RELIGIOUS BELONGING
IN A CHANGING CATHOLIC CHURCH:
THE NEED FOR AN ALTERNATIVE MODEL?

Graham M. S. Dann SSL (Soc), Ph.L, STL
Department of Sociology
University of Surrey
1975
SUMMARY

Since the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic Church has undergone radical transformation in all dimensions of religiosity: in belief, ethical consequences of belief, practice, religious experience and religious belonging. This research concentrates on the last of these five dimensions, as, it is claimed, this subsumes the remaining four. Demonstration is required to show not only that the Catholic Church has changed in its attitude towards religious belonging, but also to highlight how and why religious belonging itself has changed.

Such demonstration will be forthcoming at two levels: theoretical and empirical, dividing the thesis into two major sections. In the theoretical section, it will be suggested that religious belonging has changed in the Catholic Church from a uniform organisational model to a pluriform model. The latter allows a selection of four types of religious belonging: the total institution, the family, the closed community and the open network, formed by the Parsonian variables of particularism, universalism, ascription and achievement. Why such a pluriform model has come into being is explained in terms of motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

The empirical testing of hypotheses, generated from the theoretical section, concentrates on an international congregation of missionary sisters as its subject. It is argued that a cross-cultural study within the Catholic sisterhood, not only enables the sociologist to examine change in religious belonging, but that sisters are sufficiently representative to permit tentative generalisation to other groups of Catholic Church membership. It is maintained that change in religious belonging can be partially explained by the following simplified model:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{INNER MOTIVATION} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{SATISFACTION} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{FAMILY BELONGING} & \Rightarrow \text{CLOSED COMMUNITY BELONGING} \\
\text{OUTER MOTIVATION} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{DISSATISFACTION} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{OPEN NETWORK BELONGING}
\end{align*}
\]
My thanks first of all must go to the major superiors and sisters of the missionary congregation that I have examined. Only guaranteed anonymity prevents my naming the actual congregation and the many individuals from its ranks who helped me in the pilot study, the gathering and the codification of data, a number of conducted interviews, the hospitality shown in their Mother house and other convents (in particular those of the Canadian province), the discussions with the Mother General, her superiors, and the various national delegates assembled at their 1972 Chapter in Rome.

I am also grateful to Theodore Mulder S.J, Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Gregorian University, Rome, for guidance in my three years licentiate programme under his overall supervision. Thanks should also be extended to Emile Pin for personal tuition on the course and help in the elaboration of the questionnaire. Under his direction I obtained the cooperation of his assistants working at the Gregorian's Centro Internazionale di Ricerche Sociali. For statistical handling of material I am indebted to Dott. Fabio Buratto of the Gregorian, I.S.T.A.T. and Professor of Statistics at Sassari University. Codification of data was greatly facilitated by Rag. La Rocca and P. Tuminelli, both of CIRIS.

In continuation of my sociological studies at Surrey University, thanks must first of all go to Professor Asher Tropp, head of the department of sociology. Under his overall direction the thesis moved from the realms of the possible to those of the actual. In the area of logistics, model building and computerisation, the direction of Professor Erik Van Hove, formerly of Surrey, now at Antwerp, has proved invaluable. Where he left off Keith Mac Donald and Michael Procter have very usefully taken over. I have also been encouraged by fellow members of the newly founded Surrey Unit for Socio-Religious Research, and working with and writing for them has added further stimulus to my own field of inquiry.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to five research units conducting national and international survey programmes. I have received help from Sister Augusta Neal, the source of sociological inspiration behind the inquiry into four hundred female congregations in the United States, and kept in constant touch with her ongoing analysis. This has allowed me to focus more clearly my own empirical observations. In addition I have received help for the first section of this work from the Centre de Recherches en Sociologie Religieuse, University of Laval, Québec, the Departamento de Investigacion Socio-Religiosa, Madrid, and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops in the United States. I have also received a great deal of aid from François Houtart's team in FERES, Louvain. Without access to their library, much of the Catholic source documentation would have remained incomplete.

There are, of course, many others who have helped and inspired me in this work. For those still unmentioned, my deepest thanks.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION ONE : THEORETICAL

1. The problem of studying religious belonging in the Catholic Church
   a) It is not clear as to what is meant by the expression, "The Catholic Church."  
      1 - 2
   b) There appears to be some doubt as to the criteria for belonging to the Catholic Church
      c) It is questionable whether one can study affiliation to an institution, such as the Catholic Church, subject as it is to rapid social change:
       i. The Catholic Church 4 - 6
       ii. Religious Belonging 6 - 10
       iii. Rapid Social Change 10 - 11

2. The problem of the Research
   a) The uniform organisational model 12 - 13
   b) The pluriform model 13 - 15

3. The title of the research is itself a model 15 - 17

4. The plan of the research
   a) In brief 17
   b) In more detail 17 - 19

5. The originality of the research
   a) Section one 20 - 22
   b) Section two 22 - 23

Chapter Two

1. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's fixed concept of human nature and monopoly of the sacred 24 - 27

2. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's catering solely for the primitively motivated 28 - 30

3. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's institutionalism 30 - 32
1. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to a change in the meaning of the word 'Church'

2. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because one can detect change in the Church from the difference between a given 'terminus a quo' to a 'terminus ad quem'

3. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because of the change in religious belief based on Revelation, Christology, Grace and Sacramental Theology
4. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because of the change in religious practice from personal devotion to communal participation

5. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to the movement in ethics towards Christian Humanism:
   a) The Berrigan brothers
   b) Dom Helder Camara
   c) The Conference of Latin American Bishops (C.E.L.A.M.)
   d) The implications of Christian Humanism for Moral Theology
   e) The impact of the Vatican II Constitution on Religious Liberty on religious belonging in the Catholic Church

6. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to the change in religious experience from a transcendent to a more immanent notion of God:
   a) The emergence of Catholic Pentecostalism
   b) An increase in mysticism, patterned on Oriental religions
   c) The appearance of new forms of monastic spirituality
   d) The renewal of spirituality of lay Catholic groups

Chapter Four

1. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it is more capable of tackling the phenomenon of decentralisation in the Catholic Church:
   a) The Pre-Constantinian period
   b) Constantine to the Reformation
   c) The Reformation to 1870
   d) 1870 to the present day

2. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it can supply a more fitting explanation for the notion of extended membership in the Church
3. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it can deal with the phenomenon of emerging interest groups in a more satisfactory manner 101 - 105

4. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it is more capable of acting as a paradigm for the existence of parties in the Church 105 - 113

5. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it can take into account, to a greater degree, conflict in the Church 113 - 118

Chapter Five 119 - 213

1. The construction of a pluriform model of religious belonging from Parsonian "pattern variables" 120 - 125

2. An overall examination of the alternative pluriform model 125 - 131

3. A more detailed presentation of types of belonging within the pluriform model of religious belonging: 131 - 208
   a) The total institution mentality 131 - 147
      i. A convent 135 - 137
      ii. A presbytery 137 - 141
      iii. A seminary 141 - 143
      iv. An independent preparatory school 143 - 147
   b) The family 147 - 164
      i. Emile Durkheim 148 - 152
      ii. Ferdinand Tönnies 152 - 159
      iii. Burgess et al.: the companionship model of family 159 - 164
   c) The closed community 164 - 187
      i. Robert Nisbet 165 - 171
      ii. Ton Nuij 171 - 175
      iii. The Jesus People 175 - 180
      iv. The Underground Church and its communes 180 - 183
      v. Examples of closed community belonging 183 - 187
   d) The open network 187 - 213
      The sociological tradition of open network 188 - 192
A. Religious Motivation:

a) Towards the operationalising of religious motivation:
   i. The once born / twice born distinction
   ii. The direct / indirect approach to God
   iii. The this worldly / other worldly distinction
   iv. The distinction between prophetic and non-prophetic motivation
   v. The inner-directed / other directed distinction

b) Inner and Outer directed motivation applied to religious belonging:
   i. Inner motivation and total institution belonging
   ii. Inner motivation and familial belonging
   iii. Inner motivation and closed community belonging
   iv. Outer motivation and open network belonging

B. Religious Dissatisfaction:

i. Individual dissatisfaction
ii. Communal dissatisfaction
iii. Dissatisfaction at the specific group level

Dissatisfaction and total institution belonging
Dissatisfaction and familial belonging
Dissatisfaction and closed community belonging
Dissatisfaction and open network belonging
### Section Two: Empirical

#### Chapter One (pp. 268-302)

1. The methodological problem of investigating desired change in types of religious belonging in the Catholic Church. A solution to the problem is suggested and adopted.  
   
   269-273

2. The evolution of the central problem of the research in the light of the above solution, i.e., the selection of an international missionary congregation of sisters as the subject of one's investigation.  
   
   273-279

3. The elaboration of hypotheses to deal with the research problem:
   
   a) the independent variable of age  
   b) the independent variable of cultural background  
   c) the independent variable of qualifications  
   d) the independent variable of size of community  

   A word about the variables  
   
   295-297

   The research hypotheses  
   
   297-300

4. The discussion of methods and techniques employed in the testing of the research hypotheses  
   
   300-302

#### Chapter Two

1. A socio-historical treatment of the congregation  
   
   303-311

2. The variable of province: the congregation at the macro-level:

   a) Australia  
   b) Canada  
   c) England  
   d) France  
   e) India  
   f) New Zealand, South  
   g) New Zealand, North  
   h) Bangladesh and Burma  
   i) Vietnam  
   j) Rome  

   311-326

3. The variable of house: the congregation at the micro-level  

   326-330

4. Another look at the independent variables:

   a) Age  
   b) Native  
   c) Engagement  

   330-344
4. (continued)

   d) University qualifications 337-338
   e) Teaching qualifications 338-339
   f) Nursing qualifications 339-340
   g) Diplomas 340-341
   h) Areas of suggested change 341-342
   i) Religious experience 342-344

5. A comparison between the congregation of missionary sisters and other congregations of female religious:

   a) One's congregation shares the same socio-historical characteristics as other congregations of female religious 344-361
   b) The attributes of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general 345-351
   c) The attitudes of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general 351-355
   d) The activities of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general 355-359

Chapter Three

1. Dissatisfaction 366-416

   a) Individual dissatisfaction:

      i. unwillingness to hypothetically re-enter the religious life 366-369
      ii. lack of religious experience 370-372
      iii. the crisis of identity 372-375
      iv. the problem of affectivity 375-379
      v. unwillingness to encourage others to a similar way of life 379-381

   b) Outer dissatisfaction:

      i. the problem of status 384-390
      ii. the problem of authority 390-392
      iii. the quest for democracy 392-395
      iv. community harmony 395-397

   c) Congregational dissatisfaction:

      i. the aims and goals of the congregation 401-409
      ii. the question of formation 409-412
      iii. dissatisfaction at the macro-level 412
Chapter Three (continued)

2. Motivation

i. Reasons for entering the congregation

ii. Motivation in prayer

iii. Motivation in identity and role

iv. Motivation in belief

3. Change

1) The three types of religious belonging and their indicators:

a) the distinction between family and open network change:
   i. authority
   ii. prayer

b) the distinction between closed community change and open network change:
   i. centralisation
   ii. formation
   iii. oecumenism
   iv. transcendence

2) The open-ended question on change

Chapter Four

The testing of the hypotheses underlying the research model:

Hypothesis one
Hypothesis two
Hypothesis three
Hypothesis four
Hypothesis five
Hypothesis six
Hypothesis seven
Hypothesis eight
Chapter Five 511 - 587

1. Factor Analysis:
   - Hypotheses 1-2 518 - 522
   - Hypotheses 3-4 522 - 533
   - Hypotheses 5-6 533 - 537
   - Hypothesis 7 537 - 538
   - Hypothesis 8 539 - 542

2. Path Analysis:
   - i. Questions of procedure 546 - 548
   - ii. The path model linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging 548 - 553
   - iii. The path model adding background variables and degree of change to motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change, thereby producing the full research model as envisaged by the 8 hypotheses 553 - 561
     a) family belonging 558
     b) closed community belonging 558 - 559
     c) open network belonging 560
   - iv. Path models for subfiles of overall research model 561 - 575

3. Content Analysis
   - a) family belonging 576 - 579
   - b) closed community belonging:
     i. pre-routinisation of charisma 579 - 583
     ii. post-routinisation of charisma 581 - 583
   - c) open network belonging 584 - 586

Chapter Six 588 - 618

1. Conclusions 588 - 602

2. Suggested areas for further research:
   - a) technique 602 - 609
   - b) motivation 609
   - c) (dis)satisfaction 610
   - d) religious belonging 611
   - e) background variables 611 - 612
   - f) prediction 612 - 615
   - g) theory: the need for a socio-theology 615 - 618
Appendices:

1. The questionnaire:
   a) in English
   b) in French

2. Coding slip for semi and fully open-ended questions

3. Statistics of the Congregation from 1861 to 31 December 1970:
   i. Distribution of sisters according to age groups by province
   ii. Entries by province
   iii. Perpetual vows by province
   iv. Sisters who have left after perpetual vows
   v. Deaths by province
   vi. Exclaustrations
   vii. Leave of absence

4. The return rates by province and by house
   / Actual returns received
   / Difficulties encountered in return rates:
     i. anonymity
     ii. cost
     iii. deadline dates
     iv. missing questionnaires
   / Returns by house:
     i. Australia
     ii. Canada
     iii. England
     iv. France
     v. India
     vi. New Zealand, South
     vii. New Zealand, North
     viii. Bangladesh and Burma
     ix. Vietnam
     x. Rome
# LIST OF TABLES

<p>| I.  | Comparison by age categories of international congregation of missionary sisters with other groups in the Catholic Church | 272 |
| II. | Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding the question of optimal size of community | 291 |
| III. | Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding quantification of optimal size of community | 292 |
| IV.  | Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding desired extent of association | 292 |
| V.   | Codification of provinces (0-9) | 323 |
| VI.  | Areas of significant difference between provinces | 324–5 |
| VII. | Distribution of congregational membership by size of house | 327 |
| VIII. | Crosstabulation of house and Western | 328 |
| IX.  | Correlations between house size, cultural background and dissatisfaction | 329 |
| X.   | Congregation age percentages in eight age brackets by province | 331 |
| XI.  | Sisters' place of birth within each province | 334–5 |
| XII. | Congregational response to quantitative question on religious experience | 343 |
| XIII. | Comparison of independent variables for Western provinces of one's own congregation with the findings of the C.M.S.W. survey, in percentages | 354 |
| XIV. | Comparison of replies to dependent variables in C.M.S.W. survey and one's own | 356–8 |
| XV.  | Occupation of C.M.S.W. survey respondents in percentages (n = 136,691) | 360 |
| XVI. | Response to question 127: If you had to begin all over again would you yourself enter the religious life? | 368 |
| XVII | Crosstabulation of questions 126 and 127 | 369 |
| XVIIIa | Scale for Individual Dissatisfaction | 381–2 |
| XVIII | Correlation matrix of items comprising the individual dissatisfaction scale derived from the original 104 x 104 matrix | 383 |
|XIX| Correlations between Burgalassi's various indices and types of belonging to subcultures |388 |
|XXa| Scale for Outer Dissatisfaction |398 |
|XX| Correlation matrix of items comprising the outer dissatisfaction scale as taken from the 104 x 104 matrix |399 |
|XXIa| Scale for Congregational Dissatisfaction |413-4 |
|XXI| Correlation matrix of items comprising the congregational dissatisfaction scale, as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix |414 |
|XXII| Statistics relating to scales of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction |415 |
|XXIII| First reason for entering the congregation |417 |
|XXIV| First reason for entering the congregation by province |420 |
|XXV| Percentages by place of birth of respondents giving first choice for entering the congregation: the best way to personal sanctification and salvation |421 |
|XXVI| Percentages choosing personal sanctification and salvation as first reason for entry into the congregation, by age groups |422 |
|XXVIIa| Scale for Motivation |435-7 |
|XXVII| Correlations of items comprising the motivation scale, as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix |437-8 |
|XXVIIIa| Change Scale |450-1 |
|XXVIII| Correlations of items comprising the change scale(s) as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix |452 |
|XXIX| Coding and distribution of first desired areas of change |453-4 |
|XXX| Statistics associated with the variables created from the open-ended question on change |455 |
|XXXI| Crosstabulation of Dissatisfaction and Total Change |461 |
|XXXII| Crosstabulation of Age and Dissatisfaction |462 |
|XXXIII| Correlations of dissatisfaction and total change with qualifications |463 |
|XXXIV| Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and university qualifications |464 |
|XXXV| Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and teaching qualifications |464 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and cultural background</td>
<td>465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and size of community</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and degree of religious experience</td>
<td>468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>Correlations and variance explained by the association of first and second areas of freely desired change with other research variables</td>
<td>470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL</td>
<td>Values of Chi-square and level of significance derived from crosstabulation of first and second areas of freely desired change with the relevant independent research variables</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>Percentage variance in total change explained by independent variables in various provinces</td>
<td>473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIi</td>
<td>Intercorrelation of types of dissatisfaction and overall dissatisfaction</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIii</td>
<td>Correlations and variance explained in total change by types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLIv</td>
<td>Mean total change scores of extreme cases of the three types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xlv</td>
<td>Correlations and percentage variance explained between first and second areas of freely offered suggestions for change and types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xlvi</td>
<td>Percentages, mean scores and squared standard deviations, of second area of desired change, yielded by the extreme cases of the three types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xlvii</td>
<td>Results of t-tests for difference of means as applied to mean second change scores yielded by extreme cases of types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xlviii</td>
<td>Correlations between (dis)satisfaction and types of change</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xlix</td>
<td>Significance levels of Chi-squares resulting from the crosstabulations of types of change and (dis)satisfaction</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Paths from (dis)satisfaction to types of change</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>485</td>
<td>Correlations between type of open-ended change desired and degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction displayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>487</td>
<td>Correlations between types of dissatisfaction and open network change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>489</td>
<td>Correlations and percent variance explained between types of open-ended change and types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>490-1</td>
<td>Comparative correlations between overall dissatisfaction and types of dissatisfaction as related to types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>Correlations established from relating type of motivation with satisfaction and dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of Inner Motivation and Dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of Inner Motivation and Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>494</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of Outer Motivation with Dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>494</td>
<td>Crosstabulation of Outer Motivation with Satisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>Beta values derived from regression of types of motivation on satisfaction and dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>495</td>
<td>Correlations between type of motivation and independent background variables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>496</td>
<td>Chi-squares resulting from crosstabulation of independent background variables with types of motivation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>498</td>
<td>Correlations between types of motivation and overall dissatisfaction with its constituent types</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>Correlations between types of motivation and total change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501</td>
<td>Column and row percentages resulting from crosstabulations of inner motivation and total change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501</td>
<td>Column and row percentages resulting from crosstabulations of outer motivation and total change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>503</td>
<td>Correlations of type of motivation and first and second areas of freely offered suggestions for change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>505</td>
<td>Correlations between types of motivation and types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXIX</td>
<td>Chi-squares resulting from crosstabulation of types of motivation and types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td>Results of multiple regression between types of change, types of motivation, satisfaction and dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXI</td>
<td>Correlations between types of motivation and types of open-ended change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXII</td>
<td>Nine factors after rotation, with eigen values and percentage variances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXIII</td>
<td>Varimax rotated factor matrix after rotation with Kaiser normalization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXIV</td>
<td>Variables and communalities from the varimax rotated factor matrix</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXV</td>
<td>Factors by subfiles (provinces)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXV b</td>
<td>Additional factors created in the subfiles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVI</td>
<td>Network change as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVII</td>
<td>Closed community change as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXVIII</td>
<td>Family change as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXIX</td>
<td>Satisfaction as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXX</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXI</td>
<td>Direct and indirect paths between motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXII</td>
<td>Maximum beta values obtained in subfiles from multiple regression, involving the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIII</td>
<td>Comparison of percentages of variance explained in types of change in path model of part ii (fig. XXX) and in path model of part iii (fig. XXXIII)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXIV</td>
<td>Comprehensive list of direct and indirect paths to types of change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXV</td>
<td>Content of replies concerning network change, by province</td>
<td>604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVI</td>
<td>Content of replies concerning family change, by province</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LXXXVII</td>
<td>Content of replies concerning closed community change, by province</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Parsonian model of pattern variables</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Simplified Parsonian model</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Pluriform model of religious belonging in the Catholic Church</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>The model to be tested</td>
<td>214 (267)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>The research model to be tested</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Classical structure of religious congregations</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Structure of the organisation of the Catholic Church</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Areas of the congregation's presence</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IXa</td>
<td>The main research variables containing number of scaled items</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>Scattergram resulting from plotting a 1 in 10 sample of the population ($n = 1,086$) related to the associated variables of dissatisfaction and total change</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor three (outer dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI</td>
<td>Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII</td>
<td>Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor three (outer dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor five (family change)</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Horizontal factor five (family change) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII</td>
<td>Horizontal factor five (family change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change) 529

Horizontal factor six (individual dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change) 530

Horizontal factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change) 531

Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation) 534

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction) 535

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction) 536

Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation) 538

Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation) 540

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor five (family change) 541

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change) 542

Horizontal factor (type of change) versus vertical factor (type of motivation) 544

Path model linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change 549

Simplified paths to network change in the French province 552

Simplified paths to closed community change in the Australian province 552

Overall path model (n = 1,086) 555

Path model for Australia (n = 119) 563

Path model for Canada (n = 144) 564
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XXXVI</th>
<th>Path model for England ( n = 265 )</th>
<th>565</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXXVII</td>
<td>Path model for France ( n = 60 )</td>
<td>567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVIII</td>
<td>Path model for India ( n = 70 )</td>
<td>568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXIX</td>
<td>Path model for New Zealand, South ( n = 159 )</td>
<td>570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XL</td>
<td>Path model for New Zealand, North ( n = 134 )</td>
<td>571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLI</td>
<td>Path model for Bangladesh and Burma ( n = 72 )</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XLII</td>
<td>Path model for Vietnam ( n = 57 )</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Hippopotamus

The broad-backed hippopotamus
Rests on his belly in the mud;
Although he seems so firm to us
He is merely flesh and blood.

Flesh and blood is weak and frail,
Susceptible to nervous shock;
While the True Church can never fail
For it is based upon a rock.

The hippo's feeble steps may err
In compassing material ends,
While the True Church need never stir
To gather in its dividends.

The 'apotamus can never reach
The mango on the mango-tree;
But fruits of pomegranate and peach
Refresh the Church from over sea.

At mating time the hippo's voice
Betrays inflexions hoarse and odd,
But every week we hear rejoice
The Church, at being one with God.

The hippopotamus's day
Is passed in sleep, at night he hunts;
God works in a mysterious way —
The Church can sleep and feed at once.

I saw the 'apotamus take wing
Ascending from the damp savannas,
And quiring angels round him sing
The praise of God, in loud hosannas.

Blood of the Lamb shall wash him clean
And him shall heavenly arms enfold,
Among the saints he shall be seen
Performing on a harp of gold.

He shall be washed as white as snow,
By all the martyr'd virgins kist,
While the True Church remains below
Wrapt in the old miasmal mist.

T.S. Eliot
SECTION ONE
THEORETICAL
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1. The problem of studying religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church.

Belonging to the Catholic Church today poses many problems, not only for its members, but for those social scientists intent on studying it. Before the Second Vatican Council it was a relatively simple task to describe Church affiliation in quantitative and qualitative terms, but today such an undertaking is made more difficult on account of three fundamental problems:

a. It is not clear as to what is meant by the expression "The Catholic Church."

b. There appears to be some doubt as to the criteria for belonging to the Catholic Church.

c. It is questionable whether one can study affiliation in an institution, such as the Catholic Church, subject as it is to rapid social change.

We shall examine briefly each of the above three problems.

a. It is not clear as to what is meant by the expression "The Catholic Church."

At first sight this would appear to be a pseudo-problem. One would have thought that the definition of the Catholic Church as found in its own Code of Canon Law would be acceptable to members and sociologists alike. There the Church is defined as:

"that religious institution with its own body of beliefs, practices, norms and sanctions, that legislates for members of the Latin rite who have undergone baptism." (1)

However, such a definition is only indicative of 1917 legislation, one formulated and agreed upon by less than one percent of Catholic Church membership. Since that time there has been renewal in the Catholic Church reaching a climax in the Second Vatican Council, a council which has described the Church in the less legal but more biblical language of "the People of God." This latter description should in
theory find greater acceptance among sociologists, whose overt concern is with people, and their corresponding group attitudes and behaviour patterns. However, when sociologists try and operationalise the expression, "People of God," matters become confusing. Does the use of such an expression now imply that "all men of good will" are members of the Catholic Church? If one examines the Constitution, "Lumen Gentium," and the decrees on Oecumenism and Religious Liberty, along with "Gaudium et Spes" (the document concerned with "The Church in the Modern World"), all products of Vatican II, then it would appear that membership of the Catholic Church embraces the whole of the human race, albeit in differing degrees of participation.

The sociologist's confusion is only matched by that of the theologian. A review of the plethora of books and articles concerning the nature of the Catholic Church since Vatican II, even if physically possible, would, one feels, only add to the confusion (2). One can find Catholics believing in the second coming of a black female Jesus (3), Catholic marxists and 'guerrilleros' (4), Catholic advocates of Zen Buddhism and Yoga (5), indeed Catholics who hold every shade of moral and political belief. Yet what is orthodox and who is Catholic? Are the Pope and his Curia in line with Catholic thinking even, or are they marginal to the Catholic Church? Somehow one must find a meaning to the expression, "The Catholic Church."

b. There appears to be some doubt as to the criteria for belonging to the Catholic Church.

If one utilises the 1917 definition of membership to the Catholic Church (referred to above), it is clear that in addition to being validly baptised, Catholics are identifiable by:

/ their acceptance of defined articles of faith
/ their fulfilment of religious duties
/ their acceptance of prescribed forms of ethical behaviour
/ their acceptance of ecclesiastical law.
In practice this means that one can typify Catholics as:

a. Those who hold all the articles of the Nicene Creed, conciliar decrees and papal infallible utterances, with equal conviction.

b. At the same time Catholics should place statements concerning the ethical consequences of the above beliefs on the same footing.

c. Further, Catholics should accept as a duty the obligation to attend Mass on Sundays and on certain prescribed feasts.

d. In addition, Catholics should recognize Church laws, such as those connected with fasting, abstinence, celibacy for those in vows, etc.

Were one to Guttman scale all items contained within (a) to (d), one would probably arrive at a figure of less than one percent of registered Church membership, no more than the population of London. (Such a figure would be attained by eliminating all those who disbelieved in unpopular belief items, (for example, the existence of Hell, papal infallibility, etc.), about 90% of Catholics, and by a further 90% reduction of the remainder by testing it on topics such as birth control, weekly Mass attendance, etc. This sort of projection could be based on large scale surveys conducted among the laity and Church personnel, to which we refer later (6).

However, a wider interpretation of Church membership, based on the notion of the Church as "The People of God" still does not escape some important problems. For example, if confusion over the nature of the Catholic Church has led in many instances to greater identification by Catholics to members of other faiths (e.g., Pentecostals, Buddhists, Protestants), should such members be considered as belonging to the Catholic Church? The problem is made more acute when the other faiths declare open hostility to the Catholic Church, or when it is understood that ideologies are incompatible, (as in the case of Marxism).

Again, there are those who have cut themselves off from the Catholic
Church, either voluntarily (lapsation), or by being declared outcast from its ranks (excommunication). Are such individuals also members?

Thus, whether one uses a strict or broad notion of membership, i.e. whether based on the Code of Canon Law or on the Second Vatican Council, one still has not discovered the criteria for membership of the Catholic Church.

c. It is questionable whether one can study affiliation in an institution, such as the Catholic Church, subject as it is to rapid social change.

For the moment it takes it as given that there has been a significant variation in the structures of the Catholic Church, manifested by an alteration in its norms, values, cultural products and symbols (8). Evidence of such change will be produced later. The problem is largely philosophical and methodological. What one is asking is whether a sociologist can study affiliation to something called the Catholic Church in time A, and be sure that what he is reporting in time B corresponds with reality, particularly when the criteria for such affiliation may themselves have changed during the period of research?

The problem is aggravated when one considers that one is attempting to study affiliation to a multinational institution where rates of change are subject to social and cultural pressures.

In order to clarify the issues raised by the above three problems, it is necessary to define and operationalise the concepts of Catholic Church, religious belonging and rapid social change.

i. The Catholic Church

It is maintained that confusion over what is meant by the expression "Catholic Church" is derived from the differences in outlook between the disciplines of theology and sociology. While the former describes the Church in legal and sacramental terms, the latter
is based on a 'definition of the situation' by people claiming to be Catholics. While the former approach is 'a-priori' in outlook, the latter point of view centres on the matching of what is observable as an effect of stated Church membership with the actual auto-definition of such membership. The difference in emphasis can now be seen between the 'a-priori', deductive and Napoleonic legislative mentality of the theological outlook, compared to the 'a-posteriori', inductive and jurisprudential standpoint of the sociological persuasion.

The present writer here finds himself in somewhat of a dilemma. He has undergone four years theological training, aided by a preparatory three years ancillary study in philosophy. His postgraduate studies have centred on sociology, with specialisation in the sociology of religion. He now tackles a piece of research demanding from its outset the choice between a theological or sociological perspective of the Catholic Church. Where does his allegiance lie?

The answer to the dilemma can, hopefully, be found in following a middle course. Theologians and sociologists have argued recently that there is a case for a socio-theological interdisciplinary answer to problems concerning religion in general and the Catholic Church in particular (9). By subscribing to this latest climate of opinion, the present writer attempts to resolve the problem of membership to the Catholic Church in the following terms:

First, only those who state affiliation to the Catholic Church will be considered members. While this view may sound unorthodox in terms of traditional sacramental theology, it finds support among more recent theological texts (10). It is also in keeping with thinking in the sociology of religion (11).

Second, one admits that there are grades of commitment, from those who simply state membership to those who display to a greater or lesser degree the consequences of such a statement. This view is reflected in the theological treatment of merit, based on the
Joannine verse that, "In my Father's house there are many mansions." The sociologist of religion supports the notion of grades of commitment in typologies, ranging from dormant to nuclear Catholics (Fichter (13)), cosmobiologically to prophetically motivated Catholics (Pin (14)), and on low and high scale ratings on the five dimensions of religiosity (Glock and Stark (15)).

Finally, one accepts that there are types of commitment to the Catholic Church. The theological justification for such a stance lies in the concept of 'vocation', or divine call, to a certain level or position of commitment. The sociological complement to this notion lies in the freedom of choice over level or position of commitment, this time the emphasis being placed on achievement rather than ascription.

Thus a socio-theological working definition of the Catholic Church may be stated as follows:

The Catholic Church is a group of individuals who state that they belong to an institution known as the Catholic Church, whether they are clear or not as to its nature, and who display grades and types of commitment consequent upon such stated affiliation.

Clearly such a working definition is incomplete without an understanding of what is intended by belonging and commitment. To this end, now turn, hoping at the same time to resolve the problem of criteria of membership to the Catholic Church.

ii. Religious Belonging

The sociologist of religion has come recently to accept that religiosity is of more than one dimension. At the insistence of Glock and Stark, he has begun to realise that it is necessary to examine not only a person's stated affiliation to a particular religion, but also the experiential, ideological, ritualistic, intellectual and consequential dimensions of such an affirmation (16). However, Hervé Carrier (17) has suggested that a person's commitment to a Judeo-
Christian religion can, and does, subsume the above dimensions of religiosity, as it is an all-embracing, yet specific, attitude that can be examined in motivational and behavioural terms. In this he is following, with qualifications, the tradition of Wach and Le Bras (18). The former divided the phenomena of religious expression three ways:

a°) theoretical expression, or doctrine
b°) practical expression, or cult
c°) sociological expression, or community of believers (19).

The latter distinguished three major areas in religious sociology:

a) the "communal"
b) the "civil"
c) the "supernatural" (20).

The first of these areas, corresponding to Wach's "community of believers", was concerned with the community of the faithful, or the assembly of those belonging to one church; it sought the composition and structure and dynamism of religious societies as such. A combination of Wach and Le Bras permitted Carrier to state:

"Thus we will concentrate our observations on the religious community as such; our explicit object will be to elucidate the bonds which unite a believer with an organised religion." (21)

Clearly Carrier's concentration on Wach's "sociological expression, or community of believers" and Le Bras' "communal" areas in religious sociology, is not only highlighting observable group behaviour, but is attempting to tackle religious expression (religiosity) under one unifying perspective by emphasising religious belonging. The present writer, while agreeing with Carrier that religious belonging is the all embracing paradigm for an examination of religiosity, nevertheless feels that religious belonging itself must be subject to occasional dimensional analysis, along the lines suggested by Glock and Stark.

However, one still needs to establish the connection between the individual who states affiliation and the religious community. Following Carrier and O'Dea, we offer the following operational
definition of religious belonging that hopefully establishes this one's connection. By religious belonging we intend:

Those specific, yet all embracing, attitudinal and behavioural bonds that unite a believer with an organised system of beliefs and practices, considered to be of ultimate value.

In compiling the above definition one has amalgamated Carrier's religious belonging with O'Dea's definition of religion (22). The justification of such a step must of necessity involve a lengthy discussion as to the definability of religion (22). However, it is not the intention of the present writer to re-enter a debate to which he has once contributed (23). Nevertheless certain points regarding the above definition should be made:

1. One is considering an individual response to a collective system of beliefs and practices, defined as of ultimate value by the individual. In this case such a system is identified with "The Catholic Church." Such an approach permits the study of motivation in commitment (24).

2. Moreover, one is examining what the individual perceives or defines as being of ultimate value for him, that is, one is considering a situation as real because defined as such (25). This permits membership of the Catholic Church based on one or more values of its system, considered ultimate. It does not imply necessarily the acceptance of all Catholic values.

3. However, such a response is made to a "collective system of beliefs and practices", indicating response to a group of persons holding a similar religious world view (26). The similarity of world view is often indicated by the epithet "Catholic."

4. That the system is organised does not identify it of necessity with an organisation. We shall discuss presently models of the Catholic Church.

5. Neither does the limitation of the system to "beliefs and practices" exclude ethical consequences of belief
and religious experience, both dimensions to be found in the Catholic Church (27).

6. A discussion of "bonds that unite a believer" must also be open to degrees of unity. Thus one allows for grades of participation in the Catholic Church (28).

7. The comprehensiveness of religious attitudes and behaviour, signified by the words "all embracing", relies on the findings of psychologists and educationists (29). As regards the Catholic Church, Carrier demonstrates the comprehensiveness of religious attitudes with regard to conversion, early education, religious instruction and group cohesion. His approach is described by himself as being psycho-sociological, and has the merit of highlighting the interaction between individual and group, essential, one would maintain, for a deeper understanding of religious belonging.

8. Nevertheless, comprehensiveness of an attitude does not exclude its specificity (30). Just as a comprehensive liberal attitude can be identified in distinctive traits of political attitudes and behaviour, so too can a comprehensive religious attitude be seen in its unique unification of the personality, integration of values, and identification of status in a religious group, which can be identified as part of the Catholic Church, causing Carrier to remark:

"These appear to us as distinctive traits." (31)

9. Finally, one includes the notion of religious behaviour (32), as one wishes to include in the concept of religious belonging, not only the sociographical composition of groups and description of structures in the Catholic Church, but also spatio-temporal and cross-cultural influences that can bring about changes in forms of religious belonging to the Church. From the point of view of this research, it means that one can transcend the level of
motivation and examine the impact of motivation on dissatisfaction, and dissatisfaction on change, within a cross-cultural perspective.

Thus, one feels that the problem of criteria of membership to the Catholic Church has been largely overcome. One can avoid the 'a-priori' criteria of the Code of Canon Law by beginning with the ultimate values of the individual's world view, which may or may not be inherited, but which later allow identification of the individual with a collectivity of others sharing the same or similar values. The number of individuals prepared to share the epithet "Catholic" will thus be less than that expected by a legalistic definition of the Catholic Church. The concept of religious belonging will also be less amorphous than that described in terms of "The People of God"; and allow for sociological investigation according to the criteria of the definition supplied.

iii. Rapid Social Change

The problem of feasibility in a study of the Catholic Church, considered as a multinational institution subject to rapid social change, can be overcome by a brief reflection on the nature of social change. In the first place, it is clear that social change can never be total, for then there would be no criteria by which to recognise its previous mode of existence (33). Secondly, one is concerned with "a significant variation in the structures" of the Catholic Church (34). That such change has taken place remains to be demonstrated. As one can find members of the Catholic Church who argue that "a significant change" cannot take place, their arguments must at least be placed alongside those, also claiming membership, who state that such change has taken place. Thirdly, it does not follow that all auto-defined members of the Catholic Church, coming from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, are subject to the same rapidity of change. Fourthly, rapidity of change should not be confused erroneously with notions of 'progress', 'revolution' or 'development'. Finally, speed and direction of change can only be measured within temporal dimensions. Those who argue
that it is impossible to examine an institution such as the Catholic Church, due to the intervention of rapid social change between times A and B, have the responsibility of placing a date on times A and B, and of demonstrating that the institution in that period has become so unstable as to leave no criteria for recognition of the same institution within that time period.

One shall presently argue that significant social change has taken place within the Catholic Church by comparing the pre and post Vatican II periods. However, central to one's argument is that while the institution of the Church as a system of beliefs and practices has remained basically the same (thereby allowing a study of change), the model of such an institution, as created by members holding the same or similar values as ultimate, has indeed been transformed. This line of argument, as one feels, answers the objections posed by problem (c).

Thus, one feels that the three initial problems have been answered in the main by a clarification of concepts. However, one is still left with one major problem that underlies the three previous ones, and one that has only been hinted at in earlier conceptualisation. Such a problem may be stated as follows:

WHAT IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL CAPABLE OF ENCOMPASSING THE PHENOMENON OF BELONGING TO A CHANGING CATHOLIC CHURCH?

2. The problem of the research

Up to this point one has been concerned with operationalising concepts, clarifying what is intended by membership to a changing Catholic Church. The problem now facing the sociologist is what model is appropriate for encompassing such conceptualisation? Sociologists work with models when they examine institutional behaviour and attitudes (35). Consequently the choice of model (36) plays an important part as a frame of reference for the collection, analysis and presentation of findings. However, for the present research the
choice of model is not merely a question of methodology. It represents the beginning and end of the investigation, for depending on which model of the Catholic Church is selected lies the answer to the question of whether an alternative model of religious belonging is needed. This last point needs clarification, as it represents the problem of choosing between a uniform or pluriform model of belonging to the Catholic Church. Such a choice is now made explicit.

a. The uniform organisation model

Until the second half of the present century, sociologists have been content to describe the Catholic Church in organisational terms. (This remark is not intended to imply that the Church has always been described in such terms. Indeed it would appear to be a phenomenon of only the last hundred years, roughly the period during which sociology has emerged as a science). Moreover, for many writers the Catholic Church exemplified the Church-type 'par excellence' (37), thus facilitating the application of a uniform organisational model to it. For them such a model was a simple one, reflecting the relatively static qualities of the Catholic Church during this time. The description of the Church as an organisation (38) was also reasonably accurate at a period when the Church-State controversy brought about secularisation and heightened the organisational aspects of the Church based on the notion of 'office' (39).

The structure was hierarchical, and values were communicated vertically, aided by a system of norms, rules and sanctions. Rationality pervaded the organisation in terms of aims and goals, and contractual relationships existed through a system of rights and duties, which, if carried out, resulted in spiritual benefits. The organisational model was also well equipped to deal with the Church's 659 million membership (40), represented either officially or unofficially in every country of the world by its 1.8 million employees (41). One could also measure efficiency of the organisational Church in terms of its investment programme (42), its legislation (43), and its decision taking.
procedures (44). The type of authority exerted too, fitted into the classic mould of a bureaucracy, which was reflected in a pyramidal structure with the Pope at its apex and the laity at its base. Moreover, there are still many commentators today, who, while perhaps feeling that the Church should not take on the characteristics of an organisation, nevertheless maintain that an organisational model presents the most apt picture of what the Catholic Church is and does. What is more important to their arguments, however, is that belonging to the Catholic Church is best encompassed by a static paradigm, as there are a variety of reasons which make the Catholic Church fundamentally resistant to change. Their arguments will be examined presently, but what strikes the present writer as the crucial unifying theme in a discussion of a model for the Catholic Church is the focussing of one's attention on religious belonging.

b. The pluriform model

On the other hand, there are many who hold that to look at the current situation of religious belonging in the Catholic Church in terms of an organisational model is only to receive a very distorted picture of reality. This second group maintains that the Catholic Church has changed fundamentally since Pope John XXIII and his Vatican Council, and that a static model is no longer suitable to describe elements of dialectical tension (45). Using the same dimension of religious belonging, they point to different types of religious belonging, many of which cannot be described in macro-organisational terms. Indeed several of the elements of the Catholic Church of which they are speaking militate against all forms of bureaucratic membership. Examples can be found in the very existence of the terms 'Catholic Left', 'Catholic Right', 'Conservatives' and 'Progressives', 'Dutch Catholics' and 'Irish Catholics', and 'Contesateurs', 'Reformers' and 'Revolutionaries', as opposed to 'Traditionalists' pandering to 'Fascist Elites'.
Writers of the 'deinstitutionalisation' school combat bureaucracy. Members of Church personnel speak of 'risking themselves' to form authentic human relationships, rather than accepting authoritarian rulings. Still within the official personnel of the Church, one encounters groups of men and women, renowned for protest by the very way of life they have chosen. Here one is referring to religious orders and congregations. All of these, at one time or another, have reacted to what they considered evils in the Church and in society, and have sought to purify themselves and others from them. This sort of behaviour is normally encountered in sects (46), but here we have the case of a sect within the Church (47). St. Francis of Assisi objected to medieval capitalism. St. Dominic desired purity in doctrine and sought to remedy this with his Order of Preachers. St. Benedict emphasised the praise of God before all else, while St. Ignatius Loyola took the opposite point of view, reducing liturgy to a minimum in his missionary quest for souls. One only has to read the lives of the different founders and foundresses of religious orders and congregations to discover a type of charismatic protest, one that totally militates against an organisational model of the Church.

Today such anti-institutional protest is spreading within lay members of the Catholic Church. While official attendance is decreasing (48), equally dramatic is the increase in new forms of religious life and groups (49). One should not assume that only those from the 'left' rebel against the organisational model of the Church. There are many of more traditional persuasions who desire more intimate forms of religious belonging, either sporadically, as in the case of 'cursillos' (50) and 'The Family Group' movement (51), or else on a more permanent basis, such as movements like 'Focolare' (52) or those modelled on Taizé or L'Abri.

The existence of such pluriformity of outlook among membership of the Catholic Church is evidenced further by magazines and journals.
catering for the different outlooks. A left faction is catered for by such reviews as 'Informations Catholiques Internationales', 'America' and 'Herder Korrespondenz'; the right wing is more content to read 'L'Osservatore Romano' and 'The Universe'; and those in the centre group may desire 'The Catholic Herald' or 'Pro Mundi Vita'. What should be as clear as the existence of these 'parties' in the Church is that they cannot all be encompassed by a uniform organisational model of reality.

The advocates of a pluriform model of the Church point to its necessity precisely on account of the change and tension that exists within the Church. The real reason for change in the Church, they say, due to an alteration in the very meaning of the word 'Church'. Moreover they point to a definite cut-off point in time when such a change occurred - the pontificate of Pope John XXIII and Vatican II. It is thus possible to examine their claim. If there is substance in what they are saying, then one must abandon a uniform organisational model of the Catholic Church and attempt to substitute it with a pluriform model, based on religious belonging, yet consonant with the dimensions of religiosity encompassing belief, ethical consequences of belief, practice and religious experience.

