (and in the light of the Commission's work), by the House of Bishops and the Synod." (14 - 15)

It is clear that some people had objected to some of the language used in the ASB on the grounds of gender bias. A particular instance became something of a cause celebre. The writers of the Preface to the ASB wrote, towards the end:

> "But words, even agreed words, are only the beginning of worship. Those who use them do well to recognize their transience and imperfection; to treat them as a ladder, not a goal; to acknowledge their power in shaping faith and kindling devotion, without claiming that they are fully adequate to the task. Only the grace of God can make up what is lacking in the faltering words of men." (ASB 1980: 11)

The objection, of course, was to the phrase "the faltering words of men".

The then Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood, referred to it in his contribution to the debate in General Synod at the November Group Sessions in 1985 on *The Worship of the Church*. Referring to the report, he said:

> "In para. 26 there is an important mention of the need for inclusive language. The ASB Preface, which I had a hand in writing, has been neatly taken apart by Janet Morley for its reference to 'the faltering words of men'. I think that many of her criticisms are just. I believe that, without going over the top in terms of non-sexist language, we could do much to remove some of the irritations and show concern for the sensitivities of those who feel strongly about such matters."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1045)

It would be wrong to say that there was a great deal of discussion about this issue in the debate on *The Worship of the Church* in those November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1985. But there were one or two other contributions. Sister Carol CHN, speaking on behalf of the Religious Communities, said:

> "I was pleased to discover from para. 26 of the report, and to hear from the Archbishop of York, that the Commission is to give attention to this matter of inclusive language. I wish simply to point this up a bit in case there are those of us who still feel that it is not necessary....I agree that it is quite possible to become faddy and hypersensitive on this issue, but an awareness of the importance of language in this area is a genuine enlightening of the Spirit, and it bears relation to that working out of the partnership of women and men in the Church and in the world which is one of the tasks laid upon us in this century."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1054)

Mrs J. M. Mayland from York diocese supported Sister Carol.

> "I also welcome what the report has said about inclusive language and what the Archbishop of York and Sister Carol have said. I do not wish to say more in the particular area of inclusive language so far as the worshippers are concerned. I would, however, like to press a bit harder the vital importance of exploring new ways of picturing God in the language of our worship in ways which better enable use to be made of what can be described as the caring, loving side of God's nature - perhaps, if one might say it, the 'feminine' face of God."
>
> (Report of Proceedings, page 1058)

The question of gender in language had become an issue. The concern appears generally to have been about the way men and women were being described even in the new liturgy and the taking of an apparently male perspective. But Mrs Mayland's contribution indicates that there were also those who wished to take the issue further than the report envisaged by tackling the question of the nature of the language used about God.

Nevertheless, although it could not be said that there was a great deal of

discussion of this issue at the November Group Sessions of General Synod in 1985, the Liturgical Commission was right when it said in *The Worship of the Church* that this was a 'problem' which would not go away. In 1988 a substantial number of General Synod members supported a Private Members' motion calling for a debate on the issue. In response to all these factors, the Liturgical Commission produced their report GS 859 *Making Women Visible* in 1988. The main concern of that report was to consider possible changes to the text of the ASB. But in doing so, it considered some of the more general issues attaching to Inclusive Language.

The report acknowledges that "in parts of secular culture, sensitivity to the use of male terms to include both genders has increased over the last ten years....The term sexist has been applied to features (of a given language) that exclude, insult or trivialise women." (1) It acknowledges that at points "in the ASB its language is felt by many to be insensitive to the presence of women". (1) We have already seen one example. Two others are, "for us men and our salvation" from the Nicene Creed in the ASB and "that men may honour one another and seek the common good" from Rite A in the ASB. However, the Liturgical Commission was careful to argue in *Making Women Visible* that this was a complex issue.

> "Our assumption is that liturgical language should be responsive to the way language is understood, and that great care should be taken not to alienate Christians from worship by language which they regard as offensive. At the same time we do not think linguistic usage is uniform in England. Terms that are heard as excluding women in one context may not be open to such misunderstanding in another." (4)

One of the interesting things, from the point of view of this thesis, is that the report makes it clear that this interest in Inclusive Language was not limited to the Church of England, nor indeed to England itself. In 1981 the United Church of Canada issued a report on language and gender called *Bad Language in Church*. The Anglican Province of New Zealand had produced a new Prayer Book in which inclusive language was used in a thorough-going way. In 1985 the General Convention of the Episcopal Church of the USA (ECUSA) had directed its Standing Liturgical Commission to prepare inclusive language texts for the regular services of the Church. There was also an ecumenical dimension.

The 1984 Methodist Conference accepted a proposal that a leaflet listing recommended changes should be made available and included with all new copies of the *The Methodist Service Book*. The 1986 Conference called for further consideration of the issue. In addition, we have already seen the significance of the internationally and ecumenically agreed ICET texts in the compilation of the ASB. The successor Roman Catholic organisation ICEL (The International Commission for English in the Liturgy) issued a policy statement in 1980. This included detailed instructions prohibiting the use of certain "sexist" terms for any liturgical assembly in which women would be participating. It also discouraged the use of other generic terms which were perceived to exclude women. Although this could not be said to be a world-wide movement, it is a movement which stretches across the English-speaking world and has a clear ecumenical dimension. Throughout this thesis, such developments have been cited as evidence for the operation of Globalization.

