

A photograph of the interior of a Gothic cathedral. The scene is filled with tall, narrow stained glass windows that allow light to filter through, creating a warm, golden glow. The architecture features pointed arches and ribbed vaulting. In the foreground, a group of people is standing in a line, facing towards the right. A man in a red cassock is prominent on the left. The overall atmosphere is solemn and reverent.

Rite of Election 2011,
Cathedral of the Most
Blessed Sacrament,
Detroit (Photo by Joe
Kohn, Courtesy of The
Michigan Catholic)

THE NEW EVANGELIZATION IN THE ARCHDIOCESE OF DETROIT AS AN INTRA-ECCLESIAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT

BY MICHAEL J. MCCALLION, PH.D.

INTRODUCTION

The New Evangelization (NE) can be understood as an intra-ecclesial social movement spurred on by the loss of Catholic identity since Vatican II. Given this situation, there exist tensions amongst ecclesial professionals, particularly between the ecclesial types “NE professionals” and “Vatican II professionals” (McCallion, Bennett-Carpenter, Maines 2012). I elaborate on that tension by delineating four theological orientations that differentiate these two types of ecclesial professionals before moving into the heart of the paper. The central discussion of the paper draws on Randal Collins’s “interaction ritual theory” and on Stephen Fuch’s social network theory to suggest that the NE professionals are the *new* primary agents of ecclesial change, replacing Vatican II professionals. In other words, there is an internal ecclesial movement away from the liberalizing, ecumenical, and de-devotional orientation of Vatican II toward the apparently more conservative, centralizing, Catholic identity-centered, and re-devotional orientation of the NE. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the *differences* between these two types as well as how they are *similar* from a social movement’s perspective.

EXPLAINING THE INTRA-ECCLESIAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT OF THE NEW EVANGELIZATION

Succinctly put, the NE is advancing because NE professionals have built a far more extensive, well connected, and intentional ecclesial social network(s) than their Vatican II professional counterparts whose networks are more varied, dispersed, taken for granted, and older. It is a sociological axiom that the more people are connected within a social network the more likely that network will grow. Given previous work (McCallion et al., 2012) showing that tensions exist between Vatican II and NE professionals, the question remains as to how intense the social connections among NE professionals are compared to those amongst Vatican II professionals.¹ Specifically, is the networking among NE professionals stronger than the connections among Vatican II professionals? If so, how do we measure that strength? Based on several years of qualitative fieldwork, the following is an attempt to answer these questions.

Many believe the NE is occurring now as a response to the socio-cultural, post-Vatican II condition of a *loss of Catholic identity* (as well as the “culture of death,” John Paul II). Contributing to this loss of identity were the theological energies given over to ecumenism (Wilde, 2007), the lessening of Catholic devotional practices (e.g. Marian devotions, Eucharistic adoration/exposition, etc.), the Protestantization of Catholic church architecture (white, statue-less spaces), and deemphasizing the authority of the Pope. The NE, on the other hand, is reclaiming Catholic identity by emphasizing Catholic devotional practices, Catholic church architecture (somewhat), proclaiming the importance of the Pope, and, in general, emotionally announcing that it is okay to be proud to be Catholic.

A popular work about the loss of Catholic identity as the central concern facing the church since Vatican II is Charles Morris’s monumental work *American Catholic* (1997), but many others have argued similarly (Duffy, 1992/2005; Dulles, 1985; Barron, 2000/2002; and most recently John Allen, 2009). In the end, the NE intra-ecclesial social movement is about restoring Catholic identity, as Pope John Paul II said, with great ardor and vigor.² The next section briefly delineates different theological emphases of the NE professionals and the Vatican II professionals toward the Pope, Church doctrine, ecclesiology (Church), and catechesis that distinguish these ecclesial types.

VATICAN II AND NEW EVANGELIZATION ECCLESIAL PROFESSIONALS

Methodologically, I am drawing on fieldwork and survey data from research in six parishes of the Archdiocese of Detroit (AOD) and interview data from ecclesial professionals working at Sacred Heart Major Seminary (SHMS) and Central Services of the Archdiocese of Detroit (McCallion & Bennett-Carpenter, 2009; McCallion et al., 2012). Early in the process of collecting interview data, it was apparent that a certain ecclesial and emotional momentum or moral force was operative among the NE professionals and *not* among the Vatican II professionals. I argue that this “moral force” has become an internal ecclesial social movement, and use Collins and Fuchs to sociologically explain this qualitative empirical observation. I also believe this is no small matter, given that many are arguing that the NE is the Church’s agenda for the 21st century and beyond (e.g., Weigel, 2013).