3. The title of the research is itself a model.

Before drawing the reader's attention to an overall plan for tackling the debate, answering the principal question:

WHAT IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL CAPABLE OF ENCOMPASSING THE PHENOMENON OF BELONGING TO A CHANGING CATHOLIC CHURCH?,

one should be aware at the same time that titles themselves are models, or ways of encompassing reality. Science is the knowledge of limits and the confines of knowledge are described by titles considered as models. The title of this piece of research is:
which thereby limits the insights offered by a socio-theological approach (together with those of other allied disciplines) to the following considerations:

a) an appraisal of the Catholic Church as earlier defined, as opposed to other non-Christian and Christian religions, sects and cults, which view the Catholic Church as an out-group.

b) a focussing of one's attention primarily on the period 1959-74, where alleged change in the Catholic Church is said to have taken place, although analogies, comparisons, and precedents from Church history will be drawn. (However, it should be pointed out that one is not accepting the simplistic view that such alleged fundamental change is due in no way to earlier 20th century movements in the Catholic Church, such as the liturgical, biblical and catechetical movements. The period 1959-74 is seen rather as witnessing the fruition of these movements, occasioned by the pontificate of Pope John XXIII and Vatican II).

c) a restriction of the debate to a discussion of change, while realising that elements of change can only be understood with reference to more stable characteristics of an institution.

d) an examination of religious belonging, serving to emphasise one particular dimension of religiosity, while perforce engaging one in discussion of other overlapping dimensions of religiosity.

e) the use of the term 'religious' in connection with 'belonging' underlines this principal form of commitment as being religiously motivated. Occasionally, however, one must look at borderline motivation, where the distinction between the religious and other social institutions becomes blurred.

f) the further limiting of the research to a comparison of two models of the Catholic Church: one uniform, the other pluriform. If
f) adduced arguments render the former inadequate, then one can suggest the 'need' for an alternative model, i.e. the Latter.

4. The Plan of the Research
   a. In brief

Briefly, the research examines the uniform and pluriform models of religious belonging in turn by looking at the arguments used to justify each approach. On balance it is decided that the pluriform model gives a more apt description of belonging to a changing Catholic Church. This latter model is then presented in sociological terms and examples of types of belonging in the Catholic Church are given as evidence of the workability of the model. A sociological explanation of the emergence of a pluriform model is suggested in terms of crises of motivation and satisfaction in the Catholic Church. The introduction of these latter variables spells the need to offer a fuller causal model, linking motivation, satisfaction and change, which can be empirically tested. The second section of the research attempts verification of a series of hypotheses underlying the research model, by applying them to an international congregation of missionary sisters. There are grounds for supposing that the problem of generalisation from a particular congregation to other areas of Church membership can be overcome. The results of the survey are suggested as being of future use in enquiries that are taking place in different but allied areas in the Catholic Church.

b. In more detail

SECTION ONE
A. An examination of the organisational model of religious belonging is based on the view of an unchanging Church and consequent unchanging religious belonging, due to the Church's:

1. Fixed concept of human nature and monopoly of the sacred
2. Catering solely for the primitively motivated
3. Institutionalism
4. Vested interests in centralised power
5. Self-binding legislation
6. Emphasis on tradition
7. Anti-intellectual stance opposed to disciplines that study change
8. Close resemblance to a Weberian model of bureaucracy.

B. An examination of the view of changing patterns in religious belonging is based on the reality of a changing Church, as evidenced by:

1. The change in the meaning of the word 'Church'
2. The difference in preconciliar and postconciliar attitudes and behaviour
3. The change in religious belief, based on Revelation, Christology, Grace and Sacramental Theology
4. The change in religious practice from personal devotion to communal participation
5. The movement in ethics towards Christian Humanism
6. The change in religious experience from a transcendent notion of God to an immanent one

C. View A is compared with view B. The latter is selected because its notion of religious belonging:

1. Is capable of tackling the phenomenon of decentralisation in the Church
2. Can more aptly deal with post-Vatican notions of extended Church membership
3. Is able to encompass the emergence of interest groups in the Church
4. Can adequately treat of conflict in the Catholic Church
5. Is able to deal with the phenomenon of parties in the Church

D. A sociological model of pluriform religious belonging in the Catholic Church is presented

Such a model is formed from the variables of particularism-universalism,
and ascription-achievement, giving rise to four quadrants, described as:

1. the total institution mentality
2. the family
3. the closed community
4. the open network

Sociological justification for each quadrant is supplied, together with current examples from the above types of belonging in the Catholic Church.

E. A causal explanation of the pluriform model is sought in terms of motivation and satisfaction

The model to be tested takes on the following appearance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{INNER MOTIVATION} & \rightarrow \text{SATISFACTION} \rightarrow \text{CLOSED COMMUNITY BELONGING} \\
\text{OUTER MOTIVATION} & \rightarrow \text{DISSATISFACTION} \rightarrow \text{OPEN NETWORK BELONGING}
\end{align*}
\]

SECTION TWO

The model of E is tested

1. Introduction: problems of methodology
2. The subject under study is presented: an international congregation of missionary sisters
3. Indicators and scales of motivation, satisfaction and change are drawn inductively from current socio-religious research
4. Hypotheses are derived and tested, and the model is built up
5. The overall research model is tested by path analysis, factor analysis and content analysis
6. Conclusions are drawn. Areas for further research are suggested
5. The originality of the research

Sociological research is concerned with the interplay between fact and theory. Consequently any claim to originality it may have generally centres on the discovery of new data (or the re-examination of previously existing data under differing conditions) with a view to the formulation of new theory (or the rejection and reformulation of theory previously held). The sociologist may also claim originality in the manner that he conducts the interplay between facts and theory; this usually represents an innovation in the field of methodology.

Moreover, it is customary in doctoral research, where a certain premium is placed upon originality, to indicate at an early stage in one's presentation, to what extent originality is claimed. In following this latter professional criterion, the method adopted has been to indicate chapter by chapter where originality, as described above, is claimed to exist. It is advisable for the reader to consult the list of contents when taking appraisal of these claims. In addition he may have to return to this section when considering the remaining chapters of this work.

a. Section one

In the first section originality is claimed in the fields of both theory and methodology. In chapter one (this introduction), it should be clear that Carrier's was the first exhaustive treatment of religious belonging to the Catholic Church, a treatment that by and large subsumes the other dimensions of religiosity. In other words, one is entering a field that is scarcely twenty years old. Moreover, since Carrier very little has been added to or subtracted from his findings, due in the main to lack of serious challenge. This fact alone is disquieting particularly when one considers that since Carrier wrote, the Second Vatican Council has changed (some would say, significantly), the face of the Catholic Church – the object of his enquiry. One thus feels that
one may claim a certain amount of originality in turning Carrier's monologue into a debate, by considering religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church. However, examination of religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church raises the question of an appropriate sociological model for one's investigation. To the best of one's knowledge this is the first time that such a question has been raised in these terms. Chapters two and three examine two possible models by collating a series of theological arguments in favour of each. While the summarising of these arguments under a unifying perspective marks some contribution to positive theology, what is more of an innovation, one feels, is their treatment from a sociological standpoint. This interaction between the disciplines of theology and sociology may be considered as an application of socio-theological method. The need for such a method has been explained recently by others as the most satisfactory way of treating socio-religious phenomena, given the difficulties encountered by the treatment of such phenomena by the separate disciplines of sociology and theology. However, a full attempt to apply a socio-theological method has, as far as one has learnt, not been hitherto attempted. In this sense, then, this piece of research can be seen as somewhat of a methodological innovation. An explanation for this claim to originality in the methodological sphere is due by and large to the writer's personal problem of reconciling his position both as a theologian and a sociologist.

By chapter four, it should be clear that a preference is shown for those arguments supporting a pluriform model of religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church. Moreover, no repentance is shown for displaying value judgements in this regard, when the very title of the research indicates that the need for an alternative model requires that a choice be made. It is, of course, impossible to claim originality for such a choice. What is new, however, is the collation of arguments supporting the alternative model, based on the socio-theological method.

Chapter five, is probably the most original in the first section, as it attempts to place sociological uni-interpretative theory under a multidimensional model. One may claim that this is not only the first time that this has been performed by sociologists, but that no application of such a model has been made with regard to religious belonging in the Catholic Church. One therefore feels justified in claiming both originality in method and in reformulation of previous theory.

However, it is only when one comes to chapter six that one leaves the level of description and seeks causal explanation of pluriform belonging in socio-theological terms. The selection of motivation as a causal factor in the model is not new in itself. However, it does emphasise a variable that is often neglected in socio-religious research. The distinction of motivation into inner and outer motivation also does something to clarify the plethora of terminology encountered in socio-religious studies. The introduction of dissatisfaction as a causative factor in the pluriform model is again only new in emphasis, in that it attempts to underline the positive aspect of dissatisfaction, where previous studies have concentrated more on satisfaction as a major research variable.

b. Section two

By contrast, section two's originality lies mainly in the employment of fresh data. However, this should not be taken to imply that no contribution has been made to theory or methodology. In chapter one, for example, the problem of generalisation in sociology becomes more poignant when applied to the problem of drawing conclusions for the Catholic Church, based on one membership group within its ranks, an international
missionary congregation of sisters. It is suggested that a possible reason for the inapplicability of socio-religious findings to the Catholic Church in general has been the lack of attention given to the cultural variable in the majority of studies to date. The present research claims to have suggested a possible way for overcoming this obstacle.

Chapter two, is perforce original, in that no sociological study has been made of the congregation of sisters in question. However, more interest should be found in the treatment of such fresh data, as it is dealt with under the perspective of religious belonging. To the best of one's knowledge no prior studies of female religious have followed the same theoretical dimensions.

Chapter three, may strike one as being the least interesting or rewarding of the whole research. Yet the clustering of indicators from allied research into indicators of types of motivation and dissatisfaction is essential to the current work. The only claim to novelty lies in the fact that so far in recent socio-religious research such indicators have not been assembled into operational categories.

Chapter four, tests the pluriform model of religious belonging step by step, hypothesis by hypothesis, whilst chapter five looks at the model as a whole by multivariate techniques. As one has claimed originality for the model, then 'a fortiori' one is original in the components of the model. The techniques employed to test the model are, of course, quite standard. The concluding chapter is as original as the premisses on which it is based.
CHAPTER TWO

A. An examination of the organisational model of religious belonging is based on the view of an unchanging Church, and consequent unchanging religious belonging due to the Church's:

1. Fixed concept of human nature and monopoly of the sacred
2. Catering solely for the primitively motivated
3. Institutionalism
4. Vested interests in centralised power
5. Self-binding legislation
6. Emphasis on tradition
7. Anti-intellectual stance, opposed to disciplines that study change
8. Close resemblance to a Weberian model of bureaucracy

One should remember that here one is considering those, who, while feeling perhaps that the Church should change significantly in the structures that surround its beliefs, practices, norms and sanctions, nevertheless maintain that the Church has not, is not, will not and cannot change in fundamentals. It is thus best encompassed by an organisational model, descriptive of hierarchical structure. Moreover, under such a model, there is only a uniform method of belonging, that of receiving commands and acting on them. The eight major reasons underlying this persuasion are now presented in more detail.

1. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's fixed concept of human nature and monopoly of the sacred.

The chief proponent of this view is Charles Davis (1). Following Lonergan (2), who in turn borrows heavily from Aquinas, Hegel and Newman, Davis holds that man's consciousness is in a state of development. Human nature is not something static. It is the evolution of the person in the process of freely becoming himself. If one applies the concept of self-understanding, or consciousness, to the Church, then that too should evolve in the same way as the changing patterns of consciousness of man in history. However, as Davis points out, instead of the Church showing an attitude of openness to truth, corresponding to an evolution in man's consciousness, it tries to isolate an unchanging core of Christian belief (3). In so doing the Church
isolates itself from history. Its changelessness in dogma is also characterised by the 'objectivity' that it seeks in the formulation of its creeds. Such objectivity is reflected in the structure of an over-arching organisation (4), which is not concerned with subjective 'I-Thou' relationships.

In other words, Davis is saying that the Church is a closed system of belief and structure, and therefore cannot change because of its concept of human nature as something unchanging. He contrasts the Church with a freely created organisation when he writes:

"Corresponding to the shift from the concept of a fixed human nature to that of a freely self-constituting person, there is the social change from fixed hierarchical orders in a closed situation to freely created organisations in an open situation." (5)

He goes along with Harvey Cox in saying that the freely created organisation, although limited in scope, at least is changeable, and this is reflected in the freedom that man has from undesired face-to-face relationships and the freedom to follow his interests (6). The freely created organisation thus liberates, and 'I-You' relationships persist. Only when it becomes all embracing, when its limitations are not recognised, does the organisation reduce itself to a system of 'I-It' relationships, seeking to control the totality of people's lives, while remaining itself unchangeable (7).

As evidence of the Church's unchangeability, due to its fixed concept of human nature, Davis points to the anachronistic power structures of the Church, which existed from the time of Constantine and continued through the Middle Ages and the French Revolution, where:

"The genuinely human and Christian values present in the new social and political consciousness were ignored, indeed opposed and condemned, because they threatened the status quo." (8)

Political Catholicism tried to contain secular and liberal forces by political influence. It acted in this way during the French Revolution and within the German Romantic Movement, finally condemning all new ideas. As Davis says:
"The syllabus of 1864 with its unperceptive condemnation of modern ideas and ideals may stand as the charter and symbol of the spiritually sterile and politically reactionary papal policy." (9)

In more recent times, Davis cites a further position of entrenchment evidenced by the declaration of Papal Infallibility, the mentality of which lasted until Pius XII, only to be resurrected by Paul VI. Even the two main renewal documents of Vatican II, 'The Church in the Modern World' and that on Religious Freedom, are stated by Davis as coming from thought outside the Catholic Church, and developed by writers in spite of, rather than because of, the Church. Reform, in other words, has not been caused by the Catholic Church. Indeed reform has persistently been stifled by the Church with its authoritarianism. The Church, in order to preserve its hierarchical and organisational structures, failed to give witness in Europe with its concern over the Papal States. It failed to resist the evils of Nazism and to challenge Apartheid and racial discrimination in the United States, for fear of risking its institutional position. Instead, claims Davis, the Church built itself a capitalistic empire in order to preserve it. The same could be said of Cardinal Spellman with his ideas describing the Vietnam situation as being a 'Holy War.' (10) For Davis:

"The Roman Catholic Church does not correspond to what the Church of Christ should be — as a Church shaped for mission, moving under the action of the Spirit through the transitory structures of this world, applying the teaching of Christ to every new situation, and leading men in hope towards the final Kingdom. It gives the impression of a rigid structure settled in a past age and now, in more senses than one, hopelessly trying to maintain itself." (11)

An interesting position adopted by Davis is that he does not subscribe to secularisation theories and attempt to use them to explain the Church's reluctance to change. Instead he accuses the Church of adopting the sacred/secular distinction, claiming a monopoly of the sacred, and as a consequence embodying itself in rigid organisational structures (12). For Davis, if the Church had refused to accept the sacred/secular distinction, then its structures would indeed have been more Catholic. By specialising in the sacred, the Church takes on the appearance of an organisation that deals with things (the 'I-It' relationship) (13). If, on the other
hand, it spread itself in the same way as the universal presence of Christ among men, then it would be seen in community at all levels (the ' I-Thou ' relationship) (14).

Having thus analysed the Catholic Church as incapable of change as long as it maintains organisational structure, due to a fixed concept of human nature and its monopoly of the sacred, the question of belonging to such a Church for a theologian, committed to evolution of consciousness and dogma, could only be resolved one way. Davis had to abandon, not only his priesthood, but also the Church. For him the Church had lost all credibility. The present hierarchical organisational structure could not be found in the bible, and the Church, by adopting such a structure, was failing to carry out the mission of Christ to go and teach all nations. One could not believe in such an institution because it did not move with the Spirit and show signs of faith, love and hope. As Davis states:

"The Roman Catholic Church does not only fail to embody Christian hope. It contradicts itself by making itself an end, not a means, and by compromising its mission to preserve and strengthen its institutional position." (15)

Davis wanted an alternative model of the Church to that of the organisation. He needed it but could not find it. He, therefore, in his own mind, could no longer belong to the Catholic Church, but had to seek alternative commitment. His views are best summarised by the statement made to those assembled at the press conference, when the departure of Britain's leading Catholic theologian was made public, on 21 December, 1966:

"For me Christian commitment is inescapable from concern for truth and concern for people. I do not find either of these represented by the official Church. There is concern for authority at the expense of truth, and I am constantly saddened by instances of the damage done to persons by the workings of an impersonal and unfree system. Further I do not think that the claim the Church makes as an institution rests upon any adequate biblical and historical basis. The Church in its existing form seems to me a pseudo-political structure from the past." (16)
2. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's catering solely for the primitively motivated.

Emile Pin and François Houtart in their *The Church and the Latin American Revolution* (17) suggest that the rural mentality of the majority of Latin Americans (18) carries with it no norms for change (19). Even the move to the cities, or the attempt of priests to change this motivation, is blocked by governing élites, whose interests are against change (20). Indeed this latter group is supported by the Church (21). Education in the cities maintains the traditional values of the Church, based on class division and organisational authority (22), and attempts of priests or bishops (23) to combat the institutional Church on this issue only meet with failure (24). Dysfunctional strategies persist to maintain cosmobiological motivation (25), thus limiting religiosity to external manifestations (26) of fatalism (27). Pastoral strategy is defensive (28), catechetics gives way to bizarre devotions (a source of Church income), casuistic morality concerns itself with sex taboos and not social issues, spirituality is based on sorrow, authoritarianism reigns with its utilisation of social and political power, triumphalism condemns all that is not Catholic, and pastoral activity is commercialised, routinised and reflected in the high illegitimacy rates (29).

Writing separately, Pin argues that change is virtually impossible in a Church that fails to change primitive motivation. The task is made even more difficult when the Church itself is a Church of farmers and fascist leaders, and thus simply cannot communicate with the working man (30). Its ceremonies, based on the next life, have no meaning for man seeking social power in the present. The symbolism and language belong to another age. The Church in the towns acts in the style of the country, oblivious of factors of mobility, emigration, interest groups, etc., and expects its authoritarianism to be passively accepted by workers who think more in active participatory terms. It is because of the Church's failure to change that it cannot communicate with the working
classes and thus alienates them from membership. Elsewhere (31), Pin points to the sacral power of the priest as being the chief obstacle to communication. Even if the content of his message is of Vatican II variety, it is only a replacing of magic sacred by symbolic sacred. It cannot have anything to do with people's lives, as the priest is forbidden to participate in them.

Houtart, in his *Challenge to Change* (32), offers little hope for the Church's changing. He sees the emergent social values as being those of rationality, leadership, adaptation, socialisation and communication. The Church simply has not inculcated any of these values. Instead it is organised by aging celibates who still consider towns as villages and that good Catholics are those who attend Mass on Sundays, even though by so doing they become marginal to society (33). The organisational Church based on primitive motivation speaks only to the women, old men and children of the parish ghetto, because the scholastic language of its encyclicals has not the capacity to speak to anyone else (34). The Church fails to tackle adequately social problems of underdevelopment, leisure, education, mass communication, cultural differences, deployment of manpower and decentralisation of authority, because it can only multiply organisations within itself, instead of embarking on new models of action. The Church also shuns any development in psychology or sociology, and even evolution in thought in ecclesiology, moral theology and pastoral theology, essential for motivational change (35). In other words, for Houtart, the Church cannot change if it refuses to accept social change, new relationships between itself and the world, new forms of belonging, new types of action, new roles and new motivational thought patterns.

Thus for both Pin and Houtart passive organisational belonging to the Catholic Church must persist as long as its members are maintained at a primitive level of motivation. The only hope for an alternative model of the Catholic Church lies in a change in such motivation. For Pin the task of changing motivation from cosmobiological to prophetic for a priest was found to be impossible, and for that reason he left the Jesuits (36).
Houtart, on the other hand, decided that he could still continue his priestly role by making a more thorough study of primitive religiosity, in the hope that it could be combated (37). What both men have in common however, is the hypothesis that if primitive motivation is allowed to predominate among membership of the Catholic Church, then such membership will be passive and organisational in character. It will be a static membership in a changeless Church.

3. Organisational Belonging is due to the Church's Institutionalism

This argument, put forward here by Ivan Illich, does not deny the existence of regulated cultural thought patterns and behaviour, known to sociologists as 'institutions'. What it does attack, however, is the maintenance of institutions for their own sake, regardless of social and cultural change, particularly at the 'grass roots' level. In other words, what is being combated is the ideology of preserving institutions which have become outmoded. For this reason we use the word 'institutionalism'. Illich, along with Reimer (38) and Freire (39), launches his attack against institutionalism to be found in the sphere of education. From there he extends his campaign to include, among others, the religious institution in society. For Illich, the Catholic Church demonstrates institutionalism 'par excellence'. He writes:

"The Roman Catholic Church is the world's largest non-governmental bureaucracy. It employs 1.8 million full time workers - priests, brothers, sisters and laymen. These employees work in a corporate structure which an American business consultant firm rates as among the most efficiently operative organisations in the world. The institutional Church functions on a par with General Motors Co. and the Chase Manhattan Bank." (40)

He adds that the criteria for success utilised by the American management association were all based on the maintenance of the status quo (41).

My underlining of the above passage from Celebration of Awareness should illustrate that Illich tends to identify institutionalism with an organisational or bureaucratic mentality, which, for purposes of our one's one presentation, we can describe as utilising an organisational model as a
paradigm for the Catholic Church. The reason why Illich questions and attacks an organisational model of the Church is because such institutionalism creates certainties by use of coercive power and authority, where certainties do not obtain (42). This last point is crucial to an understanding of belonging. Central to Illich's thought is the right for members of an institutional society to develop their own consciousness through socio-political awareness (Freire's conscientisation), rather than to be socialised by alien cultural packages. The former approach thus allows members to shape institutions and actively participate in them. The latter, organisational model, shapes members in the name of efficiency, thereby reducing participation and responsibility to a minimum. Illich saw that the efficiency of the Church had caused its stagnation, causing him to remark:

"We may come to recognise that efficiency corrupts Christian testimony more than power." (43)

In order to reconcile his own membership to the Catholic Church, Illich sought first of all to reform the organisational model from within. In 1961 he objected to the drafting of 10% of North American priests and sisters to Latin America, as it would have made an alien Church even more foreign, it would have made it more overstaffed and priest-ridden, have turned bishops into abject bygones, have transformed the "hacienda of God into the Lord's supermarket," have saved the Church from looking at lay responsibility, and would only have served the upper class for motives of profit (44). In the same year Illich decided to establish his Center of Intercultural Formation in Cuernavaca, Mexico, with a view to acculturalising the missionaries into Latin American ways of thought and hopefully to reduce the size of the draft, which he referred to as "the seamy side of charity." (45) Six years later he channelled his energies directly into the educational sphere, which he found crucial for breaking the organisational model of the Church and for creating alternative active membership. Illich wanted:

"to suggest that we welcome the disappearance of institutional bureaucracy in a spirit of deep joy," (46)
because under such a system:

"the prophet is always accused of subversion, the theologian of irrelevance, and the saint is written off as crazy." (47)

Never were truer words spoken. Rome's reaction was swift and drastic. In 1968 Illich was summoned to the Holy Office and asked to recant his views. This last manoeuvre merely confirmed Illich's growing suspicions that he could not combat the organisational Church from within. Cuernavaca continued but Illich renounced his priesthood. For Illich his analysis of the Church as a static organisation had been correct, and he found that he could not belong to such an irreformable organisation.

4. Organisational Belonging is due to the Church's vested interests in centralised power.

This argument is based on the hypothesis that if all major decisions in the Catholic Church are taken by a small group of influential men (the Pope and the Curia), based at one central headquarters (the Vatican), and their decisions are to be considered as binding on all members of the Church, then such a structure is organisational in nature and only allows for a passive form of membership. Such a picture of the Church's bureaucratic workings was presented by Peter Hebblethwaite in The Observer (48).

In his two articles Hebblethwaite tried to show how the Roman Curia, operating under such congregations as those of the Holy Office and of Propaganda, were largely under the control of one man, Archbishop Benelli, known in Vatican circles as 'the Berlin Wall'. According to Hebblethwaite, all items of importance pass through the hands of Benelli — correspondence, papal documents, speeches, nuncios, visitors of State, and reports from all the centralised congregations. He controls the important area of communication, vetting both incoming and outgoing news items, the latter through the media of L'Osservatore Romano and the Vatican Radio. 'Dangerous' persons, such as Archbishop Helder Camara, Cardinal Suenens, the priest 'contestateurs' of Chur 1971, are held in check by Benelli. The Archbishop can control the rate of ecumenical progress through
his powerful influence over the Secretariat for Christian Unity. He can wield power on the diplomatic front too, as he did when the Justice and Peace Commission attempted to condemn torture in Brazil. Suspect theologians can be called in for interrogation, as in the cases of Hans Küng and Ivan Illich, by dint of Benelli's hold over the Holy Office. In a nutshell, Archbishop Benelli can control any organisation that calls itself 'Catholic', which in practice includes not only all the major congregations, commissions and secretariats, but also the majority of Catholic lay organisations.

The picture that Hebblethwaite paints of Benelli is certainly one of a right wing reactionary, intent on preserving his own position of power, and with it the status quo of the organisational Church. Had Benelli been consecrated a bishop before the Vatican Council and lived through its debates, Hebblethwaite suggests, the picture might have been a different one. As it was Benelli was made Archbishop in 1966, thus rendering him less 'au fait' with the changing mood of rank and file membership. Hebblethwaite continues:

"Thus Benelli is at odds with the best recent thinking in the Church. He is concerned with prestige and pomposity, at a time when many Christians are trying to make the Church a simpler, more fraternal and welcoming place. He is the arch-centraliser, at a time when vitality, and the turbulence that goes with it, is to be sought rather in the local churches throughout the world. He uses repressive methods of control, when some are trying to make the Church an area of freedom. He is secretive and mysterious when on all sides there are the attempts to create a more 'open' Church." (4

One feels that Hebblethwaite has rather overstated his case by pinpointing one personality and painting him in 'Big Brother' terms in order to create an Orwellian picture of the Vatican and its workings. He could have extended his analysis to include other organisation personalities, such as Cardinals Ottaviani, Dino Staaffa, Wright and Archbishop Marcinkus, or focussed on such institutions as the Holy Roman Rota. This latter approach, one feels, would have given a more accurate and complete presentation of the alleged centralisation of the
organisational Church. However, if one disagrees with Hebblethwaite's presentation, one must still consider the underlying point that is being made, namely that a policy of centralisation of power, be it in the hands of one man or many, is one that is the hallmark of an organisational model of the Church.

The repercussions of such a model for membership are already hinted at by Hebblethwaite. He suggests that attempts to change the model are:

"to be found at the local level where Catholics are trying to move towards greater simplicity."

However, the use of the words "Christians are trying," and "vitality is sought," would seem to indicate that an alternative model of the Church has not yet been achieved. Moreover, such attempts will always be frustrated as long as power is centralised. Hebblethwaite indeed would prefer an alternative model of the Catholic Church, but what he paints for his audience is a picture of what the Catholic Church is and does. That such an interpretation of Hebblethwaite's thoughts on implication for membership is not without foundation can perhaps be gauged from his own departure from the priesthood a few months after the appearance of his Observer articles.

5. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's self-binding legislation.

Members of the Catholic Church are bound by three types of law - Divine Law, Natural Law and Ecclesiastical Law. The first two types of law are in theory shared by members of other Christian denominations, in that they recognise the Ten Commandments and the accompanying revealed precepts of the bible, and give some form of assent to the Pauline law of nature written in their hearts, identified as conscience (Rom.2.15). However, it is in the interpretation as to what acts are in violation of the Divine and Natural Laws that lies the separation of Catholics from fellow Christians. For example, divorce and contraception are held by the Catholic Church to be in contravention of Divine and Natural Laws. That such an interpretation is unique is clear from the fact that it
cannot be found in any other Christian denomination. Moreover, for such an interpretation to be put into effect, structures must exist whereby there is a body of interpreters and a body of receivers to whom the interpretation is destined. Such structures do exist in the Catholic Church, as interpretation on matters of faith and morals is confined to the papacy, with the consent of the 'magisterium' (or bishops) of the Church. Interpretation is then passed on to the faithful either by papal decree or conciliar document. In other words, the structure of interpretation and reception is hierarchical in nature, identical with the organisational model of the Church that has been described in the last few pages.

Further evidence for an organisational model of the Church is to be found in the realm of Ecclesiastical Law. Such law is positive in nature and differs from Divine or Natural Law in that it is not to be found in Revelation. Consequently it is this third type of law, Ecclesiastical Law, that highlights to the greatest degree the differences between the Catholic Church and other Christians. The main body of this law is to be found in the Catholic Church's [Code of Canon Law](https://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/catholic.txt), to which one has already referred. Examples of Ecclesiastical Law, positive in nature, would be the laws of fast and abstinence, the observance of certain Holy Days and the law of celibacy. Appeals to tradition are often made with respect to these laws, but the tradition is never continuous, and should not be confused with Tradition (with a capital 'T'), as a source of teaching, a source on par with Revelation in Catholic thinking. That the promulgation of ecclesiastical law requires organisational structure should be even more apparent than in the case of interpretation of Divine and Natural Law. As ecclesiastical law is not founded on Revelation or Tradition, Church members have no way of deciding for themselves as to its contents. They must therefore rely on a legislating body for the divulgence of that knowledge. Moreover, Catholics cannot simply consult a book, such as the Bible or Denzinger or even the
Code of Canon Law, to ascertain the content of ecclesiastical law, as being positive in nature, it is subject to revision and change. In addition, positive law can vary from country to country. An example of this is the abstinence from meat on Fridays, once prescribed by ecclesiastical law for all Catholics. While this law was relaxed for many Catholics in Western countries, Poland, for instance, decided to increase the number of days of abstinence from once to twice a week. Thus because of the changeability and cultural differences attached to ecclesiastical law, there must exist the machinery for its promulgation. Such machinery, we would maintain, is organisational in character. The individual Church member has no means of privately discovering such legislation for himself; it must be received from above.

Another important aspect of ecclesiastical law that should be mentioned is its Napoleonic, rather than its Jurisprudential character. In other words, Church law is codified in a similar format to European Civil Law, and 'a-priori' principles are applied to individual cases. This type of legislation marks a different approach to that used in England, which being jurisprudential in nature, argues from individual cases to the establishment and/or amendment of precedent, in its formation of a body of law. Under the jurisprudential system, therefore, legislation is 'a-posteriori', and change in law is induced from the level of individual membership. This is not the case for ecclesiastical law, where a change in principle must first be established by the legislature and then be transmitted to those affiliated to the system. One would thus maintain that the differences in the two outlooks lie in the fact that whereas ecclesiastical law is vertical and transmitted downwards to membership, jurisprudential law is horizontal and moves in an upward direction. This difference, we further hold, calls for two diverse models, the former being organisational in nature, and the latter, for the moment, can be described as being best suited by an alternative model (50).
The passive participation of membership in the organisational model of ecclesiastical law is well illustrated by the case of the Washington priests versus Cardinal O'Boyle (51). On 31 July 1968, sixty-one priests of the Washington archdiocese signed a document objecting against the exclusion from the sacraments of those members of the faithful who felt that they could not accept the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*. Their refusal to withdraw their statement by 18 September of the same year resulted in their being suspended from priestly duties by their archbishop, Cardinal O'Boyle. What in effect had happened was that a number of priests had been punished for not committing a crime. Nor had they any right of appeal or were they even permitted to defend themselves against charges for which they had already received a verdict of guilty. Every manoeuvre was tried within Church law and through priests' pressure groups (notably the Canon Law Society of America), but to no avail. The implication of this case is that not only had the priests to passively accept a piece of ecclesiastical law, but that they were not free to do otherwise without being subject to sanction. In other words, ecclesiastical law cannot be challenged from below without penalty; legislation must be passively accepted from above. Such a situation, one feels, is aptly described in terms of organisational belonging.

6. Organisational Belonging is due to the Church’s emphasis on Tradition

The sources of teaching in the Catholic Church are based on Revelation, as found in the bible, and in ecclesiastical Tradition (52). It is this latter source that distinguishes the Catholic Church from other Christian bodies, with its emphasis on Apostolic Tradition, the Fathers of the Church, and the writings of universally accepted theologians (in practice, Thomas Aquinas). By introducing a second source of Tradition, the Catholic Church is able to impose on its membership elements of doctrine that are not to be found directly in the bible, for example the institution of seven sacraments by Christ and the Marian dogmas of the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. Moreover,
such teaching, based on Tradition, where its 'de fide definita' comes under the same infallible aegis as doctrine based on Scripture, must be accepted as such without question by Church members. Public refusal to accept doctrine of this nature amounts to heresy for which the penalty is excommunication. (The etymology of the word 'excommunication' is based on the Latin 'ex - communicare', meaning that an excommunicated person is no longer in communion with other members of the Church, in that he is banned from receiving the sacrament of Holy Communion, the source of unity among members. This etymological meaning coincides with the penalties reserved for the excommunicated, to be found in the Code of Canon Law (53).) Thus the repercussions for public disavowal of articles of faith based on Tradition are more serious for membership than failure to observe ecclesiastical law. Yet the model for the handing down of Tradition is the same, in that ordinary Church membership does not formulate Tradition, while still having to abide by it.

A good example of the influence of teaching based on Tradition affecting Church membership can be found in the sphere of sexual morals. The Church's teaching on contraception and celibacy is based on Tradition, rather than on Scripture, and has recently been promulgated in two recent encyclicals (54). As the bible nowhere refers to these two matters directly, appeals can only be made to conciliar teaching, fathers of the Church and other papal documents. (It could also be argued that the Church's teaching on abortion, masturbation, etc. are similarly traditional in nature.) Here one is not concerned with the rights and wrongs of the teaching on contraception and celibacy, but rather on their method of promulgation. In both cases the debate was taken out of the Council chamber and the final decree made known through papal encyclical. Neither matter could be successfully based on historical precedent. In the former case there wasn't any. In the case of the latter the contrary custom had prevailed, whereby priests, bishops, popes and ordained saints, had been married. When the opportunity for the voice of lay membership to be heard was evidenced in the
consultative commission on birth control, their majority verdict in favour of contraception was overridden by Pope Paul VI. Thus both promulgations were made from above and membership was expected to comply. Such a pattern of promulgation is organisational in character and the role of membership is simply passive acceptance. The options left open for the laity on the question of contraception were either acceptance, mortal sin (a form of temporary excommunication), or lapsation. The first of these is passive in nature, as we have observed; the remaining two options mark temporary or permanent resignation of membership. The same is true in the case of celibacy for members of the Church personnel. Either they embraced the teaching of the encyclical or they quit their ministry. That oppression of such organisational ruling was felt by lay and clerical membership can be detected in the dramatic increase of lapsation and defection figures since the promulgation of the two encyclicals (55).

7. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's anti-intellectual stance, opposed to disciplines that study change.

It has been argued above that while many may feel that the Catholic Church should change from an organisational model to an alternative one, the fact of the matter is that it has not and can not. A contributory factor to such resistance to change can be found in the hostility shown by Church leadership to disciplines that study change, in particular - Sociology. On at least two occasions Pope Paul VI has blamed sociology for dissent in the Church (56), and in this he has found a useful ally in Cardinal Heenan (57). For them sociology is connected in their minds with revolutionary change, brought about by the student revolts of the 1960's. It attempts to secularise religious phenomena. Sociology attacks authority upon which restraint to change rests. Finally it is accused of demonstrating the obvious (even when it pinpoints areas of desired change), which is taken as sufficient reason for not implementing such change. That this is a misunderstanding of sociology
can easily be argued (58), yet such a misunderstanding can only lead
to poor pastoral strategy, with its accompanying phobia of understanding
relevant facts and actual situations. Yet the misunderstanding and
criticism of sociology continues. Can one not conclude, therefore,
that while such suspicion and ambivalence towards sociology persists,
then so will the Catholic Church refuse to implement necessary change?

However, it is not so much the Church's resistance to change that
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is of interest
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s
, but resistance to change in its organisational
and hierarchical structures. To the best of one's knowledge there has
been no systematic sociological study of Church leadership, the top
echelons of the organisational model. The only major study, including
bishops in its survey of clerical attitudes, was that conducted in the
United States, where it transpired that there was a division of opinion
between bishops and priests on practically every item, and in particular
those questions connected with the exercise of authority (59). It
would appear, then, that reticence to a study of Church leadership,
only reinforces the interpretation that adherence to the organisational
model of the Church is being maintained. That sociology is considered
dangerous can thus be understood, as it is this discipline that is
capable of offering an alternative model of Church membership, and it is
one that would appear to benefit rank and file membership, who, through
its use would thereby have a medium for making their voices heard.

8. Organisational belonging is due to the Church's close
resemblance to a Weberian model of bureaucracy.

The time has now come for a sociological assessment of what is
intended by organisational belonging. Underlying the first seven
arguments is the concept of the Catholic Church as an organisation, a
model which produces and includes a passive sense of belonging from
its members. Such a model of the Catholic Church is derived from Max
Weber, who defines the Church as:

"a rational compulsory association with continuous operation
that claims a monopolistic authority." (60)
The four key words, that have been underlined, need fuller treatment for a better understanding of Weber's definition.

According to Weber, sociology treats of social action, which is to say that it attempts to understand ('verstehen') the subjective meaning that an individual attaches to his behaviour once he has taken the behaviour of others into account (61). Moreover, in order to understand the subjective meaning, it is necessary to understand the individual's motivation (62). Social action can be divided into the four following categories:

instrumentally rational,
value rational,
affectional,
or traditional. (63)

In the first case the social actor views others as a means for achieving a personal end. In value rational action the actor's belief in certain values overrides other motivation. In affectional action the actor takes the feelings of others more into account, whereas in traditional action his behaviour is determined by ingrained habituation. The type of rational relationship descriptive of the Church is both instrumental and value oriented. Rationality is thus a hallmark of the Church for Weber.

Still following Weber, if social relationships stress affectional or traditional motivations, then they can be termed 'communal' (Vergemeinschaftung), whereas if they emphasise instrumental or value rational motivation then they are called 'associative' (Vergesellschaftung) (64).

When an association becomes compulsory, Weber identifies it as an organisation, as distinct from an enterprise or voluntary association. In the organisation order is imposed on all action.

In his discussion of authority, the two major forms of interest here are charismatic and bureaucratic authority. The former is limited to exceptional individuals who are recognised as leaders by the groups that
they gather round them. Such groups are communal rather than associative, as the leader behaves in a non-rational manner. He has exceptional powers, he demands no salary, he sets out no rules, he does not base his behaviour on precedent, nor does he expect economic-legalistic obligations in others (65). However, charismatic authority does not last. It soon becomes routinised, often after the death of the leader, when there is no one with similar qualities to take his place. In many cases charismatic authority then becomes bureaucratic in nature: there are duties, a hierarchy, rules, officials, emphasis on qualifications and efficiency (66). Such is the case of authority in the Church.

Thus for Weber the Catholic Church (for him the prime exemplar of Church), is an organisation that runs on rational and compulsory lines, guided by a bureaucratic authority that imposes order on all action. Leadership and membership are hierarchical in their association, and the commitment expected from membership is total. Considered in these terms, it is difficult to envisage a change of model for the Catholic Church. There is apparently no room for prophecy (67), in such an organisation, as such charismatic authority belongs to other types of relationship, and thus becomes routinised in a bureaucracy. Nor does Weber envisage movement from an associative to communal relationship, even though he gives the religious brotherhood as an example of a group moving from communal to associative (68). Similarly it is difficult to see how the rational type of social action to be found in the Church can pass to affectional or traditional forms.

However, Weber has been criticised by Etzioni (69) for being too tied to a bureaucratic model of organisation. According to Etzioni, it is insufficient just to consider rational and non-rational forms of social action, as that fails to encompass all organisations. What is required is a typology of compliance structures based on types of power control (the structural aspect) and types of commitment.
(belonging?) to the organisation (the motivational aspect). His scheme can be represented graphically as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinds of Involvement of Lower Participants</th>
<th>Alienative</th>
<th>Calculative</th>
<th>Moral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kinds of Power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercive</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remunerative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a dynamic model, as, according to one of the author's hypotheses, organisations tend towards congruent structures, that is they tend towards the compliance structures placed in brackets (1, 5, and 9). Compliance structures also affect types of organisational goals (1), leadership (2), consensus (3), communication (4), socialisation (5), saliency (6), cohesion (7), the variance in charismatic authority (8), adaptation and change (9), tension and satisfaction (10). Etzioni then suggests that the Church should ideally fit into cell 9, where there is normative use of power and moral commitment from members. Category 9 stresses socio-cultural goals rather than those of economy (category 5) or of order (category 1). To obtain such goals coercion and remuneration give way to affective leadership, and consensus is concerned with values rather than organisational goals or means. Communication is expressive and horizontal and recruitment follows the same lines. Saliency, meaning involvement compared with other institutions, is much higher in normative moral organisations, than in the other eight varieties, and cohesion, defined as a positive expressive relationship between two or more actors, one would also expect to find high. Intense normative power is derived from charisma, which, when found in a natural leader, (as opposed to simply office), produces strong commitment.

However, one feels that Etzioni is rather begging the question by willing the Church into category 9. Even using his own arguments, one
is inclined to think that Etzioni has confused the ideal with the real. According to Etzioni, charismatic leadership, which he associates with the Church in category 9, is subject to routinisation (as in Weber). Moreover, the organisation can disintegrate when more than one member possesses charisma, just as it can with lack of discipline that usually accompanies charismatic leadership. Thus Etzioni feels that the Church needs to control for charisma. However, if the Church adopts an 'ante-factum' strategy of observation and screening or a 'post-factum' strategy of suspension, excommunication, execution (Bruno), canonisation (Joan of Arc), limitation of faculties (Fr. Feeney in 1949), taboo against the formalisation of factions, protection of strategic positions, or by creation of new divisions of labour (as in the case of religious congregations with specific objectives), then surely such strategies could not be described as a use of power associated with category 9! Tension also exists in category 9, where there is more than one goal, which leads to another form of compliance. The normative moral organisation can also be challenged by factors of space (culture and environment) and time (eg. war), which can produce internal tension and different compliance structures. One feels that a case could be made out for placing the Catholic Church in any of Etzioni's other eight compliance structures (priests can be found in categories 4, 5 and 6, for example), and one wonders whether it would not be more accurate to place many Latin American Catholics under alienative types of involvement (1 and 7 for the populace, and 4 for the elites).

Thus while Etzioni contributes to the debate, in that he allows for more dynamism in his model, one senses a certain amount of the unreal in his framework. One feels that his concept of a moral-normative Church is one that would collapse almost immediately, and that Weber after all is more accurate in speaking of the Church in terms of bureaucracy.