The Chairman's Preface to *Making Women Visible* considered its own task in offering possible alternative texts for the ASB. It concluded that in "the longer term the way forward lies in attempting a proper balance between male and female in new liturgical work rather than ad hoc adaptations of existing texts." (vi) The main area of concern here was to look forward to the production of the successor book to the ASB, which is now to be called *Common Worship* and will be brought into use in 2001. However, the first 'new liturgical work' to be produced subsequent to this report was GS 899, the report form of *Patterns for Worship*. In *Making Women Visible* the Liturgical Commission said that language

> "is fluid and words have often changed their meanings and associations. The Christian Church cannot simply take a stand against such change and recognises the formative influenceof the language used in worship. This means that it must try to be sensitive to changes in language, to make allowances for the feelings of those men and women who find certain usages unhelpful or offensive, and to be responsible for influencing the way Christians think."(22)

It is, therefore, to *Patterns for Worship* that we now turn to see if there are indications that this interest in these issues, and particularly the concern for inclusive language, was applied.

In doing so, it will be argued here that the principles embodied in *Making Women Visible* were established in *Patterns for Worship* in four distinct ways. The first is by the excision, with one notable exception, of all male terms intended to include both genders. Not only is the use of male terms seemingly deliberately avoided. Although there is no statement that this was the policy in drafting and assembling the texts, that was the outcome. In addition, some well-known texts have been changed to accord with this principle. For instance, the Confession at the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer begins: "Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Maker of all things, Judge of all men..." (302). A version of this appears in *Patterns for Worship*, but in the following amended form: "Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all *people*..." (1989: 125) Similarly, the standard Confession in the ASB, used in Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, Rite A and the Confirmation Service, begins: "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we have sinned against you and against our fellow men..." (61) Once more an amended version of this appears in *Patterns for Worship,* in The Service of the Word, as follows: "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we have sinned against you and against our *neighbour*..."(1989: 37) This particular change to the text of the ASB was recommended by the Liturgical Commission in their report *Making Women Visible*.

The one exception to this excision of male terms to include both genders is the phrase, "for us men and for our salvation", which appears in the Nicene Creed. But this excision is also consistent with the line taken by the Liturgical Commission in *Making Women Visible*. The then Chairman of the Commission, commenting on that part of the Nicene Creed in his Preface to *Making Women Visible*, said, "These are doctrinal issues which need to be weighed carefully before changes are made: this is a sensitive area. The House of Bishops has decided not to sanction an alteration in line 17 of the Nicene Creed." (vi) With this one exception, therefore, it is argued here that the principles embodied in *Making Women Visible* have been implemented in *Patterns for Worship* by the excision of male terms for both genders.

The second way in which the principles of *Making Women Visible* were put into practice in *Patterns for Worship* was through the terms used in replacement for those male terms. In general they are deliberately gender neutral. The Church is described as God's 'people'. As one of the permitted Confessions has it, "Lord

God, our redeemer, this is your world and we are your people..."(1989: 121) Those taking part in worship are God's 'children'. "Lord of Grace and truth, we confess our unworthiness to stand in your presence as your children..." (1989: 117) Worshippers are 'brothers and sisters'. "Jesus said, Before you offer your gift, go and be reconciled. As brothers and sisters in God's family, we come together to ask our Father for forgiveness." (1989: 116) In the final published version of *Patterns for Worship*, what in earlier texts might have termed 'mankind' or 'man' becomes 'humanity'. "Jesus Christ, son of man, drawing humanity into the life of God..." (1995: 74) Or it becomes 'humankind'. "Lord of the Harvest, you have created the universe by your eternal Word and have blessed humankind in making us stewards of the earth..."(1995: 78) In these ways, it is argued that the principles embodied in *Making Women Visible* and particularly the interest in inclusive language are established in *Patterns for Worship* by the replacement of male terms with others which are gender neutral.

The third way in which the principles of *Making Women Visible* were put into practice in *Patterns for Worship* relates to the use of biblical texts. In a number of places, texts for services developed for *Patterns for Worship* were attributed to specific biblical texts. The translation of a number of those biblical texts was then done in ways which accord with the principles of inclusive language. For instance, one of the possible Introductions to the Peace says: "Blessed are those who make peace: they shall be called sons and daughters of God." (1989: 234) *Patterns for Worship* attributes this to Matthew 5:9. The point of interest about this text is that the original Greek does not support the inclusion of the word 'daughters'. The original Greek has the word "huioi", which can only carry the meaning 'sons', but clearly the writers of *Patterns* have taken this to be one of those instances where a male term is used for both men and women and so they make it inclusive and it becomes 'sons and daughters'. There are other examples. One of the invitations to Confession in the final published version of *Patterns for Worship* says, "The grace of God has dawned upon the world with healing for all." (1995: 38) This is atributed to Titus 2:11. The word in the Greek original, which is translated 'for all' in *Patterns,* is 'anthrowpois'. In the more traditional translations of the bible that would almost certainly have been translated 'for mankind' or 'for all mankind' and, indeed, it is the latter which appears in the Revised English Bible, published in 1992. However, the Liturgical Commission has clearly decided that that would be another instance in which a masculine term was being used to represent both genders and so it has opted

for the gender neutral "for all". It is argued that this is the third way in which the principles set out in *Making Women Visible* have been incorporated into *Patterns for Worship*.