Max Weber (1922/1993) articulated the concept of *ideal types* that I use in describing Vatican II and NE ecclesial professionals. Ideal types are approximations of reality and are therefore useful in comparative analysis and theoretical speculation about an aspect or dimension of social reality. Weber used ideal types to articulate various types of authority (rational-legal, charismatic, patriarchal) and theologians to articulate various dimensions of Church life. Commonly understood as not being mutually exclusive (ideal types), some Vatican II professionals agree with some of what NE professionals proclaim and vice versa. Moreover, not only are these types not mutually exclusive but within each type there is variation: not all Vatican II types think alike, nor do all NE types. Nevertheless, these professional types have overall ecclesial theologies that

differ in that they have different centers of theological gravity leading them in different directions in their ministries, as the following examples of how each type views the Pope, doctrine, the Church, and catechesis show.

The Pope: For NE professionals, Pope John Paul II is particularly revered, but overall the Popes and the apostolic tradition are honored and spoken of highly. The hierarchy of the Church from Pope to cardinals to bishops to priests is shown great reverence and dignity, despite the abuses that have occurred within and beyond these ranks. The Magisterium is so revered that some wear the bracelet stating “What would the Pope say?” (WWPS), similar to the earlier popular bracelet that read “What would Jesus do?” (WWJD).

For Vatican II professionals, on the other hand, the Pope is recognized as the leader of the Church but more emphasis and moral respect is given to the College of Bishops as a community of leaders. Collegiality and community are the norms to be respected after Vatican II. Pope John Paul II, in their view, making many papal pronouncements without due process through his College of Bishops, is seen as authoritarian and against the spirit of Vatican II. Some Vatican II professionals were suspicious—even contemptuous—of the Pope and his authority (see Allen, 2009).

Doctrine and Tradition: For NE professionals, doctrine and Tradition have been given pride of place. Doctrine and Tradition are not seen as out of touch with contemporary culture but as wisdom passed down through the ages. This wisdom can inform and reform the Church of today if understood and honored. NE professionals will consult doctrine and Tradition first when grappling with a theological issue, not contemporary experience or contemporary theology. Moreover, they analyze doctrine/Tradition with a sense of loyalty and respect—not suspicion.

For Vatican II professionals, doctrine and Tradition are seen as guideposts—not as ends in themselves. Doctrine and Tradition need to be informed by contemporary times and consequently adapted or updated if necessary. In some cases, doctrines may have to be completely circumvented or reinterpreted. In other words, Church doctrine can be useful at times, but it can also be an obstacle in the process of inculturation or making the Church more relevant to contemporary culture—and therefore needs changing.

The Church: For NE professionals, the Vatican II document on the Church is interpreted mostly through the lens of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ. Through this interpretation the Church

is not described as the people of God with the laity occupying the central rank. Rather, starting with the Pope, the hierarchical nature of the Church is reinforced. The Church as Christ is emphasized and the ordained ministers are *in persona Christi* and hence assume an elevated status.

For Vatican II professionals, the document on the Church from Vatican II is mostly interpreted through the lens that sees the Church as the People of God. The emphasis is not on the hierarchy of the Church (Pope and bishops) but on the ordinary laity because of their baptism. Consequently, the theology of baptism is highlighted, with the laity belonging to the Church or occupying ministries in their parish first and foremost because of their baptism. What the parishioners want is what matters and the leaders of the Church should listen. Some bishops and priests even argued that the parish council should be given equal weight with the pastor; in other words, pastors needed to give greater weight to the *sensum fidelium*.

Catechesis: For NE professionals, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (1995) needs to be taught more deliberately and comprehensively. A more intentional apologetical catechesis is needed as well because Catholics do not know how to defend their faith. Two generations of Catholics have received watered-down, skim-milk style catechesis with the result being a host of Catholics who know very little about their Catholic faith. NE professionals suggest that “love” centered catechesis and Lectionary-based catechesis have failed. A more systematic catechesis about the doctrines of the Church is necessary and, in the process of this apologetic catechesis, greater attention must be given to the saints and devotional life of the Church.

For many Vatican II professionals, a Lectionary-based method of catechesis has become the norm. Lectionary-based catechesis does not forgo teaching doctrine but

its main focus is on the Sunday Lectionary readings and what these mean for our Catholic life today. This method of catechesis has a more ecumenical flavor rather than an apologetic one. This style of catechesis pays less attention to popular piety (saints and devotional life of the Church) and consequently focuses more on the sacramental life of the Church, especially the Eucharist.