The above interpretation gains force from Peter Rudge's analysis (81). He describes five types of organisational theory in tabular form, as follows.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The theory</th>
<th>TRADITIONAL</th>
<th>CHARISMATIC</th>
<th>CLASSICAL</th>
<th>HUMAN RELATIONS SYSTEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>maintaining a tradition</td>
<td>pursuing an intuition</td>
<td>running a machine</td>
<td>leading groups adapting a system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| The organisation | historical institution | spontaneous creation | mechanistic structure | network of relationships | living organism |
| Purpose of design | preserving status quo | giving effect to intuition | maximising efficiency | happiness | maximising relevance |
| Source of momentum | within heritage | dynamism of intuition | leadership within | in system | in system |
| Relation of parts | coherent; stable | all focussed on intuition | mechanical fluid; inter- | dependent | dependent |
| Reaction to environment | attuned to embedded in static society | all focussed on intuition | device for reflection | attuned to changing & complex | attuned to changing & complex |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision making process</th>
<th>recurrent</th>
<th>critical</th>
<th>efficient</th>
<th>group goals</th>
<th>adaptation to change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature &amp; perception of goals</td>
<td>generally assumed</td>
<td>highly explicit</td>
<td>objective; subjective; definitive;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree of consciousness</td>
<td>non- spontaneous reflective</td>
<td>conscious; articulation highly calculated of feelings conscious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrete or continuous</td>
<td>continuous discrete</td>
<td>discrete continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td>continuous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainspring of decision</td>
<td>announcement proclamation issue consensus</td>
<td>expert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is of interest is that Budge identifies the Catholic Church with the classical theory, that closest to Weber's bureaucracy. He makes the distinction of what the Church should be like (the systemic theory, (82)), and then says what is actually is (the classical theory), even in 1968, three years after the renewal of Vatican II! His hallmarks of the Catholic Church take in Weber's rational efficiency and tend to place the Church in Etzioni's compliance structure 1, based on alienative coercion.
By selecting three authors and six organisational theories, and by applying them to the Catholic Church, the point of agreement is that, while one may desire a model other than the organisational when speaking of the Church, the actual model (underlying all previous seven arguments) that is applied to the Catholic Church, either consciously or subconsciously, is that based on Max Weber. The case for an unchanging model of belonging, due to an unchanging Church, must clearly rest in those terms.
CHAPTER THREE

B. An examination of the view of changing patterns in religious belonging is based on the reality of a changing Church, as evidenced by:

1. The change in the meaning of the word 'Church'
2. The difference in preconciliar and postconciliar attitudes and behaviour
3. The change in religious belief, based on Revelation, Christology, Grace and Sacramental Theology
4. The change in religious practice from personal devotion to communal participation
5. The movement in Ethics towards Christian Humanism
6. The change in religious experience from a transcendent notion of God to an immanent one.

In part B of this first section, we now examine the views of those who hold that it is inadequate to conceive the Church in purely organisational terms. The case for the opposition, while agreeing in the main with the criticisms levelled against the Church's reluctance to change, nevertheless emphasises that the preceding arguments (to be found in part A, above), are not attacks on the Church in general, but only on certain traditional vestiges of leadership remaining in it.

According to this second point of view, the Church is not to be identified with the Vatican, the Curia, the Pope or the episcopate in general, as such centralised thinking represents less than 0.002% of the Church's membership. The Church, for proponents of change, is rather made up of over 659 million members, many of whom have good relationships with the other 80% of humanity. The Church is the 'Qahal Yahweh', the 'Laos Kyriou', the 'People of God', united in purpose, but diversified in practically every other aspect of their lives. Such pluriformity of outlook is reflected culturally and socially, from bodies at the national and international level to interest groups and grass-root communities. The only epithet that they have in common is the word 'Catholic', meaning worldwide.

Thus to Davis and others, advocates of this second point of view would reply that the Church has changed, it has changed in its
understanding of the very word 'Church' (1). It was for this very reason that Vatican II deepened the understanding of the faithful as to the nature of the Church and saw its document 'De Ecclesia' as one of its most fundamental.

Before embarking on the reasons offered by those proposing an alternative model of religious belonging, due to the fact of change in the Church, one should examine briefly the replies that can be made on their behalf against the proponents of an organisational model of religious belonging.

a) The Church has no fixed concept of human nature or monopoly of the sacred

Davis and others argued correctly that man's consciousness is in a state of development, but failed to appreciate that dogma itself undergoes a similar evolution. For example, if one examines the evolution in dogma from Nicea's (AD.325) declaration that the Son is consubstantial with the Father, to the Chalcedon statement that the Son is one person with two natures (AD.451), then it is possible to observe a truly Hegelian dialectic in the intervening period between the schools of Antioch and Alexandria. Moreover, the definition of Chalcedon would have sounded heretical to the Fathers of Nicea, as 125 years earlier the Greek word for nature would have implied person. In other words, evolution in dogma proceeded at equal pace with socio-cultural thought patterns and corresponding shifts in the meaning of words. Other examples will be given of evolution in dogma when one examines the change in religious belief. The point that is being made here is that the Church saw the need for change in formulation of doctrine, because it was aware of change in the consciousness of man.

That the Church has not accepted secularisation in the sense intended by Davis can be judged by the plethora of 'Theologies of ', quite comparable to, and as wide as, the various brands of sociology. Such an universalistic outlook hardly demonstrates a monopoly of the sacred, still less uniform organisational structure.
b) The Church does not simply cater for the primitively motivated

The opinions of Pin and Houtart appear to be slightly exaggerated when they identify with Weber's virtual impossibility of prophetic motivation, itself an agent of change. We shall see later that the term 'prophetic' is applied quite frequently to the motivation of priests. This is altogether a different picture than that described by Pin, of priests, who either could not communicate with the faithful, or would not, for a variety of motives based on class.

c) The Church has not accepted Institutionalism

It would seem that Ivan Illich overstates his case when he attributes an ideology of institutionalism to the Church in the attempt to find acceptance for his own ideologies of deschooling and deinstitutionalising. One can agree with Illich that certain members of the Catholic Church, intent on preserving the status quo, can be categorised as having accepted institutionalism, but it remains unproven that all members of the Catholic Church are of this frame of mind. Indeed it will be shown presently that quite the opposite is the case when one comes to speak of parties in the Church, interest groups, etc.

d) The Church as a whole does not have vested interests in centralised power

Hebblethwaite too tends to identify the Catholic Church with a fraction of its membership when he equates the Church with the Vatican, and when he selects one man, Archbishop Benelli, as the poorly disguised hand behind ecclesiastical decisions. Even had his case been made out in economic terms and an analysis been made of Vatican investment, such a picture too would not be representative of overall Church membership. The underlying centralisation hypothesis will again be treated later under a separate heading.

e) The Church is not auto-bound by its own legislation

In its interpretation of Divine and Natural Law and in its
promulgation of Ecclesiastical Law, the Catholic Church recognises the
distinction between what is rational and what is reasonable (Vatican I).
Embodied in its own Code of Canon Law is a canon which states that:
"custom is the best interpretation of the law" (can.29), and
following one of its recognised theologians, it realises that:
"nemo ab inutile tenetur" (Thomas Aquinas).
It is also fairly true to say that most of the controversy over Church
legislation occurs in the sphere of morals. It is to that subject that
one's treatment of change in ethical values among Catholics who
have far from abandoned their membership of the Church.

f) The Church does not overemphasise Tradition

This argument presupposes that all Catholics subscribe to the two
source theory of Revelation, whereby teaching is derived from the bible
and the writings of the Fathers and universally acclaimed theologians.
However, it will be shown presently that as a fruit of the biblical
movement, even the contents of the bible itself can be seen in terms of
distinct oral traditions, thus turning the two source theory of Revelation
into a one source theory. Moreover, far from traditions becoming
fossilised into a uniform Tradition, thereby facilitating the application
of an organisational model to the Church, the existence of a plurality of
traditions makes an alternative pluriform model of the Church more viable.

g) The Church is not anti-intellectual in her stance to disciplines
that study change

At one time an argument basing itself on the Church's suspicion of
sociology and other disciplines that study change might have had a certain
validity. But even then one would have to demand proof that such an
attitude was prevalent among Catholics as a whole, rather than the
leadership of the organisational model. By now there are reputable
socio-religious research centres in most quarters of the Catholic world,
with clearing houses, such as F.E.R.E.S. in Louvain and Rio de Janeiro,
coordinating research. One can even find such centres at the diocesan
level. In Italy, for example, there are thirty-two. One could also argue that the attitude of Church leadership to social research was not so much hostile as ambivalent, wary of the excessive claims of some sociologists that their discipline could stand on its own in the examination of religious attitudes and behaviour, without coordination with allied disciplines, such as theology and psychology, investigating the same phenomena. Moreover, Church leaders are increasingly initiating socio-religious research. Even Pope Paul VI himself launched a massive survey in his own diocese of Rome by commissioning the C.I.R.I.S. research centre to conduct a study of religious attitudes between the years 1969-72.

h) The Church does not closely resemble a Weberian model of bureaucracy

This is really the central argument that is being attacked by the proponents of an alternative pluriform model of religious belonging in the Catholic Church. The Weber-Etzioni-Rudge model for them only refers to a small section of Church membership whose actions are guided by rationality and coercion. The actual existence of change in the Church in the five dimensions of religiosity of necessity provides the existence of variety in outlook, which must itself be structured. The organisational model is incapable of encompassing such pluriformity of belief and action in the Catholic Church. An alternative model must therefore be sought. The search for such a model is now spelt out in detail by separate examination of six positive reasons.

1. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to a change in the meaning of the word 'Church'

An example of an alternative model of religious belonging due to a change in the interpretation of the word 'Church' can be found in the editorial of New Blackfriars of February 1967 (2). There Fr. Herbert McCabe O.P. plainly rejected the notion of an organisational model by referring to it as being "quite plainly corrupt." That there
was no misunderstanding as to what Me Cabe meant can be seen from the swift reaction by a member of the Church's organisational hierarchy, the then Apostolic Delegate to Great Britain, Archbishop Cardinale, who attacked Me Cabe's views in the following issue of the Catholic Herald (3). The Dominican was further asked to resign his editorship and threatened with suspension from priestly duties. However Me Cabe was not advocating a breakaway Church without hierarchical leadership, for:

"It is because we believe that the hierarchical institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, with all their decadence, their corruption and their sheer silliness, do in fact link us to areas of Christian truth beyond our own particular experience and ultimately to truths beyond any experience, that we remain, and see our Christian lives in terms of remaining members of this Church." (4)

Rather, charges of corruption in the leadership of the Catholic Church are almost irrelevant for the mass of the faithful, as they belong through a series of groups to a different model of the Church. Me Cabe explains:

"Consider a few institutions: Spode House, the Newman Theology Groups, the Union of Catholic Students, the Young Christian Workers, university chaplaincies, the Catholic Press, including even New Blackfriars. None of these are exclusively for Catholics, but no sociologist would hesitate to describe them as Roman Catholic institutions. It is within institutions such as these that a great many Catholics nourish their Christian lives. It is not true that merely because the dynamic of their lives is not derived from sermons or 'religious education' that it therefore comes from institutions outside the Church. To think so would be to betray a clericalist view of what counts as a Catholic institution." (5)

What Me Cabe says has immediate repercussion on religious belonging. If the reference group for many Catholics is not the hierarchy, corrupt or not, but rather an institution, group or subculture within the Church, but recognised as Catholic, then there must be as many ways of belonging to the Church as there are reference groups. Me Cabe could have extended his list of Catholic institutions to include some more traditional groups, such as the Knights of St. Columba, the Catenians or the Union of Catholic Mothers, and by so doing his picture would have been more complete, but the central point to Me Cabe's thesis is that because there is a variety of groups, and because these groups differ from one another, membership to
such institutions will also vary. In other words, one can no longer speak of a uniform sense of religious belonging to the Catholic Church, as in the case of the organisational model, because the hierarchical leadership of such a model is only one reference group among many. Thus Mc Cabe's anguishing rejection of an organisational model forced him to propose an alternative. Mc Cabe did not describe his alternative model in the sociological terms of a typology, a task which one shall later set oneself but at least he prepared the ground by substituting pluriformity in belonging for uniform affiliation to the Church.

2. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because one can detect change in the Church from the difference between a given 'terminus a quo' to a 'terminus ad quem'.

In order to state that the Catholic Church has changed from an organisational model to an alternative model, one must establish a 'terminus a quo' and a 'terminus ad quem' and seek to compare them. Such was the task that Malachi Martin set himself (6). While many commentators took Vaticaian II as their dividing line between the 'terminus a quo' of the organisational model and the 'terminus ad quem' of an alternative pluriform model, Martin took as his cut-off point the 'pre' and 'post' periods of the pontificate of Giovanni Giuseppe Angelo Roncalli, Pope John XXIII (7). As it was John XXIII who initiated Vatican II, the conciliar time division would appear to fit into Martin's scheme. However, Martin maintains that for John XXIII the Vatican Council was only a means to an end (8). John had a dream, and his dream was for the peaceful unity of mankind. When he was elected to the papacy, John saw a world torn apart by strife, economic greed and the cold war of international relations. The only occasions when men cooperated were those of sport or of international disasters. Mankind was floundering for unity and brotherhood because it did not possess truth and was not prepared to discover it, for reasons varying from ideology to vested interests. It was therefore, according to John, the role of the Church to seek out the truth and to spread a message of goodwill to all mankind.
The Church did not have the answers to man's problems and it had not yet even begun to pose fundamental questions. Thus the need for soul searching on the part of the Church was to become concrete in a council where all the eyes of the world would be focussed. From that preliminary step in public relations the great event of unity would spring (9). To the question:

"what can the Catholic Church do to effect the creation of a truly international public authority acceptable to all nations?" (10), John replied that there must be an event as world shattering as the first Pentecost, where truth would be proclaimed, where unity in truth would be discovered, and where it would finally take hold of governments (11).

That the papacy of John XXIII was indeed a moment of renewal and change is argued by Martin, using a comparison of John with his predecessor, Pius XII. On January 1st, 1941, the latter pontiff declared:

"The Church has indisputable competence to decide whether the bases of a given social system are in accord with the unchangeable order which God our Creator and Redeemer has fixed both in the Natural Law and in Revelation."

When John came to the papal throne, he began:

"At this historical moment, the present system of organisation (between nations) and the way its principle of authority operates on a world basis, no longer corresponds to the objective requirement of the universal common good." (122)

According to Martin, while Pius failed to communicate with Hitler, Tojo, Mussolini, Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, John obtained the Nobel Peace Prize with his Pacem in Terris. While Pius remained a prisoner of the Vatican, John visited the prisoners in Rome's top security wing. While Pius condemned Communism, John made overtures towards it, even to the point of entertaining Alexei Adjubei. Pius was limited to making noble gestures to the diplomatic corps, while John had won the heart of the common man, whatever his religion. A comparison of the two funerals would show that the peasant from Sotto il Monte had more worldwide impact than the aristocrat from the Collegio Capranica.

That radical change did actually occur with John XXIII is neatly summarised in one of Martin's more purple passages:
"The Vatican Council, together with Roncalli's name and memory, is invoked as justification for the most extraordinary and diverse actions: a guerilla massacre in Colombia, homosexual marriages in Manhattan, denials of the Virgin Birth, of the Resurrection, of the Pope's Infallibility, the exit of whole groups from religious communities, tactile prayer, Satã-Jesus cults, Masses celebrated by women in drawing rooms, rock Masses, confetti resurrections, groupie encounters, nude altarboys, polygamous unions, communal yoga, communist governments, black revolutionary Jesuses, female Holy Spirits, full-blooded revolt by Northern European theologians, and a whole litany of clerical posturings and theological asinities, which an earlier narrow-minded age would have consigned to the flames of a faggot fire, but which today are considered to be the legitimate exercise of human rights." (13)

Presently one hopes to offer a more sober account of the various types of change in religiosity stemming from the pontificate of John XXIII. At this stage, however, Martin is surely correct in detecting a fundamental change in outlook between Pope John and his predecessors. Never before in the history of the Church had a pontiff queried the Catholic Church's possession of the truth and the need to pose fresh problems in a programme of 'aggiornamento'. In Pius XII's words:

"The pattern of truth had been based on the fixed order of Natural Law in Revelation over which the Church held 'indisputable competence'."

Now here was John in a search for truth that would unite all men, because recognised as such, a truth that had not been clearly in evidence since apostolic times and the event of Pentecost. Just as the search for truth then was accompanied by strange signs (the coming of the Holy Spirit in tongues of fire, the speaking in tongues), and a wave of apostolic preaching energy verging on the hysterical, (causing the crowd to remark that the apostles were drunk), so too did the euphoria of John's event take on many abnormal characteristics, which, however bizarre they appeared, could at least be described in terms of change.

The repercussions for religious belonging in a renewed search for truth are cynically described by Martin as the emergence of 'autozoïc' groups in a frenzy of postconciliar madness. While one hesitates about accepting such a description, one can nevertheless understand that the
quest for truth must take on various forms. No one group can renew itself according to all the dimensions of religiosity, just as no single body can claim to have arrived at the whole truth. Partial glimpses are obtained, differences and shifts of emphasis are observed, and commitment to action will of necessity vary. Presently we shall see that not all these groups were in harmony, many of them being founded on conflicting interests. The main point that is being made, though, is that the emergence of a plurality of groups means that they can no longer be served by a unifying organisational model. When one searches for truth one does not have it handed down from on high. Only an alternative pluriform model of religious belonging to the Catholic Church remains capable of describing the aftermath of the pontificate of Pope John XXIII.

3. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because of the change in religious belief, based on Revelation, Christology, Grace and Sacramental Theology.

As has been stated earlier, articles of faith that receive the theological note of 'de fide definita' are to be accepted as infallible statements by Catholics. By implication too, such doctrine is unchangeable in content, as it forms part of the 'depositum fidei'. However, it is theologically acceptable for there to be a change in the formulation of a doctrine, as we have seen in the evolution of Christological doctrine from the notion of consubstantiality to that of the one person and two natures of Christ.

However, the changes introduced by John and his Vatican Council brought about such dramatic reformulations of doctrine, that the borderline between them and change also in content became extremely thin, so close in fact, that it could be argued that fundamental changes in doctrine had taken place both in form and content.

If one turns to the two source theory of Revelation, infallibly defined by the Council of Trent (14) under pain of anathema (15), and reiterated by the Fathers of Vatican I (16), and compares it with the document 'De Revelatione' of Vatican II, which permits one to speak of
Revelation in terms of one source (17), then it would appear that a fundamental change in doctrine has taken place. The explanation for this phenomenon can be detected in the renewal of life in biblical research among Catholic scholars, many of whom were adopting the demythologising stance of Bultmann and Cullmann, encouraged by the Rector of the Biblicum in Rome, later to become Cardinal Augustin Bea S.J. (18). The stressing of the biblical source of Revelation was later taken up by theologians such as René Latourelle (19), a professor of dogmatic theology at the Gregorian University, the man largely responsible for the drafting of the Vatican II decree on Revelation. Through the efforts of these men, the bishops of Vatican II were finally persuaded not to vote against the one biblical source of Revelation, a position that had been condemned, along with other Protestant heresies, by the Council of Trent.

During the Second Vatican Council one noted that Christology had become the major tract in Catholic colleges and universities, a change in itself (20). However, this time the divinity of Christ was no longer being emphasised; rather his humanity was being stressed (21). The pendulum had swung from the heresy of Monophytism to that of Nestorianism, and yet no professor of theology had been relieved of his post or been excommunicated.

The investigation of the problems of Christ's knowledge, sinlessness and free will, soon began to have repercussions on the rest of theological thought. The theology of grace shifted from Augustine to Pelagius (22), the theology of faith moved from creed to trust (23), from the ecclesial to the personal dimension, sacramental theology was being presented in terms of encounters with Christ, rather than in the metaphysical terms of Scholasticism (24), and Marian theology, together with the study of Heaven, Hell and Judgement, were either given a new ecclesiological framework or placed in abeyance (25).

Moreover, the actual distinguishing features of Catholicism, those characteristics that marked it out from other faiths, were being
questioned. The Swiss theologian, Hans Küng, wrote a book entitled *Infallibility? : an Enquiry*, which, while provoking Vatican wrath, actually received support from Cardinals Suenens of Belgium and Alfrink of Holland. That lay Catholics themselves were disenchanted with the doctrine of infallibility could be detected from the results of the Rome survey in 1969, where only 10% of the Catholics interviewed stated they believed in the doctrine, which itself was 'de fide definita'. The doctrine of the Eucharist too had been ecumenically orientated to such a degree, that it became increasingly difficult to distinguish Catholic theories of 'transfinalisation' and 'transignification' (26) from those of Luther and Calvin condemned by the Council of Trent. Similarly the notion of the Mass as a sacrifice, the main stumbling block for the Protestant Reformers, had been replaced by a notion, quite acceptable to them, that of the Mass as a communal meal (27). Statements indicating agreement over the doctrine of the Eucharist were made by joint Anglican and Catholic conferences too (28). Yet in 1896 there was only one meaning to the words:

"Auctoritate nostra, motu proprio, certa scientia pronuntiamus et declaramus, ordinationes ritu Anglicano actas, irritas prorsus fuisse et esse omninoque nullas." (30)

It should be clear from the above brief analysis, that not only were there shifts of emphasis in the teachings of theologians, but that many of the positions taken were so extreme as to be in contradiction to previously defined articles of faith. It was not the appearance of borderline or overt heresy that was novel for the Catholic Church in the wake of Pope John and Vatican II. The most significant change was that when dogma was reformulated with regard to form and content there were no accompanying anathemas and excommunications. If one reads through all the documents of Vatican II, one observes that there is not one single dogmatic formulation or condemnation. It is this fact that marks an era of change in almost twenty centuries of the Church's existence. All other Councils, whether ecumenical or regional, had
either defined or condemned a dogmatic position concerned with either
faith or morals. This conclusion itself is sufficient to suggest that
change in religious belief had been radical enough to warrant the
consideration of the Church in other than organisational terms. Until
Vatican II religious belonging through belief was that of passive
acceptance of defined articles of faith. During Vatican II, and the
period leading up to the Council, the criterion of infallibility had
practically disappeared. Now the emphasis had been placed on the
person believing rather than the object of belief.

Moreover, faith itself could now be seen in terms of responding to
the person of Christ, as Word in Revelation, as fellow man in
Christology, as a free and meriting response in Grace, and as meeting
Him, the sign of eschatological hope, in the Sacraments. Faith now
became a trust between two persons ('fides in'), rather than the
holding of objective propositions, authoritatively defined. The shift
from things ('I-It' relationships) to interpersonal relationships
(of the 'I-You', 'I-Thou' variety (31)) now had certain sociological
repercussions for membership:

a) membership became grounded in mutual trust rather than authority
b) membership began to assume the common focus in the person of
   Christ, in Himself, and as seen in others
c) membership so founded thus came to know of no class or status
distinction, but became more egalitarian in nature
d) membership became achieved through a voluntary response, rather than
   ascribed through a system of beliefs
e) membership became diversified due to the specialisation in proposal o
   doctrine, to the sympathising with those of similar persuasion on
   a given set of belief items, and to the grades of acceptance of
   belief to which the criterion of objectivity had been removed.

Taking these last points together, it could be seen that the effect of
pluriformity of outlook in belief was to produce pluriformity of
membership. No longer could the mass of the faithful be united under the
authority of doctrine, in a vertical relationship between the object and
subject of faith, as in the organisational model. Instead the
relationship of faith had to be considered in horizontal terms of
infrajective relationships. Such a situation called for an alternative model of religious belonging to the Catholic Church.

4. An alternative model of religious belonging is required because of the change in religious practice from personal devotion to communal participation.

For Catholics the dimension of religious practice centres around the Mass. According to Herman Schmidt (32), the Mass evolved from the House Mass (up to the 4th century) to the Basilica Mass (4th and 5th centuries) to the Papal Mass (6th and 7th centuries) to the 'Missa Affectus' (8th to 11th centuries) to the 'Missa Dramatica' (12th to 15th centuries), and finally culminated in the 'Missa Rubricorum', or the Tridentine Mass of 1570.

The house Mass in early Christian times was appropriate for small numbers in a time of persecution, yet all the fundamental and basic elements were present in it. There were readings from Scripture, a homily, a dismissal of the catechumens, prayers of the faithful, the sign of peace, the offering of gifts, the central eucharistic prayers of consecration, the breaking of bread, the Lord's prayer, the reception of communion, and the final exhortation to perform good works. The language used was that of the people — Greek. Each of the five succeeding types of Mass added to the 'Missa Domestica', with litanies, solemn entries, introduction of chant, incense, blessings, the complication of prayers, and, from the 4th century onwards, the Latin language was used for celebration.

The effect of the additions to the Mass with each succeeding stage was to so complicate the original simple format that often priests and faithful became mistaken as to what was essential and which parts of the Mass were not. Abuses crept into the form of the Mass itself, on the part of the celebrants, vestments, time, place and faithful. The Council of Trent felt it had to deal with this vast 'Compendium abusuum circa sacrificium missae' (33), and at the same time hoped to combat the heretical ideas of Luther and Calvin, who were insisting that the Mass was merely a memorial service, and that the substances of bread and wine
were not transformed by the words of consecration into the body and blood of Christ. In its 'Canones de sanctissimo Missae sacrificio' (34), the Council of Trent infallibly condemned as heretical the views that the Mass was not a sacrifice (35), that it was not instituted by Christ, who ordained the apostles and their priestly successors to offer his body and blood (36), that it was only a memorial occasion for the honour and praise of God without any applicability to the souls of the faithful departed (37), that it could not be celebrated by a priest on his own (38), or that it should be celebrated in a language other than Latin (39). The corresponding chapters of the Tridentine decree insisted that the Mass was indeed a sacrifice which had to be offered in Latin and could be celebrated in private (40). As the decrees of the Council of Trent were infallible, one would have supposed that they would have persisted to the present day and beyond, as the mark of an infallible statement is that while it can change in form it cannot change in content.

Instead one finds in the Vatican II Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy that the decrees of Trent had been reversed. According to Vatican II, the Mass was no longer a private sacrifice to be offered in Latin. Rather it was to be a public celebration by priests and faithful, maximising participation by the use of the vernacular, and one that encouraged the reception of Holy Communion, with its stress on the Mass being more of a meal, similar to that of the Last Supper. (41) The emphasis had moved from Calvary to the Upper Room. As mentioned earlier, the decrees of Vatican II were not binding on the faithful in the form of infallible decrees. Yet the reaction to them was one of general acceptance (with one or two notable exceptions, such as Una Voce - the Latin Mass Society), which in practice meant that Church membership had rejected the Tridentine decrees.

As the Mass is a visible aspect of the Catholic faith, changes in its form and content are more readily observable than other dimensions of religiosity. Immediately prior to Vatican II the Mass was in Latin,
the only responses were those given by the altar boy, the priest had his back to the people, communion was poor and irregular (more often than not preceded by confession), and attendance figures, particularly among the young, were low (42). In addition there was a series of popular devotions, such as Benediction, Stations of the Cross, and processions of the Blessed Sacrament. Sacramentals, statues, and a leaning towards triumphalism in ritual were in abundance, as was the often exaggerated Marian directedness of many devotions.

After Vatican II change was swift and dramatic. Mass was offered in the vernacular with responses from all the faithful, churches were reconstructed to allow for Mass to be celebrated 'versus populum', the numbers at Communion increased, with the emphasis on the Mass being more of a meal, (while those for Confession declined), as did the numbers increase among those attending Mass under the age of 21 (43). Popular devotions, sacramental paraliturgies and exaggerated Marianism, largely disappeared, to be replaced by more biblical types of services of a christocentric orientation. Excesses occurred on the wave of liturgical euphoria too. One encountered house Masses, Masses in the open air, protest Masses, beat Masses, Underground Masses, and Masses celebrated by married priests. Whether one agreed with such change was almost irrelevant to the fact that change had taken place, directly as a result of the liturgical movement, Pope John and his Second Vatican Council.

Of course scholars in the field could point out that such liturgical change was not entirely without precedent. If one examines the characteristics of the 'Missa Domestica' (from Apostolic times to the era of Constantine), one can detect several marked similarities between the house Mass and the reforms advocated by Vatican II. While agreeing with their arguments, nevertheless one is forced to the conclusion that the stance of Vatican II differed from that of the early Christians in that it was advocating a form of renewal in the Mass that contradicted a previously defined position (that of Trent). Such 'aggiornamento',
therefore, we maintain, marks a change in fundamentals, as the attitudes of the faithful, with regard to the teaching of Trent on religious practice, had changed in both form and content. That this interpretation is correct can also be gauged from the banning of the Tridentine Mass by members of the Church’s hierarchy (44) and by the Eucharistic celebrations of Pope Paul VI himself (45).

Further, one can argue that change in religious practice since Vatican II has certain implications for Catholic religious belonging. Now membership is exercised as a communal act of participation and thanksgiving rather than an individual act of mortification. Members today view the Mass as their free response to an invitation to share Christ with others rather than as a duty of assisting at a sacrifice. This sharing is further seen to be among equals rather than the personal acquisition of spiritual wealth. The fact that the faithful can now join in using their mother tongue also detracts from the elitist—mystery cult image conjured up by the use of the Latin language, and places the faithful on par with their priests and bishops.

However, some argue that the disappearance of Latin in the Mass signifies the lack of 'communion' with other members of the Church whose mother tongue differs from one's own. They argue that one can no longer refer to the Church as Catholic for this reason. This line of reasoning is attractive for its simplicity. It moreover gains in strength when it refers to countries, such as Africa and India, where the abundance of dialects and differing languages tends to have a 'splintering effect' on Church worship when vernacular in the liturgy is employed. In spite of their appeals, however, the Church wishes to recognise diversity in socio-cultural conditions of its membership in its insistence of the importance of the local church and its variety of traditions (46). Unity, it is repeated, must not be confused with uniformity (47). It is this last point that suggests that the Church can no longer be viewed in organisational and uniform terms, but must be treated by an alternative pluriform model.
5. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to the movement in Ethics towards Christian Humanism.

The change in ethical consequences of religious belief is well illustrated by an examination of three cases, those of the Berrigan brothers, Dom Helder Camara and the Conference of Latin American Bishops.

a) The Berrigan brothers

From 1965 onwards, Daniel and Philip Berrigan (the former a Jesuit, the latter a Josephite, priest), had initiated their campaign against American involvement in the Vietnam War, largely as a result of their contact with Humanism, both with Paulo Freire in Latin America, and in their experience of the Eastern Bloc. In 1967, Philip and three associates lodged their protest by coating the Baltimore draft papers with human and animal blood. Shortly after, Daniel, together with eight other pacifists, destroyed the Catonsville draft material with the use of home-made napalm. As Daniel explained:

"By this act we wish to show that we are not living in a normal age, we reject the temptation of a peaceful life in the lap of a sleeping Church and we wish to contest the new program of ecclesiastical renewal." (48)

While awaiting trial, Daniel went to Vietnam to see things for himself. It took the F.B.I. four months to arrest him, during which time he toured the United States drawing support for his radical humanism from all quarters. He was finally arrested in August 1970, and in the September of the same year J. Edgar Hoover was accusing them of planning to cause an explosion to the heating installation of five government blocks in Washington and to kidnap Dr. Henry Kissinger. In March 1972 it took a jury seven days to reach a verdict of 'not guilty' by a majority of 10 to 2 (49). However, Philip was found guilty of receiving smuggled articles in prison from Sr. Elizabeth Mc Alister, whom he was to marry 28 May the following year.

Throughout the course of their campaign, the Berrigans had focussed not only Catholic attention, but that of the rest of the world, upon
their demands for social justice. Indeed Fr. David Finks, director of the Social Commission of the United States Episcopal Conference, said of them:

"It isn't the institution that through the course of history has brought about change, but the action of prophetic Christians, such as Francis of Assisi, Ignatius of Loyola and the Berrigan brothers. These men and their kind force us to seriously question many of our values."

The values that were being challenged by the Berrigans were those traditional moral values, until recently associated with the organisational model of the Church. It was the post-Vatican climate that tolerated an attack on itself by the Berrigans, in the following terms:

"We are Catholic Christians who take the Gospel of our faith seriously... we confront the Catholic Church, other Christian bodies and the synagogues of America with their silence and cowardice in the face of our country's crimes. We are convinced that the religious bureaucracy in this country is racist, is an accomplice in war, and is hostile to the poor. In utter fidelity to our faith, we indict the religious leaders and their followers for their failure to serve our country and mankind." (50)

It is of interest to note that their case is pleaded in terms of following the precepts of the Gospel rather than by appealing to tradition or papal encyclicals. In other words, the change in ethical consequences of belief, from traditional moral beliefs towards Christian Humanism, is directly analogous to the change in postconciliar belief patterns from a basis of Scripture and Tradition to a one source theory of Revelation. Moreover, it is possible to see that the Berrigans' attack is not launched against fellow members of the Catholic Church, but rather against the bureaucratic hierarchy, intent on preserving the status quo.

One would suggest that they are fighting an organisational model of the Church.

b) Dom Helder Camara

Dom Helder Camara was auxiliary bishop of Rio de Janeiro from 1952 to 1964, and the first vice-president of C.E.L.A.M. from 1955 to 1965. Since that time he has been Archbishop of one of the poorest parts of
North East Brazil, the diocese of Olinda and Recife. During his term of office, Dom Helder has enacted the prophetic role of preaching a bloodless cultural revolution against Capitalism. In so doing, he has survived numerous threats, and one attack, on his life, a summons to submit the texts of his discourses by Archbishop Benelli, and his name has been put forward for the Nobel Peace Prize on no less than three occasions. As with many prophets, Dom Helder has received more acclaim from outside his own country, in which the selling of his episcopal palace, in order to live among slum dwellers, has produced charges of Communist subversion from the Brazilian government.

His main ideas can be summarised briefly, as follows: A bishop is the servant of all, a man who does not compromise and who cares for the poor. He should pioneer development and be at the forefront of agencies such as S.U.D.E.N.E. (the centre for development of North East Brazil). Above all a bishop should see that human values are developed. He must be a liberator of truth rather than a detector of error, and in his pursuit of truth he must also seek justice. In so carrying out his task, a bishop must be at one with his fellow bishops, with other members of the Church and with those belonging to other faiths (51). Preaching is the means for the propagation of humanisation and development. If it is followed then the Christians in developing countries can be a sign of contradiction to those affluent countries steeped in materialism and egoism (52). Development raises many problems—the liberation of the worker from the oppression of capitalistic management, the inhumanity of investment, the insufficiency of aid compared with the amount spent on arms, and the enforcement of birth control by authoritarian methods. For man to be more human he must be able to eat. It is the duty of the richer nations to see that this is possible (53). A recognition of the human rights of those starving in the Third World must be seen and understood by the nations of the West, and their consciences awakened. The 'assistance mentality' must be transformed radically into a thirst for justice (54). The Vatican Council has given the developing world
two important documents: those of Religious Liberty and of The Church in the Modern World. But these must not simply be studied; they should be stepping stones for a deeper factual awareness of the situation in the Third World and action by episcopal conferences (55). For a new humanism, dialogue is necessary between Christians and Socialists, between developing and developed countries, and between all religions (56). It is the role of the universities to study the problems of peace, freedom and development, and to make known their conclusions to the leaders of their own and other countries (57). The universities must also study the problems connected with the education for radical change without violence (58). It is the duty of international centres of commerce to combat misery and unemployment in those areas where they invest or from whence they derive their raw materials, and to avoid wasteful expenditure in international trusts (59). Revolution is necessary to combat internal colonialism and feudalism. Revolution is also necessary in the United States and in Russia for similar reasons, but justice, and not violence, is the solution (60). It is the Church's role to preach development, to condemn oppression and to be seen at the grass root level putting the directives of the Gospel into practice (61). Above all, Catholic social action groups should bring pressure to bear against exploitation of the worker, and seek to combat low wages and unemployment, so that man can be free to live a dignified human existence (62).

Even from this summary of Dom Helder's views, one can detect a movement towards Christian Humanism, based on the Gospels. He does not assume human nature and then speak of it as being endowed with grace. Instead he suggests that man cannot be considered in supernatural terms unless his human rights are acknowledged and developed. It is true that much of his thought is echoed in the most humanitarian of Pope Paul's encyclicals, that of Populorum Progressio. The point that one wish to emphasise is that no such Christian Humanism is to be found in the ethical teaching of the Church prior to Vatican II. Moreover, Dom Helder does not
view the Church as a power structure, managed by a hierarchy of bishops. Instead he identifies the bishop's traditional position of privilege with one of service to the poor, and duty to enact this role at a level equal to that of the most underdeveloped member. Dom Helder's position of egalitarian membership in search for truth and justice is extended to leadership, not only of the Catholic Church, but also to that of other world religions and enterprises. His panoramic concept of united human membership is as universal as that desired by Pope John. It is not served by a consideration of the Church as an organisation, but it does suggest that a Christian struggle for human justice can be described in sociological terms by employing an alternative pluriform model of Church membership.

c) The Conference of Latin American Bishops (C.E.L.A.M.)

On 6 September 1968, C.E.L.A.M. issued its well known Medellin Statement, spelling out the results of the work of 16 commissions studying the theme: 'The Promotion of Man and of the Peoples of the Continent towards Values of Justice and Peace, of Education, and of Christian Love.' (63) A few examples should be sufficient to give an idea of the general tone of the document.

In discussing justice, for instance, the bishops described the present situation as "collective misery that cries out to heaven." Theological reflection forced them to declare that a change in structure is necessary if man is to be converted, if he is to be renewed, and if the Kingdom of God on earth is to survive. Pastoral conclusions seek social reform, political reform and conscientization. First man must be able to participate in decision making at all levels through the intermediate structures of the family, professional organisations and trade unions. Enterprise is otherwise based on a false concept of private property, which can result in either Capitalism or Communism. Man must become more culturally aware of his position and realise his solidarity with others. Second, all political systems that strive for
the common good, but in reality favour the privileged classes, must be opposed, as they stand in the way of man's right to development. Third, development comes from below and through leaders working within 'communautés de base'. The Church should be at the forefront of such initiatives. The document then gives detailed treatment to peace, to the family, to education, to youth, to social communications, to catechetics, to the faith of the masses, to the faith of the élites, to liturgy, to priests, to seminaries, to those in religious life, to the laity and to poverty, and concludes with a section on grass-root communities. In short, it covers every aspect of the life of the Church in Latin America in a new and radical way. The words of the introduction give lie to the changed approach in the bishops' attitudes:

"Comme jadis Israël, le peuple antique, sentait la présence salvifique de Dieu quand celui-ci le libérait de l'oppression de l'Égypte, quand il lui faisait passer la mer et le menait vers la conquête de la terre, ainsi nous, nouveau Peuple de Dieu, nous ne pouvons manquer de sentir son passage salvifique quand s'opère le véritable développement qui est le passage, pour chacun et pour tous, de conditions de vie moins humaines à des conditions de vie plus humaines."

Such thinking marks a departure from previous encyclicals and conciliar teaching. It is politically aware Christian Humanism, employing Freirian terms such as 'conscientization' at 'grass root' level, replacing a Catholic social ethic based on private property. Man is seen as the substitute for organisational structure in his association with his fellow man and in his quest for a just development. The search for social justice works upwards from the grass root level. It is not handed down, in the form of principles, by Church leaders. One can, of course, detect the hand of Dom Helder Camara in the drafting of the document. The thinking is similar, and so are the conclusions that should be drawn. Just as Dom Helder could not contemplate an organisational model for the Catholic Church, neither can his fellow bishops, as their statement describing the Church as the oppressed People of God on the march for more human conditions, suggests. Such a description, we argue,
is more aptly fitted to the application of a pluriform alternative model of the Church.

d) The implications of Christian Humanism for Moral Theology

We have seen that the Berrigans, Dom Helder Camara and C.E.L.A.M. differ from the position of traditional Catholic teaching, which assumes that grace builds on nature. Instead they stress the need for man's socio-cultural development, by which he becomes politically aware of his rights, and recognises his solidarity with his fellow man, pursuing the same universal goals. True, much of this thinking can be found in Marcuse, Freire, Reimer, Illich, and others, but the Catholic acceptance of such writers has not been in evidence since the pontificate of Pope John XXIII and Vatican II.

However, with the advent of Christian Humanism, the whole casuistic outlook of preconciliar moral theology required reexamination. Instead of priests being trained to sit in judgement over man's deviance in his duty to God, they now had to look at ethical consequences of religious belief in terms of rights and duties to his fellow man. If these latter two aspects of man's behaviour were in order, then, according to Christian Humanism, which considers God imminent in all his creatures, 'a fortiori' would man's relationship with God be correct. A few examples should clarify this last point. Man has a right to human existence and survival, for instance, and similarly those around him have a duty to see that he does not starve. Does this now mean, according to the tenets of Christian Humanism, that man may take the necessary action to remain alive? Can he engage in revolution, can he resort to violence, can he steal, in order to survive? It would seem so. And yet such action would contradict the 5th and 7th commandments, held by the Church to be part of Divine Law. Secondly, man has a right to use the gift of sex. Such a right is inalienable. But what are the criteria which distinguish use from abuse of this gift? Are they to be theocentric or anthropocentric? If one accepts the former position,
then the only licit use of the gift of sex is intimate relationship with a member of the opposite sex to whom one is married permanently. If one opts for the latter alternative, then one has to entertain the licitness of those acts which are psycho-sexually normal as well. It is this last point that is illustrated by the changing attitudes of priests to questions of divorce, contraception, masturbation and sterilisation. A recent Canadian survey among English speaking priests, for example, shows growing support for such practices (64), and yet all in theory are grave mortal sins. Thirdly, there is a movement away from the observance of mere ecclesiastical law, as this again is seen to be formulated from above and not from the grass root situation of man. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that only 23% of young Canadian diocesan priests recite the breviary daily, and that half the clergy sees little point in maintaining the Sunday obligation to attend Mass (65). Yet both of these positions demonstrate acceptance of acts that are mortally sinful according to traditional Catholic moral theology. One finds similar attitudes with regard to the giving of communion to divorced persons, who are considered by traditionalists to be excommunicated from the Church. Yet 38% of the Canadian clergy are prepared to do so. (66) Apart from the rights and wrongs of the position adopted by the Canadian clergy on this and other matters, one would maintain that at least a change of outlook is in evidence. These priests (in common with a growing percentage of their colleagues in other parts of the world), have come to realise that the social dimension of man's existence is more relevant, from the standpoint of Christian Humanism, than his individual relationship with God. By adopting an anthropocentric view of nature, they appreciate that what is good for the development of man's nature is subject to change, due to cultural forces at work in man's relationship with others. Situations are not static, and therefore man cannot be subject to 'a priori' legislation. The concept of human development implies that both human nature and the sociological laws governing it, are subject to change. Hence their change of attitude over questions touching on
ethical consequences of religious belief.

Thus, if Christian Humanism is applied to moral theology, the implications for Catholic religious belonging are devastating. No longer is man subject to codified Moral Law; it is he who shapes the Natural Law, in his changing relationships with his fellow man. Moreover, there is no longer a distinction between the legislator and the legislated subject, as both belong to each other through the same system of rights and duties, which undergoes the forces of socio-cultural change. The bishop is no more a member of a legislating hierarchy, the priest is no longer the judge of the confessional, stating what sins are mortal and which are venial. They are both servants of mankind, and as such committed not to a body of law but to man’s quest for his right to a developed human nature. Rather the clerical hierarchy transgresses the laws of Christian Humanism when it stands in the way of man's development, when it obstructs the rights of man by imposing an organisational model of legislation on him. Members of the Catholic Church belong to each other, by seeing Christ in each other, albeit in different ways. Such a dynamic situation is difficult enough to capture by using a pluriform sociological model of the Catholic Church. The application of an organisational model to it strikes one as impossible.

e) The impact of the Vatican II Constitution on Religious Liberty on religious belonging in the Catholic Church.

So far in this section on ethical consequences of belief we have noted the influence of Christian Humanism on religious belonging. However, our considerations until now have not analysed the change in Church structures (the more formal aspect of religious belonging). We have seen that underlying the tenets of Christian Humanism is an egalitarian concept of human nature, whereby all men are bound to each other by a system of rights and duties through a process of self awareness and awareness of others. The Christian Humanist often refers to such awareness as 'conscientization' (67). In more everyday socio-political parlance, one could say that the Christian Humanist is advocating greater 'democracy'
The call for a more democratic form of membership in the Church came not surprisingly from a quarter where democracy was considered an ideal, namely the United States. The controversial document on Religious Liberty was carried in the Council chamber of Vatican II largely through the efforts of John Courtney Murray S.J. (68) and other American theologians. The principle of democratisation of the Catholic Church had finally become acceptable for the first time in almost two thousand years.