For the fourth way in which those principles were incorporated into *Patterns*, it is necessary to return to *Making Women Visible*. In the Introduction and Summary the Liturgical Commission say that recommending

> "ways of adapting the text of the ASB is not necessarily the most creative way of engaging with the concerns that have given rise to this debate. Therefore some supplementary texts are set out in Chapter 5 that could be used within the services of the ASB. These seek to draw on feminine imagery in scripture and tradition so as to allow the force of such feminine imagery to be felt without going beyond scripture in a way that is controversial or speculative."(4).

Chapter 5 of the report set out a series of sentences from the bible to be used at the beginning of Communion services, some Postcommunion sentences and some Collects - short prayers - using feminine imagery. In general these were not included in *Patterns for Worship*. However, Chapter 5 of *Making Women Visible* also included four new Canticles or Scriptural Songs, which used feminine imagery. An example of such imagery is: "Jesus, as a mother you gather your people to you; you are gentle with us as a mother with her children..."(59). These five Canticles were included in *Patterns for Worship* as 'A Song of Wisdom' (1989: 222), 'The Promise of the New Jerusalem' (1989: 225), 'A Song of Anselm' (1989: 228) and 'A Song of Pilgrimage' (1989: 229). In this fourth way and broader way, the principles set out in *Making Women Visible* were incorporated into *Patterns for Worship*.

In its 1985 report, *The Worship of the Church*, the Standing Committee of the General Synod raised the issue of Inclusive Language. This issue was reported upon in much greater detail in the Liturgical Commission's report, *Making Women Visible*. It has been argued here that *Patterns for Worship* embodies the concerns and recommendations of that report in four ways. First, male terms intended to include both genders are excised, with the one exception in the Nicene Creed. Second, the terms used in replacement for the excised male terms are gender neutral. Third, biblical texts are translated in ways sympathetic

to Inclusive Language and finally new texts incorporating feminine imagery are included in *Patterns for Worship*.

It has already been argued that the interest in Inclusive Language in much of the English-speaking world and ecumenically across denominations is evidence of the operation of Globalization. In addition when considering the impact of Culture Shift in the fourth chapter of this thesis, some space was allocated to setting out the change in gender roles and perceptions arising from the change from Materialist to Postmaterialist values. It is now argued that the developments in the text of *Patterns for Worship* set out above are clearly illustrative of that Culture Shift working through the liturgy of the Church of England. We have also seen in chapter three that Kenneth Thompson argues that one of the beneficial results of Postmodernity could be the encompassing of 'feminine' qualities. Certainly, the feminist critique has been one of the features of the Postmodern world. Jim McGuigan points out that the feminist, Donna Haraway, "sees the theoretical and practical task as being one of imagining a world without gender" (McGuigan 1999: 82). It is argued here that this influence is at work in *Patterns for Worship* and that here is evidence for the operation of Postmodernity as well as Culture Shift and Globalization.

I. CONCLUSION

The publication of *Patterns for Worship*, both in its report form, GS 898, and in its final book form, raised with great clarity a number of issues for the Church of England. Some of them were already inherent in the ASB, while some of them were new. There was a determination to take seriously the recommendations about worship in *Faith In The City*. This meant accepting the report's championing of local cultures. It has been argued that this speaks of that pluralism and framentation which accompies Globalization and Postmodernity. In addition, we note that the Liturgical Commission accepted and worked with the recommendations and the outlook of the report and thus willingly accepted the ethos of the report.

This acceptance of the concern for local cultures, along with the directory nature of the book resulted in issues which were already inherent in the ASB being raised with greater clarity and sharpness. The question of Common Prayer and how it could continue once more raised issues about identity in the same way that opposition to the ASB had raised those same issues. It has been argued in

some detail in this thesis that this issue is seen as being related once more to Globalization and Postmodernity.

There were other issues which came out of these same developments. The traditional authority of the Bishop is changed, even undermined. This is particularly the case in relation to his role in establishing consistency and orthodoxy of doctrine. Alongside this was the delegation of what had been the Bishop's authority to individual clergy and parishes. It has been argued that this, too, is part of that radical questioning of all authorities and the insistence on freedom or autonomy, which is associated with Postmodernity. It also has real implications for doctrinal orthodoxy, so that there is no longer a totalizing metanarrative for the Church of England. Texts can be used in a 'pick and mix' way and in many different contexts. This breaking of the metanarrative and the way in which texts can be used also speaks of Postmodernity.

In addition, it has been shown that there was a concern for Inclusive Language, which itself speaks of wider issues. Those wider issues are changes in gender roles and perceptions which come directly out of the move from Materialist to Postmaterialist values associated with Culture Shift. In short, it has been argued that *Patterns for Worship* brings into play all those sociological forces with which this thesis has been concerned. Finally, it has been apparent throughout that the Church of England has recognised the power of these forces, even if not entirely aware of their specific nature, and has consciously made decisions which have meant that it has gone with the grain of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. It is with this consideration of *Patterns for Worship* that this second case study ends. As in the case of *Patterns for Worship*, it has been argued throughout this study of the Church of England's reform of its liturgy that it has been possible to discern the operation of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift.

GLOBALIZATION, POSTMODERNITY, CULTURE SHIFT AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

CONCLUSION

This thesis took as its starting point the assertion that the classical theories of the sociology of religion are essentially addressing the problems of the late nineteenth century. Whilst not arguing that they have nothing to say to our present circumstances, the thesis began by agreeing with James Beckford when he said in 1985 that "(w)hat is now required, therefore, is a greater sensitivity to questions about the relationship between societal change and religious change. Only in this way can we hope to understand the wider significance of the organizational adaptations which have begun to be documented in recent publications" (1985: 134).