Having now described these differences, the next section uses interaction ritual theory and network location theory to answer the question: which professional type is gaining momentum and influence in the Church today?



Interior, Cathedral of the Most Blessed Sacrament, Detroit (Photo by Mike Stechsulte, Courtesy of The Michigan Catholic)

A THEORETICAL EXAMINATION

Randall Collins (2004) uses a theoretical model based on Durkheim that explains not only what holds social groups together but also what creates social movements. Collins argues that it is interaction rituals, which produce moral solidarity and create social movements. Moreover, these interaction rituals drum up emotions more so than rational thought. And the ingredients of these interaction rituals, according to Collins, are:

- 1) group assembly or bodily co-presence,
- 2) barriers to outsiders,
- 3) mutual focus of attention, and
- 4) shared mood.

These ingredients in turn produce collective effervescence which eventually manifests itself in the ritual outcomes of group solidarity, emotional energy for those involved, sacred symbols of social relationships, and standards of morality which can be expressed as righteous anger toward violators and solidarity toward adherers. Collins calls this transformation of collective enthusiasm into social solidarity (or moral force) “emotional energy.” Qualitative data suggest that NE professionals have the lion’s share of what Collins calls “emotional energy” or “moral force” in that they are transforming the blasé emotional confusion over Catholic identity into an emotion of being Catholic proud. Indeed, this notion of “Catholic proud” was so prominent that I have included it as a question in my social survey on the NE (data I hope to analyze further in the near future). Catholic “proudness” was heard about over and over again in the field and is one of the most dominant realities I associate with the NE.

Given the role of emotions in Collins's theory and social movements generally, it is important to remember that generations of academics have viewed emotions negatively. Goodwin, et al. (2001), for example, delineate a litany of derogatory, skeptical and negative views about emotions and their role in social life. Durkheim, however, did not view emotions negatively and, indeed, claimed that experiences of emotional collective effervescence gave rise to "ideas" (Rawls, 2004). Consequently, I argue that the NE as an intra-ecclesial social movement has more to do with its ability to rev up religious emotions than to articulate intellectually clear theological claims about the NE.³

Collins elaborates this Durkheimian argument by delineating four mechanisms or ingredients of interaction ritual and how these mechanisms focus, intensify, and transform emotions into collective effervescence, collective action, and collective solidarity. It is emotions *transformed* that energize social assemblies to mobilize and become social movements. Whether the emotions expressed are more or less intense has everything to do with a group's high, moderate, or low emotional energy. High emotional energy can pump up a group to take action, whereas low emotional energy can depress group members and perhaps even lead to the demise of the group. Collins relies on this understanding of emotions in building his theory of interaction ritual.

Stephen Fuchs (2003), another sociological theorist, has a network location theory which also builds on Durkheim. Fuchs argues that from the beginning of our species there were social networks or communities, not lone individuals. Fuchs envisions an interactional society or, more precisely, an active interactional set of social networks, and these networks determine and make up different types of societies as well as the ideas people hold. For example, tightly connected and self-enclosed networks see the world in terms of essences

or sharply defined realities (some NE professionals) whereas loosely connected, decentralized networks (some Vatican II professionals) see the world as fluid, cosmopolitan, and relativistic. In between these extremes there is greater or lesser essentialism and relativism held by people within networks.

In the previous section it was suggested that NE professionals have a more essentialist view of the Pope, doctrine, Church, and catechesis, whereas Vatican II professionals have a broader or more relativistic view (to use Fuch's term). In order to expand on this argument, I address the four ingredients of Collins's interaction ritual theory separately (physical co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus, shared mood), realizing that each ingredient interacts and builds on the others, which produce moral solidarity. I want to be clear that I am not arguing that Vatican II professionals have none of Collins's ritual interaction ingredients and therefore little group solidarity, just a less intense form than NE professionals. Also, Vatican II professionals' articulation of a more ecumenical and cosmopolitan Catholic identity appears to leave the ordinary pew-dweller with a thinly layered Catholic identity. As we will see shortly, essentialist views (NE professionals) tend to contribute to a greater sense of collective effervescence and collective identity while relativist views (Vatican II professionals) do not. Utilizing the works of Collins and Fuchs, I show how and why NE professionals are gaining momentum and influence in the Church today over and above the Vatican II professionals.