That this was indeed a fundamental change is evidenced by the immediate structural changes that took place in the Catholic Church at all levels. The Curia became more internationalised, and much of its power was transferred to the synod of bishops, elected from national conferences of bishops. Retirement ages were introduced for bishops and cardinals. Curial personnel were removed from their posts after five years. Episcopal conferences were established to represent individual nations, which had the effect of making them much more independent from Rome and more autonomous in their public statements. With delegates now being elected from episcopal conferences to a synod of bishops, soon thought likely to be the body electing future popes, the chances of the papacy remaining in Italian hands are thought by many to be reduced considerably. At the national level, a set of advisory commissions were established to which priests and lay people were elected from the diocesan level. The same procedure was carried out within each diocese so that bishops began to rely more on their elected senates of priests and lay pastoral commissions than on their chapters of canons, prescribed by Canon Law. At the parish level a pastoral council was elected, giving a democratic quality to local decision making. In a word, decentralisation had replaced centralisation.

The obvious effect of such structural changes was that Catholics at all levels felt that they had a greater contribution to make in the running of ecclesiastical affairs, and many became more outspoken.
Traditional moral teaching was questioned openly through the media, and where satisfactory answers were not given at a higher structural level, then the principle of subsidiarity came into effect, whereby contrary customs became established at a lower, though nonetheless powerful, local level. If theoretical democracy was not seen to operate in practice, then protest was registered through the mediumship of pressure groups until their position was acknowledged.

It was the introduction of democracy that gave rise to a policy of decentralisation and the multiplication of structural groups, which we one prefer to term 'interest', rather than 'pressure', groups. Many of these groups, in their search for adequate representation at all levels, consciously jettisoned the model of the organisational Church. In the United States, for instance, there appeared such groups as the National Association for Catholic Laymen, the National Federation of Priests' Councils, the National Association for Women Religious, the Young Priests' Caucus of Chicago, the Association of Chicago Priests, the National Office of Black Catholics and the Association of Mexican-American Nuns. For these mainly progressive groups there could be found examples of more traditional counterparts. One encountered such American groups as the Pastors' Association, the Sons of Thunder, Catholics United for the Faith, the National Wanderer Forum, and others (69).

One shall later argue that a pluriform model more adequately encompasses the phenomenon of emergent interest groups than an organisational model of the Church. Here one is stressing that the principle of democratisation of the Church, accompanying and reflecting the basic tenets of Christian Humanism, is that same principle which gave birth to structural change in the Catholic Church since Vatican II. That such change had implications for membership will become clearer when one discusses affiliation to a pluriform model of the Church under the separate headings of decentralisation and interest groups. But as interest groups include more than the ethical dimension of religiosity, their treatment must be postponed until the next chapter.
In summary, one can say that the main change in ethical consequences of belief is the tendency towards Christian Humanism. In socio-theological terms, this has the following effects on Church membership:

a) Membership since Vatican II is now based on a sense of caring for Christ in oneself, on a notion of mature responsibility to conscience, based on collective, rather than conventional, wisdom.

b) Membership is now conceived as a sense of caring for Christ in others, rather than as a dutiful response to a divine command to love one's neighbour.

c) Membership is now based on the transformation of human nature in terms of development, rather than in terms of passive acceptance of supernatural qualities.

Such qualities of changed membership, it is argued, are aptly encompassed by a pluriform model of religious belonging.

6. An alternative model of religious belonging is required due to the change in religious experience from a transcendent to an immanent notion of God.

In our treatment of change in Catholic forms of belief, we stated that the theology of grace had swung from the position of Augustine to that of Pelagius. In theological terms one would say that it changed in emphasis from 'gratia ex opere operato' to 'gratia ex opere operantis' (70). In common parlance this means that the passive acceptance of the gift of grace has been replaced by the idea of man's actively meriting supernatural reward through the exercise of free will. When the shift in emphasis in the theology of grace is combined with the overall change from a vertical to a horizontal relationship with God, as evidenced by change in religious practice and ethical consequences of belief, then another way of stating the same reality is to say that before changes in the dimensions of religiosity, brought about by Pope John and Vatican II, Catholics viewed their relationship with God in transcendent terms; now, however, many do so in immanent terms. In effect this means that now the accent is less on personal encounter with God, considered as the 'Mysterium Fascinosum' (71), and more on union with God through others. The heart of this immanent/transcendent distinction, it is claimed, lies
in an understanding of religious experience.

According to sociologists Glock and Stark, religious experience exists at several levels (72). First, the individual is aware somehow of the presence of God. It may occur in the reading of some poetry, listening to a piece of music or observing a beautiful sunset. Although it does not necessarily take place in a church, the individual somehow has his belief in God confirmed. This is referred to as the 'confirming experience', and is often characterised by the feeling that a superior being is present and listening. The second level of religious experience is called the 'responsive experience', where there is the added feeling that a superior being has acknowledged the individual's presence in some way. This can vary from a feeling of being elected or saved (the 'salvational experience'), to a sense that the deity has intervened in some special way on behalf of the individual (the 'miraculous experience') to a 'sanctioning experience', in which the divine is felt to intervene by punishing the individual for his own good or happiness. The third level is the 'ecstatic experience', where the encounter becomes intimate and affectional, so that the individual senses that he is united with the divine. Finally there is the 'revelational' type of religious experience, under which the deity imparts some message to the individual, either in the form of information about the divine or else as an instruction concerning a course of action.

However, maintain that Glock and Stark have not really taken us very far beyond the psychological descriptions of William James's Varieties of Religious Experience (73). It would seem that even the typology of Glock and Stark makes no provision for a change in the concept of God from a transcendent to immanent, and assumes throughout that it is always the individual who relates to God. In other words, their typology does not examine religious experience of groups, a remarkable omission for sociologists, who should be studying primarily the collective aspect of religious experience. This defect in Glock and
Stark's analysis can be inferred from their statement that:

"It ought to be made clear that the various events or feelings are only religious experiences if a person defines them as such." (74)

It is also borne out by examining the actual indicators they employ, e.g.:

"Have you ever had a feeling that somehow you were in the presence of God/ a sense of being saved in Christ/ a feeling of being punished by God for something you had done?" (75)

Moreover, since William James and Glock and Stark, there has been, to the best of one's knowledge, no systematic treatment of religious experience from a sociological perspective, even when the employment of the Glock and Stark typology in surveys has found to be of limited value (76).

Thus, bearing in mind our initial hypothesis that religious experience since the Council tends to be based on an immanent notion of God, with the consequence that such an outlook will tend to heighten group prayer and the seeing of God in others, one shall have to use as evidence of this hypothesis the writings of spiritual theologians and religious commentators. In this way the lacunae of sociology are hopefully enriched by the insights of others. Commentators point to four areas of change in Catholic spirituality since Vatican II:

a) The emergence of Catholic Pentecostalism
b) An increase in mysticism, patterned on oriental religions
c) The appearance of new forms of monastic spirituality
d) The renewal in spirituality of lay Catholic groups.

A more detailed account of these four areas is now given.

a) The emergence of Catholic Pentecostalism

In 1967, the movement known as 'Catholic Pentecostalism' took root at Dusquesne University in the United States. From there it spread to the universities of Notre Dame and Ann Arbor. Today its influence is felt in Catholicism throughout the world, although accounts differ as to the extent of its influence (77). The movement is not limited to university campuses, but it does tend to appeal to the better educated members of the Catholic Church. While one can observe the effects of Catholic Pentecostalism in certain seminaries, the phenomenon is not so readily discernible at the parish level. International and national
conventions of Catholic Pentecostals are held annually, often in a university or school setting, again giving support to the impression that the movement is closely associated with the academic community. Similarly, courses on Catholic Pentecostalism are appearing in the programmes of theological faculties (78).

At first sight this form of Pentecostalism appears to be a modification of the 'Cursillo' movement (79), where Catholics undergo group spiritual renewal, often in the form of 'retreats.' However, closer inspection reveals that Catholic Pentecostalism has several distinguishing characteristics (80). The movement is derived directly from Pope John's wish that the Church and the world should be shaken by an event as dramatic as the First Pentecost (81). Consequently, there is a desire to move with the Spirit, away from organisational structuralism in liturgy, piety, prayer and law, and away from that objectivity associated with intellectual spirituality. Instead, bureaucratic authority is replaced by charisma, which often takes the form of healing and of speaking in tongues, just as it did in the time of the apostles. Hence Catholic Pentecostalism is often referred to as 'Charismatic Renewal.' It is not a breakaway group, as those members who leave the Church are considered by their confrères to be:

"disobedient to the Spirit and to cause charismatic renewal great damage." (82)

Instead one detects increased fervour in the reception of the sacraments and a sense of immediacy and freshness in the movement. This is due, no doubt, to the youthfulness of its members. Their claim, however, is that vitality is drawn from the Spirit itself, which has no knowledge of organisational structures, but rather seeks constant adaptation and renewal. One observer also notes that:

"... a new sense of 'community' prevails in charismatic circles. In fact, Catholics use the term 'community' or 'prayer community' to refer to their various local groups, eg. 'The Saint Charles Community.' Young people in the movement share a strong sense of belonging to one another. The Pentecostal movement in the Catholic Church means nothing unless it is related to community." (83)
In addition, many commentators agree that Catholic Pentecostalism was strongly influenced by David Wilkerson's *The Cross and the Switchblade* (84). This true story relates of the success of an evangelical minister among the gangs of New York, and states that the chain of events, claimed to be more than miraculous coincidences, which led to the success of his ministry, were the work of the Holy Spirit.

Thus Catholic Pentecostalism renews the individual together with others sharing the same charismatic qualities. There are no reported cases of isolated spiritual events that benefit individual Pentecostals. Sometimes Pentecostalism leads to the formation of communities, but more often groups assemble, united in the same interest. Further, the phenomenon is outer-directed in that it seeks to bring transformation and renewal to the lives of others, be they Catholic or not. It has, therefore, strong oecumenical overtones. One maintains that the above description of Catholic Pentecostalism is more in keeping with an immanent view of God working in others, in this case through the mediumship of the Holy Spirit.

Moreover, we have seen that the immanent notion of God, shared by Catholic Pentecostals, underlines charismatic authority at the expense of bureaucratic authority and its accompanying structures. New forms of praying together do not become stifled by the creation of closed communities, as the motivation of members is sufficiently oecumenical to be described as outer-directed. Such a movement, we suggest, can not be served by an organisational model of the Church. If one admits the fact of Pentecostalism, along with the identification of its members with the Catholic Church, then surely one must turn to an alternative pluriform model of religious belonging in order to encompass this phenomenon of recent origin.

b) An increase in mysticism, patterned on oriental religions

Since Vatican II there has been an increase of religious mysticism in the Catholic Church. This has usually taken the form of modelling religious experience on the traditions of the East (85). The pursuit
of Yoga is largely advocated by the Benedictines (86), while Zen Buddhism is mostly the prerogative of the Jesuits and the Carmelites (87). A reason for the movement towards Eastern mysticism is offered by Besnard:

"It is obvious that the traditional forms of prayer cannot meet the challenge of the modern world and that Christians have to be present in the world and to others and therefore present to God through their bodies." (88)

Besnard continues by stating that the 'samadhi' ecstasy of Hinduism and the 'satori' illumination of Buddhism allow the individual to realise his faith more deeply and permit the Spirit:

"to transform him into a man of active justice and universal brotherhood," (89), something which the prayer of the organised Church cannot do (90). That the Catholic Church since the Council recognises this last point is evidenced by an article appearing in the English edition of L'Osservatore Romano, where it is stated:

"An ashram for prayer, study, ecumenical community life and dialogue with the Hindus was followed this year in the city of Poona...Living together in the ashram at present are 8 Catholic nuns and two Anglican nuns (one of the Church of North India). They pray together and study together in a setting that is completely Indian – eating only vegetarian food and sleeping on bedding on the floor." (91)

In such reporting by the Vatican newspaper one can detect a note of cautious welcome. Before Vatican II it would be difficult to find acceptance of a spirituality that tends to undermine the Church's own organisational structures.

However, Yoga and Zen are not just considered by Catholic advocates of Eastern mysticism to be methods for more comfortable positions for praying. They are the media through which a person realises the integration of body and soul in himself and in others. The untrained observer might have thought that mysticism was entirely an individual affair with the divinity, based on the assumption of a transcendent God. Instead one finds spiritual writers stating that Yoga and Zen are means of communication of body and soul. This suggests that while the meditation itself may be described as transcendent, it is based on a
notion of an immanent God. Nor is it true that Yoga and Zen are simply forms of individual prayer. Catholic experimentation has shown that the pursuit of these forms of mysticism leads to the formation of *communities*. For example, there is the centre for Psychotherapy and Encounter at Todtmoos-Rötte in the Black Forest led by Fr. Emomiya-Lassalle and Count K. von Durckheim, concentrating on Zen. Abbeys, such as Königsmünster and Münsterschwarzach in Germany and Orval in Belgium, have opened their doors to sessions in mysticism too (92). In Sweden a centre for meditation has been opened in Rättvik. In the United States there have been Yoga retreats, ecumenical encounters, and the establishment of 'houses of prayer.' (93)

The pursuit of prayer forms in Hinduism and Buddhism within the Catholic Church would therefore appear to have similar characteristics to Catholic Pentecostalism. There is a desire for inner renewal with others of the same inclination and outlook, to be used as a means for the conversion of people in and through communal groups. As with Catholic Pentecostalism, the immanent approach of the mystics can only be treated sociologically by the adoption of a pluriform model of religious belonging.

c) The appearance of new forms of monastic spirituality

If there is a protagonist in the movement to spread monastic spirituality to the Catholic faithful, then it is probably to be found in the person of Thomas Merton, whose *Seeds of Contemplation* (1949), *Bread in the Wilderness* (1961), and *Contemplative Prayer* (1969), all became 'best sellers.' The similarity of Merton's approach to the mysticism of Zen can be found in the works he wrote towards the end of his life, such as *Zen and the Birds of Appetite* (1968) and *Mystique et Zen* (1972). However, it was not until after Vatican II that the celebrated Cistercian's views became accepted as part of Catholic monastic life. The opening of monastery doors to the faithful coincided with John's desire to open the windows of the Church to the influence of the Holy Spirit.
Informations Catholiques Internationales has devoted four of its numbers to the extending of monastic spirituality to the faithful. It treats in some detail the abbeys of Randol (94), Monserrat (95), and Maredsous (96). The review also describes experimentation in 'communities' such as Boquen and Sainte-Baume, which Julian Walter prefers to call 'radical communautés de base' (97). What all these, and many other, renewed monasteries have in common, is that they consider themselves to be open houses of spiritual renewal. It would appear that the ways they induce such renewal are as many as there are houses. Sainte-Baume, for example, disseminates its spirituality through theatrical choreography, while Boquen experiments with protest liturgy, and Pau concentrates its efforts on a study of Vatican II with a view to revolution. These monasteries are 'open' houses, in that they welcome more or less anybody from hippies to respectably married Christians. Gone is the insistence of the 'clausura' and all that it entailed: cells, silence and solitude. Instead, it is hoped that, through communal work and prayer, they can give witness to others of the possibility of human brotherhood, and thus honour to God.

The archetype of such revival in monastic spirituality would seem to be the community of Taizé in France. The fact that Taizé is not Catholic and yet is visited by many lay Catholics, priests and sisters, serves to illustrate the oecumenical advances the movement in monastic spirituality has made. Two passages from the famous rule of Taizé should help one to see the outlook of renewed monasticism:

"Henceforth your worship and your service take place in a community of brothers within the body of the Church. Common impulses will stimulate the inward discipline which is so essential to your life as a Christian. From now on you are no longer alone. You must in all things take your brothers into account."

and

"Be a sign of joy and of brotherly love among men. Open yourself to that which is human and you will see all vain desire to flee the world vanish from your heart. Be present to your day and age and adapt yourself to the conditions of the moment." (98)
These two passages represent a far cry from the 'fuga mundi' of traditional monasticism, later to be regulated by all those modelling themselves on a hierarchical Benedictine Rule. The open monastery by definition and description opts for pluriformity. It is no longer an organisation within The Organisation.

d) The renewal of spirituality among lay Catholic groups

A good example of renewed lay spirituality can be found in the Focolare Movement (99). While still a 23 year old philosophy student at Trent University, Chiara Lubich, initiated a lay form of spirituality based on the gospels and shared it with her fellow students in the air raid shelters of 1943 Italy (100). At first, Chiara and her companions were suspected of being a Protestant sect, and as such came under the scrutiny of the organisational Church. However, by 1960, Pope John had ascended the papal throne, and it was by then that the changing climate of opinion in the Catholic Church soon recognised the spiritual value of the 'Focolarini.'

The danger of becoming small closed communities committed to gospel meditations was quickly overcome by Chiara's vision of the spiritual unity of mankind. Spiritual unity had to be manifested publicly, and this was to be achieved in the case of the 'Focolarini' by open spiritual gatherings known as 'Mariapoli's.' These religious festivals were to become annual summer events and to attract a membership of over two million 'sympathisers.' The next grade of membership was that of 'volunteer', a person, who, while living and working in the world, nevertheless donated a substantial amount of his time to the movement. The highest stage of commitment was that of a consecrated member, one who took vows and lived in a small community with others of the same sex. There are about 1,500 consecrated members at present in the following countries: France, Germany, Portugal, United States, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Australia, Cameroons, Phillipines, India, S.Vietnam, S.Korea, Burma and Japan. All grades of membership are linked by the magazines of
Gen Mini (for teenagers) and New City (for adults) and a series of weekly (Gens) and yearly (Mariapoli's) spiritual gatherings. Members also possess copies of Chiara Lubich's Gospel Meditations.

What distinguishes the Focolarini from many lay spiritual movements is that they see the need for training members in spirituality. At Loppiano, near Florence, there is a school for such a purpose, which offers a two year course covering subjects such as Scripture, Theology, Liturgy, Social Communications, History of Lay movements in the Church, Hygiene and Home Economics. Those following the course live in houses with five or six others, buildings that have been installed by clerical and lay members of the movement. On site there is also a girls' college for 160, a chicken farm, a fabric workshop, a computer repair unit, and studios for sculpture and ceramic work. By now, the cinema, radio station and convent for contemplative nuns are probably complete. The financing of Loppiano comes from private donations so that no fees are payable for following the course, or living in a focolare. There is nothing to suggest that Loppiano has the closed mentality to be found in certain kibbutzim, as both visitors and residents, not only come from a variety of cultural backgrounds, but often do not share the same Catholic faith. Nor should one mistakenly identify the Focolare movement with a bureaucratic or organisational image, as the egalitarian attitudes of the members, their diversity of outlooks, and their openness to outside influences, bear the marks of unity through pluriformity. (This, however, does not exclude it being familial in outlook). Their unity is derived from a sharing of the gospel message, not on the perpetuation of an obsolete institution.

A non-Catholic counterpart to the Focolarini of Loppiano can be found in Schaeffer's L'Abri in Switzerland (101). However, such are the advances of lay spirituality in attracting membership from a wide range of Christian denominations, that it is now difficult to tell L'Abri and Loppiano apart.
Not all lay Catholic movements are territorially based. The majority of groups are probably founded on common interest. National and international bodies such as Catholic Renewal, the Legion of Mary, and various Third Orders, can be found catering for left and right wing Catholic interests, not to mention the diversity of secular institutes.

A few lay groups, such as the Isolotto parish near Florence, are united through protest (102). One is not including such groups in a discussion of lay spirituality, as it is open to question whether spiritual renewal is their *raison d'être*. Indeed a major difference between 'action' groups and those based on spiritual renewal would seem to be that the latter are more open to fellow human beings. As such, one maintains they can be treated by a pluriform model of religious belonging to the Church.

In summary, then, one can say that observed change in religious experience from a transcendent to an immanent notion of God, has the following sociological and socio-theological implications for religious belonging:—

a) Membership is no longer based on belonging to an élite in contact with an Ottonian 'idea of the Holy', but can be as universal as the open omnipresence of God.

b) Membership itself can transcend spatio-temporal dimensions.

c) Membership is achieved through contact with the divine in nature, rather than ascribed through supernatural predestination.

These three characteristics have certain structural repercussions, as we shall see when an alternative model of religious belonging is presented.

Finally, taking the religious dimensions of belief, practice, ethical consequences of belief, and experience under the unifying perspective of religious belonging, one can see the need for an alternative and pluriform model of religious belonging. While it may be possible to argue that until Vatican II the religiosity of membership could be best described in organisational terms, from the time of Pope John onwards it is difficult to see how that model persists. The model has changed because the members
making up that Church have changed. However, before one can go on to investigate possible deeper reasons for socio-religious change, one has to argue from criteria, other than those already utilised in the presentation of the organisational and pluriform models of the Church, as to which of these two models of religious belonging is to be selected. It is to this question that the following chapter turns its attention.
A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it:

1. is more capable of tackling the phenomenon of decentralisation in the Catholic Church
2. can supply a more fitting explanation for the notion of extended membership in the Church
3. can deal with the phenomenon of emerging interest groups in the Church
4. is more capable of acting as a paradigm for the existence of parties in the Church
5. can take into account, to a greater degree, conflict in the Church

The organisational model of the Church depends to a great degree on the supposition of centralised authority in the Church, in which the Church is:

"a massive bureaucratic organisation with power and authority concentrated in the pope." (1)

However, one shall argue that centralisation of authority in the Church is a comparatively recent phenomenon. True it existed, and indeed reached a climax, at the First Vatican Council. However, the lack of centralisation of authority in the Church until the late Middle Ages, and its disappearance in the present century, one suggest, cannot make its acceptance a condition of membership to the Catholic Church. Rather an alternative model of Church affiliation based on decentralisation, one maintain, presents a sociologically more accurate picture of religious belonging. This point will be argued in historical stages.

a) The Pre-Constantinian Period

Lynch echoes the mind of most Church historians when he writes:

"In the pre-Nicene centuries the local 'ekklesia' was largely self-sufficient and to a surprising degree autonomous. Unity among churches manifested itself in agreement on faith rather than in institutional structures. In fact, no permanent organisational
Sullivan confirms this view when he writes:

"It is an error to consider centralised administration as being of the essence of the primacy, as it was not to be found in the early Church, nor was the primacy itself even admitted at that time... For ordinary administration local churches were self-sufficient. There was no need for administration from Rome, nor was it possible in the conditions of that time." (3)

Thus one finds it difficult to agree with Gonzalez that the incidence of heresy was combated by the notion of apostolic succession and monarchical episcopacy (4). The first text giving evidence of such a régime did not appear before 180 AD (5), by which time, not only were there several factions in the Church, but also many formal heresies as well, including the well known Gnosticism. Had there been a centralised authority in the Church at that time, then why did it remain so silent in the face of such pluriformity? Indeed why had the fight against the Gnostics to be waged by individual bishops, such as Irenaeus? (6)

b) Constantine to the Reformation

Warwick has argued that the Emperor Constantine had vested interests in a strong centralised Church for the reinforcement of the Empire, and to this end he summoned the first Council of Nicaea in AD 325 (7). While that may have been what the Emperor desired, it was not what he received. The fact that the Emperor himself had to call the Council hardly gives weight to the view that the centralised authority of the Church was strong at the time. Indeed the theological wranglings of Nicaea, not only over matters of faith (the consubstantiality controversy (8)), but also over discipline (the celibacy issue (9)), would seem to demonstrate the opposite point of view, namely that dissent and pluriformity in the Church was anything but non-existent. The inherent weakness of the conciliar formulations led to a series of councils being called, while succeeding emperors oscillated between orthodoxy and heresy (10). Eventually the Empire collapsed, presumably without the support of a strong centralised Church that it desired.
Gregory VII is often singled out by Church historians as the champion of centralised authority in the Church. His famous Dictatus Papae (1075), argued that the pope was the supreme head of Christianity, standing above kings and emperors (11). According to Knowles (12), Gregory reduced the importance of regional primacy to a minimum; archbishops were merely to consecrate suffragans and preside over synods, while diocesan bishops came under the immediate supervision of Rome. However, Meulenberg has argued that such an observation only contains some elements of the situation as it existed (13). For example, one finds Gregory stressing the need for the election of a bishop by the clergy and the people in the case of Rainer of Orleans (14). The right of consecration belonged to the local church (15), as did the right to dismiss clergy or reinstate them in office (16), so that the authority of the local bishop could not be overridden by anybody else (17). Reform was to take place at the provincial level (18). Metropolitans had definite power (19), as did primates (20), whose appointment was by another non-centralised non-Roman vicariate, that of Arles (21). The above examples, given by Meulenberg, should at least show that in Gregory's thinking there was still room for decentralisation, and that Gregory was not the champion of centralisation 'par excellence', as some historians have tended to assume. Even Warwick has to admit that Gregory's vision of papal primacy was not fully realised until the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216). Yet even if one admits of centralisation at this later stage, emphasised no doubt by the bull Unam-Sanctam of Boniface VIII in 1302, one also has to agree that such centralisation of authority was short-lived. Not only did this period see the emergence of the mendicant orders, who reacted against the bureaucratic image of Catholicism, but later a conciliarist movement soon swept the Church, deriving its inspiration from the Council of Constance's decree Haec Sancta of 1415. This decree stated that all Christians, even the pope, must be obedient to the councils (22). As Franzen writes:
The effects of conciliarism were to be felt for a long time and fear of its revival governed the popes from this time on." (23)

c) The Reformation to 1870

We have seen already that up to this period it cannot be argued with any degree of conviction that centralisation had taken hold of the Catholic Church. From the Reformation until Vatican I, however, historians are generally in agreement that a policy of centralisation was much more in evidence.

First the Council of Trent had to tackle two major decentralising tenets of the reformers: justification by faith alone, and the priesthood of all believers. This it did by clarifying the notion of good works, derived through sacramental grace, and by emphasising hierarchical (from the Greek ἱερας, meaning person with sacred power) authority (24). Grace, argued the fathers of Trent, had to be mediated through the sacraments, and the sacrifice of the Mass in particular (25). The instrument of such mediation was the priest, who, by dint of his supernatural powers, held office in the Church (26). Sociologically speaking, the effect of the Counter Reformation produced a two-tier Church composed of the clergy and the laity. As sacral power was embodied in the former group, it was there only a short step from sacred orders to hierarchical office. The problem of authority was tackled by making a distinction between 'potestas ordinis' and 'potestas iurisdictionis'. While a man could be elevated to holy orders, he only received the power to exercise his priesthood from one who had received holy orders to a fuller degree, i.e. a bishop. The bishop in turn was subject to the power of Peter. Although the bishop was a successor of the apostles, the pope was the 'vicarius Christi' (27), the successor of the prince of the apostles. Thus a hierarchy of authority was clarified, based on jurisdiction rather than the force of the sacrament of orders. The pinnacle of such power was the pope and his advisors, who took up positions of central control in the Roman Catholic Church. Centralisation was now 'de iure' and 'de facto'
established.

It was left to Pius V (1566-72) to institute the major overhaul of the Church's administrative structures (28). He set about a purification of the college of cardinals and gave it the responsibility for internal reforms. The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was established. The Roman Curia was rejuvenated and turned into a powerful administrative agency which began to intervene more and more into the affairs of countries and dioceses round the world. In this it was helped by the establishment of papal nunciatures, which, through their nuncios, monitored the obedience and loyalty of the clergy, and submitted reports to the equivalent of a central foreign intelligence office. That the power of sacred orders had given way to power of jurisdiction, can also be detected in the fact that the position of curial cardinal now began to assume a greater importance than that of bishop. The point is made when one realises that in many cases cardinals were not bishops, and in some cases not even ordained. It took almost another four hundred years before it was considered necessary for cardinals to be members of the episcopate. Not only was the power of a cardinal enhanced through his holding of the administrative reins, but also he was an eligible candidate for the papacy, again a privilege not enjoyed by bishops. The central machine thus became a closed circle of not more than one hundred members, due in the main to the increased power of the cardinalate.

Naturally such a policy of centralisation did not go unopposed. Strong reaction was observed in movements such as Gallicanism and Febronianism (29), which argued for greater national autonomy. Had either of these two movements existed in an earlier period, or even today, they would have enjoyed considerable success. The fact that they did not in the current period is further evidence of the strength of centralised power in the Church.

Even the liberalism advocated by the French Revolution failed to undermine ecclesiastical structures. It could well be argued that the
Church at this time found new allies in the emerging political and social scientists, who were concerned with order in society at all costs (30). The threat of secularisation and Modernism (31) too produced an ecclesiastical reaction of further centralisation and enlargement of jurisdictional influence. Under Pius IX the centralisation of administrative control in Rome was increased.

"Questions of liturgy, discipline and appointments were increasingly decided by the pope and the Curia. Pius IX both encouraged and accommodated the movement towards a personal veneration of the pope through audiences, blessings and pilgrimages. During the same period he supported the re-establishment of Peter's Pence as a voluntary offering for the pope and Curia, and encouraged the flow of young Catholics into the papal armies. To quote Cozemius, 'This was the climate in which it began to seem as if the strengthening of papal authority was the alpha and omega of ecclesiastical wisdom.'" (32)

Set in this context,

"the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 could be seen as an added attempt to strengthen the teaching authority of the pope at a time when his secular power was evaporating." (33)

The summit of achievement for centralised power came with the declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870, when the pope was defined as taking precedence over not only all bishops but also the whole Church (34).

d) 1870 to the present day

But such defined centralisation was to be short lived. The Catholic Church has a long memory, and it was not slow to realise that a model of centralised authority had little historical precedent in the first fifteen hundred years of the Church's existence. It was known, for example, that Cardinal John Henry Newman had voted against the decree on Papal Infallibility on the grounds that such a definition was inopportune. When his ideas of theological development became fashionable in the twentieth century (for example, in the works of Lonergan, and others), then parallel was the growth in decentralising tendencies among theologians (35). The definition of papal infallibility too produced the schism of 'Old (Dutch) Catholics', the forerunners perhaps of later
theological ferment in that country. At this time there was also heightened interest in modern textual criticism, and theologians were turning once more to Revelation as the ultimate source of authority. This in turn led to biblical, liturgical and catechetical, movements, in the twentieth century, and the paving of the way for Vatican II.

As we have seen, it was the Decree on Religious Liberty that finally pronounced the death sentence on centralisation of office in the Church. As a result of this document, decentralisation replaced centralisation in a period of less than ten years. One would maintain that the pace of such dramatic change was facilitated by the fact that decentralisation had a far greater historical precedent in the Catholic Church than centralisation.

We have seen that decentralisation has for the Catholic Church been the norm rather than the exception to the rule. The implication of that statement is that the normative model for the Catholic Church cannot be that of a bureaucratic organisation, but rather a model allowing for pluriformity. Moreover, a model of decentralised pluriformity is one that seeks explanation in terms of religious belonging. Membership of a pluriform Church overrides and encompasses considerations of belief, practice, ethics and religious experience, in such a Church. Such a conclusion will be implicit throughout the remainder of this research.

2. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it is more capable of tackling the phenomenon of extended membership in the Church.

The Second Vatican Council was oecumenical in a different sense from the earlier oecumenical councils of the Catholic Church, for not only was it a worldwide assembly of Catholic bishops (necessary for the term 'oecumenical' to be applied to a council), but also it displayed open recognition of a thirty year old oecumenical movement within its ranks. Oecumenism was highlighted in the Catholic Church by the publication of Yves Congar's Chrétiens désunis, Principes d'un oecuménisme catholique, translated into English in 1939. However, oecumenism as such
had largely been promoted by the World Council of Churches, initiated with its World Missionary Conference in 1910, with a view to restoring unity between different churches (36).

It has been argued by Thils (37) and the Concilium General Secretariat (38) that oecumenism can be considered in two stages:

1. the institutional stage of churches working together for unity
2. the supra-ecclesiastical stage, envisaging union of religions, working towards the unity of mankind.

The former stage, the unity between churches, has been amply documented in several Catholic works (39), and corresponds to what one has termed the organisational model of the Church. Unity between churches was the goal of the Vatican II's decrees on the Church and on Oecumenism. To this end a Secretariat for Christian Unity was promoted by Cardinal Bea and its work continued by Cardinal Willebrands. Examples of inter-church dialogue can be found between Catholics and Lutherans (40), (in the United States, for instance, one observes such dialogue between the United States National Committee of the World Association of Lutherans and the American Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical and Inter-denomination Affairs, and the group called the International Study Commission on the Gospel and the Church, the former coming into being in 1965, the latter in 1967). Mention should also be made of Anglican–Roman Catholic dialogue, evidenced by the Joint Commission on Anglican–Roman Catholic Relations in the United States (ARC), and the Anglican–Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC), in existence since 1965. Relations between the Catholic and Orthodox churches, in addition to their amelioration through the oecumenical movement as a whole, have shown marked improvement at the primatial level, with the three meetings between Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras, and the lifting of the anathemas imposed by Rome on the East in 1054. Interdenominational dialogue has also been carried out at the national and local levels. An example of the former is the Dutch Council of Churches, including representatives from the Catholic Church, the Old Catholic Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist–Zwinglian Reformed Churches, the Evangelical
Lutheran Church, the Dutch Arminian Brotherhood, the Dutch Mennonite Brotherhood and the United Brethren. An example of the latter is the interdenominational discussion group known as Les Dombes, formed between French and Swiss Catholics and Protestants, working under the inspiration of Abbé Couturier.

It is impossible to do justice here to a subject as vast as ecumenical dialogue on an institutional basis. However, one would like to draw attention to certain similar patterns encountered in such interdenominational discussions. First, one observes that dialogue usually takes place between high ranking non-elected delegates of respective denominations. The effect of such top-level discussion, is that it becomes difficult to involve the ordinary lay member in the different issues, particularly when he has little to say in the items on the agenda or in the representation of his views by elected delegates. Second, dialogue is generally conducted among specialists, many of whom are theologians. This too has the effect of eliminating the possible contribution of rank and file membership. Third, agreements and differences of opinion are measured against institutionalised sets of belief and practice, that is, a theoretical criterion of orthodoxy is employed, which may or may not reflect 'de facto' attitudes and beliefs of denominational membership. Fourth, participants in ecumenical discussions are sometimes over-preoccupied with denominational prestige, a subject of little concern for younger members of churches, perhaps explaining inadequate representation of the younger age groups in ecumenical discussion, disillusioned by the institutional policies of older men. Fifth, ecumenical dialogue can be described as being of middle class orientation, thereby open to the charge of irrelevance in issues affecting lower classes or ethnic groups. Finally, the topics selected for debate, while indicative of institutional differences and points of agreement, may not be issues that unite and divide church affiliation at grass root level.
One or two examples should serve to illustrate the above six points.
The question of office in the Church is one that produces differences of
opinion among Lutherans, Anglicans and Catholics. Seen through Catholic
eyes, the Lutherans, with no priestly ordination or apostolic succession,
have no visible structures for administering to the faithful, while the
Anglicans, without valid sacramental orders, lack sacramental unity
necessary for authority. Yet the Catholic 'man in the street' is
probably less concerned about different types of ministry in the three
churches and more involved with the way that the Church is of service
to him. An academic, middle class, prestige discussion on office is less
relevant, for instance, than on differences of exercising such office
over an issue such as birth control.

Closely allied to the question of office are those of ministry and
authority. Again the average lay Christian might point out that he
draws his religious inspiration from the authority of the Bible itself,
which would not only serve as a practical basis for unity among the
three denominations, but alter the whole perspective from a discussion
of ministry and authority to the repercussions of pluriformity in
service, in other words, to the question of how a variety of dedicated
men can help him to give greater witness to the teachings of Christ.

Thus, while the denominational member seeks unity in social issues,
he does not see this same concern reflected in expert discussion of
topics such as transubstantiation, validity of orders and apostolic
succession. Institutional oecumenism does not help in problems of poverty,
overpopulation, inflation and racism, as it is limited to a discussion
between churches and not extended to a dialogue between all churches
and humanity in general.

The second stage of oecumenism envisages not only unity between
churches, but the union of whole religions and cultures with the whole
world. As such it is in keeping with one's description of a pluriform
model of the Church. Reviews such as *Quest*, *Logos* and *IDOC*, are evidence
of such a view (41). This latter sense of the oecumenical movement was
first spelt out by Benz (42), while relying on earlier theoretical studies (43), in a secular (44) or biblical context (45). One also encounters a more universalistic sense of oecumenism in patristic writings (46). This calls this second stage of oecumenism, 'oecumenicity' (47), a term underlying the true biblical meaning of extending salvation to all (48). He further cites Visser 't Hooft as the protagonist of the oecumenical movement, who underlined the universal notion of oecumenism in his address to the Comité Central de Paris, when he said:

"There can be no self-contained and introverted ecclesiastical oikumene. There can be only a Church oikumene which realises that Christ is Lord and which must now carry that testimony in word and deed to the wider oikumene, which does not yet recognise what God has done for and in the world. It is our mission and service among men that we realise our oecumenical purpose..." (49)

This continues by arguing that Vatican II favoured the second stage of oecumenism in its Decree on the Church and in its Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. The penultimate draft of the former decree stated:

"The Church is both sign and instrument, as the sacrament of the profound unity of the human race and of its union with God." (50), while the latter document spelt out the values of such unity as:

"human dignity, brotherhood and freedom, and the good fruits of our nature and enterprise." (51)

The Council also envisaged the laity as the chief instrument of promoting these universal values (52). Becker too tries to show that the Catholic Church in its decrees on Oecumenism and in its Declaration on Non-Christian Religions has overstepped the boundaries of Christendom and broadened out towards the whole human world (53).

However, worldwide oecumenism, based on union between religions, rather than denominations, is evidenced in the Catholic Church's actions too. In August 1969, Pope Paul VI showed great openness to the Mohammedan community (54), which was soon reflected in a similar approach on the part of the Congregation for Non-Christians, (55) and allowed Cardinal Marella to speak of timid steps forward (56). An anti-semitic interpretation to the Pope's visit had the fortuitous effect of
giving extra force to the dialogue between Catholicism and Judaism (57). However, dialogue was not just a one way process. In 1955 Thailand Buddhists invited J. Ulliana to become Professor of Catholicism (58), and congresses bringing together Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism have been organised in Ceylon, Vietnam and Indonesia (59).

Dialogue has also taken place between Catholics and Marxists, as articles in the international review Dialog show (60). This has had practical repercussions in the life of Catholics living behind the Iron Curtain. Their church can no longer be regarded as 'silent', as Catholics have begun once more to speak (61). Such dialogue has had repercussions on the diplomatic front too, with the Catholic Church's heavy involvement in an Ostpolitik (62). Here there has been a remarkable change in outlook since the Second Vatican Council. Before that time, during the pontificate of Pius XII, one witnessed the condemnation of Communism by the Holy Office (1 July 1949), and those documents invalidating Chinese episcopal consecration, with the final severance of relations between Church and State in that country (cf. Evangelii Praecones of 2 June 1951, Cupimis Imprimis of 18 Jan 1952 and Ad Sinarum Gentem of 7 October 1954). However, as we noted earlier, when John XXIII ascended the papal throne, he made history by admitting Alexei Adjubei to private audience. Paul VI, though, extended casual friendly encounters to a fully developed diplomatic policy of détente with the Eastern Bloc. In addition to his own meetings with Gromyko and Podgorny, he sent his chief ambassadors, Willebrands, Pignedoli and Cassaroli, to Russia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia. They in turn produced a series of successful ameliorations of Church-State relationships, particularly in the field of education of Catholics and the ordination of priests. Even Cardinal Mindszenty was sacrificed in order to obtain better diplomatic relations with Iron curtain countries, (One may view the Cardinal's account in his forthcoming autobiography, excerpts of which have already been serialised in The Sunday Telegraph, October 14 15 1974 onwards).
It would thus appear from the above brief analysis that the Catholic Church has moved from a primary stage of interdenominational oecumenism to a more worldwide dialogue based on the brotherhood of man. In so doing, Martin (63) would maintain, it has followed the inspiration of Pope John XXIII and his desire of an event similar to that of the First Pentecost, which would unite all men of good will. Humour has it that Pope John on his deathbed was heard to utter the prayer:

"ut omnes unum sint,"

the Vulgate version of the words thought to be used by Christ at the Last Supper, on the eve of his own death. The last wishes of dying men are often respected. That this was the case as far as Pope John XXIII was concerned is evidenced by the subsequent oecumenical discourse and action of the Catholic Church.

That the Catholic Church passed from dialogue between churches to dialogue with "all men of good will" (64), has certain implications for a model of religious belonging. First, unity desired in worldwide terms is not adequately encompassed by an organisational model. While it may have been possible to consider denominations in terms of organisations, this does not strike the present writer as being a viable exercise in the second stage of oecumenism. Second, universal membership of the Church is reflected in the theological terms of the Constitution on the Church (65) and the Decree on Oecumenism (66), admitting grades of membership based on sacramental baptism (i.e. encompassing all Christian churches) and on the universality of human goodness (men of good will). Again, it seems almost impossible for an organisational model of the Church to fit such a theological framework. Third, a universal concept of the Church must take into account the different bases for dialogue (e.g. belief and ritual in the case of Catholic – Protestant dialogue, religious experience in the case of Catholic – Buddhist dialogue). Such pluriformity of basis for dialogue, one would argue, not only makes the use of an organisational model extremely difficult, but it renders
virtually impossible the consideration of membership of the Catholic Church in terms of individual dimensions of religiosity. Fourth, under universal oecumenism, Catholics can be more selective in their motivation for belonging to the Church. Indeed, one is able to detect greater similarity between some Catholics and members of other faiths than between fellow Catholics themselves (67). As Modras states:

"A literal interpretation of the Virgin Birth and belief in the existence of a personal devil aligns curial cardinals more closely to Southern Baptists than to Roman Catholics in America. Whether basing themselves on the verbal inspiration of the scriptures or the infallibility of conciliar statements, Protestant and Catholic inquisitors dedicated to maintaining doctrinal orthodoxy have more in common with each other than with their fellow churchmen who approach both Scripture and Tradition with critical historical hermeneutics. Pentecostal Christians, whether Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox, often feel more comfortable with each other than with the members of their own churches who have not shared in their own particularly intense form of religious experience. No matter what religious traditions they come from, adherents of the Social Gospel, meeting at a demonstration for peace, political liberation or social justice, find bonds of kinship with one another that they do not share with their less activist church members back home." (68)

Finally, universal oecumenism presents to the Catholic a choice of belonging to the Church. The organisational model has been replaced by the pluriform model. The actual choosing of a particular type of affiliation is what is meant by religious belonging.

3. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging as it can deal with the phenomenon of emerging interest groups in a more satisfactory manner.

We have seen that a policy of decentralisation in the Catholic Church had the effect of bringing about rapid structural change, where the voices of the laity, priests and bishops, could be heard at all levels from parish to international synod. It was also suggested that such change was largely the result of historical precedent and the Vatican II Decree on Religious Liberty, based on principles of political democracy.
Now it is one of the characteristics of a democracy that all opinions should be capable of being represented at a higher level. An area where such a scheme does not always operate is in the case of minority groups. The tactic often employed by these groups to obtain a better hearing of their views is to transcend the structures of democracy, usually based on territory, and to seek the support of others of a similar frame of mind. The phenomenon of the collective voicing of opinion by those of like thought patterns, who are not necessarily linked by propinquity, shall term the phenomenon of interest groups. It is probably true to say that interest groups exist in every social institution. However, what is of concern here is the existence of interest groups in the Catholic Church.