Using this as a starting point, the thesis set out to consider three major forces reckoned to be at work in the world now; Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift. It was stressed that it was *not* being claimed that these three forces sum up all that is at work in the world now. Nor did the thesis propose a general theory, for as Wade Clark Roof puts it, "contemporary sociology of religion is frustrated in its efforts to study religious change in the modern world....Virtually everyone admits that change has occurred in the twentieth century, yet few agree on specific patterns or implications" (1985: 75).

The thesis then set out to show those forces at work in the life of the Church of England through two discrete studies. The first was an investigation of the Church of England's relations with New Religious Movements (NRMs). The

second was a consideration of the way in which the Church of England has reformed its liturgy, with particular regard to the texts. The reform of the liturgy was viewed from the perspective of two major documents, *The Alternative Service Book 1980* and *Patterns for Worship*. These two studies were given a clear and limiting timescale, concerning themselves mainly with events taking place in the 1970s and 1980s. The rationale for choosing these two particular studies was that they enabled the actions of the Church of England to be considered, on the one hand, from the perspective of dealings with other religious bodies external to itself, and on the other, from one aspect of its internal life, that is its liturgy. This is not to say that those two perspectives are mutually exclusive, for the dealings with NRMs clearly have implications for the internal life of the Church of England, while its liturgy is also one of the ways in which it presents itself to the world. In addition the thesis sought to show, through these particular studies, how the Church of England had coped with the sociological forces under consideration.

Because of this basic structure, the thesis has been divided into three major parts. The first was itself divided into three major chapters and dealt with the sociology. In chapters two and three of the thesis Globalization and Postmodernity were described from a number of perspectives and then the expected effects of such forces on religious institutions were set out. In chapter four a shift from 'Materialist' to 'Postmaterialist' values in advanced industrial societies was argued for. This shift was given the shorthand name of 'Culture Shift' and its implications for religious institutions were also considered. It was argued throughout that these sociological forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and 'Culture Shift' would have clear implications for the Church of England in British society since they reflect major changes in British society, along with that of much of the rest of the world.

The remaining nine chapters of the thesis have argued that, through the two studies, it is indeed possible to demonstrate the operation of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift in the life of the Church of England. It is not intended to repeat all of the detailed arguments here, that would negate the purpose of those nine chapters. But examples will be given to illustrate the argument.

Fundamental impacts of Globalization and Postmodernity revolve around the

effects of pluralism and relativization. Pluralism has been illustrated in a number of ways. One, in particular, was seen in relation to opposition to the ASB. In the section of chapter eleven dealing with the technical matter of the Eucharist and sacrifice, it was argued that during the twentieth century there was a plural approach to that technical matter of sacrifice in the eucharist. No one view gained ascendancy. As a result, David Glover could say that "at least to some degree all (these plural) notions of sacrifice can be seen as expressed in one or other" (1993: 61) of the four eucharistic prayers in the ASB. This is but one example of pluralism illustrated in both studies in the thesis and is argued to be illustrative of the operation of Globalization and Postmodernity. Indeed, because of the way it uses its constituent texts, the ASB was argued to be a 'postmodern document'.

So far as relativization is concerned, it was noted in chapter six that the Church of England was no longer considered to be the appropriate body to give advice about NRMs. It would be considered to be biased and so an 'independent' body was thought necessary, whereas in the past the Church of England would undoubtedly have been considered authoritative. Indeed, this brings to light another aspect of relativization related to Niklas Luhmann's theory of functional differentiation. This change of status for the Church of England illustrates Peter Beyer's argument that the positions of institutions within given cultures are relativized by functional differentiation so that they "no longer hold the self-evident position they did in societies dominated by segmentary or hierarchical differentiation." (Beyer 1994: 67)

Equally, in chapter nine the advice given for dealing with NRMs by the BMU in their report, GS Misc 317 *New Religious Movements*, was said to be appropriate for dealing with all religious traditions, whether NRM or not. In this way, all religious traditions were placed on the same footing. It was argued that once again, this is directly related to Luhmann's theory of functional differentiation in relation to Globalization. In particular this is concerned with the way this theory posits all religious traditions as being of the same value in that all religious institutions are ways of managing selection and contingency. This is also seen as evidence for Postmodernity. It is, for instance, Robin Gill's view that upholders "of various types of apparently incompatible particularisms survive together in a postmodern society side by side...in reality respecting each others' particularisms." (1992: 59). These are examples of the ways in which it has been

argued that Globalization and Postmodernity can be seen as operating in the life of the Church of England through pluralism and relativization.

Closely allied to these two factors arising from Globalization and Postmodernity, there is fragmentation which is also seen as arising from these sociological forces. Clear evidence of fragmentation has been seen in both the studies provided in this thesis. The *Faith in the City* report insisted on emphasising the importance of local cultures over against a unified British culture - or even Anglican culture. This very fragmented view was taken up in *Patterns for Worship*. In the Introduction to the 1995 book, the Bishop of Salisbury, David Stancliffe, said:

> The "needs of the UPA parish for worship reflecting local culture...are not best met by a group of experts at the centre laying down all the words of the liturgy. They are better met by creating the framework and the environment which will enable a new generation of worship leaders to create genuinely local liturgy..." (1995: 2).

This issue of fragmentation was further developed in considering the changing nature of common prayer and in addressing the issue of whether anything approaching a traditional notion of common prayer can continue.