Ritual Ingredient 1: Group Assembly and Bodily Co-Presence

The first ingredient of interaction rituals is bodily co-presence. When bodies assemble, when people are gathered face to face or body to body, this physical co-presence usually produces a buzz, an excitement. Even when nothing seems to be happening, Goffman notes, persons are still “tracking one another and acting so as to make themselves trackable” (1959). When people are body to body, something happens which is more than just the simple build-up of a number of individual bodies; there is a build-up of emotional energy, the fundamental ingredient for the production of social solidarity.

The number of conferences, gatherings, study opportunities, and prayer events that NE professionals assemble for (qualitative data) compared to the number of Vatican II professional gatherings clearly demonstrates that physical co-presence is occurring more often among NE professionals. For example, since 2005, two national conferences have been held on the NE in the AOD, and a book of the first conference’s proceedings has been published. Additionally, in terms of conferencing, there have been annual men’s and women’s conferences with a heavy NE presence, with the men’s conferences gathering up to 3000 men (these are not all professionals but it points to bodily contact and how it is beginning to reach ordinary Catholic men), while the women’s conferences annually attract between 800 and 1500 women. These gatherings are significant from the perspective of size not only because these have been the largest gatherings in the Church of Detroit as far as we can determine, but also because of the emotional buzz they engender. Perhaps what is even more telling is the fact that a Vatican II professional told me, with great concern, about a particular NE professional who was new to the diocese but was already speaking everywhere, meaning she is on the diocesan speaking docket more than any veteran Vatican II professional.

Physical co-presence is also occurring in the NE courses at SHMS (Detroit), which places NE professionals in each other’s presence for extended periods of time. Along similar lines, the AOD office of evangelization gathers people who are interested in learning more about the NE on a monthly basis to what they call *Hot Topics on the NE*. Then there are the new offices and departments for the NE, both at the AOD (1992, 2009) and SHMS (2005) sites, which afford ample opportunity to gather body to body.

Finally, there are NE inroads being made at the parish level with 17 percent of parishes having evangelization committees in 2005, 25 percent in 2008, and now 33 percent in 2011. One lay member (non-professional) of a vicariate in the archdiocese that is involved in the pastoral planning process (named Together In Faith II), said somewhat tongue-in-cheek, “we better mention the New Evangelization because that is ‘their [AOD] thing’ these days and so if that is in the plan then they might listen.” Such comments mark the growing influence of the NE. At the vicariate level, ordinary parishioners are getting the message that there is a new “thing” in town, the NE. As a result, evangelization committees that are more focused on the NE as expressed by Pope John Paul II are gathering and growing.

These body to body gatherings are beginning to build up emotional energy and solidarity about being Catholic. How much emotion is being generated is still an empirical question but given our years of qualitative research (since 2005) we have witnessed no other professional group gaining such emotional energy in the Detroit church, certainly not Vatican II professionals. However, bodily co-presence is not enough to sustain an assembly of bodies or to transform emotions into social solidarity. The gathering of energized people begins to dissipate if the other three ritual ingredients are not added to *body to body* co-presence: barriers to outsiders, mutual focus of attention, and shared mood.

As for Vatican II professionals, I have witnessed their gatherings, but their collective effervescence, quite evident in the 60s and 70s (Coleman, 1978), appeared to have waned. For example, Vatican II professionals have gathered for an annual conference that the Office of Leadership Formation has sponsored for years, but this office was eliminated with the restructuring of Archdiocesan offices in 2009. Moreover, these gatherings usually focused

on theological updating rather than exhibiting an emotional build-up to advance a cause. Another gathering of Vatican II types is the “Elephants in the Living Room,” a group that meets quarterly with a membership of priests and professional lay ecclesial ministers for the most part. They continue to meet without support of the Archdiocese, but their influence in the official Church of Detroit appears negligible from a bureaucratic and sociological perspective. Indeed, these same Vatican II professionals just had an international conference (2011) held in downtown Detroit where Vatican II types attended from all over the United States, Canada, and Europe. Comparatively, their attendance numbers paled in comparison to the “local” men’s and women’s conferences reported on above. Moreover, I assume local vs. national gatherings make a difference in the long run because local gatherings are likely to recur more often than national gatherings (hence, more co-presence). In short, bodily co-presence is sparser and less dense among Vatican II than among NE professionals.