As we saw in the section dealing with ethical consequences of belief, since Vatican II there has been a marked insurgence of Catholic interest groups, feeling the need of a representative hearing, not permitted even by the restructuring of the Church, as a result of decentralisation. Catholic interest groups usually focus their attention on some particular point of renewal that has been insufficiently treated or not yet brought about. Thus there are groups advocating a compulsory retiring age for bishops, the ministry of women, the end of mandatory celibacy, wider experimentation in the ministry, a bill of human rights for priests, the removal of military chaplains from the armed forces, protests against war, against failure of the hierarchy to represent opinions in synods, against sex discrimination and against racism in schools.

Sometimes interest groups contain politico-religious overtones. Examples include priests running for Congress and State legislatures, even drafting speeches for ex-President Nixon, the withdrawal of the White Fathers from Mozambique as a protest against Portuguese colonialism, the signing of the People's Peace Treaty with North Vietnam by priests and nuns, the speaking with Vietcong representatives in Paris by 45 American priests, and a group of priests attempting to say Mass on the
steps of the Pentagon as a protest against the Vietnamese War. Political activism was fired by Camilo Torres and his priest guerrillas in Colombia, in Chile with Jesuit Christian Marxism, and in Brazil and Bolivia with a Dominican anti-government stand. Even the late President Allende was heard to remark:

"Before, for centuries, the Catholic Church defended the interests of the powerful. Today, the Church, after John XXIII, has become oriented toward making the Gospels of Christ a reality, at least in some places." (69)

The Black Declaration of Independence produced a black functional theology, and Fr. Lucas in Harlem voiced a similar opinion when he said:

"I am preaching to blacks the Gospel of Christ. Not the Gospels of Christ as distorted by white people for white interests." (70)

Catholic interest groups have existed in the past too, but Remy and Voyé warn:

"It would be fallacious to see only a simple repetition of the past in the movement that is taking place today." (71)

Instead they suggest:

"It is advisable to link the present tendency with the problems of an individualising society that arouses in people both a desire to control their own destiny and a feeling of reserve towards large-scale organisation." (72)

This last statement is explained in psycho-sociological terms as the need that man feels to associate with others in an urban context over shared ideals rather than seeking collective affective relationships more reminiscent of the village. Such a line of thought is supported by the cultural-religious hypothesis that the above communicative capital is desired outside time, now allocated for leisure (Sunday), while being sufficiently private and profane to avoid becoming publicly sacred, or ideologically neutral. A sociological insight offered by the two authors is that it is often the Catholic middle class that make up interest groups in the Church, as in them they can find an identity, which they cannot in society. The middle class has abandoned the life-style of the working class, and only apes the ways of the upper class by looking on it as a reference group. An interest group thus provides the place for
integrating the values of the middle class, without necessarily involving total identification with the organisational Church.

Emile Pin throws additional light on interest groups when he describes the Church as 'a way of being together' (73). He begins by stating that modern man, while alienated by urban life, is yet free to form friendships of his choice, a situation for which he longs, particularly if he is esteemed...and fulfilled. This plenitude, desired by man, can only be satisfied in a small group of friends, provided that it:

"expresses or contains the presence of the Eternal." (74)

Once the parish fulfilled this function of eternal presence in local community and primary group, but today this is no longer the case. Nor do action groups, such as Catholic Action, fulfil the need, as they are instruments of the hierarchy of the organisational Church. Rather, the new small groups of faithful are those in which:

"all the members desire to seek Jesus Christ, to discover the evangelical values as applied to everyday life, to re-invent a line of conduct on the basis of communal existence, and to find in joint prayer the encouragement they need to face their difficult and monotonous daily duties." (75)

Indeed, Pin explains that an important function of the small group is that of arousing a sense of belonging to the Church, where:

"each member acquires the feeling of being appreciated by the others and of making a personal contribution to the edification of the whole." (76)

Without such groups:

"The Universal Church, in fact, is running the risk of remaining an envelope without content, a frame without colours, a skeleton without upholstering, unless it enriches itself by means of the concrete support of an immense and infinitely varied human experience, unless it succeeds in arousing among its faithful a solid feeling of belonging." (77)

It is also Pin's contention that the Church as an organisation cannot communicate to such groups; its hierarchy is too distant and removed, and is looked upon as a caste apart, out of touch with every day living. It is this sense of separation and estrangement that is often the starting
point for the small religious group. Finally, Pin stresses that the way of being together in the small group, or 'ecclesiola', is the Church itself. He writes:

"The Church is not an organisation, nor even a hierarchy, and this is true irrespective of how great may be the saintliness or the total dedication of the people who constitute this hierarchy. The Church is above all a certain way of being together in the name of Jesus Christ for the purpose of listening to the voice of His Spirit." (78)

The above summary of Pin's thought should serve to emphasise the writer's own concurrence with the above ideas. The Church, 'de facto' is pluriform and composed of a series of interest groups or ways of living out Christ's word. One can indeed belong to many such groups, but it is psychologically impossible to belong in the same way to an organisational Church. In sum, the existence of interest groups, does not result from man's desire to believe, practise, or any other partial view of religion; it stems from a fundamental desire to be at one and to belong to Christ, albeit in a variety of ways, with others.

4. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it is more capable of acting as a paradigm for the existence of parties in the Church.

In October 1973 the review Concilium devoted an entire number to "The Danger of Parties in the Church." (79) An interdisciplinary approach, similar to our own socio-theological approach, was taken to the problem in the form of contributions, not only from specialists in politics, sociology, exegesis, history and pastoral theology in the Catholic Church, but also from representatives of Orthodox, Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican and Free Churches. In his summarising chapter, Hans Kung stated that:

"In fact, all the contributors, however they see the solution, agree that parties in the Church are a real problem. Indeed, the specialists in this sphere (Suenens, Visser 't Hooft, Potter, Hesburgh) point out or take for granted that we are facing new polarisations in the Church. New tensions in the churches have replaced old tensions between the churches." (80)
He went on to say that:

"the word 'party' is used here in the broad sense of 'tendency', 'movement', 'group' or 'wing'." (81)

One shall concentrate here on the points of agreement reached with regard to the Catholic Church.

First, the exegetes point to the fact that parties existed in the New Testament Church. The Acts of the Apostles demonstrates the existence of two groups, the Hebrews and the Hellenists. The former were Aramaic speaking upholders of the Christian messianic law, based on Jerusalem and led by the apostle James. The latter ignored the law in favour of mission to the Gentiles, were based on Antioch and led by the deacon Stephen and the apostle Paul. Rudolf Pesch comments:

"In the terminology of the days both were 'haereseis' with differing 'dogmata'." (82)

He adds that their distinctive hallmark was particularism/universalism, the Hebrews being limited to the chosen people of the covenant, whilst the latter were more 'diaconia' orientated to teaching all nations (83). Modras explains the differentiation as:

"the question of the abiding force of law continued to divide the early Church into distinct camps, represented by James on the right, Paul on the left, and Peter vacillating between the two" (84)

so that Haenchen was able to state:

"At the moment of persecution the primitive community embodied two groups which were already so clearly distinct even to outsiders that the one was persecuted, the other left unharmed." (85)

In addition to 'haereseis' there were also 'schismata' in the New Testament Church. The Greek has been translated to mean 'dissension' in the Church, of which Corinth is the oft quoted example (86). Paul, it should be emphasised, was not welcoming the division of the Church into the Cephas, Apollos, and his own group (87), but pointing out the difference that existed between the supporters of a heavenly Christ (the forerunners of Pentecostalism?) and those who held on to the tradition of the Incarnation (88). Modras continues by pointing out that:
"tensions, if not outright contradictions, can be perceived between Paul and James on the nature of faith (Gal. 2.16, Jas. 2.19) and between Paul and Luke on what constitutes apostleship (Gal. 1.15 ff, Acts 1.21 f)." (89)

Differences in structure existed too, from the Jewish Christian presbyteral structures to those of a charismatic nature in the Gentile churches. He quotes J. Mc Kenzie as saying:

"Pluriform structure is general in the New Testament. Nothing suggests a uniform structure imposed from above." (90)

There were differences too in liturgical practice as regards the Lord's prayer (Mt. 6.9 ff, Lk. 11.2 ff) and the words of consecration in the Mass (Mk. 14.22 ff, Lk. 22.15 ff, 1 Cor. 11.23). However, perhaps the most striking differences in the New Testament communities are evidenced by the very existence of several diverse Christian traditions from which the differing gospels and epistles were compiled. Barnabas Ahern and other modern exegetes concur in stating that the so-called 'ipsissima verba' of Christ were more than coloured by the response of the early Christians to problems of pastoral dissent, eg. infant baptism, divorce, etc. (91) In other words, the differences in the synoptic and Joannine narratives were based on the pluriform traditions of divergent communities. This divergent 'sitz-im-leben' understanding, they say, explains the gap of thirty years between the death of Christ and the appearance of the traditions in written form.

Second, pluriformity in the Church is evidenced by the findings of Church historians. As Hermann-Josef Vogt says:

"In the first century there were the Jewish Christian Ebionites, in the second a variety of Gnostic tendencies and the Montanists, with their emphasis on apocalyptic prophecy. The third century had the purist Novatians, and the fifth the Nestorians and Eutychians respectively, supporters of separatist and fusionist christologies." (92)

He then points to the fourth century as that being most dominated by party struggle, not only between factioning groups, but among the episcopate as well. Moreover, the dogmatic battles that were fought over the consubstantiality of the Son and the person and nature of Christ in
Trinitarian theology, were not simply questions of terminology. They centred on two crucial aspects of Catholic belief: whether Christ was the son of God, and whether he had a human nature or not. This theological wrangling, which went on for 150 years until the Council of Chalcedon in 451, not only split the Catholic Church between East and West, but divided the former into the two schools of Antioch and Alexandria (93). The point that is being made here is that the clashes of this period were not just between personalities, such as Arius, Athanasius and Nestorius, but that the following of such men produced parties in the Church, that can be looked at in terms of left, right and centre, groups. Even two Fathers of the Church, Tertullian and Origen, became branded as heretics in the course of such controversy (94). Yet another pair, Irenaeus and Cyprian, severely challenged Popes Victor and Stephen, this time without censure (95). This raises in turn an interesting point of whether 'Rome' had 'de facto' become the managerial department of the Church. It is our contention that it had not, and that pluriformity in the Church prevented the existence of such an organisational model of the Church.

Others have argued that the existence of parties in the Church did not cease with the Council of Chalcedon (96), but that it continued to the end of the Middle Ages, bringing in its wake the separation of the Eastern Churches and the Protestant Reformation. From then onwards it would appear that factional splintering was, by and large, limited to the various Protestant Churches (97) and that from the Council of Trent (1545) to Vatican I (1870) the Catholic Church remained relatively stable. The reason for such stability, we would maintain, was that during that period the Catholic Church was emerging as a one-party Church, resembling an organisation, and acting in an authoritarian manner. The climax of this organisational model was reached with the definition of Papal Infallibility, spelling out the powers attributable to Pius IX, the chief executive of the Catholic Church.
However, it was also at this time that sociology was emerging as a discipline. No small wonder then that it saw the Catholic Church in terms of an organisation, despite fifteen centuries of pluriformity. Had sociologists been a little less a-historical in the approach to their discipline, then, one feels, they would not have been so inclined to view the Catholic Church in macro-organisational terms. Indeed, one had to wait until 1970 for the first major international congress between sociologists and historians, a fact lamented by not a few specialists from both disciplines. Again, by 1970 a century had elapsed between the emergence of the Catholic Church as an organisation 'par excellence' and its return to pluriformity once more, explaining perhaps the sociological fixation with the Church as an organisation. The 1870 model was short-lived. Immediate reaction to Infallibility set in, largely from the 'Old (Dutch) Catholics', and has continued ever since in the thinly veiled guise of 'Modernism'. Coincidental with this period, was the rise in popularity of modern textual criticism, which in effect began to undermine ecclesiastical authority with its substitution of the criterion of evangelical purity. Despite official protests from leading Church authorities (98), the movement gained strength among Catholic scholars, producing twentieth century movements in the fields of liturgy, catechetics and oecumenism. It was mainly the pressure of such movements in Northern Europe that strongly influenced John XXIII in calling for an oecumenical council, that of Vatican II. However, Vatican II, differed in flavour from the Councils of Trent and Vatican I, and indeed resembled much more the earlier councils of the Church, conducted in a pluriform climate of opinion. First, infallibility was changed to include collegial decision taking (99), based on representation at lower levels. Second, the principles of religious liberty were spelt out, thereby acknowledging and permitting pluriformity, and in some cases encouraging it (100). The distinction between uniformity and unity was made (101), the former being regarded as inessential and the latter as essential, the former 3oo being considered the hallmark of an organisation.
Third, organisational authority was replaced by the authority of the Word in the *Constitution on Revelation* (102). Finally, the *Decree on Ecumenism* openly recognised pluriformity in ecclesiastical structure and admitted grades of membership (103). In other words, the Catholic Church itself had reverted to its earlier tradition of a pluriform model. It is hoped that this piece of research, therefore, will serve to emphasise a pluriform model of the Catholic Church, a model that is both historical and real, while dispensing with an organisational model of the Church that is ahistorical and an inaccurate representation of reality.

The aforementioned number of *Concilium* then went on to discuss the reasons for parties in the Church, or the sources of pluralism. Modras offers the following: diverse language and culture (explaining the rift between the Hebrews and Hellenists), differing philosophical and cultural categories (explaining christological and trinitarian dissent), the dialectical nature of religious experience (explaining differences between East and West and the rise of Protestantism), and the tendency to concentrate upon one part of the New Testament to the exclusion of others (explaining such movements as Marcionism and different Protestant groups) (104).

Having already demonstrated the existence of pluriformity and the reasons for its existence in the past, the final part of the analysis then discussed whether pluriformity in the Church is desirable in the future. Here O'Hanlon examined the question by looking at three types of party in the Church:

i. that which breaks communion with the rest of the Church

ii. that which differs from others, yet is not in conflict and in communion with others

iii. that which remains in communion with others, but is in conflict with them (105).

The first type occurs where a group of Catholics is alienated from another and rejects it. Ties of communion are thus severed. O'Hanlon finds this type of party unacceptable, not only within the Church, but
between churches (106). The 'Old Catholics' would presumably be an example of such a type.

The second type, he explains, represents a healthy diversity in the life of the Church; indeed its absence would be a dangerous sign. As examples of such diversity he gives:

"those who work together for liturgical reform in the Church. The same could be said of the biblical movement, the catechetical movement and the movement for peace and justice. Parties in this sense are really prophetic movements and are a 'sine qua non' of renewal and reform in the Church. There is also a sense in which the different religious orders in the Church are parties. National groupings in the Church too, each bringing to the Church the contribution of its own particular genius, can be thought of as parties. Within each nation, particularly those with large immigrant groups, various ethnic and cultural groups can also be parties in the Church in a good sense. In the Church in the United States, for instance, the needs and the special contribution of the black and brown communities can give rise to healthy party groupings." (107)

He foresees in the future the possibility of Hindu Christians and Buddhist Christians:

"bringing to the Church the wealth of their ancient religious traditions which have found their fulfilment and completion in Christ." (108)

The third type presents itself as somewhat of a dilemma for O'Hanlon. Against such parties one could argue that differences would become institutionalised, that hostilities between persons and groups would be created, that communication between parties would break down, that parties would become shaped by the dominant (national?) ideology, that truth would cease to have an absolute value, and that such dissent would be superficially treated by a sensational mass media. However, in favour of conflicting parties remaining in communion with one another, one could argue that they would involve members of the Church to a far greater degree than before in the decision taking process of ecclesiastical policy, and that this would be especially relevant for the laity. One could adduce further support for such parties in that they could be
instrumental in structuring conflict along democratic lines and thereby strengthen communion (which cannot exist without conflict (109)). Finally, the value of such parties would be their usefulness as educational instruments; they would need to discuss methods of adapting to rapid change in the Church before adopting policies.

It would appear that O'Hanlon is in favour of greater consensus in the Church, without necessarily involving the instrumentality of parties to this end. He advocates decisions being taken at all levels from the bottom upwards, and suggests that this might be a reasonable alternative to an authoritarian one-party model of the Church. However, it would seem to the present writer that the involvement of all members of the Church in this way must perforce include the notion of representation and election, and that this notion is at the root of the concept of party. True such a party would be open to the dangers of hostility, superficiality, etc., but as O'Hanlon himself says:

"But unless the Second Vatican Council was a gigantic hoax, the Roman Catholic Church has committed itself to extensive participation of the whole Church membership in all significant aspects of the Church's life." (110)

It would thus appear that greater politico-theological awareness, inherent in the stated views of the Vatican Council, involves the recognition and deployment of parties in the Church as a practical means for greater lay participation.

Hence a discussion on parties in the Church should lead one to the following conclusions:—

i. that parties have existed in the Church from apostolic times to the Reformation and from Vatican I to the present day

ii. that the existence of such parties is inevitable due to the catholicity of the Catholic Church

iii. that their continued existence can be considered desirable in that they can reach unity through conflict.

Further, one maintains that the above points are all aspects of religious belonging. One belongs to a party, one participates in a party. The manifestations of such belonging may be liturgical, scriptural, catechetical, or whatever, but lying behind the manifestations is the
elementary fact of belonging. Religious belonging, therefore, as a dimension of religiosity, is best suited to a discussion of the existence of pluriformity and parties in the Church. Religious belief, practice, ethics or experience, could not perform the same task, as they are simply manifestations of religious belonging.

Finally, the existence of parties in the Church, or the existence of different types of religious belonging, tends to lend more support to the view that an organisational model of the Church should be replaced by an alternative pluriform model. The organisational model is based on a one-party system (clearly not the case today or for the first fifteen hundred years of the Church's history, as we have seen earlier), and as such does not correspond to reality. An alternative model of the Church admits of more than one party and thus is able to act as a paradigm for pluriformity. Just what this alternative model is will be revealed in the next chapter.

5. A pluriform model is to be preferred to an organisational model of religious belonging, as it can take into account, to a greater degree, conflict in the Church.

According to Rudge, there is a certain intolerance towards conflict in the institutional Church, due to:

a) the desire of traditional forms of leadership to maintain the status quo in the face of external threats
b) the desire of charismatic leadership to control internal threats
c) the desire of bureaucratic leadership to model itself on the commercial organisation, and thus to see conflict as irrational

The way that the Catholic Church has dealt with conflict in the past is by externalising it, thereby hoping to unite its members against the threat of a common enemy.

However, from Rudge's analysis, it would appear that the Catholic Church has only fully externalised conflict when it has operated as a monolithic organisation under traditional or bureaucratic forms of leadership. The summit of such a 'modus operandi' he identifies as the Tridentine reaction to Protestantism and the declaration of
Papal Infallibility. Now we have seen that it was precisely that period from the Reformation to Vatican I that the Catholic Church most resembled an organisational model based on centralised power. If one's theorising has been correct, one would thus expect to find greater tolerance, or internalisation of conflict, in those periods of the Church's existence where we have suggested a more appropriate pluriform model. Again, following Rudge, this would seem to be the case.

In the New Testament Church, for example, one finds Paul writing to the Corinthians:

"There must be factions among you in order that those who are genuine among you may be recognised (I Cor.11.19),"

and understanding which is reflected in the Gospel tradition, where Christ describes himself as not bringing peace but the sword (112), of dividing loyalties between his followers and their families (113) etc. We have seen that the 'haeresis' of Hebrews and Hellenists and 'schismata' among the Corinthians existed 'de facto', yet nowhere do we read that such internal conflict resulted in the externalisation of any party or the creation of a common enemy for 'the good of the Church.' Rudge maintains that internalisation of conflict in the Catholic Church, leading to the acceptance of pluriformity among its ranks, was greatly facilitated by a strong tradition of conciliarism, which existed from the first apostolic council in Jerusalem until the late Middle Ages, and was later revived by John XXIII and Vatican II (114). (One cannot help noticing that by highlighting the conciliarist method of internalising conflict in the Catholic Church, Rudge himself has shifted ground from his overmechanical view of the Church in his Ministry and Management.) Conflict has also been internalised in small groups in the Catholic Church. One has already alluded to the upsurge of interest groups in the Church. The point that is being made here is that the more 'intimate', 'face-to-face' relationships, encountered in such groups, lend themselves more readily to internalisation rather than externalisation of conflict. Midway between universal conciliarism and small groups in
the Church one encounters internalisation of conflict in bodies such as religious orders and congregations. Their charismatic forms of protest allowed reformation of the Church from within, rather than a sect-like severance of connections with the universal Church, and consequent identification as an external enemy.

The 'rationale' for internalisation of conflict and acceptance or tolerance of it, is, according to Rudge, that it allows for variety and the benefits that variety can bring (115). To kill off variety by treating it as hostile would be to undermine the very essence of Church membership. In I Cor.12, Paul makes the same point when he describes the diversity of gifts possessed by members of the Church and how essential they are for the good of the whole. Pius XII seized on this section of the Pauline epistle for the elaboration of his teaching on the Mystical Body of Christ (116), a description of the Church in the 1950s, and Rudge too uses it as support for the application of systemic theory to the Church in his quest for structural perspective (117). Carrier, too, based his notion of religious belonging on the then current teaching of the Church as the Mystical Body (118).

However, one feel[s] that the Mystical Body theology and systemic theory do not adequately encompass the variety that is described and encouraged. The fact that Mystici Corporis was replaced by Populum Dei indicates at least that the Fathers of Vatican II saw the former terminology as anachronistic and non-biblical (119). A sociologist would say that to describe the Church, with Christ at the head and the members as different parts of the body for the good of the whole, so that if one defected or suffered the whole body suffered, (as the document Mystici Corporis does (120)), would be to describe the Church in purely organicist or functional terms (121). Further, the latter schools of thought were found wanting by Dahrendorf and others (122), who failed to see how functionalism of this nature could deal with conflict, tension and change. Even the sociological comeback in the use of the term
' dysfunction ' by Herton, O'Dea and others (123) seemed to the conflict school either to weaken considerably the functionalist argument or to suggest that another model, capable of encompassing tension and change, was required.

One would agree with Rudge that:

"the abhorrence of conflict in the Church on the grounds of the Christian ethic or the externalisation of it to engender a narrow and exclusive unity will not do. The objectifying of conflict as a thing which can be dealt with in a constructive way is the contribution of the sociology of conflict to ecclesiastical life." (124)

One agrees too that an organisational model of the Church should not only not be desired by the Church for the above reason, but that it fails to give either an historical or biblical description of the Church as it is. Nor is one utterly convinced by Rudge's earlier application of systemic theory to the Church in his search for an adequate model. (One has shown that even this approach is basically organisational in outlook). Instead one prefers Rudge's later treatment of the subject in his Communication - within the boundary, across the boundary - of the Church (125). As this later development in Rudge's thinking leads more directly to one's hypothesis of the need for an alternative pluriform model of the Church, this may be the best point at which to examine briefly his views.

Rudge begins by examining two basic patterns of communication, the wheel and the circle, the former which is hierarchical, and the latter which is egalitarian in structure. They correspond to McGregor's theory Y and theory X in his Human Side of Enterprise (126). Following Leavitt (127), he concludes that the circle performed better than the wheel in conditions of instability and was accompanied by higher morale. He then identifies the Catholic Church, particularly since Vatican II, with the circle pattern of communication (128). However, it is not sufficient for the team-type of leader merely to communicate among equals within the boundary of the Church. He must effectively monitor and communicate the two-way flow of information coming from without the...
Church, from a society that is itself pluralist in nature. This means that he operates on the boundary of the Church as far as the outside world is concerned. It is precisely here that the circle pattern of communication also scores over other forms of communication, because team membership, necessary for communication with external society, is inherent in the leader's position of internal communication, whereas this is not the case in the wheel formation, where a leader has to move from a position of pyramidal authority to that of a marginal man. Such a development of Rudge's thought accords with one's own views of the Catholic Church. It is indeed typified by a circle pattern of communication, and its search for egalitarianism makes dialogue possible with a pluralist society. That such a pattern of communication and dialogue is not possible if conceived in organisational terms, should now be as evident as its extreme likelihood, if one admits a pluriform model of the Catholic Church.

Delooz gives further support to a pluriform model of the Church by underlining the choice of values offered to its members (129). Here members choose what is important in their lives, rather than submit to the mechanism of an ideological belief market or a lowest common denominator that produces a pseudo-unity, in that it is organised uniformity. The permitting of a choice of values in a pluriform Church is bolstered by emphasising the desire of membership for autonomy of free expression. This means too that fellow members are entitled to choose values differing from one's own, because:

" consensus on basic values (freedom, expression, autonomy, etc.), will certainly lead to conflict, not because conflict is a value in itself, but because it is accepted as the condition of these commonly accepted values." (130)

Thus pluralism for Delooz is:

" a participation which implies conflict." (131)

It also implies a renouncing of authority as a supreme value, for an authority, while capable of promoting an ideology, cannot:

" give meaning to the values people live by." (132)
Again would agree with Delooz that option for values implies a denial of authority opposed to such option. The important corollary of his argument, is, maintain, that such options are structured by a pluriform model of the Church, whilst the upholding of ideology by authority can only be considered in organisational terms.

In summary, argued that a pluriform model of religious belonging gives a more apt description of the Catholic Church than an organisational model, and is to be preferred for a variety of reasons. First, the pluriform model corresponds to the actual fact of an implemented policy of decentralisation since Vatican II, with historical precedent from the time of the apostles to that of the Reformation. An organisational model of religious belonging, on the other hand, has limited application timewise, it only being valid from the Reformation to Vatican I. Second, while an organisational model can only see oecumenism in the institutional framework of unity between churches, the pluriform model allows for the secondary stage of oecumenism, at present working towards the union of religions and the unity of mankind. Third, a pluriform model can tackle the emergence of interest groups, stemming from a policy of decentralisation, whereas the organisational model, by stressing uniformity in belonging, cannot begin to deal with the problem. Fourth, it is not only clear that there are parties in the Church, indicating pluriformity of outlook, to be treated by a corresponding model, but that the imposition of a one-party mentality on Church membership (the implication of an organisational model), is to tackle real situations by unreal methods. Finally, the existence of conflict must be admitted in the Church. The healthy interiorisation of conflict can be handled by a pluriform model of religious belonging. The organisational model is only capable of dealing with deviant cases of externalisation of conflict, pertaining to another age. Our choice of model is therefore clear. What is necessary now is a sociological examination of a pluriform model of religious belonging. To this question we now turn.
CHAPTER FIVE

D. A sociological model of pluriform religious belonging in the Catholic Church is presented. Such a model is formed from the variables of particularism-universalism, and ascription-achievement, giving rise to four quadrants, described as:

1. the total institution mentality
2. the family
3. the closed community
4. the open network.

Sociological justification for each quadrant is supplied, together with current examples of the above types of belonging in the Catholic Church.

So far we have discovered the need for an alternative model of religious belonging in the Catholic Church, and it has been argued that such a model should be pluriform in nature. It must be sufficiently broad to encompass all sorts of previously described affiliation in the wake of Vatican II and further avoid identification of the Catholic Church with an organisation.

The construction of a pluriform model cannot be entirely arbitrary or free from value judgement. It should be inductive, in that it is built up from observable phenomena, while remaining deductive in that its construction is derived from the insights of others. From a scientific point of view, one could argue that the inductive approach should precede deductive reasoning, as the former is prior in the order of execution. However, philosophical considerations take one beyond the temporal dimension to the logical order of nature, whence one can appreciate that deduction is prior 'in ordine finalitatis mentis.' (1)

This latter metaphysical point persuades one to seek a sociological construct capable of encompassing pluriform belonging, and then with examples to test for a goodness of fit in an 'a posteriori' fashion. In this way one feels that the model will not have been imposed on reality and neither will one be accused of reification of a typology.

The argument in this chapter is presented in the following stages:

1) the construction of a pluriform model of religious belonging from Parsonian 'pattern variables'
2) an overall examination of the alternative pluriform model
3) a more detailed presentation of types of belonging within the
   pluriform model of religious belonging.

1) The construction of a pluriform model of religious belonging
   from Parsonian 'pattern variables'

   It should become clearer as the argument progresses why Parsons has
   been selected for the construction of one's model. It can be stated here,
   without necessary justification, that Parsons' system of pattern variables
   can give one a complete picture of pluriform belonging, whilst the models
   of other sociologists are only equipped to treat of certain aspects of
   religious belonging. However, it is in their partial presentation of
   overall belonging that the strength of other writers lies, and it is to
   them that one turns for justification of types of belonging within the
   overall Parsonian model.

   It is difficult to do justice to a thinker such as Parsons in just a
   few paragraphs. Yet brevity demands that such a risk be taken, with the
   sincere hope that his views will not be misrepresented.

   Parsons follows Weber in his quest for an understanding of social
   action (2). However, his interpretation of 'social actor' is wider than
   that of Weber, in that Parsons considers not only individuals to be
   actors, but also extends the term to include collectives, organisations,
   behavioural and cultural systems (3). According to Parsonian terminology,
   actors play out their roles in situations. Thus two sets of relationship
   are formed: that of the actor(s) to the objects of a situation, referred
   to as an 'orientation' or 'attitude', and that of the situation to
   the actor, termed 'modality', or the meaning of the object for the
   actor: its categorisation. This latter relationship bears a striking
   similarity to Weber's 'verstehen'. However, Parsons also wishes one to
   consider a system external to the action system of the actor—the
   environment. Moreover, for Parsons it is the way that the environment
   is linked to the action system that is important, as this is achieved
   through a subsystem of 'pattern variables'. There are eight basic
   pattern variables, four of which link the actor's orientation with the
environment, with the remainder establishing a connection between modality and environment. The four former variables are split into two dichotomous pairs of affectivity-neutrality and specificity-diffuseness. The latter four are described as universalism-particularism and achievement-ascription (4).

By combining pattern variables, it is possible to categorise social action according to four qualities: those of technical competence, goal commitment, loyalty and cultural value commitment. Parsons also refers to these qualities as dimensions of action space or direction of process, thereby implying a dynamic structural perspective. Each action space is further subject to performance and sanction norms. Technical competence (abbreviated by the letter A, standing for adaptability), has the performance norm of technical efficiency, described by the pattern variables of universalism and achievement (referring to the modality, or meaning of the situation for the actor); its sanction norm is that of approval or disapproval, and as such the pattern variables of specificity-neutrality relate to the actor's orientation to a given social situation. Parsons cites members of the medical profession as belonging to his A category. A doctor performs according to a set of professional ethics and gains in status through personal effort (universalism and achievement). His relationship to his patients is functional and impartial, and his neutral attitude allows him access to the patient's body (specificity-neutrality). He thus acts in a competent manner, unhindered by the inefficiency of intimacy. Parsons claims that Weber's 'rational/non-rational' behaviour, or Tönnies' 'Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft' relationships, are not sufficiently subtle to describe the role of the professional, as they reduce his services to the level of market exchange relationships. The introduction of pattern variables, however, permits one to give a sociological explanation that links the professional's orientation, modality and environment (5).

Goal commitment is another of Parsons' action spaces and is designated by the letter 'G'. It is less adaptable than the A dimension
because of its insistence on goal. Like A, it shares the performance norm of achievement; it differs, however, in its replacement of universalism with particularism. In its sanction norms too one element is replaced and the other maintained; here the pattern variables are those of affectivity and specificity. One can well imagine that certain political action groups would fit into the G action space, with the specificity of their goals overriding all other considerations.

Loyalty is the predominant characteristic of Parsons' third action space, which he describes as 'integrative' and abbreviates with the letter 'I'. Here the performance norms demonstrate solidarity, and are described by the pattern variables of particularism and ascription. Acceptance predominates the sanction norms, which are circumscribed by the pattern variables of diffuseness and affectivity. A good example of such an outlook one can detect in a tribe or patriarchal family, with status ascribed and in hierarchical order, and collective interest, based on the common good, where face-to-face relationships are held in esteem.

Finally, Parsons deals with his 'L' action space, the 'L' standing for 'latent-receptive' values. As with the 'I' group, performance norms emphasise integration, indeed to a greater degree, as they are served by the pattern variables of ascription and universalism, indicating a certain totality of commitment. This is borne out by the pattern variables of neutrality and diffuseness that make up the sanction norms for the 'L' actors. Here, one feels, one is approaching Goffman's 'total institution', encompassing groups from concentration camps to boarding schools.

Parsons then presents his four action spaces, together with the eight pattern variables, in tabular form, as follows:—

( where A is adaptive, G is goal attainment, I is integrative, L is latent expressive )
Parsonian model of pattern variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>G</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>universalism</td>
<td>affectivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(neutrality)</td>
<td>(particularism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 adaptive instrumental specificity</td>
<td>2 instrumental expressive performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(performance)</td>
<td>(specificity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object manipulation</td>
<td>consummatory performances and gratification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 4 latent-receptive quality             | 3 integrative-expressive diffuseness    |
| (diffuseness)                         | (quality)                              |
| Meaning integration and energy regulation, Tension built up and drawn off | Sign manipulation |

The drawing up of such a table is intended to clarify matters, as Parsons explains:

"The cross-classification of these two orientational pattern variables yields a 4-fold table which is presented as the pattern-maintenance subsystem (L) of fig. 1, as distinguished from the pattern variables themselves, which are rubrics of classification of types of orientation to objects. This distinction has not always been clear, I believe, neither in my own work nor in that of other writers."

One thus feels excused if one has misrepresented Parsons by oversimplifying his ideas. Moreover, one also feels that the Parsonian scheme can be represented in a clearer tabular fashion, as follows:
Figure II
Simplified Parsonian Model

PARTICULARISM

( affectivity )

G

I

ACHIEVEMENT

( specificity )

ASCRITION

( diffuseness )

A

L

UNIVERSALISM

( neutrality )

Here the action spaces have been rotated and are designated by their original letters. The modality pattern variables are in capitals and the orientation pattern variables are in lower case. It can be seen from the above figure II that the vertical axis, linking particularism with universalism, divides G and A from I and L, in that the former are described by achievement and the latter by ascription. The horizontal axis separates G and I from A and L over the characteristics of particularism ( affectivity ) and universalism ( neutrality ).

Now it is clear from the Parsonian model of social action that it is hoped that all forms of social action will be encompassed. ' A fortiori ', therefore, patterns of action in and between particular social institutions will be covered by a more global model. Thus one feels safe in assuming that the Parsonian model can act as a paradigm for the institution of religion, both in itself, and in its relation to other social institutions. One can go further with Parsons too by identifying
his dimensions of action space with types of structural commitment, as he himself does when he describes his 'qualities' in those terms. Hence, not only does Parsons' model fit the religious institution, but it is capable of application to religious belonging.

2) An overall examination of the alternative pluriform model

For our purposes, modifications must be made to Parsons' model before concrete application can be made, suitable to describe pluriform religious belonging in the Catholic Church. Some have already been made in the rotation of figure I. The reason for such rotation, apart from that of simplicity, will presently become apparent.

One should now like to suggest that a change of terminology in Parsons' A, G, I and L be made, and that they now be identified in the following kinds of mentalities:

- **L** = the total institution mentality
- **I** = the family
- **G** = the closed community
- **A** = the open network.

One feels that such a modification is consonant with Parsons' thinking, while at the same time possessing the added merit of being treated quadrant by quadrant by sociological writers more familiar with these latter terms.

Also consider that Parsons' 'orientation' can be replaced by the psycho-sociological expression of 'motivation'. The object categorisation, giving meaning to the actor, can also be understood in terms of 'satisfaction'. These latter two changes in terminology will be justified in the next chapter, when we deal with the reasons for pluriformity in terms of religious motivation and satisfaction. For the present they will be included in the revised model without explanation. The model that follows (figure III) will also include other notions and examples, shortly to be explained.
### Figure III

**Pluriform model of religious belonging in the Catholic Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTICULARISM</th>
<th>(affectivity)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>religious communes</td>
<td>early monasticism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grail groups</td>
<td>UCM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3
**CLOSED COMMUNITY**

- Charisma
- Left

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isolotto</th>
<th>Catholic Worker Priests</th>
<th>Renewal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 2
**FAMILY**

- Human Relations
- Right

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focolare</th>
<th>N. Ireland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 1
**TOTAL INSTITUTION MENTALITY**

- Bureaucratic - classical
- Right

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Roman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 4
**OPEN NETWORK**

- Systemic
- Left

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tridentine</th>
<th>Cephas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 1
**UNIVERSALISM**

- (neutrality)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catholic Left</th>
<th>Catholic Pentecostals</th>
<th>Latin American Curia religiosity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Certain observations are in order:—

1. The model, though amended, still follows the basic Parsonian pattern.

2. The family and closed community share particularism and affectivity, one's own in our terminology, 'inner motivation'. What distinguishes them is the former's adherence to ascription and diffuseness and the latter's tendency towards achievement and specificity. The criterion of separation is one of satisfaction. Initially those advocating closed community belonging will be more dissatisfied. However, as charisma becomes 'routinised', one expects the closed community to resemble the total institution, and thus to display satisfaction as well. This is the second stage of closed community belonging, the stage we later analyse.

3. Hence the criterion of satisfaction, introducing a 'left' and a 'right' to the model, only refers to the first stage of closed community belonging, and is of little empirical significance.

4. Thus, while open network belonging and closed community belonging are both located on the left initially, sharing achievement and specificity, their main difference lies in motivation (universalism and neutrality versus particularism and affectivity).

5. The total institution mentality and the family, initially share satisfaction, by dint of the variables of ascription and diffuseness. However, it is likely that as the total institution mentality tends more towards fatalism, so will it subsume the inner motivation of family belonging (hence the arrow between quadrants 1 and 2). The distinction between the two types of belonging will then lie in increased dissatisfaction in the total institution mentality.

6. The above change in total institutional belonging will also have the effect of separating it from open network belonging through difference in motivation.

7. The vertical and horizontal axes intersect to produce four quadrants. These quadrants are numbered and identified with a type of religious belonging.
8. Under each type of religious belonging is a description of the prevailing type of authority.

9. Four examples of each type of belonging are located in each quadrant. However, their positioning on the model should be viewed as if the model were a graph. Thus in quadrant 2, for instance, one notes a high measure of particularism—affectivity combined with a high measure of ascription—diffuseness in the UCM (Union of Catholic Mothers). High particularism—affectivity with low ascription—diffuseness is evidenced in the Grail groups. High ascription—diffuseness but low particularism—affectivity can be found in Northern Ireland, and low on both measures is the Focolare movement. The same method can be applied to the remaining twelve examples in the other three quadrants.

10. The separation of the two halves of the model into left and right, may also be considered in terms of anti and pro institutional Church. Under this latter terminology, those to the right of the vertical axis tend more to a Weberian model of bureaucracy than those on the left. Moreover, the totalising aspect of quadrant 1 brings those groups closer to such an organisational model of belonging. However, one's hypothesis that such an outlook is disappearing (as indicated by the arrow from 1 to 2), only reinforces the suggestion that an alternative model of religious belonging is required. In other words, the advocates of an organisational model of the Catholic Church have not only ignored quadrants 3 and 4, but have failed to appreciate the transition from quadrant 1 to quadrant 2. It is this stance that would seem to make their position untenable.

11. The pluriform model, as presented, does not imply that there are only four positions in each quadrant. One has merely located examples at the extreme end of continua in order to give approximations of ideal types. That no example ever reaches the position of an ideal type, but that it is to be found tending towards it, is inherent in one's understanding of Weber's 'ideal type', which denies the possibility
of reification. Thus one freely admits an infinite variety of positions within each quadrant, tending towards a combination of polar coordinates.

12. Neither does the pluriform model imply that belonging to the Catholic Church is a static phenomenon. The possibility of transference of position within quadrants is permitted by a shift in emphasis in either amount of motivation and/or satisfaction, while movement between quadrants is allowed through change in type of motivation of from a position of satisfaction to dissatisfaction (or vice-versa). The fact that all quadrants (with the possible exception of 1 and 4) have either type of motivation or (dis)satisfaction in common allows for transference between quadrants, and thus permits one to apply the epithet 'dynamic' to the overall model.

13. Before embarking on a more lengthy justification of the naming of the four types of religious belonging, one can briefly allude to their terminology, on the basis of an inspection of the model itself.

The total institution mentality is so called because it views reality in terms of ascription and universalism. In its monopoly of the sacred, all reality and cosmic world view of the individual comes under its aegis (universalism), thus presenting man with a total cultural package for his existence. Under such a system, man cannot achieve status, as he is in the position of a receiver, dependent on his elders and betters (ascription). In this way the Catholic Church is governed perforce in a bureaucratic fashion, due to sheer size of numbers. There is thus little room for affective relationships (neutrality), and goals are as wide as human existence itself (diffuseness). It is not too difficult to see how the Roman Curia exemplifies this type, and it was against such total and coercive a power system that the proponents of an alternative model of belonging felt justified in directing their attacks.

The family too is based on hierarchy of ascribed status and the
all embracing goals of life's basic needs (diffuseness). However, it is a sufficiently small unit (even in its extended form) to emphasise 'Gemäinschaftlich' values of affectivity, while laying itself open to the danger of particularism, due to the rivalry of hostile out-groups, having different customs and taboos. When 'togetherness' and 'unity' are held as supreme values, then often they refer to the small in-group. This is evident in the four given examples.

The closed community, like the family, is united as an in-group, but this time a common cause is at stake. Thus while it shares particularism and affectivity with the family, its specific aim and survival, through the achievement of charismatic leadership, distinguishes the closed community from the family. Groups based on the Jesus movement living in communes are only families by motivation. Their anti-institutional stance, unlike the family, makes them combat the status quo.

The open network, again, is anti-institutional in outlook, in that it abhors the hierarchical bureaucracy of the total institution and the particularism of the family. In that sense it is dissatisfied. However, it does not fall prey to the same affective particularism of the closed community, by dint of its outer motivation. Such motivation sees universalism in terms of interest and affective neutrality, which, combined with its professional standards of achievement and specificity, allows one to describe it as operating through a system of open-networks. The Berrigans, for example, in advocating world peace, were universal and neutral in their appeal. Nevertheless they were emphasising their interest in peace at the expense of other socio-political issues, and thus their campaign could be called specific. However, it was their presentation of a specific issue along professional lines that linked them with others sharing the same viewpoint, others who did not belong to the Berrigans through propinquity, or as members of the same organisation, but through a sharing of the same interest. In this sense one can term open-network - 'community without propinquity'. The prime example of the open network termed 'The Catholic Left', which
can include many of the examples presented in previous sections, such as Dom Helder Camara, Informations Catholiques, etc. Inherent in one's presentation is the understanding that while religious belonging in terms of a total institution mentality is on the decrease, the numbers of those moving towards a position of the open network is increasing in the Catholic Church today. One maintain that the inclusion of the open network is essential to turn a description of an alternative model of religious belonging into a need. Hence the title of this piece of research.

3) A more detailed presentation of types of belonging within the pluriform model of religious belonging

One now treats of the four basic types of religious belonging, as outlined in our model: the total institution mentality, the family, the closed community and the open network. Sociological justification and commentary will be given for each type.

a. The total institution mentality

Goffman's work, Asylums (8), is probably the most significant in developing the notion of 'total institution'. Goffman defines a total institution as:

"a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." (9)

He then groups society's total institutions into five categories. First, there are institutions established to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless; there are the homes for the blind, the aged, the orphaned and the indigent. Second, there are places established to care for persons felt to be both incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community, albeit an unintended one, eg : T.B. sanitoria, mental hospitals and leprosaria. A third type of total institution is organised to protect the community against presumed potential dangers, with the welfare of the persons thus sequestered not
the immediate issue, eg: jails, penitentiaries, P.O.W camps and concentration camps. Fourth, there are institutions established to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on such instrumental grounds, eg: army barracks, ships, boarding schools, work camps, colonial compounds and large mansions (from the point of view of those who live in the servants' quarters). Finally, there are those establishments designed as retreats from the world, even while often serving also as training centres for the religious, eg: abbeys, monasteries, convents and other cloisters (10).