A further issue which comes out of Postmodernity, and which has been considered in this thesis, is the difficulty of making claims to truth in a postmodern society because of the apparent collapse of metanarratives. The work of Lyotard was cited. It was further argued by Robin Gill that religious truth in a postmodern society can only be understood within the context of the individual believing faith community and absolute claims to religious truth cannot be made outside of that context. As illustration of this, an unwillingness to make claims to truth has been noted on more than one occasion in this thesis. For instance, Dr Saxbee, in introducing his private members' motion at the November Group Sessions in 1979, said:

> "We are not about beliefs here. I yield to no-one in my desire to protect the right of individuals to believe the strangest things."
>
> (Report of Proceedings: 1277)

The same sort of concern to avoid being seen to assert particular beliefs as 'true' are indicated by part of Frederick Hazell's speech on behalf of the BMU in the same debate. He said: "...our way would avoid discriminating against any religion on the ground of its beliefs..." (Report of Proceedings: 1281).

A further area considered has been that of ecumenism. It was noted in chapter two that this movement is specified by Roland Robertson as indicative of the 'Take off phase' of Globalization in his scheme of development. While Malcolm Waters saw the burst of ecumenism in the 1970s as indicative of the continuing influence of Globalization. Ecumenism has been seen to be influential in both the studies in this thesis. The House of Bishops, for instance, accepted the BMU's recommendation that it should work closely with the British Council of Churches in developing a stance on the issue of NRMs. While the influence of the Joint Liturgical Council and ICET on the text of the ASB has been argued in some detail. This, once more, has been seen as illustrative of the operation of Globalization in the life of the Church of England.

Postmodernity also has implications for identity. In chapter 3, David Harvey was quoted as saying, "Preoccupation with the fragmentation and instability of language and discourses carries over directly for instance...into a certain concept of personality." (1990: 53) Harvey considered that this focussed on 'schizophrenia' and it was noted the Postmodernity is concerned with the 'de-centred self'. That there was evidence of this impact of Postmodernity and associated Globalization was argued for throughout chapter twelve dealing with opposition to the displacement of the Book of Common Prayer by the ASB. Opponents of the ASB were concerned about its impact on the identity of the individual church member, the identity of individual churches, the identity of the Church of England, the identity of the nation and even the identity of the English-speaking world. This, too, is illustrative of the operation of Postmodernity and associated Globalization.

One final area mentioned here as having been shown in this thesis as offering evidence of those two sociological forces in the life of the Church of England is taken from *Patterns for Worship.* This relates to the authority of bishops in establishing consistency and orthodoxy in doctrine. It was argued that *Patterns for Worship* resulted in a diffusion of authority in significant ways and in particular 'down' to individual parishes, parochial clergy and others now

'assembling' worship services. Richard Bauckham made the link with Postmodernity in saying that:

> "in the modern period all religous authorities suffered a rationalist critique...Postmodernist people believe in all kinds of...irrational things - astrology, UFOs, crystals, reincarnation and so on. But they reject any kind of authority beyond their free preference, which is often exercised in a pick-and-mix choice of seemingly...incompatible elements." (Bauckham 1999: 9)

So far as 'Culture Shift' is concerned, a number of illustrations have been given in the thesis. Two particular examples will be given here to illustrate the way in which the argument has been made. In chapter eleven some space was devoted to considering the introduction of modern language into the experiments in liturgy in the Church of England in the 1970s and its subsequent consolidation into the formal liturgy in the ASB in 1980. That this development really was attempting to address a shift in culture in England was illustrated with a number of extracts from the debate on approval for the experimental Series 3 Communion Service at the Autumn Group Sessions of General Synod in 1971. Mrs J M Myland is quoted here.

> "I do not live in an ivory tower, but I do live half way up a very steep hill in one of the most heavily industrialised areas of the country, and I am more and more impressed by the apparent impossibility of making the Christian faith and belief in God have any meaning to the majority of people among whom I live...If any of them do have cause to come into Church for an act of worship, so often the language which we use merely confirms their view that Christianity has nothing to say to them in their lives and as they live them." (Report of Proceedings: 623 - 4)

The second example of that 'Culture Shift' with which this thesis has been concerned relates to language again, but this time to the use of Inclusive Language in *Patterns for Worship*. Examples were given of four ways in which the recommendations of the Liturgical Commission's report *Making Women Visible* were incorporated into both the 1989 report version of *Patterns for Worship* and the final 1995 book version. In chapter thirteen, this adoption of Inclusive Language and other recommendations from *Making Women Visible*

was directly related to the changes in gender roles and perceptions seen as accompanying a shift from 'Materialist' to 'Postmaterialist' values in chapter four.

In all the ways indicated above and more, and in much more detail in the various sections of the dissertation, it has been argued that Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift, as described in chapters two, three and four of this thesis, can be seen at work in the life of the Church of England. This is seen in the Church of England's formal and official response to NRMs and in the process and texts involved in the reform of its liturgy. These forces can be seen at work in the beginnings of the Church of England's response to NRMs, in the setting up of INFORM, in the setting up of a group of ecumenical advisers and in the advice given to them and in the General Synod Report, GS Misc 317, on NRMs and in the debates surrounding Dr Saxbee's Private Member's Motion. These forces can be seen operating in the work on liturgy in the earlier years of this century, in *The Alternative Service Book 1980*, in the opposition to that book and in *Patterns for Worship*. It has also been argued that in its formal responses to NRMs, usually through the BMU, and in the reform of its liturgy the Church of England has accepted the reality of those forces and has worked with them.