Ritual Ingredient 2: Barriers to Outsiders

Creating emotional energy is important to social movement success, but engaging in conflict with outsiders is also. There is nothing like an enemy or an opposing party to create and sustain emotional solidarity of a group. Conflict focuses a group's attention (ingredient 3 below) and creates a shared mood (ingredient 4 below). NE professionals have created a number of barriers, in particular, barriers against "the culture of secularism." A simple example is that NE professionals emphasize the importance of the Pope, which not only distinguishes them from other religious or non-religious groups, but also from Vatican II professionals. This is no small matter—NE professionals will turn to the Pope immediately to quote his thoughts and then follow up by turning to the doctrines and traditions of the Church. Vatican II professionals, on the other hand, turn to the documents of Vatican II more often than to the Pope, whom they see overall as a NE type. Moreover, the NE's Pope-centeredness bleeds into another barrier which is the NE professional's sense of the uniqueness of the Catholic Church, whereas Vatican II professionals often speak about ecumenism and what the Catholic Church holds in common with other churches and with the broader secular culture.

Perhaps more importantly, the NE professionals promote Catholic devotions, which are in opposition to many Protestant traditions; moreover, promotion of devotions is the opposite of what most Vatican II professionals did, at least in the years immediately following Vatican II. Whereas NE professionals embrace devotions and actually pray them, Vatican II professionals find many devotions bordering on superstition. This barrier to outsiders in the way of devotions is exactly what many ordinary Catholics love, not because it is a barrier to outsiders, but because it gives them something religious "to do." Devotions are done; they are not the subject of theological conversations. They are about praying and praying is what Catholics do. This ritual *doing* of devotions is most powerful, and even many social scientists (e.g., Warner, 2005, Bellah, 2004) have recognized their importance as "ritual doings." This may be the one dimension of the NE that will "catch on" with ordinary Catholics because it is more about "doing" than thinking.

Along with the practice of devotions is the fact that NE professional types are promoting church architecture that exhibits sacred space—that is, churches that "look

like churches" and not like social halls, as many are fond of saying. Catholic church architecture is a barrier to outsiders, especially if the tabernacle is located front and center in the sanctuary. The removal of the tabernacle from this center has been interpreted as a Protestantization of Catholic church architecture, and now many NE professionals are re-Catholicizing church space by placing the tabernacle front and center in the sanctuary (McCallion, 2004).

An additional means of establishing barriers is the new emphasis among NE professionals on Catholic schools (or Catholic homeschooling). Many NE professionals believe Catholic schools are the best social mechanisms for transmitting the faith to the next generation, especially if an apologetic catechetical style is employed and if there is an emphasis on Mary, the Mother of God (which Vatican II professionals downplayed at Vatican II in order to promote ecumenism; see Wilde, 2007). According to NE professionals, apologetics is more important than ecumenism because what is needed today is a bolstering of the uniqueness of Catholicism, rather than too much of an emphasis on similarities (ecumenism).

Ritual Ingredient 3: Mutual Focus of Attention

Physical co-presence dissipates if the other ingredients of interaction rituals do not come into play. The above-mentioned barriers to outsiders are important because they help to intensify the next two ingredients that are really the heart and soul of interaction rituals. Without these, the production of collective effervescence and subsequently social solidarity does not occur. The most important ingredients that begin to transform various emotions into social solidarity are a mutual focus of attention coupled with a shared common mood.

NE professionals have many ideas and objects on which they can mutually focus their attention, such as: having a *personal relationship with Jesus* (Bennett-Carpenter, McCallion, & Maines, 2013, forthcoming), apologetics, Pope John Paul II, priesthood, and “true” Catholic education. What the NE professionals have to mutually focus their attention is something Vatican II professionals have less of, partly because of their lack of physical co-presence. We have argued elsewhere (Bennett-Carpenter and McCallion, 2012) that what the NE professionals have that the Vatican II professionals don’t is an “ideograph,” a concept that captures many foci under one umbrella. That one umbrella is the all-embracing reality called the NE. This is important because even though there are differences even among NE professionals themselves, the NE as an ideograph means that this transcends their differences, ideological and otherwise, and unifies them. It could be argued Vatican II professionals have the ideograph of “Vatican II” but it is less intense and more taken for granted than is the NE ideograph among NE professionals in today’s Church.

This mutual focus of attention, then, is the powerful ingredient that begins to transform various emotions into the emotion of solidarity—that feeling which says that we are in this together—proclaiming together that the NE is the “essential mission of the Church.” Without this common focus, which combines with the second ingredient of barriers to outsiders, physical co-presence begins to dissipate. This dissipation occurs not because they could not intellectually or theologically come to consensus but because they *did not feel* they were connected, that they were a unified whole on some emotional level.