Goffman then lists the characteristics of the total institutions, which can be summarised as follows: - In the total institution one works, sleeps and plays in the same space, under the same single authority. There is an overall rational plan which is scheduled. A division exists between staff and inmates, between the vigilating and the surveilled, with consequent lack of mobility and control of communication. Admission procedures sever the member's connections with the world. Certain possessions are surrendered and often a uniform is worn. Permissions are required, guilt must be confessed. Identity and privacy are sacrificed, friendships are controlled. Rules prevail. Petty privileges and rewards are sought. Conduct is rationalised as mortification. Indoctrination is the normal process of socialisation. There is a certain amount of inmate solidarity evidenced by a particular 'lingo', collective teasings, attacks on staff, and refusals to cooperate with them. In this connection one often finds a system of 'secondary adjustments', comprising of 'make do's', 'working the system', 'special assignments', 'free spaces', 'stashing', 'message systems', 'trade' and social exchange. However, inmates can just as easily turn in on themselves at the expense of one of their comrades. One can also observe the use of 'institutional ceremonial', with characteristics peculiar to each institution. Such ritual can appear normal to outsiders for limited periods only (11).

Turning to the Catholic Church, one can freely acknowledge the fact
that Church personnel and volunteer members, are both associated with and work full-time in examples to be found in all five types of total institution, eg. orphanages, mental hospitals, jails, boarding schools and monasteries, with Catholic presence more in evidence in the fifth of Goffman's types. However, it does not follow necessarily that by working in a total institution one thereby inherits a total institution mentality. Nor does Goffman imply, if we interpret him correctly, that all his examples of total institutions of necessity bear the hallmarks of a total institution mentality. For instance, while one can find convents and seminaries that closely resemble a total institution, one can equally discover convents and seminaries of a completely different outlook. The criterion for an institution to become total for Goffman lies in whether it has the characteristics of a total institution. These characteristics we term a 'total institution mentality'.

However, in one sense, the notion of a 'total institution mentality' is broader than Goffman's characteristics of a total institution. One has stated earlier that the coordinates of universalism and diffuseness, associated with total institutional belonging in the Catholic Church, suggest that the Church presents a total cultural package to this variety of membership, a complete world view that is based on the idea of the monopoly of the sacred. According to this view, the Church envelops all the important stages of life. It takes decisions in all spiritual matters, in the wide areas of faith and morals, and its ethical teaching pervades all life situations, starting with the family and moving through the economic, political, legal and even recreational, spheres. For these members, the Church thus encompasses all the cultural institutions in society, and in this sense its influence can be described as 'total'.

Seen in this light, full commitment to the Catholic Church, seen as desirable by influential members of a total institution mentality, is sufficiently strong to combat any threat of secularisation (12). Pin and Houtart, as we have seen, suggest that such a mentality can be found among the primitively motivated Catholics in Latin America. The Church for them
becomes an anomic-coercive compliance system, based on hierarchy and authority, with no trace of freedom or personal responsibility. The relationship between member and Church becomes sacro-magical, as between client and magician. The latter is paid for his services, and in turn manipulates the deity for the cosmobiological gratification of his client. With such low motivation in evidence, fatalism and apathy prevail, neither capable of changing the situation. A total institution mentality endures as long as such primitive inner-directed motivation is maintained. Research by Büntig in Argentina lends support to this interpretation (13), and for this reason included Latin American Catholics in one's examples of a total institution mentality. (Clearly, though, one makes the reservation that such Catholics only have a total institution mentality provided that their motivation is not changed — cf. criticism of Pin and Houtart in chapter three).

Another possible reason for the persistance of a total institution mentality among lay Catholics is their contact with Catholic schools, convents, parish clergy, hospitals, orphanages, mental homes and prisons. The number of Catholics that has escaped contact with such total institutions must be quite small. Here again one must raise the question whether Catholics frequenting such institutions have thereby inherited a total institution mentality?

How then can one gauge the existence and extent of the total institution mentality? Goffman suggests that the best way of establishing whether his characteristics of a total institution exist 'de facto' in a given total institution, is that of participant observation. He writes:

"It is my belief that any group of persons, personnel, primitives, pilots or patients, develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable and normal once you get close to it, and that a good way to learn about any of their worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject." (14)

The present writer has lived in four of Goffman's total institutions, over periods ranging from days to years. An evaluation, based on participant
observation of a convent, a presbytery, a seminary, and an independent preparatory school, will be given with a view to highlighting a total institution mentality.

i. A convent

The formula for the Goffmanesque convent is of the following pattern. When a member enters she gives up certain rights—she loses her possessions, her name, her career, her family, her sexuality, her friendships, and often her talents and potential. She is then physically and mentally withdrawn from the world through the 'clausura' and the indoctrination of the novitiate. The uniform she wears is her habit. She becomes subject to an authority to which she must give unquestioning obedience, whether the tasks assigned to her are menial, pointless or counterproductive. Her personality is shaped by those in command. Decisions taken about her are often rationalised in terms of mortification and humility. Petty privileges can be earned, just as they can be withdrawn. There are no separate barriers between her different activities all take place under the same roof. Permissions have to be sought for all that is not prescribed duty; they are granted only if they are considered to be for the good of the community or order. Communication from the superior is passed down vertically. Information about the outside world is often withheld by the placement of banns on the mass media, and sometimes by the censorship of mail and literature. Communication with fellow sisters is prevented from becoming too close for fear of the formation of 'particular friendships'. Reporting the misdeeds of others is considered an act of charity, and sometimes occurs publicly at a chapter of faults. The ensuing sanctions are similarly of a public nature, where the guilty party may have to perform some particularly menial task in the presence of the other sisters. Work is programmed rationally and to a strict timetable. Distinctive convent ceremonial can take a variety of forms, with insistence on formula-type prayers, devotions to the foundress, etc., which can strike the outsider as being bizarre, amusing, or even grotesque (15).
The convent visited by the present writer showed little evidence of the above characteristics. Sisters were screened according to modern psychological techniques and their formation was geared more to individual talents and aspirations. In many cases a professional approach was taken and the sister was encouraged to pursue her interests at university or college level. There was a choice not only in the type of religious habit but in the matter of wearing religious garb at all. Such a decision was left to each sister, with the criterion in the main being that of pastoral effectiveness in differing apostolic situations. Overall decisions were taken by a superior, who usually consulted the sisters in advance. There was no censorship of any reading material, and the convent library covered a wide subject area. Sisters were at liberty to frequent cinemas and theatres as well. Permissions to visit friends, relatives, etc., were readily granted and absences from the house as a result of these visits were related to all thus banishing any idea of secrecy. A timetable existed and was followed, but it was seen more in terms of promoting smooth running of the house than arbitrarily designed legislation. Close friendships were clearly in evidence and, if anything, encouraged. Duties were assigned after consultation with the sister concerned. Chapel ceremonies were the same as the average Catholic parish (which the sisters often frequented); one could even say that liturgical renewal was more developed in the convent. The only semblance of staff-inmate distinction was the reservation of the title 'sister' (not Mother), for the local superior. Among themselves the sisters often called each other by their Christian names. The only secondary adjustments that one could detect were among the kitchen staff, who sometimes held back superior quality food for themselves and their friends. Among some sisters there was also the tendency to cheat at cards.

One is therefore inclined to think that this particular convent did not follow the pattern of a total institution. Since the time of
his stay, the present writer has visited several other convents, and only one, belonging to an enclosed order of nuns, could be described as having some of the characteristics of a total institution mentality. This experience, however unique, is apparently quite commonplace in the Catholic Church. Now most convents have freed themselves from the total institution mentality (16). Indeed some convents, in the attempt to liberate themselves from a constitutional charter, have gone to the other extreme. The trendy image of the Hollywood sisters, once frowned upon in the 1960's, and new styles in apartment living, specialised apostolates, etc., would now seem to be the norm rather than the exception to the total institution mentality (17). There seems to be little point or possibility now of 'leaping over the wall' (18).

ii. A presbytery

To the best of one's knowledge, there has been no systematic study of Catholic presbyteries in Great Britain. Treatment of living conditions of American curates can be found in Fichter's America's Forgotten Priests (19), but even this is only a section of a much larger questionnaire. Glimpses of presbyteral life can be gleaned from works in the Sociology of the Parish, but even here the picture is incomplete, and rarely is it drawn from participant observation (20). Thus there is no complete yardstick applying a total institution mentality to the living conditions of secular priests. The remarks that follow should therefore be treated with caution.

In the presbytery with which one was acquainted there was a clear distinction between the parish priest and other members of the household, the two curates and the housekeeper. Living quarters, roles, timetables, privileges, and work assignments, were different for the parish priest and curates. While the parish priest had three rooms at his disposal and one for his guests, the curates had only one bed-sitter. The parish priest occupied most of his time with administration and the financial affairs of the parish, while the curates were expected to carry out
pastoral functions, such as visiting homes and hospitals. Important visitors were expected to come to the parish priest rather than his going to them. Looking after parish money was the prerogative of the parish priest, who also paid a salary of eight pounds a month to each curate. His own stipend was undisclosed, but known to be of greater magnitude, and his car had been provided.

There was a strong distinction between the inhabitants of the presbytery and the parishioners. Visitors, on the whole, were not encouraged, and, when admitted, were confined to a small waiting room close to the front door. They were not permitted to join the priests at table, nor were they allowed to enter their rooms. Occasionally male friends were permitted to other parts of the presbytery, but to members of the opposite sex such areas were out-of-bounds. Meals were taken in common, but conversation was kept to a minimum, and often replaced by the playing of the parish priest's radio. The morale of the curates was not high. Their work consisted in the bestowal of the sacraments and occasional visiting, neither of which were particularly rewarding in terms of job satisfaction, and both of which were prescribed by limits of space and time. Deviation from the above work pattern had to be sought by means of permission, usually only granted when personal initiative, in the form of new pastoral strategy, was kept to a minimum. Changes in the apostolate had to be instigated by the parish priest, and were only carried out when he considered them to be in alignment with his own ideas. Christian names were occasionally used, but commands from parish priest to curate were accompanied by the official address of 'Father'. Long gaps existed in the timetable, which were often filled by secondary adjustments, such as the constant visiting of known places of welcome, and the pursuing of sometimes rather eccentric hobbies.

The above brief description resembles much more closely the characteristics of the total institution. However, one hesitates in generalising from this particular instance to presbytery life in Britain.
as a whole, and still less to that to be found in other parts of the
world. Since living in that particular presbytery, the present writer
has visited several others both in Britain and overseas, and it would
appear that whilst certain vestiges of the total institution mentality
still prevail in this country, there has been a movement towards
alternative modes of religious life for secular priests. For example,
since the Vatican Council, and in some cases before, there has been
experimentation in priests' life-style on three levels: living in a house
or apartment away from the church, the repercussions of the open parish,
and team ministry.

The first form is largely American in outlook and has been proposed
at diocesan and national levels. In a visit to St. Louis in 1970, the
present writer noted strong objections to what the priests there termed
as 'living above the shop'. Combined with added professionalisation
in the clergy of that country, the practical outcome has been that
more and more American priests no longer live in presbyteries, but have
apartments of their own or ones that they share with friends. They are
no longer subject in the same way to the dictates of the pastor (parish
priest), and thus many of the total institution characteristics
associated with the traditional presbytery disappear.

The open-parish is probably European in origin. The author first
encountered this form of presbyteral living in the Abruzzi mountains of
Italy in 1962. Here, instead of the priests going on a monotonous round
of their parishioners, or waiting for an appointment to be fulfilled,
they share their life with all the members of the town or village. Thus
their parish is not a community prescribed by ecclesiastical division of
territory, but it follows the natural grouping of society. Parishioners
are free to come and go in the presbytery as they please, often eating with
the priests and sharing in their recreation. There is room too for
giving people a bed for the night, similar to the hospitality bestowed
by the early monasteries. The presbytery is not limited to Catholics;
anybody has access, whatever his belief. One has also encountered the
'open' parish in Tuscany and Lucania, the former in 1966 and the latter in 1970. One was particularly struck with the involvement of the teenagers, not only in the vitality they injected into the running of these parishes, but also their important contribution towards liturgical renewal. It was also interesting to note that many of these young people were members of the Italian Communist Party. So far in England the open-parish experiment only seems to have been tried out in a few university chaplaincies, the most notable being that of Oxford, under the inspiration of Fr. Michael Hollings.

Team ministry can be seen as the ecclesiastical equivalent of a medical group practice. It usually takes one of two forms. Either there is a body of priests who are specialists in the same particular field, sharing the same house as a base for their operations, or else one finds a similar body of priests with different interests and fields of specialisation who cover a large territorial area, again using the house as their base. The former type of team ministry was exemplified by the French Worker Priests, who, as the name suggests, went out to work alongside their fellow men and who saw the place of work as the nucleus of their apostolate. Even Pius XII's condemnation of the dangers connected with this movement did not bring about its termination (21). In the diocese of Portsmouth, for instance, there is a team of priests working among the dockers, one of whom holds a high ranking position in the local Trade Union. The latter type of team ministry, while having much to recommend it, even from the point of view of minimising expenditure on church buildings, has not fired the imagination of Church leaders, although there is an example of such team ministry in the Channel Islands. Under this type of ministry, one could either divide towns and cities into zones, and allocate responsibility for given areas to different members of the team, or else divide the areas according to diverse specialised interests. For example, one priest could look after hospitals, another schools, another prisons, and so on. One feels that this form of outgoing apostolate would escape the total institution
mentality and be more suited to the needs of society than the traditional parish based on pre-industrial territorial division.

The hesitation of certain Church leaders to adopt the above three forms of parish experimentation into their full pastoral strategies, and their continued insistence on imposing the pattern of 'church-presbytery-school' on given geographical areas, lends support to the view that the total institution mentality connected with the presbytery has not entirely disappeared.

iii. A Seminary

As an example of a total institution mentality one has listed the Tridentine seminary in the model (22). Under such a system, candidates for the priesthood are trained for a presbytery existence. Thus it is not surprising to find patterns of a total institution mentality connected with the training itself.

Such a seminary is usually a large house in the country, several miles from a large town or city. In this way the seminarians are sheltered from the potential 'dangers' to their vocation, in that they are isolated from their peers and the rest of society. Visitors are not encouraged and permissions for the seminarians to go into the nearby town are rarely obtained. Failure to comply with such regulation generally results in the expulsion of the candidate. Particular friendships between seminarians are frowned upon, and contact with members of the opposite sex strictly forbidden. This all male society thus fulfils one of the characteristics of a total institution in that all its activities are conducted under the same roof. There is a strong staff-inmate distinction between the Rector and his staff and the seminarians. Rules exist and sanctions vary from curtailment of privileges, to postponement of orders, to the ultimate expulsion of the candidate. Decisions taken by the Rector and staff are communicated vertically to the seminarians. Breaches of conduct are made known to the Rector by members of staff and the individual is called in for
reprimand. Timetables are strictly adhered to and bells are sounded to call the seminarians to their different duties. Apologies and reasons of absence from duties are required. The seminarian is instructed in the disciplines of Philosophy and Theology, which follow a scholastic framework, even though such preparation for pastoral work is deemed inadequate by the seminarians themselves.

However, there is evidence to show that seminary training, as prescribed by the Council of Trent, is on the wane. Lack of entrants and dissatisfaction of seminarians with their training has led either to closure of seminaries or renewal in their way of life (23).

The seminary in which the present writer stayed followed this latter option. Here the students held frequent public meetings, and the decisions reached were communicated to the Rector by elected delegates. In most cases student suggestions were accepted in their entirety. Thus, decisions of the Rector and his staff, that were communicated to the students, had already been accepted in advance. The communication pattern was no longer vertical. The seminary itself was in the heart of a city, making isolation an impossibility. Out of courtesy seminarians informed the Rector as to their whereabouts, but more often than not simply signed out for meals. The possession of keys to all entrances meant that all students could virtually come and go as they pleased. Instruction was at an outside university, where, in addition to meeting seminarians from seventy other countries, the seminarian could also establish friendships among the lay students, following a wide variety of courses. Although training in philosophy and theology was still the norm, the diversity to be found in the university's approach to these subjects, combined with options to follow parallel disciplines and courses, left the relevance of instruction in the hands of the individual seminarian. Outside interests were encouraged, particularly those connected with changing forms of the apostolate, for example - social work, preaching in shanty towns, helping unmarried mothers, etc. Invitations to receptions and parties were received and accepted, and the number of visitors to the
seminary itself ran into thousands each year. The chapel was considered as a parish church open to the public, so that seminarians could assist at weddings and baptisms, instead of merely taking part in ordinations. There was no timetable, unless seminarians wished to eat in the refectory, and daily Mass in the chapel could be attended on an 'ad hoc' basis, whenever a group, together with a priest, desired to celebrate. The seminarians themselves worked and prayed in small groups, formed out of interest, and often with Pentecostal characteristics. Morale was high. There were no sanctions of postponement of orders or expulsion. If a student left the seminary it was of his own choice, and the numbers who actually did leave were extremely low.

The above seminary is not atypical of seminaries in general since Vatican II. Even in countries such as Ireland and England one detects a similar pattern. Seminaries today, far from being identified with the total institution mentality, tend to be based and run on more professional lines. As such they approximate much more to what described as the 'open network'. Indeed, one could say that renewal in seminaries has overtaken that in parish life. Consequently one is not surprised to find defection from the priesthood after ordination, when the seminarian, with an open network approach, encounters a parish situation, based on a total institution mentality. It would also explain why such disillusionment is to be found among younger members of the clergy, those who have been trained during or after the Vatican Council (24).

iv. An Independent Preparatory School

The boys' preparatory school in which one stayed was staffed by a male religious congregation and lay teachers. Being also a boarding school, one detected many total institution qualities. Overall decisions were taken by the headmaster, who was also the head of the religious community. There was no deputy head. An upper middle class boy was catered for and he was separated from the rest of society by his parents' status, his dress, his short-cropped hair, and by the fact of being in a
boarding school preparing him for a similar training in the senior school, run by the same congregation.

Boys, aged from seven to twelve, were obliged to take part in institutional ceremonial, which involved compulsory chapel attendance, and the recitation of certain formula-like prayers before and after each lesson, before and after each meal, and on rising from and going to bed. The understanding of the ceremonial was of a low standard with its emphasis on conformity. Boys were called by their surnames, except on ritual occasions, such as the eating of birthday cakes, thus minimising intimacy and allowing masters to shout orders at them. Semblances of normality were staged for brief periods on such occasions as open days, sports days, school plays, or for the visits of government inspectors. The timetable was enforced through a system of bells, and even free periods were scheduled, as was sport. Censorship prevailed over books, magazines and letters written home, as also over contributions to the school journal. Boys marched in ranks from place to place in silence. Even one of the punishments was marching for a period of time up and down a driveway. Other punishments included the learning by heart a useless passage from a book, or caning. Sometimes petty privileges were curtailed, such as pocket money or the visits to friends or relatives. A system of marks was employed, whereby boys lost marks for conduct, tidiness and punctuality; a similar negative sanction was employed in the classroom. Rewards and incentives were few, and boys placed in a B-stream class had little inclination or possibility of progressing. Inmate solidarity occurred in the form of cliques, but rivalry could be measured sociometrically to show ganging up on isolates, which, in one case, produced the bizarre effect of one boy trying to set fire to another. Favouritism did exist between boys and staff, motives for which were sometimes of a homosexual nature.

The lay staff was considered inferior to the religious community, and separate dining, living and recreational quarters, emphasised this. Division among members occurred over playing the system and the degree
of affiliation with the religious community. Two cliques formed: one pro-establishment, the other more critical. The latter, needless to say, had a much faster turnover than the former. Staff cliques also produced rather peculiar behaviour, ranging from backbiting to pseudo-sexual intimacy.

The religious community, apart from the young headmaster, was rather like a miniature geriatric ward. In addition to teaching duties, they also had prayers and religious functions in common. Most of the ritual was pre-Vatican II, as was the thinking, enhanced, no doubt, from religious and secular conservative newspapers and magazines. Consequently conversation was extremely dull and introverted, and only became at all lively by some nostalgic dip into the past of their religious congregation. The number in the religious community was five: four priests and a lay brother, so that likes and dislikes were easily detectable. Sometimes a sort of 'hate game' was played, whereby community members used teasing tactics on others, or else reverted to the use of surnames instead of names in religion. Individual weaknesses were put on display for all to laugh at, such as one man's passion for fast cars, another's for swimming, etc., so that often the individual would suffer from temporary loss of memory, or else start knocking things over in his confusion. The religious community could be described as suffering from a crisis of identity and leadership. Clearly this stemmed from its superior, the thirty-five year old headmaster, considered by the others to be lacking in experience. Nevertheless their traditional religious upbringing made them dependent on his decisions by virtue of their vow of obedience. Consequently, when he was not in the building, a very common occurrence, they did not know what to do. The reason for the headmaster's absence, apart from socialising and good food, which he liked, and the rest of his community, which he disliked, was that he himself was insecure. He was sufficiently intelligent to see that the congregation of 200 was on the decline, and probably only had a life expectancy of another 25 years. Thus his future was at stake, as the only courses the congregation could take were either to die the death of
traditional congregations, or else hope for a merger with a larger
congregation. Whatever the event, his position was in jeopardy. Added to
this, was his reading of a certain amount of leftist literature, querying
the role and function of the priest and the purpose of religious
congregations, founded for a specific, though not essential, purpose.
His own insecurity was thus somehow transmitted to all members of staff,
and even a few of the boys in the top form began to have religious doubts.

The above description, one feels, well exemplifies a total institution
mentality, and allows one to appreciate Goffman's inclusion of boarding
schools in his list of total institutions. Once again, though, one
encounters the problem of generalising from this case to other private
boarding schools run by religious congregations in the Catholic Church.
The problem is partially overcome by turning to Hornsby-Smith, who, while
advocating more sociological research into the atmosphere of Catholic
schools, nevertheless in his own work suggests that there is evidence
of ritualism and anti-intellectualism in such schools (25). If that is
indeed the case, then we suggest that a possible explanation for the
above qualities can be found in terms of a total institution mentality
prevalent in those schools. It would also lend greater support to
Winter's claim that Catholic schools are counterproductive, in that they
induce lapsation among their pupils (26). Perhaps these two reasons
partially explain why more Catholics are refraining from sending their
children to religious schools. With increasing mobility and acceptance
of middle class values, they too are moving from the total institution
model of their childhood towards an alternative model of religious
belonging, and are seeing to it that their offspring benefit from such
the results of
a change in outlook. It is hoped that when current research (27) into
the values of the emerging Catholic middle class in England are made
available, they will permit the substantiation of the above hypothesis.
If English Catholics follow the same pattern as Catholics in West Germany
(28), then one suspects that religious socialisation of the young will
tend to follow a pluriform model, geared to that form of religious
belonging.

The above case studies, based on participant observation, suggest that while the total institution mentality may still prevail in certain presbyteries and boarding schools, this is less likely in convents and seminaries. Moreover, alternative modes of living for priests and of educating Catholic children are becoming available, thus giving one the impression that the total institution mentality is on the decline.

It is possible, too, to discern rejection by Catholics of the archetype total institution mentality in the Catholic Church, the Roman Curia (cf. one's model, fig. III). A good example of such rejection is the recent outcome of the Italian referendum on retaining the law on divorce. While the Vatican and the Italian hierarchy were trying to persuade Catholics to reject the law, a number of priests and well known figures in the Catholic community were making their contrary view known. The result was a defeat by 6 million votes for the Neo-Fascist and Christian Democrat parties, supported by the Vatican (29). One would have thought that the Vatican would have learnt from its experience of over three years ago, when its meddling in Italian politics produced an outcry in the press and a rejection of its position by prominent members of the Jesuit order (30).

Thus, one can still find elements of the total institution in the Vatican, in certain areas of Latin America, and in a number of presbyteries and schools. One maintains that not only is the influence of these institutions diminishing, but that Catholics have by and large rejected their mentality in favour of other forms of religious belonging. Substantiation of this hypothesis is implied in chapters two and three of this work, and further justification will be forthcoming in one's treatment of the open network (this chapter), and the reasons given for this change in outlook (chapter VI).

b) The Family

Here one examines the second quadrant of our pluriform model of religious belonging, encompassed by the coordinates: \textit{ASCIPTION}
belonging as 'familial', a quality that can be said to be a model within the overall model. As Timms states:

"The Church assigns the greatest importance to the family in the scheme of salvation, and the daily use of family titles in the Church (father, sister, brethren, etc.,) testifies to an original inspiration whereby the Church found a model for her own life in family relationships." (31)

However, lest one should think that members borrow familial belonging solely from traditional analogies in the Church's teaching, one can find support for such belonging in Vatican II, where one reads:

"The Christian family, reflecting and sharing in the covenant of love between Christ and the Church, should show to all the living presence of Christ and the real nature of the Church." (32)

Sociological justification for familial belonging can be found in the works of Durkheim and Tönnies. To these great classical thinkers one now turns:

i. Émile Durkheim

For Durkheim, the forces of religion are central in making up the conglomerate of 'social facts' (33). Without norms, morality, ceremonial and custom, the individual is inadequately socialised and becomes subject to 'anomie' (34). The way that social facts are transmitted is through the 'collective conscience' (35), which is a cultural aggregate, greater than, and different from, the sum of individual consciences. The word 'conscience', as opposed to 'consciousness', is employed to emphasise its pre-rational qualities. Luckmann, makes the same distinction when he speaks of the acceptance and internalisation of a 'world view' (36). When the collective conscience encompasses the total life of the individual, then one has 'mechanical solidarity' (37). Such solidarity is to be found in 'primitive' societies, where life is governed by extended family participation in the collective conscience, and consequently integrated. Under this system laws and sanctions (religious in nature), seek to preserve the integrity of society, as they are societal laws. This last point is developed in Durkheim's
Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, where a society that lives according to mechanical solidarity dwells within a sacred cosmos. Man seeks his identity in the clan totem, which is preserved by taboo. However, in so doing, man is not worshipping a god. Rather society itself is divinised, as it is seen as the substructure of the totem and the sacred. (38)

With the division of labour, economic independence, contract and restitutive law, comes organic solidarity, to be found in modern society. The collective conscience no longer encompasses all of man's attitudes and activities. There is instead specialisation, fragmentation, departmentalisation, desacralisation and secularisation. Social change is thus seen by Durkheim as the transition from a society based on mechanical solidarity (the sacred) to one based on organic solidarity (the profane). The proximate cause of this change is the division of labour, and the remote causes are competition and the increase in population (39). However, Durkheim does not see this change as something for the better. Instead he sees society dissolving into impersonal autonomy based on centralisation, and as such no longer a worthy object of study, but rather belonging to the dustbin of history. In order to avoid such a catastrophe, Durkheim wishes to preserve mechanical solidarity with its collective conscience and familial ideal. As Durkheim says:

"Society cannot make its influence felt unless it is in action, and it is not in action unless the individuals who compose it are assembled together and act in common. It is by common action that it takes consciousness of itself and realises its position; it is before all else an active cooperation." (40)

Thus one detects in Durkheim a certain nostalgia for the past, where law and order prevailed by virtue of the collective conscience. An important observation that should be made is that mechanical solidarity is a form of social belonging; it is a belonging rooted in religious ideals, and it is one that becomes concrete in the situation of the clan with its totem and taboo.
It is not too difficult to see the pattern variables of ASCRIPTION (diffuseness) / PARTICULARISM (affectivity) inherent, though not explicit, in Durkheim's clan society. The collective conscience is imbibed by the individual as part of an historical heritage, and he belongs to the clan to the degree that he assimilates this world view. Moreover, pressures exist on the part of the elders so that the collective conscience is transmitted to individual members. The sacred tradition is passed on by the leaders of the sacred hierarchy. Such a pattern of membership would term 'ascriptive', in that status in such a vision of society is acquired and not achieved. One shares in the collective conscience out of duty, and sanctions exist to see that such a duty is carried out. Moreover, by identifying himself with a particular clan, having a particular totem and a particular tradition, the individual member tends to view other clans as out-groups. His membership is defined in terms of belonging to a particular family group, and as such can be circumscribed by the variable of particularism. The relationship he has with other members of the clan can in no way be neutral, as the face-to-face nature of his in-group requires affectivity to integrate its members. However, encompassing all life situations, the clan has no overriding specific goal; it can thus be described in terms of diffuseness.

In sharing diffuseness and ascription with the total institution, one could argue that Durkheim's membership resembles more the total institution mentality than familial belonging. However, Durkheim maintains that it is its affectivity above all that prevents its compliance structures from becoming coercive, and its particularism that saves it from the authority associated with a bureaucracy. Nevertheless, authority is to be found in the patriarchal and traditional types of leadership, to be found in the tribe, clan or extended family, and it is an authority based on status.

An example of the pattern of religious belonging described by Durkheim, can be found in the Catholic Church where certain
institutional values are held sacred. For instance, the institutional pattern of the taking of the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, can be considered in Durkheimian terms. Anthropologists are ready to supply examples of the sacredness attached to celibacy in general and of woman in particular. Whether they explain it in terms of 'mana' (Frazer) (41), or fear (Douglas) (42), or danger (Levy-Bruhl (43), Van Gennep (44)), they are generally in agreement with Worsley that abstinence is held sacred in the primitive mind because it promises greater things to come (45). For example, abstinence is sacred for the Indians of Nicaragua, and among the Kekchi Indians, the Laquineros and the Cajabaneros, in order that a fruitful maize crop may result. Similarly, a Central Australian headman of the Kaitish tribe strictly abstains from marital relations when he is engaged in magic rites to make the grass grow. In some Melanesian islands, men sleep near their gardens all the time that the yam vines are being trained; any breaking of the rule of continence for them would result in a ruination of the crops (46). Abstinence is also held sacred among some tribes during time of war. Finally, abstinence can take the form of sacred protest in anticipation of Cargo or the millenium (47).

In Catholic terminology one would say that celibacy or chastity has an eschatological value - it points to the coming kingdom of Christ (48). What is perhaps more interesting than the above analogy, however, is the observation that the sacredness of vows is in direct proportion to the extent of familial belonging in the Catholic Church. It should be remembered that only religious orders take solemn vows, and most of these follow the monastic tradition. There, vows are taken before a superior, the abbot or father of the community, to whom obedience is pledged. The vow is seen as being for the good of the monastic family, as is simplicity of life, witnessed by a dedication to poverty. To guarantee affectivity at a spiritual, rather than a sexual level, a vow of chastity is taken. In the Benedictine Order, for instance, each monastery is considered a separate entity and monks pledge themselves to that
particular family (49). However, when the vows are simple in nature, as in the case of religious congregations, then the family orientation is less in evidence. One hears more of the goals of the congregation as a whole and the spirit of the founder, rather than an emphasis being placed on a particular religious community. When one comes to secular priests, only a vow of celibacy is taken, and most theologians are now of the opinion that it is more in the nature of a promise (50). Yet few secular priests view their presbytery in familial terms.

ii. Ferdinand Tönnies

In the words of Cahnman and Heberle:

"Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, even without the clarification which Tönnies provided in his later writings, has become one of the most influential books in modern sociology." (51)

Indeed, Tönnies can be considered as standing at the crossroads of sociology, influenced by Maine, Weber, Durkheim, Van Gierke, Comte and Fustel de Coulanges, and in turn influencing Weber, Durkheim, Park, Becker, Redfield and Parsons. In his reaction to the Hobbes/Rousseau problem of order in society, Tönnies has left us with ideas on community, society and change, which have lasted to this day. As Loomis says:

"The contemporary crisis of what many call capitalistic or contractual society is but a different name for the crisis of the Gesellschaft type of society and man. From this standpoint Tönnies' work is in a sense prophetic and has a theoretical as well as a deep practical significance." (52)

What Tönnies has in common with Durkheim and Weber is that he posits the facts of society as being social relationships, which are products of the will, and allow for the existence of the collective will (53). However, Tönnies goes further than Durkheim and Weber in his distinction of types of will. For him the will can be predominantly natural (Wesenwille), or mainly rational (Körwille). The first of these two types is described in terms of conscience, duty, the heart, something that includes thinking, that organically grows within the context of the environment, habit, and memory, has a liking for life, but which
unfortunately is exploited (54). The rational will, on the other hand, is encompassed by thought, it involves deliberation over means even if they are unpleasant, discrimination over ends, the construction of concepts, such as that of efficiency, and is based on a desire for power and money in a competitive fight with the rational will of others (55). Tönnies accepts Durkheim's organic and mechanical distinction and applies it to thinking, the former connected with the natural will and the latter to the rational will (56). Such thinking later contrasts in the diverse social relationships of organic unity and mechanical individualism (57).

The next step in Tönnies' argument is to describe two contrasting types of social relationships based on the diametrically opposed types of will. This he does in his constructs of 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft'. Gemeinschaft is natural in that it is based on the family,

"the epitome of relations which are Gemeinschaft-like in their essence." (58)

Tönnies goes on to state that:

"The germinal forms of Gemeinschaft are motherly love, sexual love, and brotherly and sisterly love." (59)

Gemeinschaft is thus a way of being together, living together, and working or acting together. It is based on the ties of blood, land and occupation, or the awareness of acts performed in space, stemming from the natural will, which constitute the vegetative, animal and human, souls of Gemeinschaft (60). Tönnies can then refer to:

"The Gemeinschaft-like will, which I call: (a) concord (the totality of human willing, which, because it is based on communal relationships, seems to be self-evident as both natural and necessary); (b) custom (basis: communal habit); (c) religion (basis: the communal belief in supernatural ruling and norm giving processes)." (61)

For Tönnies, Gesellschaft bears strong resemblance to Weber's associative relationships, just as Gemeinschaft, encompassing kinship, neighbourhood and friendship, ties (62), can be identified with Weber's communal relationships. Tönnies states that:
"The elementary fact of Gesellschaft is the act of exchange, which presents itself in its purest form if it is thought of as performed by individuals who are alien to each other, having nothing in common with each other, and confront each other in an essentially antagonistic and even hostile manner." (63)

With its stress on the individual, Gesellschaft has no organic unity, and it stresses the worth and value of things over human relationships (64). There is thus a fictitious freedom in Gesellschaft relationships, as individuals are priced according to the value of their labour (65). This makes the individual person himself an artificial entity (66); he does not possess, but is possessed under the rules of wealth and contract; consequently he loses his status (67). Under Gesellschaft the individual becomes subject to the forces of conflict, competition and exploitation (68), which leads to class struggle and division between élites and workers (69).

Tönnies does not highlight motivation to the same degree as Weber. Nevertheless he does make the distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft motivation. Under the former system of relationships, a man acts for the good of another or for the good of the whole, in the same way that a man gives alms to the poor out of love, or in a similar fashion to the giving between two lovers (70). He acts according to the natural laws of Gemeinschaft which are love and adjustment, understanding through love in the binding act of consensus, and acting through love of the community (71). Such motivation leads to the life of Gemeinschaft, which is seen as mutual possession and enjoyment of goods, in the sharing of hearth and board, and as a product of self-fulfilling labour (72). On the other hand, the underlying motivation of Gesellschaft relationships is basically one of fear, the same sort of motivation that one detects in warlike situations (73).

The final stage in Tönnies' argument deals with the process of change from a Gemeinschaft system of relationships to a Gesellschaft-like orientated society. This is not a particularly new phenomenon. One detects the passage from Roman law to statute law (74), from private
property rights to contract law (75), from distributive to commutative justice (76), from memory to festivals (77), from folkways and mores to action (78), from people to State (79), and from family communism to urban individualism (80). However, this does not obliterate Gemeinschaft for ever, as:

"The strength of Gemeinschaft persists, although with diminishing vigour, even in the period of Gesellschaft, and remains the reality of social life." (81)

One should be wary of reifying Tönnies' typology in the same way as Dahrendorf and the Nazi leaders are claimed to have misconstrued Tönnies. Cahnman and Birkhoff issue the following warning:

"A family, clan, village, friendship, may serve as approximate values of Gemeinschaft, but they are Gemeinschaft only to the extent to which they coincide with the ideal conceptual image of Gemeinschaft. City, state, industry, public opinion, may serve as examples of Gesellschaft in the same way. In other words, viewed in the light of normal concepts, actual societies, especially of the Gesellschaft type, are always mixed." (82)

This comment can be linked with that of Tönnies claiming the persistence of Gemeinschaft even in a period of Gesellschaft.

Nevertheless, even allowing for a mixture of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft elements in a given system of relationships, Tönnies' analysis does lead one to the conclusion that Gemeinschaft elements are better than those associated with those of Gesellschaft. This impression is similar to that conveyed by the metaphysician that evil is non-being, because by definition being is always good (83). If that is the conclusion desired by Tönnies then it is as untenable as any other set of undeclared value judgements.

Similarly, Tönnies, in his typology, rather assumes, as does Durkheim, that change is uni-directional, and moreover that it is tending towards the destruction of society. If Tönnies agrees with Durkheim (as he appears to), that sociologists can only study satisfactorily mechanical or Gemeinschaftlike relationships based on social facts, then by a 'reductio ad absurdum' Tönnies is not offering
us a polar typology at all. He is merely showing us his ideal single model of society, a model that is described in family-community terms.

However, Tönnies does raise the question of whether certain Catholics have an ideal model of the Church, considered solely in familial terms, just as Weber led one to consider the possibility of members considering the Church as an unchanging organisation. In other words, while one may wish Tönnies to limit his value judgements, one can still investigate the possibility of whether such value judgements are to be found in the Catholic Church. In this latter connection, one can turn to the survey of West German lay Catholic opinion. In the course of the interview, respondents were asked to show where their patterns of human concern lay. Cards were shown to them and they highlighted their preferences among the 36 items making up the word system. The outcome of this relatively new technique was that while the majority opted for an alternative model of the Church to that based on authoritarianism, the alternative they selected differed precisely in whether it was Gemeinschaft or Gesellschaft in orientation. Here one detected the predominance of those desiring peace, security and order, over those stressing family belonging (84). Moreover, mixed orientation was also in evidence, thus somewhat discounting Tönnies. However, when the same respondents were asked what they liked about the Catholic Church, one noticed that a sense of Gemeinschaft emerged as the predominant factor, explaining 55% of the variance (85). A breakdown of the replies revealed that Gemeinschaft was being emphasised by the regular churchgoers. Those that did not attend Mass, on the other hand, were stressing the need for social and cultural change in the Church, and were holding predominantly Gesellschaftlich attitudes (86). This latter group was later found to be much more critical than the former over the Church's traditional attitudes, its outdated structures, and its lack of directive (87). In terms of concrete criticism, German Catholics of a predominant Gesellschaft orientation objected to the Church's interference in the issues of birth control, sexual teaching, indissolubility of marriage and papal authority (88). In other words,
not only were they objecting to an organisational model of the Church that resembled a total institution mentality, with its intrusion into the sphere of private relationships, but they were defying a superimposed familial model of religious belonging, which was attempting to define limits of conduct within Catholic families. Thus in the German survey, one can see the rejection of ascription (diffuseness)/particularism (affectivity) by those framed by the polarities of achievement (specificity)/universalism (neutrality). In other words, one observes the replacement of the family model (held by the traditional churchgoers) by an open network model (desired by the less frequent Mass attendees). Hence this survey teaches one to be wary of using religious practice as a sole measure of degree of commitment. Indeed were one to do so, one would arrive at the astonishing conclusion that traditional Mass goers were somehow more deeply committed to their faith than those who expressed their affiliation by some other method or dimension of religiosity. In other words, one would be attributing higher religious motivation to traditionalists than to the prophetic, not only an illogical conclusion, but an hypothesis that has recently been rejected by Burgalassi's study of Italian Catholics (89).

Another important area of Catholic familial belonging has been highlighted by Spencer, writing of Northern Ireland (90). Spencer describes Belfast as the 'world's second largest village', primacy of honour being reserved for Dublin (91). He comes to this conclusion by examining the rural mentality of its inhabitants, whose affiliation to Catholicism or Protestantism can be described in familial terms. (The same analysis could well be extended to include the families of Celtic and Rangers in Glasgow, one feels). The sacred pervades each religious group to the extent that a symbiotic alliance is formed between religion and politics, with the former institution legitimating the latter. Non-rationality as an ethos permits emotions to replace an understanding of the situation, and even such universal values as the Civil Rights Movement, are changed to the means for the struggle for the particularistic
ends of the two ethnic communities. The non-rational ethos is heightened by myth, or the community's perception of itself. Community affiliation is as strong in the city as in the countryside, while affiliation to cross boundary interest groups is virtually non-existent. The city dweller of Belfast, who should enjoy the freedom associated with urban and secular man, instead has to conform to the coercive compliance structures of his religious group, through which he obtains his identity. Formal social control by law is thus replaced by the more rigorous informal social control of the community. Such a situation leads to intolerance, as both groups, with their differing sets of informal controls, tend to view each other as hostile out-groups. Spencer also illustrates the rural familism of Northern Ireland by the predominance of the Parsonian variables of particularism and ascription, leading to propaganda and discrimination. Spencer concludes:

"In many respects, then, Irish society represents a strong contrast to other Western societies: urban influence on rural life remains very weak, but rural influence on urban life is very strong. These differences not only give a distinctive flavour to Irish city life, but also perpetuate and deepen the antagonisms between the two ethnic communities in Ireland. The pervasiveness of the sacred creates myriad opportunities for each ethnic group to outrage the other. The pervasiveness of the non-rational means that courses of action are followed without regard for their long-term consequences. The pervasiveness of the myth insulates the two communities from the truth about themselves and each other. The strong sense of community imprisons the creative innovator and inhibits change. It turns the representative into the delegate. The displacement of law by informal social control or coercion makes order dependent on the will of the two separate communities, instead of on the reason of the one society in which they live. The intolerance turns every difference into an issue of principle. At the most fundamental level, the ascription of status means that almost everyone belongs to one of the two ethnic communities, while the particularism holds them firmly apart." (92)

Although one cannot do justice to the insights of Spencer here, one can at least appreciate that he is attempting to point out that Gemeinschaft religious belonging, based on the family and the village, can produce such over-commitment as to become unacceptable. If Tönnies does not permit change from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, then the limitations
of his model should at least be investigated.

It is difficult to measure the extent of familial belonging in the Catholic Church. That it exists in Northern Ireland is clear from Spencer's analysis of the situation. One has also experienced Banfield's 'amoral familism' in Southern Italy (93), and to a lesser extent in Poland (94), where rural religiosity is still noticeable in the cities. One also suspects that this is the case in many Latin American countries, although more recent studies tend to suggest that popular religiosity is being challenged by prophetic elements in the priesthood and Church leadership (95). In short, one would be suspicious of large scale religious maps indicating areas of Gemeinschaftlich Catholic belonging, should the exercise be even sociologically viable. The main reason for this last remark is that the family model of Durkheim and Tönnies has largely been replaced by another sociological framework of the family, one which we now consider.

iii. Burgess et al: the companionship model of family

So far we have spoken of the family as if there were only one meaning attached to the word. However, there is a fairly general consensus among anthropologists that we now have with us a 'nuclear' or 'conjugal' family, which has evolved from an earlier 'extended' family (Durkheim's clan and Tönnies' Gemeinschaft relationships). While the evolution from extended to nuclear has occurred at different rates within various cultures, one can agree that today there is an overall predominance of the nuclear, or conjugal, unit, and that the extended family is either declining or has already disappeared. For example, Goode examines India, China, Japan and several Arab and African countries. In all these different cultures he shows that there has been a shift towards, or rediscovery of, conjugal values, not so much as a result of industrialisation, but rather due to the emergence of a secular ideology. He writes:

"Everywhere the ideology of the conjugal family unit is spreading even though a majority does not accept it. It appeals to the disadvantaged, to the young, to women, and to the educated." (96)
He further cites Murdock as being in substantial agreement with him (97).