This thesis ends with a brief comment on the way in which the Church of England meets the challenges of its present circumstances. Although it has been argued that the Church has generally accepted the reality of the forces of Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift and worked with them, it has also been pointed out from time to time that to do so was not always a conscious decision. We may have little doubt that the C of E, through the work of the BMU and the General Synod, believed it was dealing with the particular problem of how to respond to New Religious Movements - almost as if that were a distinct issue in isolation from others. It must, of course, be acknowledged that at one level and in one important respect that was, indeed, the problem it was addressing. However, throughout this thesis the point has been made that behind this presenting "problem" there were other, wider-ranging and powerful issues with which the Church of England was having to contend. Very similar things might be said about the way in which the Church of England has approached reform of its liturgy.

No attempt has been made in this dissertation to comment on whether the Church of England made the "right" decisions and "right" choices in the actions it

took in responding to NRMs and in reforming its liturgy - that was not the concern of this dissertation. However, what may reasonably be concluded is that if the Church of England, or any other institution for that matter, conducts its business seeing only the presenting and surface problem in isolation and not acknowledging and confronting consciously the sorts of underlying, powerful forces with which this dissertation has been concerned, then inappropriate decisions may well be made.

Taking these forces into account, it seems unlikely, for instance, that the continuing problem of declining attendances can be addressed simply by changing presentation. Professor Steve Bruce has something pertinent to say about this when discussing reasons for not attending church.

> "Assertions that 'I'm too busy' and 'the services are boring' need to be understood in context. We have far more leisure time and far less tiring jobs than our ancestors and, unlike the case in the Middle Ages, services are at least conducted in a language we understand! Clergymen who think that acoustic guitars will draw in the unchurched are rather missing the point." (Bruce 1995: 47)

Steve Bruce's argument is about lack of faith, but this thesis has argued that the point is that there are other profound forces, forces like Globalization, Postmodernity and Culture Shift, at work. This thesis has argued that the operation of those sociological forces can be demonstrated in the life of the Church of England. It is appropriate, therefore, to end the dissertation where it began by reiterating James Beckford's concern that there should be "a greater sensitivity toward the internal and external conditions affecting religious organizations than was displayed in the classics." (1985: 131)

WORKS CITED

Abercrombie, Baker, Brett & Foster: 'Superstition and Religion: The God Of The Gaps'. *A Sociological Yearbook Of Religion 1970*. Eds. Martin, D. & Hill, M. London: SCM Press, 1970

Abercrombie, Hill & Turner: *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology, 3rd Edition*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994

Archbishop of Canterbury's Commission on Urban Priority Areas. *Faith In The City*. London: Church House Publishing, 1985

Archbishops' Commission. Report. *Church and State*. London: CIO, 1970

Arendt, Hannah in ed. P A Schilp: *The Philosophy of Karl Jaspers*. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1981

Barker, Dr Eileen: 'New Religious Movements: Yet Another Great Awakening?'. *The Sacred In A Secular Age*. Ed. Hammond, Phillip E. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985. 36-57

- - -. *New Religious Movements*. London: HMSO, 1989

Bauckham, Richard: *Scripture and Authority Today*. Cambridge: Grove Books Limited, 1999

Beckford, James. 'Religious Organizations'. *The Sacred in A Secular Age*. Ed. Hammond, Phillip E. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985. 125-138

- - -. 'Preface & Introduction'. *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change*. Ed. Beckford, James. London: SAGE Publications Ltd/UNESCO, 1991.

- - -. *Religion and Advanced Industrial Society*. London: Routledge, 1992

Beckford, James & Levasseur, Martine. 'New Religious Movements in Western Europe'. *New Religious Movements and Rapid Social Change*. Ed. Beckford, James. London: SAGE Publications Ltd/UNESCO, 1991.

Beyer, Peter: *Religion And Globalization*. London: SAGE Publications, 1994

Board for Mission and Unity, The. *New Religious Movements*. Report GS Misc 317. London: General Synod of the Chruch of England, 1989

Board of Mission, The. *New Religious Movements: Diocesan Advisers*. Document BOM046, September 1992

- - -. *Communities & Buildings*. Report GS 1185. London: Church House Publishing, 1996

Brockway, Allan, R., and Rajashekar, J., Paul. Eds. *New Religious Movements And The Churches*. Geneva, Switzerland: WCC Publications, 1987

Bruce, Steve. *Religion In Modern Britain*. Oxford. Oxford University Press, 1995

Buchanan, Colin: *Latest Liturgical Revision in the Church of England - 1978-84*. Bramcote, Nottingham: Grove Books, 1984

- - -. *What Did Cranmer Think He Was Doing?* (2nd Edition). Bramcote, Nottingham: Grove Books, 1982

Buchanan, C., Lloyd, T., & Miller, H. *Anglican Worship Today*. London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1980

Callinicos, Alex: *Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999

Clarke, Peter B.: 'The Occult And Newly Religious In Modern Society'. *Religion Today* Vol. 7 No. 3. (Spring 1992)

- - -. 'The Appeal Of Non-Christian Religions In Contemporary Britain'. *Religion Today*. Vol. 8 No 1 (Autumn/Winter 1992)

- - -. 'The Appeal Of Non-Christian Religions In Contemporary Britain: Part II'. *Religion Today*. Vol. 8 No. 2 (Spring 1993)

Cockerham, William, C.: *The Global Society*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1995

Cranmer, Thomas: 'Concerning the Service of the Church'. *The Book of Common Prayer*. London: William Clowes & Sons, 1968 edition. 11-12