The next ingredient, a common shared mood, is paramount in establishing and motivating a group of people to take action, and which occurs only if there is a mutual focus of attention on which to hang their feelings or moods of social solidarity. The NE is just such a hanger or ideograph that has united NE professionals. There is a concern, however, with the NE being an “ideograph” (capturing broad realities under one umbrella) in that, much like the Vatican II professionals’ ecumenical and relativistic views, coming to know exactly what the NE is can get lost. I heard repeatedly in the field, “yea, what is the NE anyway?”

Ritual Ingredient 4: Shared Mood

One of the shared moods that is operative among NE professionals and why many take up the cause of the NE is that they have a “personal relationship with Jesus” (PRWJ). This relationship is mostly affective/emotional, but it is a relationship that many NE professionals hold in common. This PRWJ has connections with the Catholic charismatic movement, but is not charismatic per se. The NE is larger than the charismatic renewal and has, indeed, subsumed it under its broader wings or “ideograph,” as mentioned above. For at least several NE professionals their PRWJ is a shared mood that transports them into advancing the cause of the NE with ardor and conviction.

What has happened is that the NE professionals are mutually focusing their attention on the Pope, apologetics, Church, and catechesis, and through further social interaction this mutual focus of attention has been transformed into a shared mood or an emotional excitement about being Catholic. It is more than just having an emotional good time or seeking out emotional excitement. It is excitement and emotional energy for a mission, the essential mission of the Church, the NE. In this excitement and shared mood, there is an outside force that has become the enemy: the American culture of death or secularism/relativism. An expression of this shared mood is the righteous anger NE professionals feel for violations against the Church, such as Pope-trashing, support for abortion, or lay professional parish leaders who don't emphasize the NE but instead some broad, bland, beige, lite type of Catholicism (Vatican II types in their estimation). Being “proud” to be Catholic is another product of a shared emotional mood among

NE types. Vatican II professionals, on the other hand, have these ritual ingredients as well, but to a much lesser degree than the more positive and intense focus of NE professionals. Vatican II professionals focus their attention on the documents of Vatican II (text focused) rather than on having a PRWJ or experiencing World Youth Days (experience focused). At a ministry conference in Plymouth, Michigan, for example, one young adult summed up this sentiment when he said, “my DRE [Director of Religious Education] is always referring to these documents of Vatican II and she wants me to read them. But it is just a book. I had an experience with the Pope at a youth rally and that is what is amazing and that is what makes me want to be Catholic, not some documents.”

COMBINING THE INTERACTION RITUAL INGREDIENTS

If a strong relationship occurs between the interaction of the four ingredients (physical co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus, shared mood), then a transformation of emotions occurs that produces various results such as emotional energy for individuals involved, sacred objects of group identity, righteous anger toward those who violate sacred objects, and most importantly, social or moral solidarity. In short, interaction rituals produce group membership and group meaning.

Using Collins's theory to interpret my qualitative field research, I argue that group solidarity and emotional energy of the NE professionals will continue to increase, as well as "righteous" anger toward those who do not follow their lead. The NE acting as an ideograph or a broad abstract ideology is another reason for high collective effervescence among NE professionals. The NE rhetoric contains claims about Catholic distinctiveness (Catholic doctrine, the Pope, etc.) that have united NE professionals without all NE professionals agreeing on everything or even "knowing" (as in theology) everything about the NE. Many NE professionals and ordinary laity simply know that something has gone astray and they sense emotionally that the NE can remedy the situation. Consequently, many of the issues and emphases that NE professionals advocate, in one way or another, have to do with Catholic identity.

A combination of Collins's ingredients of interaction rituals with Fuchs's theory of social network location suggests that social movements of whatever sort are groups that either expand their emotional solidarity or eventually weaken or dissolve. The qualitative data presented above indicates a continuing expansion of solidarity among those connected to the NE, especially with the latest reorganization of the Archdiocese of Detroit's central services in naming a new department, The Department of Evangelization (2009). At the same time, there is a decreasing solidarity among Vatican II professionals in that they gather together (physical co-presence) less often and their sacred objects of ecumenism and liturgy have dissipated in comparison to the rising sacred objects of the NE.

CONCLUSION

Sorting out some of the differences between Vatican II and NE ecclesial professionals can begin to explain why the NE professionals are the new agents of ecclesial change and that is what this paper has tried to delineate. Although there is a continuing struggle between these two sets of professionals within the Church, the NE professionals are edging out the Vatican II professionals. Comparing and contrasting Vatican II and NE professionals via Collins's interaction ritual ingredients shows that NE professionals have a more intense, focused, and energized social network than do the Vatican II professionals, and therefore are an emerging intra-ecclesial social movement.