In Soviet society the 'experiment' to do away with the family failed. Instead one witnessed the transition from the Tsarist-Orthodox extended family to the modern nuclear family (98). Even among Serbo-Croatian peasants the form of extended family, based on the rule of brothers, known as the 'zadruga', is declining with the advent of Western cultural standards (99). Whether one accepts Redfield's hypothesis that the extended family declines as social values move along a folk-urban continuum, one may still acknowledge his evidence that the conjugal family in Mexico has emerged in the cities and can be seen in embryo in the towns and peasant villages (100).

However, it is probably in the United States that the prime exemplar of the conjugal family is to be found. A series of reasons for the evolution of the family from an institutional extended form to a conjugal companionship model is given by Burgess, Locke and Thomas (101). They state that:

"The family is in transition from a traditional family system controlled by mores, public opinion and law, to a companionship family system based on mutual affection, intimate communication, and mutual acceptance of division of labour and procedures of decision making." (102)

The characteristics of the modern companionship model are then listed:

"(1) Freedom of choice of mate on the basis of romance, companionship compatibility and common interests.
(2) Independence of the young people from their parents after marriage.
(3) The assumption of equality of husband and wife.
(4) Decisions reached by discussion between husband and wife, with children participating increasingly with advancing age.
(5) Maximum freedom for its members consistent with the achieving of family objectives." (103)

The modern companionship form is then contrasted with the earlier extended form of family, characterised by familism:

"Thus the characteristics of familism are as follows:
(1) the feeling on the part of its members that they belong to the family group and that other persons are outsiders.
(2) integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives."
the assumption that land, money and other material goods, are family property, involving the obligation to support individual members and give them assistance when they are in need.

and

concern for the perpetuation of the family as evidenced by helping all adult offspring in beginning and continuing an economic activity in line with family expectations, and in setting up a new household." (104)

Beltrão contrasts institutional and companionship forms of family in the following summarising table:

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<th>INSTITUTIONAL</th>
<th>COMPANIONSHIP</th>
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<td>democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>familism</td>
<td>individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stability</td>
<td>instability</td>
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<td>sacred</td>
<td>secular</td>
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<td>urban ( rural )</td>
<td>urban</td>
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<tr>
<td>continuity</td>
<td>mobility</td>
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<td>conflict</td>
<td>accommodation</td>
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<tr>
<td>prudence</td>
<td>romance</td>
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Two questions are of concern to us here. First, can examples of the companionship family be found among membership of the Catholic Church? Secondly, if examples can be found, do they merit inclusion under the quadrant described as family belonging? Surely the differences between the Durkheim/Tönnies family and the companionship family are too great to be encompassed by the same Parsonian pattern variables!

The first question is answered by a consideration of certain Catholic bodies that appear to contain the characteristics of a companionship model of family. For instance, one can look at groups such as the Focolare movement, the Grail Family Group movement, Family and Social Action, the Legion of Mary and the Union of Catholic Mothers. In all these groups one discerns greater predominance of companionship characteristics over institutional qualities. There is democracy in the election of their leaders; there is individualism in that particular talents and qualities are recognised and encouraged for the good of the group; instability is evidenced by the fact that most of these groups
are not permanently based on a given territory, and that members come and go, consonant with mobility patterns in society; the secular ethos prevails, in that most companionship family groups unite to discuss issues that are not specifically religious, eg. social, political and educational, issues; the setting is often urban and the need for such groups is not felt so much in rural areas; plurality of views is accommodated and little conflict is encountered, with the issues rarely encompassing total life questions; and relationships can become quite intense and intimate, particularly when individual problems are laid before other members of the group.

The merits of allowing a distinction to be made between two types of family within the second quadrant of one's model are several. In the first place, it avoids the falsely placed analogy of the consideration of the Catholic Church as a family. As Fichter has pointed out, it is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of an international body of several hundred million members as constituting a family. This would also fall under the same criticism as a consideration of the Church as a uniform organisation. But one may still distinguish between members whose affiliation approximates that of an extended family, and those whose membership can be thought of in more conjugal terms, while realising that both types of family affiliation represent only one type of belonging to the Catholic Church. Second, the conjugal form of family permits an emphasis of voluntary membership to a greater extent than that to be found in the extended family. Thirdly, the distinction of two types of family underlines that one is speaking of affiliation through groups, those more closely resembling the extended family being larger in size.

However, to answer one's second question: whether the two types of family can be encompassed by the same Parsonian variables, involves one in a comparison of similarities between the extended and conjugal families. It is true to say that both types of family in the Catholic Church can be described as pro-institution, and right of centre in
outlook. Whether they are united on spiritual grounds, on social issues, or whatever, they do not conceive their role in terms of contesting faith or morals. In this sense their attitudinal outlooks are diffuse. They view not only the Church, but also its areas of influence, as sacred. The distinction between the conjugal and extended family lies in their degree of alliance between the secular and sacred, or the limits that they place on the Church's sacred influence. One can have the all-sacred diffuseness associated with the situation in Northern Ireland, or, for example, the sacro-spatial diffuseness encountered in the Focolare movement. The pro-institutional stance of both types of familial belonging also allows for an emphasis to be placed on ascription rather than on achievement. Under the extended family status is associated with patriarchal leadership, and as such is more pronounced than the ascriptive status of the conjugal companionship model. Yet even with characteristics of democracy and equality, to be found in the Burgess model, one notes election of leaders for their spiritual qualities. The man or woman chosen is as much predestined by God as put forward by the other members of the group, in the same way as a pope is chosen by the Holy Spirit, while outwardly seen to be elected by the college of cardinals. Rarely does one find in either type of family group a candidate put forward on the grounds of human efficiency, or putting himself forward on the basis of technical prowess or achievement. Both types of family belonging are characterised by particularism too, although this is more in evidence in the case of groups with specific goals who are deeply committed to a certain course of action. One could even say that where the conjugal family takes on the semblance of 'égotisme à deux', then the orientation of that group centres more on the 'we' of the in-group and less on the 'them' of the out-group. Where such clashes of particularism occur between types of family groups, overall Christian unity is given a counter-witness. In Northern Ireland, for example, one could well say:

"See how these Christians hate one another."

The attitude of affectivity, associated with the non-professionalism of
the family groups is evident in both conjugal and extended forms. Both wish to avoid the Durkheimian ' anomie ' and strive towards ' togetherness and ' fellowship '. Whether the drive for affection follows the conventional wisdom of the elders, and the care and respect shown towards them by other members, out of gratitude for the affection shown towards them, ( as in the case of the extended family ), or whether affection follows a more spontaneous romanticism, based on a more psycho-sexual Frommian ' art of loving ', the quality of affectivity is to be found in both types of family belonging.

Thus we maintain that both the extended and conjugal family models can be encompassed by the Parsonian variables of ASCRIPTION ( diffuseness ) / PARTICULARISM ( affectivity ), and as such both fit into the second quadrant of religious belonging, which we have termed FAMILY belonging to the Catholic Church. That they approach the pattern variables to a greater or lesser degrees should be clear from what has been said before. But far from destroying one's model of family belonging, it tends to enhance it, by dint of its elasticity.

One freely admit that there are types of family belonging and grades of family belonging within an overall model of family affiliation. We have described just two sub-types, but would like to see an examination of what must be numerous varieties. The same empirical investigation, one feel, is called for into the other subtypes of religious belonging, one's to be found in our pluriform four quadrant model.

c) The Closed Community

In this sub-section one examines quadrant 3 of the pluriform model of religious belonging, encompassed by the Parsonian pattern variables of PARTICULARISM ( affectivity ) / ACHIEVEMENT (specificity ). By calling this type of religious belonging ' The Closed Community ', one is highlighting the extreme of the community continuum. One does not imply that all communities are closed. However, we suggest that there is a tendency for communities to fall into that category. Nisbet has been selected for placing man's quest for community in an historical
and sociological context. Nuij has been chosen for highlighting the tendency for religious communities to eventually turn in on themselves, and in so doing, cut themselves off from other members of the Catholic Church.

i. Robert Nisbet

Nisbet describes the quest for community as having: "become the dominant social tendency of the 20th century." (106) He argues that the reason for this state of affairs is that modern man is overwhelmed by a sense of disorganisation and disintegration, not only in his individual life, but in the family and in the whole of Western society taken in its entirety (107). He speaks of man being alone (108). There is a dialectical tension between organisation and individual, one that is not resolved by the synthesis of mediating groups, such as the family and the Church (109). The reason why such mediating groups fail to satisfy man is due to a crisis of allegiance (110). People cannot belong to a non-institutionalised form of adjustment, such as psychological companionship (111), with its cultivation of romance (112) just as the quest for community cannot be found in loyalty to a machine (113). Put in one's own terms, it appears that Nisbet, on behalf of 'homo religiosus', is rejecting both the family and organisational (as also total institutional) models of the Church.

Moreover, for Nisbet, the current situation is not something new:

"The problem constituted by the present quest for community is composed of elements as old as mankind, elements of faith and agonising search, which are vivid in all great prophetic literatures. In large degree the quest for community is timeless and universal." (114)

In socio-historical terms, he sees community as the response to the overall problem of order in society. It marked sociology's reply to individualism and rationalism.

According to Nisbet, a strong individualistic philosophy arose from the time of the Reformation (115), and became rampant in the 17th and 18th centuries, with its emphasis on the individual, progress, contract,
nature and reason (116). The Rationalists, notably Hobbes and Rousseau, declared the supremacy of the State over the family in a theory of the general will of the masses, a theory which was put into effect in the French Revolution (117). Later the will of the masses was rationally organised by Marx and Hitler (118).

The sociological reaction to the above philosophy was so massive that Nisbet was able to write:

"The most fundamental and far reaching of sociology's unit ideas is community." (119)

These 19th century sociologists had been inspired by such social and legal historians as Maine (120), Fustel de Coulanges (121), Otto Van Gierke (122), Toqueville (123), Le Play (124), Hegel (125), Coleridge (126) and Lammenais (127), in addition to writers such as Maitland, Savigny and Burke. Sociologists began advocating a return to the guilds of the Middle Ages in a search for order and a restoration of the family, private property, education and religion, all of which they felt had been attacked and undermined by the individualistic Rationalism underlying the French and Industrial revolutions (128).

The search for a moral community was openly stated in Comte's Positive Polity. Tönnies and Weber developed typologies of community. Durkheim used community as his starting point for moral, religious and social, values, without which individuals became lost in anomic transitory associations, based only on organic contract. Simmel regretted the abandonment of the warmth of the traditional community, when it was to be replaced by money, secrecy and lying. Toqueville lamented the passing of hierarchy and class with the advent of status seeking and competition.

What is of particular interest to us is that the quest for community in the sociological tradition was relying heavily on the force of religion in society. Nisbet explains the reason for this:
"In short sociology's methodological stress on religion as a key variable in the study of society has nothing to do with personal religious commitment. It has everything to do with the profoundly altered conception of the nature of religion that we see rising, along with ideas of community and authority, at the beginning of the century." (129)

According to Nisbet, the 19th century sociologists held the following ideas in common with regard to religion:

i. Religion is necessary for the integration of human beings in society by means of symbols and the allegiance of faith. Rationalism only undermines society.

ii. Religion is a key element in understanding history and social change.

iii. Religion is more than faith, doctrine and precepts. It stresses membership of society through rite and ceremony, community and authority, hierarchy and organisation.

iv. The origin of all fundamental ideas is human thought and belief. (130)

In his presentation of the sociological tradition, one can see Nisbet himself siding with the position of the early sociologists. He states for example:

"No theory of freedom in our age will be either effective or relevant that does not recognise the present centrality of the quest for community." (131)

and again:

"Individualism is irrelevant today." (132)

Nisbet further agrees with Durkheim that:

"Centralisation belongs to the dustbin of history." (133), by describing freedom in terms of 'diversification and decentralisation' (134). He further uses Freud and Fromm to support his position (135). His identification with the sociological tradition is aptly summarised in his own definition of community, where one notes the employment of the same unit ideas and terminology of the classicists:

"Community is the product of people working together on problems of autonomous and collective fulfilment of internal objectives, and of the experience of living under codes of authority which have been set in large degree by the persons involved. But what we get in many sections of the country is a kind of suburban horde. There is no community because there are no common problems, functions and authority." (136)
Similarly Nisbet accepts religion as a key social variable, only this time with one important difference. He identifies his position with that of Tawney, who states:

"The difference between loving man as a result of first loving God and learning to love God through a growing love for man may not at first sight seem profound. To Luther it seemed an abyss and Luther was right. It was, in a sense, nothing less than the Reformation itself. For, carried as it was not carried by Luther, to its logical result, the argument made not only good works, but sacraments and the Church itself unnecessary." (137)

What Nisbet is saying, in effect, is that the Catholic position is basically one of sacramental instrumentality; through good works to one’s fellow man one merits grace. Such a stance is opposed to the individualistic Protestant ethic of faith alone before God, without the need for action through other human beings. As such, Catholic teaching approaches the key variable of religion underpinning the anti-individualistic quest for community. It is further implied that if Catholic theology can accommodate Nisbet’s own humanistic outlook on life, then he can identify with it in its basic quest for community.

From the above summary it is clear that Nisbet objects to the rationality of the bureaucratic total institution mentality. Similarly he rejects the individualism associated with the open network. What is not so clear is why he abandons what one has termed familial belonging. One would have thought that stratified affectivity would have appealed to his sociological tradition. Indeed, had he been consistent, then his quest for community would have ended with Durkheim's collective conscience and Tönnies' Gemeinschaft. However, Nisbet's idea of family is the same as that of Burgess, with notions of equality, democracy, individualism and instability inherent to it, ideas that tend to be more identified with individualistic Rationalism that is being combated in the quest for an ordered community. For this reason, one suggest, Nisbet assumes a companionship model of family as family type, and anachronistically projects this model on to his 19th century sociologists, who, of course, have no room for such a type in their conceptual scheme.
Thus Nisbet is left with quadrant 3: community. It is our contention that by logically failing to identify with the institutional or extended family, Nisbet's own idea of community approaches what one has called the 'closed community'.

If one returns to Nisbet's definition of community, one discerns four elements in it which correspond to the Parsonian pattern variables of PARTICULARISM (affectivity) / ACHIEVEMENT (specificity). They can be highlighted from his definition of community, as follows:

PARTICULARISM: people working together on autonomous problems
AFFECTIVITY: collective fulfilment, experience of living under codes of authority
ACHIEVEMENT: the product of fulfilment
SPECIFICITY: the autonomy of internal objectives, functions

One can see that the first two pattern variables are to be found in both types of family belonging, previously described. The collective conscience of Durkheim is present, brought about by a participation in the collective representations of the sacred world view. The authority of the totem localises the experience of living, which Tönnies can accommodate in his ties of Gemeinschaft. The fulfilment of such relationships can be detected in Burgess, a characteristic of the presence of affectivity. In their working together on autonomous problems, one notes the Elton Mayo human relations theory (138), as also the particularism associated with the very meaning inherent in the word 'problem'. It is the particularism of the goal that separates one community from another, often to the point where hostility to out-groups, not concerned with the same problems, is in evidence.

However, the introduction of achievement and specificity differentiates Nisbet's community from the family, based as it is on the qualities of ascription and diffuseness. In order to preserve freedom for the members of his community (if he really does follow Fromm (139)), then he must introduce fulfilment and autonomy. In so doing, however, Nisbet introduces two qualities associated with technical competence, qualities that militate against the institutional Church. Right wing membership is accustomed to receiving instructions on total life
situations (i.e., matters concerning faith and morals) from Church leadership, and not tackling issues from precedent rather than principle. Similarly its leadership is not one that has emerged by dint of specific talents; it is a nominated body for whom the predominant attitude should be one of respect. Left wing membership that stresses autonomy and fulfilment is not so much interested in a collective, and often unthinking, response to a hierarchy or a body of principles; it rather operates from the perspective of a radical Christian Humanism that responds to the directives of the person of Christ, as found in the Gospels. In short, in order to preserve responsibility, members of the Left feel that the implications of Vatican II for all dimensions of religiosity spell change, change that is achieved by response to particular humanitarian issues, based on a christological, rather than ecclesiastical, perspective. Such change works from the grassroots level outwards and upwards, through a process of conscientization, an achieving process of awareness of self and others.

Now, when this left wing outlook of achievement and specificity is combined with particularism and affectivity, the tendency is for anti-institutional individuals of like minds to become isolated from universal membership of the Church. Their particularistic approach cuts them off from cross-cultural, international and interdenominational interest groups, and their emphasis on the localised bonds of affectivity often places them under a system of rules and regulations, associated with their own concept of authority, that, in many senses, are stricter than those associated with the family or total institution. It is because their internal and local rules are not recognised by other members of the Church that such 'communities' only belong to themselves. Hence one feels justified in terming such communities - 'closed communities'. Thus one senses that Nisbet's flight from the macro-organisation of the bureaucratic Church has produced a micro-organisation of familial particularism, attempting to seek freedom, but in the end giving way to the overall search for order. As substantiation of this interpretation,
and to illustrate it with examples to be found in the Catholic Church, (not a specific problem for Nisbet), one may turn to the more recent sociological writings of Nuij.

ii. Ton Nuij

Crucial to Nuij's thinking on community lies the bold statement:

"What all modern community experiments have in common is the element of reaction against modern society or against the Church with their alienating structures." (140)

The reaction or protest to which Nuij refers follows a fourfold typology:

a) theoretical  
b) activist: political or social action groups  
c) implicit: alternative communities  
d) drop out: communes (141).

The theorists protest against the existing order without actually trying out concrete forms of social life. Nevertheless they can be considered the inspiration for the remaining three types. Nuij refers to the theorists as 'The New Left', and cites Adorno, Fromm and Marcuse as belonging to it. He later extends his list to include writers such as Metz (142). However, as it is debatable whether Nuij has correctly categorised or catalogued 'The New Left', and also whether they inspire only his other three types, it might be more beneficial and relevant to examine his concrete forms of religious belonging and to measure them against our own concept of closed community.

Nuij's political or social action groups stress direct action by forming a community to place pressure on the established order. Such groups were manifest in the student riots of Berlin (1967), Paris (1968) and Amsterdam (1969), one of the most notable being the Kommune I of Berlin with its 'Revolutionierung des Alltags'. Activist protest against ecclesiastical power politics is more evident in Latin America in its various liberation movements (143). Support for such protest can be found in the Medellin statement of C.E.L.A.T., and one has noted similarities in the deinstitutionalising writings of Illich and Freire, as also in the programmes they have adopted. Characteristic of activist
groups is the insistence that action begins at the level of individual experience and gradually spreads through grass root communities to higher levels of action (144). Usually political action is preceded by programmes of conscientization, and here the theorists and educationists are all important.

What Nuij terms alternative communities are attempts to live out a different ideology from that of the technological and capitalist society into which members have been socialised. Such communities are not new. There were religious communes of the Anabaptists (Ephrata 1732), of the Shakers (Mother Ann Lee 1736-84), and of the Mormons (Orderville, 1874). Agricultural communes such as Etienne Cabet's 'Icaria' existed two hundred years ago, and Charles Fourier and Robert Owen attempted the establishment of communes on the industrial front. Communes as an alternative to the family were tried out too, Oneida's community for group marriage being only one example (145). However, in the 20th century one encounters the hippie and underground groups (146). Here there is often a leaning towards Eastern mysticism, the wearing of a certain distinctive, though conformist, style of dress, and the taking of drugs. The underground church has many appearances of a sect, and will usually champion a given issue, such as Civil Rights, which it feels that the institutional Church is failing to support. Its promoters are often priests who have opted out by marrying, and this sort of appeal is often felt strongly in a university campus environment (147). What these alternative communities have in common is an emphasis on a decentralised local church community, stressing openness to outsiders and co-responsibility, often combined with a high degree of socio-political involvement. There is also the eschatological hope that such communities will be the norm for the institutionalised Church in the future (148).

Communes are, strictly speaking, reserved for groups that wish to experiment with new forms of family living. One thinks automatically of communes in China and kibbutzim in Israel, as also of group living experimentation in Russia. However, there is also a growing number of
communes in Scandinavia, Holland and the United States (149). Nuij also includes lay spiritual movements such as the Focolare Movement and L'Abri under communes, as also the forms of open-house monasticism. (150)

Nuij admits that one can regroup new forms of communal living according to different criteria (eg. according to the totality of demands made on the individual's time and space, the degree of cohesiveness with existing structures, their ability to integrate the individual within their own boundaries), yet he prefers to adopt the more pragmatic distinction between action groups, alternative substitute groups and family substitute groups. However, as Nuij points out, it is possible for one group to have the characteristics of another, which can blur somewhat the distinctions he has made.

However, one feels that Nuij has not been sufficiently rigorous in the elaboration of his typology. It is not clear, for instance, why the settlements of Loppiano and L'Abri should be classed alongside communes that react against modern society or the Church. More orthodox movements would be difficult to find. It is only their exemplary spirituality that marks them off as different from the rest of society. For that reason placed them just inside family belonging, as they rate fairly low on ascriptive tendencies. Nevertheless they do operate as families and their pro-institutional stance marks them as being right, not left, of centre. It is also debatable whether international political and social action groups can be classed as communities, still less whether their theorists of the New Left are closely associated with them. It could well be argued, for instance, that such groups should be placed in an open network category of belonging. Similarly, it is not obvious why Nuij places the Underground Church into a category of alternative communities, when many of its members rarely associate, let alone form sociological groups. One feels that Nuij might have found better examples from within the Jesus Movement for his alternative communities. Nevertheless, with the above reservations, one can consider Nuij's alternative communities and
communes as belonging to one's model of closed community. The reasons why such communities tend to become closed are supplied by Nuij himself -

First, many communities insist upon sharing of goods in common. However, this can degenerate into quite a selfish outlook on life, as it often means that no member outside the community can benefit from these goods. In that sense the communities are closed to society. Second, the idea of sharing the same roof, if admitted as essential for community life, does not facilitate belonging to a community of conviction. Such communities can become closed to outside interests. Third, over-preoccupation with a certain issue or form of protest can lead to over-rationalisation and the closing of the minds of members to analogous and wider issues. Fourth, the devotion to a certain form of cultural behaviour can often destroy the very freedom that members of the community wish to achieve, either because of enslavement to an ideolog or else to a drugged mysticism. It is suggested that the epithet 'closed' be applied to such behaviour, particularly with regard to outside social change. Fifth, the ideal of democracy, itself a commitment to openness, often gives way to the emergence of strong authoritarian leadership, cliques and class distinctions, as the initial charisma becomes routinised. Finally, communication can break down where members are not ready for intimate awareness, or else are acting out a fantasy of pseudo intimacy in 'free' sexual relationships; the inability of members to communicate among themselves becomes even more striking when they attempt to communicate with others. Such a characteristic, one would maintain, is hardly the hallmark of an open community.

Thus one can see in Nuij a reinforcement of one's interpretation of Nisbet. The quest for community in terms of protest and the seeking of a new freedom with others of a similar outlook can simply enslave, when exaggerated particularism is in evidence, combined with the ideology of specificity and achievement. The communal group tends to
close in on itself and to the rest of society, and becomes self-centered and inner-directed. What began as prophetic protest can terminate in a dissatisfied flight from freedom and take on the characteristic of collective egoism, the hallmark of the closed community.

As further justification of one's remarks extended to Nisbet and Nuij it might be worthwhile considering briefly what exemplify the model of the closed community, namely the various communes associated with the Jesus People, to which not a few American Catholics have turned.

iii. The Jesus People

The term 'Jesus People' as opposed to 'Jesus Freaks', 'Jesus Movement' or 'Jesus Revolution', has been chosen by Enroth, Ericson and Peters, in the most exhaustive treatment to date of this brand of religiosity, because they consider it a more inclusive term, one that avoids generalising from certain types of Jesus People to an abstract whole, one that is capable of investigating the different types of Jesus People, and one that hopefully avoids the use of stereotype (151).

They treat the types of Jesus People according to grades of commitment, beginning with the heavily involved communal existence of the Children of God and the Alamo Foundation (152), through the freelance evangelism of Arthur Blessitt and Duane Peterson (153) to various hip churches (154) and movements such as the Christian World Liberation Front and Jesus People's Army (155) to the more marginal elements, such as the Jesus Christ Light and Power House and the Penninsula Bible Church and various brands of Pentecostalism (156). However, they do point to several common characteristics of the Jesus People: a fundamentalist interpretation of the Gospel, an anti-intellectual and anticultural view of the world, an apocalyptic belief that the world is nearing an end, the espousal of charismatic gifts, and a reaction to the established churches for failing to provide a sense of community for all except the straight middle class (157).

Although the Jesus People are vague as to their origins and are
split into many factions, it is possible to isolate sociologically the
Children of God as being the most successful group in terms of numbers
and its international appeal (158). As they are also the most heavily
committed group, a closer examination of The Children can stand to a
certain extent as archetype for other factions, who share to a lesser
extent their beliefs and practices.

The Children of God are an exclusive group founded by David Berg,
an ex-Pentecostal minister who began from a coffee house in Huntington
Beach (159), spread to two large properties donated to them by the Rev.
Fred Jordan (The Texas Soul Clinic, and a rescue mission on Skid Row,
Los Angeles (160)), and who now are established in a series of colonies
(communes) in San Diego, San Francisco, Colorado Springs, Boulder,
Detroit, Cincinnati, Austin, Dallas, Corpus Christi, Southern Kentucky,
up-State New York, Mexico, Vancouver, London (161) and Amsterdam (162).
The Children of God are exclusive in that they view themselves as the
remnant that will witness faithfully in the last days. They see
themselves as the only faithful followers of God and view other
Christians as only half-hearted (163). The feeling of being elected
by prophecy is enhanced by a practice known as 'smiting', derived
from the book of Jeremiah, in which they occupy an 'institutional'
church and call the occupants to repentance and one hundred per cent
commitment to Christ. The practice obtains its name from the
accompanying taking of a large bible and hitting a worshipper on the
head with it (164). Smiting also enforces the feeling of hatred for
the institutional Church and gives them a desired sense of being
persecuted (165). Recruitment is taken from the streets, whereby two
Children attempt to convert other drop outs or weak members of society
by subjecting them to an aggressive bible-thumping evangelism (166).
There have been reports in the press that the Children of God have
sometimes hypnotised potential recruits and in some cases kidnapped
them (167).

Exclusivity is further heightened by their forsaking of parental
ties, money and worldly goods, and living in 'community' (168). Here members, aged between 15 and 30 in the main, are subject to the authoritarian rule of the colony leader. In the commune they follow a strict timetable, devoted by and large to memorising passages of scripture, which are later to be utilised in gaining more recruits (169). There is no privacy in the colony; even the toilet doors are removed. Conformity in hair style and dress is in evidence, but is only a sign of the greater conformity to the discipline of the leader (170). Hostility to the outside world is reinforced by barbed wire fencing surrounding the colony and the notices pinned to the main doors (171). Marriages are arranged with the objective of internal recruitment of more Children (172). Work is divided according to the specialisation, conceived as pertaining to the twelve tribes of Israel (eg. members of Simeon prepare food, Benjamins teach, etc. (173))

The beliefs of the Children of God are simple: they are the elect as foretold by the one inspired text of the bible (the King James version (174)). However, in their simplicity, their beliefs can also be described as being simpliste. Passages of the bible are learnt by heart, usually out of context, and given a fundamentalist interpretation (175). The bible (their only source of reading material), according to the Children, spells disaster for the corrupt world unless it repents (176). To this end they organise 'vigils', which are staged shows of repentance in public places, where the Children, attired in sackcloth and ashes, attempt to disrupt public meetings by their cries of "Woe." (177) They have no time for any social or cultural interpretation of the bible, as time itself is short. However, such biblical impatience can be interpreted as an a-historical anti-intellectualism (178). For the Children only the communal living of the Acts of the Apostles is historically important; after that one's concern is only for the apocalypse (179). Writers, such as Aquinas and Augustine, have nothing to contribute to their biblical fundamentalism (180). The Church too is looked upon as Anti-Christ and the Great Whore...
of Babylon (181). Some commentators point to a strong Jewish influence in the Children of God, who, after the apocalyptic event of the Six Day War in 1967, saw themselves as the wandering nomads of God's chosen people (182). However, there are also ex-Catholics to be found among the Children, and, for this reason alone, it is worthwhile including this brief description of them in an overall discussion of religious belonging to the Catholic Church (183).

Without going into a description of all types who can be loosely categorised as being members of the Jesus People, one can concentrate on their sense of commitment, and, in particular, the heightened sense of belonging to be found in their communes. For many, permanent communal living is not a recognisable phenomenon. In the 'hip churches', such as the Calvary Chapel (184), the Bethel Tabernacle (co-run by another Catholic, Breck Stevens (185)), and the Sierra Madre Church (186), commitment is viewed more in terms of daily encounters emphasising bible studies and witness. In the wandering ministry of Arthur Blessitt, houses such as 'His Place' were more in the nature of 'crash pads' for junkies (187). The same can be said for the Christian World Liberation Front (188). Others are united on university campuses, and commitment is fostered through publications such as Duane Pederson's Hollywood True Paper (189) or the songs of Larry Norman (190). Marginal groups, such as the J.C. Light and Power House (191), Grace Haven Farm (192), and the Penninsula Bible Church (193), have accommodation of a more transitory nature, usually in dormitories. Yet movements, such as the Jesus People's Army (194) and The Voice of Elijah Inc. (195), have more permanent communes, such as those of Milwaukee (196).

Those groups that do settle in communes vary from a strict existence to a more moderate one. An example of the former is the Alamo Christian Foundation with its Saugus Community (197). Here there is complete segregation of the sexes, money and clothes are pooled, there is strict adherence to a timetable and the commands of the leader (198). In the Koinonia House of Santa Cruz their exclusivity of life is
heightened by an insistence that all who do not belong to them are friends of Satan. For this reason they point to the existence of Satan on Highway 17, and refuse entry to those Christians attending the nearby Mount Hermon Conference Centre (199). More moderate communal living can be found in the Pasadena House (200) and in the Shiloh communes (201). Here members do not have to abandon their past lives, but can retain their past employment for the good of the community. Nevertheless, there is a strict screening procedure and a timetable to be followed (202).

From the above description of the Jesus People, it should be clear that exclusivity is a hallmark of their way of life. While at first members may have been motivated to enter in order to seek a more friendly and intimate system of relationships than that to be found in the organisations of society in general, and the Church in particular, their inevitable mode of existence has become more legalistic and dependent on authority than the one they left behind. True they are free from the consumer society, but one can question whether they are free to anything else (203). Similarly, when the Jesus People turn on to Jesus, isn't this process of switching on similar to the ignition of a car, a passive and mechanical act of dependence? (204) Their further in-group exclusiveness and out-group hatred, as evidenced by their beliefs, customs and behaviour, can lead to a close knit community. In the words of Enroth et al.:

"A tightly knit group can easily lead to a tightly closed mind." (205)

The authors then go on to discuss the future of the closed community mentality of the Jesus People (206). For them only three options are available. The stricter members will themselves become institutionalised and tend to split as their own set of rules becomes hostile to those of other groups:

"The faddish elements of the Jesus People and the excessive emotionalism and inadequate spirituality of many of them may well result in a covy of isolated and bizarre mini-establishments with their own rigidities and inflexibilities." (207)
More moderate members, such as Ted Wise of the Penninsular Church, will try and operate within the structures of the institutional Church, albeit in such specialised apostolates as the cure of drug addiction (208). The final group, such as those once belonging to Arthur Blessitt's ten thousand strong Sunset Strip evangelical crusade, will become burnt out cases; they will dissipate as their initial enthusiasm wears off or the source of charisma dries up or moves away (209).

Such a picture for the future of the Jesus People is not unlike that predicted by Weber in his well known ' routinisation of charisma '. It is one's contention that most of the groups of the Jesus People are ' closed communities ' and as such will suffer the fate of collapse and disintegration, or a more rigorous form of institutionalisation. Had the communities been open, then this sort of prediction would not have been possible.

One has already mentioned that closed communities do exist in the Catholic Church, just as Catholics are to be found in the Jesus Movement. One would predict a similar future for them as those belonging to the Jesus People.

One has noticed that there is a certain number of Catholics associated with the Jesus People, and that this movement itself, when committed to permanent communal living, tends towards closed community. However, a question that has not been considered so far is whether ' The Underground Church's ' communities and communes, to which a far greater number of Catholics belongs, tend to follow the same pattern of institutionalisation or disintegration as the communes of the Jesus People. To this question we now turn.

iv. The Underground Church and its communes

Leech claims that the Underground Church stems from Plowman's analysis of the Jesus People (210), so that some prefer to call it ' The Liberated Church ' or ' The New Left ' (211). Leech describes the Underground Church as:
Basically this is a type of Christianity which is concerned with political liberation, and which sees the good news of the Kingdom of God as the basis for deep political commitment. It is a movement which has been very much influenced by radical theology and which expresses its positions in new liturgical forms. Unlike the Jesus movements its theology tends towards a 'Catholic' position, with a strong eucharistic and sacramental sense. Its politics are socialist and it owes its great strength as a movement very largely to the Vietnam War and the Civil Rights struggle."

For the hallmarks of radical theology one turns to Brown (213). They are listed as follows:

a) a sense of hope
b) a christological humanism based on optimistic discipleship rather than faith
c) a new realism about society, liberating men from society and setting up new counter communities
d) a new eschatological perspective replacing evolution by prophetic witness as the way to get things done
e) a new sectarianism where the more people 'doing their thing' the better.

Milner presents the characteristics of the Underground Church, as follows:

a) a respect for the Jesus of the Gospels as opposed to that of theologians
b) a reaction to the condoning of war
c) a reaction to the acceptance of the status quo
d) a reaction to the apparent lack of deep spirituality (214)

One has spoken already of the tendency towards Christian Humanism and new forms of spirituality based on Eastern mysticism in the Catholic Church. Thus while these may be characteristics or hallmarks of the Underground Church, we would also like to suggest that they can be found elsewhere in the Church, and that moreover such change could be detected in the Catholic Church at least a decade before the emergence of the Underground Church. Thus the hostility shown by members of the Underground Church to other members of the Church must be limited only to those who have not changed in ethical or spiritual perspectives. Similarly the Underground Church's emphasis on the Christ of the Gospels and its highlighting of certain key biblical in-words, such as 'metanoia', 'dunamis' and 'koinonia' (215), is not a new phenomenon in the
Catholic Church; it is at least as old as the Biblical Movement, and contributed to the christocentric orientation in Vatican II belief.

Therefore, for practical purposes, the characteristics of the Underground Church that distinguish it from other membership, not associated with total institutional or familial belonging, are those of reaction to the status quo, emphasis on political involvement, and individualism. We further maintain that it is these three qualities that distinguish members of the Underground Church from those tending towards closed community belonging, such as the Jesus People. Leech lends support to this interpretation when he states:

"The Jesus People and the radical Christians have one word in common: Revolution. But they differ fundamentally in their use of the idea, and the central disagreement is about eschatology. In general the Jesus movement is adventist and otherworldly. The radical Church is concerned with the Kingdom of God as a present reality, in conflict with the powers and values of the present world order. It is this conflict, between two differing interpretations of Christianity, which will form the most important division between Christians of the future." (216)

and again:

"Most of the people in the Underground experienced Christianity as a negative system breeding guilt and fear, denying spontaneity in the name of facile otherworldliness (217) (so that)... The conflict between the otherworldly and a revolutionary view of the Christian Gospel is a basic feature of the contrast between the Jesus movement and the Underground Church." (218)

In other words, suggesting that members of the Underground Church differ from closed community belonging, not because of their insistence on achievement and specificity of purpose, but rather because their appeal is universalistic in outlook, and does not depend on particularism and affectivity. As such we suggest the Underground Church should be placed in the last of our four quadrants, the open network, to be treated in the following sub-section of this chapter. The point that is being made here is that Nuij's action groups and Catholic Left cannot be classed in the same way as his alternative communities or substitutes for the family. One's criterion for closed community belonging must be
based on anti-institutionalism, focused on particularism and affectivity. The above points can be clarified by examining one or two examples of closed community belonging in the Catholic Church, a clarification which we feel can act as a fitting end to this subsection.

v. Examples of closed community belonging

In chapter three (see especially footnote 102), one very briefly spoke of the Isolotto community in Florence, who, together with Don Mazzi, protested against Cardinal Florit's treatment of those who had occupied the Cathedral of Parma, in support of their campaign that the Church should do more for the poor. There one only spoke of the Isolotto case in terms of lay involvement within the Church. Here one would like to suggest that such a movement bears the hallmarks of a closed community.

In the first place, the issue was anti-institutional and specific, centering, as it did, on the treatment of poverty by the Catholic Church. As such it stood on the left hand side of one's model. Theoretically, therefore, the movement could have taken one of two paths. Either it could have opted for a universal appeal by linking up with other interest groups in the Catholic Church combating poverty (for example, C.E.L.A.M., Dom Helder Camara), or else it could go the way of particularism and affectivity. As matters turned out the second alternative was selected. The parishioners cut themselves off from dialogue with Cardinal Florit and barred Mgr. Alba from celebrating Mass in their church. Instead of success being measured in terms of a campaign beneficial for the Third World, the people of Isolotto saw the outcome of the trials in their favour as a personal victory for themselves. In so doing, one is of the opinion that Isolotto became isolated.

A similar case is that of Don Giovanni Battista Franzoni, one time Abbot of the Basilica of St. Paul's 'extra muros' in Rome (219). Soon after his appointment as Abbot in 1964, at the age of 36, he decided to involve lay people and some of his monks in a variety of social issues, extending from conscientious objection to the support of strikes and work for peace in Bangladesh. A community of men, women, youths
and young girls, was formed to combat social problems, which, it was felt, were not being given sufficient attention by the Catholic Church. The unorthodox stance of Don Giovanni brought about a certain amount of dissension within the ranks of his own monastery, and eventually leading Church authorities asked him to resign his post as Abbot. This he did, still advocating his communitarian ideals and taking his body of followers with him. The clash with authorities was heightened when Don Giovanni, now ex-Abbot, began attacking the Church's stance on divorce. After refusing to be silenced by his Benedictine superiors (28 March 1974) or by Italian bishops, such as Bishop Motolese of Taranto (5 April 1974), he was asked once again by his superiors to refrain from public statements on the divorce issue or else be suspended from continuing his priestly duties (22 April 1974). With this last refusal he was suspended. This, however, did not deter his followers, who, instead of following Don Giovanni's Masses, continued to attend a series of nightly prayer services.

Once again the pattern of closed community is discernible. What began as a legitimate, though anti-institutional, Civil Rights issue, turned in on itself through the forces of particularism and affectivity. Franzoni's contribution to the wider pro-divorce lobby was minimal, whereas for him what was of more value was the perpetuation of his community of disciples. While not actually living together in a commune, Franzoni and his followers took on the characteristics of a closed community mentality.

One has cited certain convents as portraying total institution characteristics. One can also find other convents that fit the closed community model. This is particularly evident when the congregation of which the convent is simply a localised unit has an inelastic goal or aim. The same can also apply to certain monastic orders. One would hesitate in applying the term 'coercive' to their respective life-styles and yet somehow they could be shackled to the demands of charismatic
leadership. For example, in Britain, one can think of many religious orders and congregations that are dedicated to private education, and indeed some of the independent and public schools they staff produce pupils of high academic standard (220). Associated with their success is often a dynamic superior or headmaster who would merit the description of being charismatic. Yet when a change in educational policy occurs, such as the establishment of comprehensive schools, the above mentioned religious congregations are either loathe to, or incapable of, carrying out necessary adaptation. The charisma of their founder has become ossified in their constitutions, or else the continuing charisma of their present superior often presents a severe obstacle to transformation or change. As David Martin puts it, they have become 'charter bound.' A further point he makes, which is more debatable, is that it is possible to predict their inability to change from their very constitutions (221). One feels that this is taking Weber's routinisation of charisma a bit too far. Nevertheless one can agree that where a closed mentality is in evidence, due to fixation with goals, then adaptation and renewal becomes extremely difficult. One would like to suggest that such congregations displaying a closed mentality have three options. Either they can turn in on themselves and continue an outdated policy (closed community belonging), or else they can merge with another congregation following more elastic goals (tendency towards open network), or else they simply die out, as in the case of the burnt out Jesus People.

Finally, one should be quite clear about distinguishing between the total institution mentality and the closed community, even though they may appear to resemble each other. At first sight it may seem that there is the same heavy-handed authoritarianism dominating their total existence and that there is no difference between the concentration camp and the commune. If one concentrates on the Parsonian variables defining each type of belonging, the differences become clearer. The closed community is left wing in outlook; it starts from specific issues and attempts to achieve them through the driving force of charismatic
leadership. The total institution mentality, on the other hand, is on the right of one's model and is based on bureaucratic or traditional authority which does not emerge, but is ascribed for the purpose of maintaining the status quo. The difference between the two groups is thus one of intention. The closed community starts out with the idea of challenging the system and of reforming it, but ends up by not being able to perform the task. The total institution mentality views change as an enemy and becomes fossilised through its lack of rapport with its members, as persons. Its global solutions are therefore incapable of solving individual problems because the only solutions it provides are deduced 'a priori' from 'self evident' principles. The closed community genuinely seeks the warm and intimate relationships of affectivity that can be found in the family, while often being reduced to an authoritarian leadership. The total institution mentality seeks no such affective ties, as it sees in them the danger of democracy and equality, to be found in the companionship model of the family. A system based on the passive acceptance of commands cannot tolerate the insubordination of individualism; commitment must be total and universal.

The examples given illustrate the differences between the two types of belonging. There is a world of difference between Don Mazzi's parishioners or Abbot Franzoni's disciples and married couples awaiting a decision of nullity from the Sacred Roman Rota. The end product may be the same. Both groups may quit the Church or 'lapse' from it, but they do so for completely different reasons. On the other hand, both groups may continue to call themselves 'Catholics', while remaining hostile to each other and out of communion with members more closely associated with family or open network belonging. One could also say that the total institution has no place for prophecy while the closed community thrives on it. In both cases the outcome is the same – the prophet is forced out, either by opting out or else by turning into a non-prophetic authoritarian figure. However, that is a point that must reserve for more detailed analysis when we come to discussion on motivation.
Now we must turn our attention to the last of our four types of religious belonging — the open network.

d) The Open Network

Quadrant 4 of one's pluriform model of religious belonging is encompassed by the coordinates of ACHIEVEMENT (specificity) / UNIVERSALISM (neutrality). As such it shares the left wing, anti-institutional orientation of the closed community. However, it differs fundamentally from the closed community in that instead of becoming locality bound or affectively tied to charismatic authority, thereby preparing the ground for institutionalisation or disintegration, the open network is open precisely because it can transcend the dimension of space, by concentrating more on conviction and interest. It is claimed that the sociological thinking behind the notion of social networks can be found in Park, Mills and Dewey. Park, for instance, writing in 1915 stated:

"For sociological purposes, however, we can define the city not by the number of inhabitants, nor by any given set of ecological, geographic, or economic factors; but as a way of living, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organised attitudes and sentiments that adhere to these customs and are transmitted with these traditions." (222)

Others prefer to view the sociological tradition focussing on social networks as a phenomenon of the last two decades. Writers such as Barnes, Bott, Webber, Warren, Beteille, Mc Luhan, Dennis, Richmond, Mitchell and Pahl, are cited in various ways as contributing to the conceptual evolution of social networks (223). To this list one should like to add the names of Burns & Stalker, Hillery, Winter, White and Scherer. One shall further attempt a lightning presentation of this expanded sociological tradition, dwelling a little longer on those writers whose names have supplied. If any one of the above authorities can be said to concur with one's own ideas of social networks, a predilection for the approach shown by Scherer must needs be admitted. In this way her work can act as a paradigm for evaluating the contributions of others.
The sociological analysis will then be extended to apply to social networks within the Catholic Church, and examples will be given and discussed.