Cuming, G., J.: *A History of Anglican Liturgy. 2nd Edition.* London: The Macmillan Press, 1982

Davie, Grace: *Religion In Britain Since 1945.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1994

Durkheim, Emile: *The Division of Labor in Society*. (Trans. George Simpson) New York: The Free Press, 1964

- - -. *The Elementary Forms Of The Religious Life* (2nd Edn.) Trans. Joseph Swain. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976

Edwards, David, L. *Christian England*. Vol. 2. London: Fount Publications, 1984

Fenwick, John and Spinks, Bryan. *Worship In Transition*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1977

Gellner, Ernest : *Postmodernism, Reason And Religion*. London: Routledge, 1992

General Synod, Autumn Group Sessions, 1971: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 2 No. 3. London: CIO, 1971

General Synod, July Group Sessions, 1973: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 4 No. 2. London: CIO, 1973

- - -. February Group Sessions, 1979: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 10 No. 1. London: CIO, 1979

- - -. November Group Sessions, 1979: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 10 No. 3. London: CIO, 1979

- - -. November Group Sessions, 1983: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 14 No. 3. London: CIO, 1983

- - -. November Group Sessions, 1989: *Report of Proceedings*. Vol. 20 No. 3. London: CIO, 1989

Giddens, Anthony: *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1979

- - -. *The Consequences Of Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990

- - -. *Globalization.* Reith Lecture. BBC Radio 4. London. 6 April 1999

Gill, Robin. *Moral Communities.* Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1992

- - -. *The Myth Of The Empty Church.* London: SPCK, 1993

Glover, David. 'Liturgy and Doctrine'. *Liturgy In Dialogue*. Eds. Bradshaw, P., and Spinks, B. London: SPCK, 1993. 50-67

Grenz, Stanley, J. *A Primer On Postmodernism*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1996

Habermas, Jurgen. 'Modernity - An Incomplete Project'. *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays in Postmodern Culture*. Ed. Foster, Hal. Port Townsend, Washington: Bay Press, 1983. 3-15

Hall, Stuart. 'The Question of Cultural Identity'. *Modernity And Its Futures*. Eds. Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew, T. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992. 273 - 316

Hammond, Phillip E: 'Introduction'. *The Sacred In A Secular Age.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985. 1 - 6

Hansard. 8 April 1981. London: HMSO, 1981. Col. 959

- - -. 3 February 1988. London: HMSO, 1988. Cols 973 - 978

Harvey, David. *The Condition Of Postmodernity*. Cambridge MA & Oxford UK: Blackwell Publishers, 1990

Hazell, The Ven. Frederick. "New Religious Movements." International Conference on New Religions and the New Europe, London School of Economics, 25-28 March 1993

Held, David, McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. & Perraton, J. *Global Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999

Hunter, James, D. 'What Is Modernity? Historical Roots and Contemporary Features'. *Faith and Modernity*. Eds Samson, Philip, Samuel, Vinay & Sugden, Chris. Oxford: Regnum Books, 1994. 12-28

'"I Helped Students to Escape", says Bishop' *The Standard and Evening News*. 8 June, 1983. 6

Inform: *Inform*. Leaflet 1994

- - -. *Opus Dei*. Leaflet 1994

- - -. *Rajneeshism*. Leaflet 1994

- - -. *Searching*. Leaflet 1994

- - -. *The Family*. Leaflet 1994

- - -. *The London Church of Christ*. Leaflet 1994

Ingelhart, Ronald: *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977

- - -. *Culture Shift In Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990

Jacques, Martin: 'Annual Discourse of the Royal British Institute of Architects' *Independent Newspaper*. 26 October, 1994

Jantzen, Grace: 'Mysticism and New Religious Movements'. *Religion Today*. Vol. 5 No 3 (Summer 1990)

Jasper, R. C. D. *The Development of Anglican Liturgy 1662 - 1980*. London: SPCK, 1989

Jasper, R. C. D. & Bradshaw, Paul, F. *A Companion To The Alternative Service Book*. London: SPCK, 1986

Jones, Douglas: Introduction. *Lent, Holy Week and Easter*. London: Church House Publishing, 1986. 1 - 4

Joyson - Hicks Bart., D.L., M.P., The Rt. Hon. Sir William: *The Prayer Book Crisis*. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928

Katz, Richard S. : 'Materialists and Postmaterialists: Different Viewpoints or Different Worlds'. *Eurobarometer: The Dynamics of European Public Opinion*. Ed. Karlheinz Reif and Ronald Inglehart. London: Macmillan, 1991

Kellner, Douglas and Steven Best: *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations*. London: Macmillan Education Ltd, 1991

Lifton, Robert, J.: 'The Protean Style'. *The Fontana Postmodernism Reader.* Hammersmith, London: Fontana Press, 1996. 126 - 131

Liturgical Commission, The: *The Alternative Service Book 1980: A Commentary by the Liturgical Commission.* London: CIO Publishing, 1980

- - -. *Report GS 859. Making Women Visible.* London: General Synod of the Church of England, 1988

- - -. *Report GS 898. Patterns For Worship.* London: Church House Publishing, 1989

Luhmann, Niklas: *The Differentiation of Society.* Trans. Stephen Holmes & Charles Larmore. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982

- - -. *Religious Dogmatics and the Evolution of Societies.* Trans. Peter Beyer. Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989