Common sense alone suggests that this edging out of Vatican II professionals is occurring partly because Vatican II professionals have already won many battles in implementing their Vatican II ideas and practices, and now have taken many of those victories for granted. Having been moderately successful and having become established in many ecclesial roles, Vatican II professionals are not as intense about networking or transmitting their ideas as they once were. Perhaps Vatican II professionals are experiencing what Becker (1957) calls the "fate of idealism," which is the notion that professionals of various stripes are charged and excited at the beginning of their careers to make changes or make a difference only to find later in their careers that, in reality, little has changed, which often results in fading idealism (see Strauss, 1997). While Vatican II professionals are fading, NE professionals are energetic and clearly on their way toward further institutionalizing the NE in the Detroit Archdiocese.

However, an interesting paradox in all of this, given my earlier research that focused on "liturgists" (McCallion, 2000), is the observation that NE professionals are also *very similar* to the way Vatican II professionals once

were in that Vatican II professionals, especially liturgists, once had lots of vigor and energy in the beginning of the liturgical movement as well (Coleman, 1970). A more important similarity, I argue, is that they both operate out of a *deficit model* when it comes to interpreting Catholic life. Both view "ordinary Catholics" as "not good enough Catholics" from their ecclesial social movement perspectives, propelling these professionals to believe that the way to make better Catholics is to instill in them NE or Vatican II ideas, different though these ideas are, through various educational processes. This is something I heard over and over in my fieldwork with liturgists and now again with NE professionals; that is, the answer to their problem of getting Catholics on board with the way they think (NE or Vatican II professionals) is to conduct more classes, workshops, conferences, that is, provide "more education." Sociologically, this push for primarily "more education" is a naïve point of view. "More education" is not a panacea, especially given that most Catholics will not attend classes, workshops, and conferences in the first place. There are many other social and psychological variables involved in moving people from point A to

point B than simply “education.” Being unaware of this sociological point, I believe, leaves both sets of professionals perceiving ordinary Catholics through their deficit models. These perceptions of ordinary laity are not emotionally positive perspectives and hence could prove to be detrimental to the implementation of the NE, as was the case with the implementation of the liturgy soon after Vatican II. These two intra-institutional ecclesial social movements are similar, therefore, in that both operate out of deficit models (McCallion and Maines, 2009).

One advantage the NE professionals have, however, is the issue of Catholic identity. As mentioned earlier, Vatican II’s emphasis on ecumenism, collegiality, de-devotionalism, etc. led not only to relativistic/cosmopolitan views but a loss of Catholic identity (this is a large claim but one that has been argued persuasively, especially by Morris, 1987). NE professionals claim that Catholic identity confusion is exactly what happened over the recent decades and, moreover, that they are the ones who know how to re-establish Catholic identity, mainly through the NE. Moreover, many NE professionals point to the decreasing number of youth participating in the Church indicating that a change is needed, different from what was and is currently being done by Vatican II types. What needs to be done, according to the NE professionals, is to implement the NE, which is about being “Catholic proud.” Another way of saying this is that the NE professionals are very much about boundary-maintenance, being clear about in-groups and out-groups, about Catholic identity or, à la Fuchs, holding certain views that could be described as essentialist.

Once again, this edging out of the Vatican II professionals by the NE professionals indicates that a broader ecclesial process is underway, a process in which the liberalizing and democratizing forces of Vatican II are giving way to the more centralizing and primarily conservative forces of the NE, at least at this point in time. The reason for this shift in emphasis has much to do with the issue of Catholic identity, an identity that many Church leaders believe largely dissolved after Vatican II. This is not an argument about whether or not this intra-ecclesial movement of the NE is positive or negative, but rather a statement that *it is occurring* and an analysis of why *it appears to be working*.



Michael J. McCallion, Ph.D. is the Rev. William Cunningham Chair in Catholic Social Analysis and Professor of Theology at Sacred Heart Major Seminary in Detroit, Michigan.

NOTES

1 See Lichterman, 2005 for finely grained variations on connectedness/growth.

2 The Pope’s emphasis on “ardor” is brilliant, sociologically speaking, especially given that much sociological research shows the fundamental importance of the role of emotions in social movements (Collins, 2013).