Lyons, Dr Gerald: 'Globalisation Makes the World Go Round'. *The Observer Newspaper.* 6 November, 1994

Lyotard, Jean-Francois: *The Postmodern Condition: A Report On Knowledge.* Trans. Bennington & Massumi. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984

McGrath, Alister, E.: *The SPCK Handbook of Anglican Theologians.* London: SPCK, 1998

McGrew; Anthony: 'A Global Society?'. *Modernity And Its Futures.* Eds. Stuart Hall, David Held and Tony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992. 61 - 102

McGuigan, Jim. *Modernity and Postmodern Culture.* Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999

MacKenzie, Ursula: 'Children of God'. *Fair News.* Spring 1993. 5-6

- - -. 'The Annual Open Meeting'. *Fair News.* Summer 1993. 1-2

- - -. 'TM'. *Fair News.* Summer 1993. 9-10

McLennan, Gregor: 'The Enlightenment Project Revisited'. *Modernity And Its Futures.* Eds. Stuart Hall, David Held and Tony McGrew. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992. 327-355

Martin, Bernice. 'From Pre to Postmodernity in Latin America: The Case of Pentecostalism'. *Religion, Modernity and Postmodernity.* Ed. Heelas, Paul with Martin, David and Morris, Paul. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1998. 102 - 146

Martin, David. *Breaking The Image.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1980

- - -. 'Personal Identity and a Changed Church.' *No Alternative: The Prayer Book Controversy.* Eds. Martin, D., Mullen, P. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981

Martin, David. *Forbidden Revolutions*. London: SPCK, 1996

Marx, Karl & Engels, Friedrich; 'The Communist Manifesto'. *Revolutions Of 1848*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973

Middleton, J. Richard & Walsh, Brian, J. *Truth Is Stranger Than It Used To Be*. London: SPCK, 1995

Miller, James. *The Passion Of Michel Foucault.* London: Harper Collins, 1993

Moon, The Revd Sun Myung. *New Vision For World Peace*. New York: Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity, 1988

Parsons, Gerald. 'The Rise of Pluralism in the Church of England'. *Religion, State, and Society in Modern Britain*. Ed. Badham, Paul. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989

- - -. *The Growth of Religious Diversity* (Vol. 1). London: Routledge, 1993

Patterns for Worship. London: Church House Publishing, 1995

Perham, Michael. Introduction. *The Renewal of Common Prayer*. Ed. Perham, M. London: SPCK/Church House Publishing, 1993. 3 - 8

Rajashekar, J., Paul. 'Introduction'. *New Religious Movements And The Churches*. Eds Brockway, A., & Rajshekar, J., Paul. Geneva, Switzerland: WCC Publications, 1987. ix - xix

Reader, John. *Beyond All Reason.* Cardiff: Aureus Publishing, 1997

Reardon, The Revd. Canon Martin. 'New Religious Movements'. Letter to Diocesan and Area Bishops. 26 May 1988

- - -. Personal Interview. 24 February 1994

Robertson, Roland. 'Mapping The Global Condition: Gobalization As The Central Concept'. *Global Culture*. Ed. Mike Featherstone London: SAGE Publications, 1990. 15 -30

- - -. *Globalization*. London: SAGE Publications, 1992

Robins, Kevin. 'Tradition and Translation: National Culture in its Global Context'. *Enterprise And Heritage: Crosscurrents Of National Culture*. Eds Corner, J. and Harvey, S. London: Routledge, 1991.

Roof, Wade Clark. 'The Study of Social Change in Religion'. *The Sacred in A Secular Age*. Ed. Hammond, Phillip E. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985. 75-89

Runcie, Robert. Prefatory Note. *Report GS898. Patterns For Worship*. London: Church House Publishing, 1989. v - viii

- - -. Commendation. *The Promise Of His Glory*. London: Church House Publishing, 1991. ix

Saliba, John, A. *Understanding New Religious Movements*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995

Slee, The Revd. Canon Colin. Personal Interview. 28 April 1994

Spinks, Bryan. 'Not So Common Prayer'. *The Renewal of Common Prayer*. Ed. Perham, M. London: SPCK/Church House Publishing, 1993. 55 - 67

- - -. & Fenwick, John. *Worship In Transition*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995

Stancliffe, David. Preface. *Patterns For Worship*. London: Church House Publishing, 1995. vii - ix

Standing Committee of the General Synod, The. *The Future Course of Liturgical Revision*. Report GS 161. London: General Synod of the Church of England, 1973

Stark, Rodney & Bainbridge, William. 'Networks of Faith: Interpersonal Bonds & Recruitment to Cults and Sects'. *The American Journal of Sociology*. Vol.85 No. 6

The Alternative Service Book 1980. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980

The Anglican-Roman Catholic Agreement on the Eucharist. London: SPCK, 1971. Section 5

The Book of Common Prayer. London: William Clowes, 1968 edition.

'The Secrets of the Secretive Sect'. *The Standard & Evening News*. 8 June 1983

Thompson, Kenneth. 'Social Pluralism and Postmodernity'. *Modernity And Its Futures*. Eds. Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew, T. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992. 221 - 255

United Nations. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.* 1998.<www.un.org/rights/50/decla.htm>

Vasey, Michael. 'Promoting a Common Core'. *The Renewal of Common Prayer*. Ed. Perham, M. London: SPCK/Church House Publishing, 1993. 81- 101

Walters, Malcolm. *Globalization*. London: Routledge, 1995

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (2nd Edn.) Trans. Talcott Parsons. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1976