3 On the unimportance of ideological consensus in social rituals see Rappaport, 1999; Bellah, 2004.

REFERENCES

- Allen, John L. Jr. 2009. *The Future Church: How Ten Trends are Revolutionizing the Catholic Church*. New York: Doubleday.
- Barron, Robert. 2000. "Beyond Beige Catholicism." *Church*, June.
- Becker, Howard S. and Blanche Greer. 1957. "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison." *Human Organization*, 16: 28-32.
- Bellah, Robert. 2005. "Durkheim and Ritual" in *Cambridge companion to Durkheim*, eds. Jeffrey C. and Philip Smith, pp. 183-210. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bennett-Carpenter, Benjamin R. and Michael J. McCallion. 2012. "Specialized, Ecclesial Ideography: The New Evangelization in the Catholic Church." *Michigan Academician*, volume XLI.
- Bennett-Carpenter, Benjamin, Michael J. McCallion, and David R. Maines. 2013 [forthcoming]. "<Personal Relationship with Jesus>: A Popular Ideographic Phrase Among Evangelical Catholics." *Journal of Communication and Religion*, 36(1).
- Coleman, John. 1978. *The Evolution of Dutch Catholicism: 1958-1974*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Collins, Randall. 2013. "Critical-Retrospective Essays: Ten Major Theory Books Since 2000." *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*. Volume 42:2.
- Collins, Randal. 2004. *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Douglas, Mary. 1970. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. New York: Vintage Books/A Division of Random House.
- Duffy, Eamon. 1992/2005. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*. London: Yale University Press.
- Dulles, Avery. 1987. *Models of the Church* (expanded edition). New York: Image Books, Doubleday.
- Durkheim, Emile. [1912] 1995. *The elementary forms of religious life*. [Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse.] Trans. by Karen Fields. New York: Free Press.
- Finke, Roger, and Patricia Wittberg. 2000. "Organizational Revival From Within: Explaining Revivalism and Reform in the Roman Catholic Church." *Journal for the Social Scientific Study of Religion*, 39: 154-70.
- Flannery, Austin, O.P., ed. [1963-1974] 1980. *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press.
- Franks, David D. 1985. "Introduction to the Special Issue On The Sociology of Emotions." *Symbolic Interaction*, 8(2):161-170.
- Fuchs, Stephan. 2001. *Against Essentialism: A Theory of Culture and Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, Erving. 1959. *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Garden City, NY: Anchor.
- Goode, E. 1967. "Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 6: 270-5.
- Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, eds. 2001. *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- John Paul II, Pope. 1990. *Redemptoris Missio* ("On the permanent validity of the church's missionary mandate," encyclical). Washington DC: United States Catholic Conference.
- Lichterman, Paul. 2005. *Elusive Togetherness: Church Groups Trying to Bridge America's Divisions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- McCallion, Michael J. 2000. "Lay and professional views on tabernacle location in Catholic parishes." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 29(6): 717-746.

McCallion, Michael J., and Benjamin Bennett-Carpenter. (2009). "Survey on the New Evangelization in six parishes in the Archdiocese of Detroit." Unpublished data/report.

McCallion, Michael J., and Benjamin Bennett-Carpenter. 2013. "Implementing the New Evangelization in two Detroit Suburban Parishes: Emotionally Charged and Rationally Oriented Approaches." Under Review at *Review of Religious Research*.

McCallion, Michael J., Benjamin Bennett-Carpenter, and David R. Maines. 2012. "Individualism and Community as Contested Rhetorics in the Catholic New Evangelization Movement." *Review of Religious Research*, Volume 53:4, 291-310.

McCallion, Michael J. and David R. Maines. 2009. "Representations of Faith and the Catholic New Evangelization." *New Theology Review*, February.

Morris, Charles. 1997. *American Catholics: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*. New York: Times Books, Random House.

Portier, William L. 2004. "Here Come the Evangelical Catholics," *Communio*, 31 (Spring): 35-66.

Rappaport, Roy A. 1999. *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rawls, Anne Warfield. 2004. *Epistemology and practice: Durkheim's The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richman, Michele H. 2002. *Sacred Revolutions: Durkheim and the College De Sociologie*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Scheff, Thomas J. 1990. "Socialization of Emotions: Pride and Shame as Causal Agents" in *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. Theodore D. Kemper. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Struass, Anselm and Juliet M. Corbin (eds.). 1997. *Grounded Theory in Practice*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc.

Summers Effler, Erika. 2010. *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Warner, R. Stephen. 2008. "2007 Presidential address: singing and solidarity." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47(2):175-190.

Weber, Max. 1922/1993. *The Sociology of Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Weigel, George. 2013. "Evangelical Catholicism." *First Things*, March.

Wilde, Melissa. 2007. *Vatican II: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.