The sociological tradition of open network

In 1954 Barnes wrote a paper on Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish, in which he introduced the concept of social network as follows:

"The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups, and the lines indicate which people interact with each other." (224)

This rather sociometric image was made slightly more specific by Bott three years later when dealing with the immediate social environment of families. She considered it:

"... not as the local area in which they live, but rather as the network of social relationships they maintain, regardless of whether these are confined to the local area or run beyond its boundaries." (225)

Here the notion of geographical locality or territory has been withdrawn from more traditional analyses of the family, such as those based upon the works of Durkheim and Tönnies. One feels that Bott's statement has some application to the social relationships to be found in neighbourhood studies, where one can no longer assume that groups of people living adjacent or near to others will automatically be sharing communal ties with them.

However, Webber goes more than one stage further than Bott when he talks of 'community without propinquity'. Although he rather overstates his case when he speaks of people 'flooding into the middle class', thereby giving them wider access to more information and ideas, he does seem to have a point when he argues that:

"... the community to which we 'belong' is no longer the community of place...but an interest community which within a freely communicating society need not be specially concentrated, for we are increasingly able to interact with each other wherever we may be located." (226)

Although Bell and Newby are justified in criticising Webber for asserting
that more and more people are enjoying networks of social relationships not bounded by locality, in that he has not quantified or qualified his remarks by empirical investigation, we feel that they themselves tend to exaggerate in the opposite direction when they say:

"...community studies... have in fact shown the community without propinquity to be a myth, more related to certain ideas about the good life than to actual empirical description." (227)

Indeed Bell and Newby appear to have missed the point that Webber is making when they argue:

"Most people do not move most of the time. Urbaness or urbaneness may well be, as Webber argues, cultural rather than territorial, but where do people live? Where do they send their children to school? Do none of them belong to PTA's and other voluntary associations? Do none of them speak to their neighbours? It is likely that even the most dedicated bachelor professional has some extra-work relationships. There is no study which has demonstrated that nobody has any local relationships." (228)

Surely Webber is not denying that many sociological problems can be studied in locality; he is rather agreeing with Bell and Newby that:

"not all sociological problems can be studied in a locality," (229) and emphasising those social relationships which are not bound by limits of territory. A further point that we feel needs making is that Webber's 'belonging' to an interest community may well indicate a deeper sense of commitment than Bell and Newby's affiliation to a PTA or neighbourhood. Empirical justification for a comparison of the two types of commitment, one feel's, can be sought by a consideration of a so far unintroduced variable, namely that of motivation, a variable about which we shall later have a certain amount to say.

Warren attempts to avoid the clash between local and non-local communities by introducing the notion of vertical and horizontal relationships. Speaking of America, Warren calls the national dimensions of the local social system vertical relationships, and the locally based intertwining of lives - horizontal relationships. In more rigorous terms, Warren defines a community's vertical pattern as:

"the structural and functional relation of its various social units and sub-systems to extra community systems." (230)
while the horizontal pattern is:

"the structural and functional relation of its various social units and sub-systems to each other." (231)

Warren argues that the locally based intertwining of lives provides an important social reality and area of study, but that a 'great change' has come over the American community, involving the increasing orientation of the local community units towards extra-community systems. In other words, the 'great change' involves the increasing vertical orientation of local communities. He then gives as reasons for such change: the division of labour, differentiation of interests and associations, increasing systematic relationships to a larger society, bureaucratization and impersonalization, transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government, urbanization and suburbanization, and finally, changing values. Within the locality one will find those individuals who are more strongly oriented vertically, whom Merton calls 'cosmopolitans' and Stacey 'non-traditionalists', and those who are more strongly oriented horizontally, analogous to Merton's 'locals' and Stacey's 'traditionalists' (232).

Thus one feels that Warren, by examining the horizontal and vertical lines of networks, has taken one beyond the 'either/or' debate considered solely in vertical or horizontal terms. For Warren, networks include both, only the change towards greater vertical association allows one to transcend the study of purely horizontal relationships. In one's own terms, we would say that Warren's structural perspective has been opened out to include the Parsonian quality of universalism.

Beteille's analysis of political belonging in India is reminiscent of Redfield's development from the familial belonging of the tribal village of Tusik to the more secular belonging of the city of Merida and the folk-urban continuum underlying the process of change. One notes the similarity to Redfield in Beteille's statement that:
"The most important feature of the new political order is the emergence of networks of interpersonal relations which ramify in every direction. The creation of new political opportunities and new bases of power has provided congenial conditions for the development of elaborate networks of patronage. Such networks serve to link the village with the territorial units of increasingly wider scope, and they also provide interlinkages between caste, class panchayat and political party." (233)

Here one has transcended Banfield's 'amoral familism' with:

"the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good or indeed for any end transcending the immediate material interest of the nuclear family," (234)

and sociologists are no longer forced to describe dependence of the 'contadini' on the 'padrone' through a system of 'raccomandazione' (235). If the open network can be applied to extra territorial commitment of villagers, then one feels that it is to be even more readily found in other social institutions, including the religious.

Mc Luhan emphasises the above point when he speaks of our living in global villages, and:

"now that the message can travel faster than the messenger, face-to-face communities are unnecessary." (236)

Mc Luhan's colourful imagery is reflected in Richmond's expansion of the folk-urban continuum to include post-industrial society. Richmond sees the social networks of the post-industrial community as social systems in which the characteristic forms of social interaction take place through networks of communication maintained by means of telephone, teleprinter, television, high speed aircraft and spacecraft. Such relationships are not dependent on a territorial base or face-to-face contact, nor do they involve participation in formal organisation, as Marcuse would have us believe (237). Behaviour is governed by a constant feedback from highly efficient information storage and retrieval processes based on diffuse networks of interdependent communications systems (238). It is perhaps such a system of communications, going beyond the 'community', that causes Dennis et al. to conclude that the Yorkshire miners' strike of May 1955 can only be explained;
"at a series of higher levels of social interaction than that of the community." (239)

Thus the above writers, while not denying the existence of local systems of interaction, force one to examine the possibility of what Pahl has termed 'non-place communities' (240), even when they colour their descriptions with such Tönnian conceptualisation of social change as 'from community to network' (241). Even Bell and Newby admit that:

"social networks is a powerful analytical tool," (242) with the proviso that it is treated in a scientific fashion, such as that employed recently by Mitchell (243) and White (244).

The previous discussion has highlighted the debate between those who emphasise propinquity as a necessary hallmark of community and those who do not consider it essential for communal relationships. As locality appears to be the distinction between particularism and universalism in one's model of religious belonging, and acts as a criterion for separating closed community from open network, we feel a more complete understanding of both points of view is necessary for the further development of our argument. Hillery and Winter have been selected as advocates of the condition of space when discussing community. They will be contrasted with the views of Burns & Stalker and of Scherer.

i. G. A. Hillery

The merit of Hillery's work is that it sets out to discover inductively the nature of community. We have already noted the 'a priori and deductive approach of Nisbet's sociological tradition and the ideological orientation of those who wished to use the unit idea of community to combat the concepts of individualism and rationalism, by substituting them with a notion of order. The result was what termed 'the closed community'. However, others have started with preconceived notions of what community should be, causing Hillery to remark:

"The range of things that are called 'community' is so broad that 'community' can mean practically anything. Perhaps in consequence, no satisfactory method for deciding what is not
"Community has been developed. There are no criteria for choosing among the bewildering variety of available theories. Even attempts to resolve the problem by 'fiat' leaves one with the disquieting fact that for whatever theory is chosen there is an opposing one." (245)

In order to reinforce the above point, Hillery examines the range of things that are called 'community', and comes to the following conclusion:

"The sociologist has added to the plethora of meanings perhaps because he sees so many complexities in the object itself. Sociologists have employed no less than sixteen concepts in formulating ninety-four definitions. And no two authors use all sixteen concepts. For example, some writers say that community is a social group inhabiting some territory; others say that community is not social. Some say that communities are self-sufficient; others deny it. At least four concepts emphasise having things in common, but at least two concepts stress interdependence." (246)

In order to avoid the confusion caused by the 'a priori' deductive approach of earlier sociologists, Hillery proceeds to employ an inductive method to build up a model of community. For this he has to consider communities as objects that are discernible by the senses, for example - buildings, villages and cities. By a process of abstraction he then selects five qualities that are common to communities as objects. These five qualities are interaction, space, activities, sentiment and norms. What can be observed under the term 'interaction' are personal contact and social processes. Space includes spatial integration, spatial patterning and boundaries. Activities embrace a base of operations, mobility and continuance. Sentiment encompasses ethnocentrism, awareness and homogeneity. Norms cover the wide areas of the family, economics, religion, mutual aid, government, stratification, socialisation and recreation.

The next stage in Hillery's inductive process is the regrouping of his abstracted qualities in a simpler form and then laying claim to a model. This he does by constructing the model of the 'vill', which he defines as:
"a localised system integrated by means of families and cooperation." (247)

His three simpler regrouped inductive qualities are then identified as the local system, family and cooperation.

However, if Hillery's inductive model is to have any applicability then it should apply across the board to all types of 'community'. After all this is what Hillery criticises in Maine, Tönnies, Durkheim, Becker and Weber: the fact that they have not included all three dimensions in their concepts of community, thereby making them incomplete and inapplicable. The model of the 'vill', though, takes in the folk village and the city by placing them on a continuum, where differences are only of degree (248), and can be extended further to include cultural variation in different parts of the world (249). Moreover, it is claimed, the 'vill' can be easily distinguished from non-communal objects by virtue of its three primary characteristics (the criteria for saying what is not community). For instance, the vill should not be identified with the total institution, as in the latter case the spatial and cooperative dimensions have been broken by division between staff and inmates, and there is no room for the family in the total institution (250). Similarly, the insistence on goals in the formal organisation is not to be found in the vill.

One final aspect of the vill is that it can explain social change. Underlying and underpinning the vill is the continuum of folk village and city, similar to Redfield's folk-urban continuum (251). This means that the vill can include, and is subject to, variations. As Hillery states:

"The folk village is a relatively homogeneous grouping in space of individuals with their families engaged in contracts. The model of the vill, however, must include all of these variations." (252)

Hillery's model is thus not a static one. Further, there is an important difference between his continuum model and that of Redfield. For the latter, change is explained as a process of moving from folk to urban. For Hillery though, change can operate in the reverse
direction as well. He writes:

"Most of the change we have witnessed has been in fact from folk to urban systems – but cannot the reverse also occur?" (253)

However, while Hillery is to be complimented in his intended use of an inductive method, he does not appear to have practised what he had been preaching, and thereby falls into the same trap that he sets for his adversaries. His five qualities of communities as objects are suddenly reduced to the local system, family and cooperation, for no apparent rhyme or reason. Sentiment and norms, which would have been useful for encompassing open networks, are banished from the construction of the village, which only relies on interaction, space and activities. Moreover, by insisting on the spatial element, at the expense of other forms of interaction, (also objective and observable from a sociological point of view), Hillery has taken us no further than Durkheim or Tonnies, and becomes identified with the sociologically conservative stance of Bell and Newby. Seen in this light, community does become the sociologist's poor substitute for the novel (254). It insists on describing time and time again the movement from the tribal family to the modern city, apparently completely oblivious of how people are linked by the media of the press, radio, television, or any other system of technological linkage devised in the past fifty years. Community is defined in such a way that any study that oversteps the bounds of this definition is not recognised as a community study. Such blinkered uniformity is similar to that we encountered in the fixation with the Church as an organisation. An idea of community permanently identified with space and territory can be of little help when applied to religious belonging, as it takes one no further than the confines of the parish.

Moreover, Hillery's so-called 'inductive' method poses certain methodological problems. First, there must be some subjective value commitment in the selection of what one is to observe, however objective the reality. Second, in the process of abstraction, one has
already defined in advance common concepts; otherwise the abstraction process would continue 'ad infinitum'. Third, there is the serious problem of how many inductive cases are required for a generalisation? Finally, in formulating hypotheses and theories, one is employing pure types that are not to be found in reality, either in physical or sociological laws. In other words, what began as an inductive-objective method, through its very process of abstraction stands the risk of finding no actual communities to fit its model.

For these reasons it is not obvious why the model of the 'vill' should be adopted. One can think of cases outside the folk-urban continuum that deserve the title 'community', and yet are prevented from meriting it due to an omission of one of Hillery's three dimensions of space, family or cooperation. Religious communities, for example, do not match with Hillery's spatial dimension, when they are considered as part of an international congregation; the voluntary commitment of their celibate personnel makes the extension of the family analogy to them rather difficult too, as Fichter has argued; finally, pluriformity of goals, an elastic set of constitutions and the existence of conflict, is not readily encompassed by the quality of cooperation. Thus for Hillery such communities are not vills, nor can they be described as communities. One therefore feels that the application of Hillery's will to religious belonging in the Catholic Church must be severely limited. In terms of one's model, Hillery is only describing the top half - the quadrants of family and closed community belonging. The Parsonian variable of universalism prevents the application of Hillery's model any further.

ii. M. Winter

Unlike Hillery, Michael Winter is not a sociologist but a theologian. Moreover he lays no claim to the use of an inductive method. For Winter, the Catholic Church faces itsx severest problems at the local level, the most fundamental being that of Mission or
Maintenance? (255) In other words, what are the structures at the local level of the Church that need to be maintained or adapted to foster a degree of religious belonging?

Winter answers this question in terms of community. Here three factors are identified as shaping the community to which the Catholic belongs:

/ the community should be pastorally effective in socio-religious terms
/ the community should reflect the ideals of the Gospel
/ the community should reflect the freedom of the act of faith.

Winter's first factor is sociological (256). He wishes to find an ideal type of grouping that can integrate Catholics with divergent social characteristics, while avoiding the mentality of the Catholic ghetto. He suggests that traditional Church structures of parishes and dioceses are not viable sociologically to give Catholics a sense of commitment, and that they should be replaced by groups of 25 to 30 persons matched for age, sex, occupation, interests, level of instruction, etc. He appeals to sociologists for the necessary information for forming these small groups.

His second factor is theological, further specifying that the local community should be a focal point for worship, charity, witness and the apostolate (257). As regards worship, Winter argues, it is still clear that the Eucharist will remain the focal spiritual point for groups of Catholics. Vatican II has further emphasised the need for active participation in the Mass. Yet, he continues, it is difficult to see how members of the Church can benefit spiritually from passive spectatorship in overcrowded churches, a characteristic of maintenance structures. With a group of 25 to 30, though, one could engender that same sense of belonging as experienced in the 'Missa Domestica' of the primitive Church. As far as effective charity is concerned, Winter claims that needs are more quickly realised in communities of 25 to 30 active participants, the number of persons with whom one can form significant Christian relationships. In this way, areas not touched
by the Welfare State can be realised in a less formal way. Charity and not charities would then be the order of the day. Witness stems from a sense of belonging and commitment. Such witness is more viable with small numbers and also without the ghetto mentality enforced by the formal system of Catholic education. The apostolate, based on service, can be more effective at the level of the small community, formed not on lay/ clerical distinctions, but on groups of people sharing common interests and goals.

Winter's third factor is also theological: the freedom of the act of faith (258). According to Winter, the system of maintenance emphasises formal socialisation, beginning with infant baptism and continuing through the Catholic education system to Catholic marriages. They, in turn, succeed in producing more Catholic children within a bureaucratic framework of hierarchical decision, thereby only reinforcing the ghetto mentality, and opposing the freedom of the act of faith. The freedom of such an act of faith can only come by restructuring the maintenance socialisation structures of the Church, and by reshaping them along the lines suggested, groups of 20 to 30 Catholics sharing common goals and interests.

It is fairly clear that Winter is concerned with the search for a structure for religious belonging at the local level of the Church, that is based on the demands and pastoral needs of the twentieth century. His centralisation of the community's goals on the Gospel suggests a not specific approach, based on achievement and ascription, yet not so ideological or affective as the closed community of Nisbet and others. Secondly, he avoids the nostalgia for the primitive Christian communities, which tends to be identifiable with family belonging, without Winter's first theological factor of witness and service. Finally, his emphasis on freedom, militates against the imposition of organisational or total institutional belonging. Winter's abhorrence of the maintenance structure of the Catholic Church ghetto makes this latter interpretation likely. Thus one feels that Winter is seeking some form of communal
belonging at the local level, one that can be incorporated in what we have termed 'open network' belonging. Thus far one cannot quarrel with Winter.

However, one wonders why he is so obsessed with the word 'community'. Butterworth and Jeir point out that for many:

"community tends to become a God word. In many circumstances when it is mentioned, we are expected to abase ourselves before it." (259) Is Winter just one of those many? Without any definition of community from Winter, it would appear too that a certain element of locality is inherent in it. The grouping together of 20 to 30 people in the context of local church structures is seen as an alternative to the parish and the diocese. He doesn't envisage, for instance, a community of conviction that could unite believers scattered in different parts of the world. It is this underlying spatial dimension of community that seems to establish Winter as the theological counterpart to Hillery.

One is also entitled to question the size of Winter's communities. No criterion, other than a suitable number for forming satisfactory Christian relationships, has been employed for establishing a membership of 20 to 30 persons, and no empirical test has been devised to test the feasibility of this figure. It is simply asserted that communities of this size will be pastorally more viable than other maintenance structures. However, in the absence of testable or tested hypotheses, one cannot assume that Winter's calculations are entirely accurate. For this reason, while one can sympathise with the theological arguments adduced, and Winter's inherent tendency towards open network belonging, one feels that his analysis has the limitation of calling open network relationships necessarily communal, and is also hampered by further limitations of space and size. In other words, Winter's treatment is not sufficiently radical to accurately place his desired type of religious belonging within the coordinates of ACHIEVEMENT (specificity) / UNIVERSALISM (neutrality). Perhaps after all this inclusion of Winter strengthens one's case for greater cooperation between theologians and sociologists.
iii. Burns & Stalker

The main reason for introducing these two sociologists in a discussion on open network belonging is that they appear to highlight the blending of the forces of authority (leadership) and responsibility (membership) in the elastic system of open networks.

One noted, in an earlier consideration of the total institution mentality, that the goals of the system, affecting the total life patterns of behaviour of membership, were rigorously enforced by a hierarchical authority, intent on preserving the status quo. The inelasticity of the goals were thus resistant to change, as members existed for the goals, rather than vice-versa (as in the open network system of belonging). The same ascriptive quality of authority based on status was also discernible in family belonging, only this time a human relations approach was more in evidence. The goals were more particularist and somehow more sacred and the pattern of communication more horizontal than vertical, as evidenced by the variable of particularism. The closed community, on the other hand, was subject to charismatic authority, and as such stood the risk of becoming institutionalised, with its ideological insistence on the following of specific goals, opposed to the more universal interests of the Church as a whole. When one comes to the open network, one observes that it only stands the risk of turning in on itself and becoming closed if its goals become so specific and ideological that conviction is limited only to the members of that particular group. This tendency is reinforced if the spatial dimension is included, forcing the network into the horizontal relationships of a local community.

Burns and Stalker's systemic or organic theory permits one to see just how the network remains open, or, in terminology, how its specific goals are conditioned by the quality of universalism. The organic theory considers the overall purposes of a given group and the need to constantly adapt to environmental conditions. These conditions shape the system, rather than vice-versa, as in quadrant one of model.
Under organic theory, the leader interprets changing environmental conditions to the other members so that they can see both the need for adapting their purpose and the consequences of such adaptation. In the words of Burns and Stalker:

"The organic form is appropriate to changing conditions, which give rise constantly to fresh problems and unforeseen requirements for action which cannot be broken down or distributed automatically from functional roles defined within a hierarchic structure. It is characterised by:

a) the contributive nature of special knowledge and experience to the common task of the concern;

b) the 'realistic' nature of the individual task, which is seen as set by the total situation of the concern;

c) the adjustment and continual redefinition of individual tasks through interaction with others;

d) the shedding of 'responsibility' as a limited field of rights, obligations and methods (problems may not be posted upwards, downwards or sideways as being someone else's responsibility);

e) the spread of commitment to the concern beyond any technical definition;

f) a network structure of control, authority and communication; the sanctions which apply to the individual's conduct in his working role derive more from presumed community of interest with the rest of the working organisation in the survival and growth of the firm, and less from a contractual relationship between himself and a non-personal corporation, represented for him by an immediate superior;

g) omniscience no longer imputed to the head of the concern; knowledge about the technical or commercial nature of the here and now task may be located anywhere in the network; this location becoming the ad hoc centre of control, authority and communication;

h) a lateral rather than a vertical direction of communication through the organisation, communication between people of different rank, also, resembling consultation rather than command;

i) a content of communication which consists of information and advice rather than instructions and decisions;

j) commitment to the concern's tasks and to the 'technological ethos' of material progress and expansion is more highly valued than loyalty and obedience;

k) importance and prestige attach to affiliations and expertise valid in the industrial and technical and commercial milieux external to the firm." (260)
Although Burns and Stalker's model is directly related to management theory, one feels that there is a distinct analogy between their sphere of concern and belonging to the Catholic Church, as an organic system. One's extension of Burns and Stalker to the Church is shared by Ridge, who, in addition to being a theologian, has also received training in Commerce and Public Administration. The aptness of the application of organic theory to our open network belonging is perhaps best elucidated by means of an example taken from one's model. We have already referred to the Conference of Latin American Bishops (C.E.L.A.M.), and the work of one of its leading members, Dom Helder Camara. We maintain that such a body is well described by open network belonging, and fits the above points (a) to (k) made by Burns and Stalker. First, C.E.L.A.M. exists for the spiritual welfare of Catholics in Latin America, and as such emphasises particular issues of importance for its faithful, for example, justice and peace, both in the Medellin Statement and in the Roman Synod of 1972. However, its overall fight against the exploitation of the oppressed is heightened by the specific attacks against the abuses of Capitalism, as made by Dom Helder Camara, the most recent of which was launched in the September Synod of 1974. Second, the writings and discourses of Dom Helder, although treating of specific problems, can be seen as part of the wider crusade of C.E.L.A.M. for justice and peace in Latin America, and contribute to the changing social ethics of the Catholic Church as a whole. His efforts both change and are changed in form and content by feedback at local, national and international, levels. Third, responsibility of the members of C.E.L.A.M. is taken individually and collectively according to the dictates of conscience; they do not wait for a chain of commands from the Pope or Vatican. If anything they contribute to the formulation of social encyclicals such as Populorum Progressio (261). C.E.L.A.M. thus acts out of common interest and concern for the oppressed, not only within its own territorial boundaries, but also speaks for those in other lands. Fourth, their
teaching on justice and peace is transmitted horizontally at their own local level and vertically to other members of the Church, aided by the media. Fifth, the centre of the network on questions of justice and peace is not a department of the Roman Curia, but rather an interlocking of lines stemming from various 'comunidades de base' in North East Brazil and elsewhere in the Latin American continent. Sixth, the Christo-humanistic teaching of C.E.L.A.M. derives from grass root situations and in turn is fed back to them, being constantly adapted to meet the needs of changing economic and political situations. Intermediary ad hoc centres within the network, such as S.U.D.E.N.E. (262), act as clearing houses for constant exchange of ideas. Seventh, the acceptance of the ideas does not follow the pattern of receiving defined articles of faith, nor is it based on contractual membership to the Church through baptism; rather it is a shared humanitarian cause based on conviction of interest. Finally, the influence of C.E.L.A.M. and the members it serves is not exclusive in outlook. Its cross-cultural adaptation, through other ad hoc centres in the same basic network, can make its message adaptable to other areas of mission to the oppressed. Thus, with the necessary adaptation, Catholics in Iron Curtain countries can benefit from the same shared commitment towards the universal goal of human development and peace. Thus, for instance, the same cause can be taken up by groups such as Pax Christi in Poland (263); all that has changed within the network is the ad hoc centre of communication and the adaptive change to a differing environment.

It would be naive to assume that bodies such as C.E.L.A.M., S.U.D.E.N.E and Pax Christi, are without structure, or that such a situation is desired. The sociological impossibility of structureless groups thus calls for a model that aptly describes the patterns of leadership, control and communication of outwardly directed interest groups in the Catholic Church. One has called this form of belonging to the Catholic Church 'open network belonging', and feel that the organic theory
of Burns and Stalker has much to recommend it in placing such a model on a sociological footing.

iv. J. Scherer

Scherer begins with the notion of community, and by asking the question: sociological illusion or reality? is led to developing the idea of social networks. She begins with the premiss that:

"regardless of empirical factors, if a man believes he is part of a community and belongs (i.e. is accepted by other members), he does," (264)

with the added proviso that man's belonging, and indeed the community itself, is inauthentic if he is asked to participate and yet has no voice (265).

In other words, Scherer first of all dismisses the condition of space or place for community. She argues that today patterns of mobility are changing not only physically but also psychologically. These physical patterns change with the variables of class, wealth, education, life style, etc., just as psychological mobility is seen in man's variety of interests and his choice of alternative communities. For instance, it is possible for a slum dweller to identify more with astronauts on the moon when he views them on his second hand television, than to relate psychologically to his next door neighbour (266). As Scherer puts it:

"It can be argued that the basis of community is gradually becoming a voluntary act of commitment and the selection among alternatives." (267)

It is advocated also that one should look at systems of relationships from the inside first. Identity problems, it is suggested, are brought about by looking at community from the outside (268). The implication for the traditional concept of space is that now one should be examining the use of the community word 'we' in terms of goals and commitment, rather than the fact of living within the same walls. (269) Thus one can talk about communities of the oppressed, communities of the poor, etc., which, although spreading over several thousand
square miles, still can feel united in their situation. Scherer would describe such communities as being communities of conviction. An example of such a community would be the student body, sometimes referred to as the student community. Student solidarity can stretch from Berkeley to Berlin without any diminution of shared interests and goals, while transcending the limits of confined campus space (270). Scherer adds that the mass media plays an important role in the rooting and sharing of convictions that extend over vast areas (271).

The transcendence of space by community (later described as networks), avoids the identification of the village, neighbourhood or city, with a concept of community (272). It also prevents one equating communal relationships with mechanistic, folk or Gemeinschaftlich, types of social relationships (273). In other words, while community can produce these latter relationships, it should not be seen as an effect of quality produced by them. A corollary of this statement is that community is not to be thought of as the creation of outsiders, such as architects and church planners. Rather, individuals or groups of individuals, sharing the same interests and goals, create communal relationships, and it is then for social designers to follow, rather than dictate, these trends (274).

Scherer stresses a great deal the emotive needs of the individual. She accepts that modern man is alienated, and concludes that he seeks communal, rather than individual, solutions to his problems (276). It does not follow from this that all people are alienated or suffering from 'anomie'. There are many satisfied people in modern organisations. However, the reason why this latter group is content is that it has overcome its alienation by psychological interaction with others (278). The accent, though, is not on organisations producing satisfaction in their members, but on groups of individuals deriving their satisfaction from organisations.

A further point in Scherer's argument is the impermanence of communal relationships. Admittedly one can find cases where communal
relationships are so all embracing of an individual's needs that they last for life (279). This is the case in some religious groupings, permitting Bonhoeffer to define a Christian community as:

"a brief single encounter or daily fellowship that lasts for years."

But such relationships are the exception rather than the rule. True, man is not alone and that he forms communal relationships, but Scherer points out that these relationships are not permanent, particularly when considered as part of a changing society (280). Thus she does not see the value of studying traditional areas of community (family, village and neighbourhood), as these themselves are subject to evolution and structural change. Instead, Scherer suggests, one should explore a typology of impermanent social relationships. She lists four such relationships as:

a) social networks
b) synthetic relationships
c) hybrids
d) intense relationships (281).

Social networks have been described already as stemming from the needs and interests of individuals or groups of individuals, whereby they become united with others through conviction for a short time, or more permanently, while transcending the dimension of space. Synthetic relationships, on the other hand, are based on place and culture. Aims and goals are necessary and planned. Hybrids are institutions, or organisations that adopt communal characteristics, provided they are not seen as bearing the hallmarks of a bureaucracy. Finally, intense relationships are those which are lived out in a concrete fashion in a given place and time, where free time, mobility and interests, are sacrificed for the good of the whole, as instanced by the commune.

We have observed already that Scherer's sympathies lie with social networks. This interpretation is reinforced by Scherer's elimination of the other three types of social relationships. She argues that synthetic relationships, fixed as they are by space and goals, do not reflect an accurate picture of an individual's changing needs in an
unstable society, and tend to view relationships from the outside in. Hybrids are caught between two stools. They do not attain the standards of efficiency required by a modern organisation and often face problems such as that of redundancy. The communal aspect of their relationships is hampered by organisational goals, which are seen as conflicting with those of the individual. Finally, intense relationships tend to oversocialise the individual and detract from his freedom. The balance between individual needs and relationships with others is struck most effectively, therefore, through social networks. These can be called communities provided that they fulfil Scherer's conditions, outlined above. In this sense, Scherer's social networks are not unlike the community of Marx, where:

"Only in community with others has each individual the means of cultivating his gifts in all directions. In the real community the individuals obtain their freedom in and through their associations." (282)

One feels that it is only a short step to identify Scherer's synthetic relationships with the total institution mentality of the organisational Church, her hybrids with family belonging, and her intense relationships with closed community. Similarly, her thought behind social networks has contributed to one's own understanding and description of open network belonging. Above all one is grateful to Scherer for her characteristics of social networks:

a) man's belief that he belongs to a community of conviction
b) the reinforcement of this belief by other members of the group who accept him
c) authenticity of belonging is measured in terms of participation
d) the transcendence of conditions of space
e) the element of choice between groups within the network
f) the voluntariness of the act of commitment
g) the use of the psychological, rather than physical, ' we '
h) their observability from within
i) the creation of their communal characteristics by members, and not outsiders
j) their sharing of common interests and goals
k) their psychological relief in sharing problems
l) their impermanence
m) their lack of formal identification with traditional areas of community studies
n) their emphasis on freedom, while remaining efficient, in the pursuit of goals
o) their distinction from synthetic relationships, hybrids and intense relationships.

One could argue that Scherer has taken us away from the object of community study and closer to Homans’ group. However, Homans’ very definition of a group as:

"a number of persons who communicate with one another often over a space of time and who are few enough so that each person is able to communicate with all the others, not at secondhand through other people, but face to face," (283)

should be sufficient to make one realise that Scherer’s networks are not to be omitted by size, let alone direct first hand contact or face-to-face relationships, requiring a spatial dimension. The impermanence of Scherer’s networks may not allow even Homans’ threefold level of analysis, including description, average behaviour and hypotheses (284), let alone the testing of them, by measuring recurrence of events, custom, interaction and sentiment, by impractical applications of sociometric techniques (285). Even Homans’ hypotheses are questionable when applied to networks. One feels Homans’ hypothesis wherein persons who interact frequently tend to like one another (286), could be turned on its head in the network situation.

The anthropologists’ claim that community is a master institution and key to society, the main link between culture and society (287), again can be brought into question by Scherer’s choice of groups in a cross-cultural network, one that is impermanent and transcending space. What would be beneficial to a systematic study of open networks would be the cross-cultural studies of anthropologists, but these are rare in a discipline that has vested interests in the participant observation of local communities. Instead, it is recommended that anthropologists could collaborate usefully with their sociologist colleagues in providing them with studies of contrary customs.
Finally, as with Burns and Stalker, an example taken from within the Catholic Church can serve to illustrate open network belonging. For instance, if one examines various branches of the Underground Church, it can be seen that what they have in common is an element of protest directed against the unfairness of a society based on Capitalism, and that this protest stems from a radical theology based on the Gospel. The ways that such protest is registered differ, and it is this which gives the Underground Church its pluriformity of belonging. It also helps explain the lack of permanent commitment among many of its interest groups, as members move to a series of alternative causes.

Thus, in a nutshell, the Underground Church can be described as unity in diversity. We shall argue that only a network model of relationships is capable of describing the form of belonging associated with the Underground Church.

Probably the earliest example of Catholic involvement in the Underground Church is the Catholic Worker Group of the 1930's (288). Founded by Peter Maurin in the New York Bowery district, and inspired by men such as Proudhon, Marx, Kropotkin, Belloc, Chesterton, Dawson and Guardini, it became a centre for non-violent disobedience, avoidance of tax payments and voluntary poverty. The group began with a house of hospitality for free food, clothes and short term accommodation for the homeless, and it was this idea that lay behind the inspiration of the Simon Community in England (289). However, the Catholic Worker Group felt that it was not sufficient simply to cater for those rejected by society; one had to get to the root of the problem (radical), and combat the socio-economic ills of society itself, of which abandonment was only a symptom. Thus in their paper we find the following statement of their position:

"We believe in a withdrawal from the capitalist system so far as each one is able to do so. Toward this end we favour the establishment of a Distributist economy wherein those who have a vocation to the land will work on the farms surrounding the village, and those who have other vocations will work in the village itself. In this way we will have a decentralised
At first sight it would appear that the Catholic Worker Group is just another commune or closed community, similar to those encountered among the Jesus People. However, there are some important differences, ones that should be noted here. First, it is more of a movement than a group, which, while localised, particularly in its early stages, is able to transcend the dimension of space by the content of its message. Part of the same movement or network is the Simon Community, which cares for the down-and-outs in London, by working among the meths drinkers to be found on the benches of mainline stations and along the Thames embankment. Thus the Catholic Worker Group and the Simon Community are part of the same network, while remaining a distance of over three thousand miles apart. Second, The Catholic Workers offer a constructive alternative to the deficiencies of the Welfare State. Their protest is anti-institutional and radical, as are the solutions they propose. Members are united through commitment to an alternative society, which in some ways is more efficient than the one they left behind. Third, membership is voluntary and transitory. There is a choice of many ways of following the anti-capitalist ideal, and permanent commitment to any one way is not a characteristic of the Catholic Worker membership. Commitment averages about two years. Fourth, the community they establish is created by themselves and not dictated by outside planners; indeed, the planners are seen as a part of the unacceptable face of society to which the Catholic Workers object. Consequently, to understand the communal relationships of the Catholic Workers, one should look at them from the inside, as the alternative community which they propose is of their own making. Finally, the Catholic Worker movement avoids the particularism and affectivity of the closed community in its universal appeal for a specific yet changeable cause. The tendency towards universalism is achieved through its publications, the placing of its literature, and
through the work it achieves in different groups sharing the same ideal.

For example, the Anglican anti-establishment group known as Church, was derived from the Catholic Worker movement and can be seen as part of it. A year after it began, in 1969, it published its Catonsville Roadrunner, which treated of characteristic underground themes such as love, Jesus, liberation, justice, peace, etc., and attacked the established position of the Jesus People, the Church Commissioners, etc. Church had its own heroes in Dick York, Colin Morris and Paul Oestreicher (and still does), but shares with the Underground the revered names of the Berrigans, Helder Camara and Thomas Merton (293). Since 1972, Church has operated from Manchester, one more city within the network.

The Underground Church does have its communes with specific goals such as the Kingsway Community to deal with drug addiction, the Blackheath Commune for political action, and the Findhorn Trust in Moray for spiritual meditation (294). One of the most recent Catholic communes to be formed is that of Rosemary Haughton (295). However, Underground communes, as Leech suggests, go beyond the hippy culture (with its closed communities), and are characterised by growth, rather than the alternatives of institutionalisation and disintegration, that we noted earlier in the Jesus People. Leech cites the success of Joseph Ledger's Ahimsa communities (296), the Selene Community (297), and various Digger groups (298). He sums up Underground communes as follows:

"From its beginnings the Underground has emphasized the idea of community, and the quest for alternative life styles has been a fundamental feature of its growth." (299)

Keniston adds the comment:

"The appearance of the commune movement, it has been suggested, is one answer to the common accusation that the counter-culture has emphasized liberation, expansion of consciousness and aesthetics, but neglected the creation of new institutions." (300)

The success of communes has led to the creation of a movement within a movement, as Scherer might say:

"to the shifting of the ad hoc centre of the network"
so that one can now talk of the commune movement as:

"strong and growing, as is the literature on making communes." (301)

Indeed, Whitney gives religious communes a life expectancy of fifty years, as opposed to the average one to five years of secular communes. (302)

In addition to Underground communes, there are now many alternative styles of community that can be linked in the same network. The Synanon Commune University stages verbal street fights as part of its therapeutic treatment for drug addiction (303), and from Synanon the therapeutic communities of Phoenix and Philadelphia were initiated (304). The Free Universe Cooperative of Brighton sought to distribute cut price food to the needy, while Community Music stated in its own newsletter that:

"Our only hope in changing our societies is to set up structures that will in theory and in practice create values and relationships based on mutual respect, compassion and love." (305)

Alternative schools have been set up, such as Froebel, Rudolf Steiner, and the Scotland Road Free School. One also encounters groups such as PNP (People not Psychiatry), and RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison), that can be classed as alternative styles of living. One cannot say that many of these groups derive their inspiration from the Underground Church. What one can say, however, is that the Underground Church shares the same or similar views to those seeking radical alternatives to society. As such, these groups can be placed within the same framework of open network belonging, united through conviction and interest.

One has seen that the Underground Church, and groups in sympathy with it, are anti-institutional. As such they fall on the left hand side of one's model. They are distinguished too from the closed mentality of movements such as the Jesus People, and avoid classification into closed community belonging. The only category capable of describing the belonging of the Underground Church, therefore, is open network belonging,
characterised by the variables of ACHIEVEMENT (specificity) / UNIVERSALISM (neutrality). For the actual spelling out of these variables in operational terms we are grateful to Scherer, as also for her elucidation of the concept: open network belonging.
A causal explanation of the pluriform model is sought in terms of motivation and (dis)satisfaction. The model to be tested takes on the following appearance:

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<th>Inner Motivation</th>
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<th>Closed Community</th>
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<tr>
<td>Outer Motivation</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>Open Network Belonging</td>
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So far our analysis of religious belonging in the Catholic Church has remained at the level of description. We have seen how the Church has changed from an organisational and uniform model of religious belonging to a pluriform model, providing Catholics with a choice between total institutional, familial, closed community and open network, belonging. Further, we have noted that the pluriform model is more suited to encompass the change in the Catholic Church, since Pope John XXIII and Vatican II, in the religious dimensions of faith, practice, ethical consequences of belief and religious experience. However, our pluriform model is only a typology of religious belonging. Typologies do not explain in the accepted sociological sense of the word (1), they do not provide reasons for their existence. Too often the sociologist of religion has been content merely to categorise phenomena into typologies without providing the reason for the typology (2). A further defect in this line of approach is that one is unable to predict from a typology; one cannot form empirical generalisations that are testable. In other words, typologies are limited in their contribution to the development of sociological knowledge, as the hypotheses, where given, are stated only in the terms of the typology itself. There is no outside criterion that provides a causal or conditional connection between the variables employed.

One has argued elsewhere (3) that the sociologist of religion would have more to contribute to sociology as a whole if he asked the
question "why?" more often. Moreover, on the rare occasions that this question is asked, it is not posed a sufficient number of times to provide an explanation of the phenomena being studied. Even if one considers the classicists, such as Weber and Durkheim, for instance, we still do not know fully why Protestants tend to subscribe to a capitalistic ethic, while holding in some cases a theological belief in predestination, nor has sufficient explanation been provided as to why Catholics are less inclined to take their own lives than members of other faiths (4). At a more fundamental level, we are still relatively unenlightened as to why groups of people assemble to perform a set of rites and carry out a system of beliefs and practices?

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, we maintain that it is both anti-intellectual and anti-theological to obstruct sociological inquiry by employing the term 'mystery' in order to prevent the question "why?" being posed. (5) While there remains the fear in the minds of certain Church leaders that sociology is attempting to investigate the supernatural in the same way that it tackles natural institutional behaviour, one feels that such fear is based upon an incorrect understanding of the nature of sociology (6). We maintain that sociology can and should inquire into the nature of religious behaviour, beginning with what is observable and seeking to establish causal connections between phenomena. However, in order to fulfil its task, sociology must ask the question "why?"

Basic to our understanding of the sociological quest for causal explanation lies the notion of 'motivation'. In other words, the sociologist, by asking "why?", is seeking to unearth the motivation underlying attitudes and behaviour patterns. In this interpretation one is of sociology not alone. According to Weber:

"The real empirical sociological investigation begins with the question: 'What motives determine and lead the individual members and participants in this socialistic community to behave in such a way that it continues to exist?' (7)"

Further, motivation is defined by Weber as:
"A complex of subjective meaning which seems to the actor himself or to the observer, an adequate ground for the conduct in question." (8)

Thus, according to Weber, the sociologist should enter the world of meaning in order to understand (verstehen) action. To our way of thinking, to understand implies a notion of causal explanation, and of necessity involves one in a study of motivation. Weber's use of the expression 'subjective meaning', does not imply that the sociologist thereby surrenders his case to the psychologist, as Weber himself is quick to point out, for subjective meaning is observable through its effects, and it is with effects that the sociologist initiates his investigation. However, his research does not begin and end with the observation and categorisation of the effects of subjective meaning. In order to provide an explanation for what he observes, the sociologist attempts a causal explanation of phenomena, and such an explanation or understanding, according to Weber, must be sought in terms of motivation. Whether Weber actually achieved what he set out to do is debatable, but it is his notion of understanding through analysis of motivation that is subscribed to in this research. We maintain that it is possible to determine the predominance of certain motivational characteristics in an individual or group of individuals, and on that basis it is possible to predict a sociological outcome of his or their behaviour.

In the present research we are concerned with religious belonging as an instance of religious behaviour. Central to our study, therefore, lies the hypothesis that from religious motivation one can predict a type of religious belonging. In other words, in order to provide a sociological explanation for types of belonging, we consider it necessary to go outside the typology to introduce an independent variable that is capable of prediction and sociological generalisation. One such variable is motivation.

However, were one to limit sociology to the study of motivation, then one would be concerned solely with the subjective meaning that an individual attaches to his behaviour. Again, according to Weber:
"Sociology treats of social action, which is to say, that it attempts to understand the subjective meaning that an individual attaches to his behaviour once he has taken the behaviour of others into account." (9) (underlining mine)

In other words, sociology is concerned with social relationships as well as subjective meaning. While it is true that types of social relationships depend on the predominance of rationality in an actor's motivation (10), one also feels that relationships are formed on the basis of another intervening and objective factor, that of satisfaction of needs. We hold with Durkheim that no human need can be fully satisfied on the individual level without affecting social relationships. Man's needs condition are are conditioned by social relationships, the social facts of life. Basic human needs, such as the desire for food and affection, introduce relationships with other social actors. Even the amount of sleep taken by the individual affects his relationship with others. The hunter in the most primitive of tribes is surrounded by a system of totem and taboo with regard to the manner and selection of his food. A more sophisticated member of society is pressurised by the 'laws' of supply and demand. One talks of the 'satisfaction' of needs. We maintain that such satisfaction is given by the selection of adequate relationships. Given that the individual cannot by himself satisfy his own needs, he must look elsewhere for them. Now there are some places that just do not supply man's demands. This leaves man in the position of choosing between the various areas and relationships that do supply them. His choice will be restricted by the psycho-social market value of the need commodity. All things being equal, man will satisfy his needs more where he does not have to spend so much individual energy, i.e. where the psycho-social price is lowest. This economic analogy can be extended one stage further. A time usually comes when the source for the satisfaction of man's needs dries up, as the commodity becomes scarce. If that is the case, then he will have to look elsewhere for the satisfaction of his needs. Such movement from one relationship to another is based on the elementary notion of
satisfaction. One should remember also that movement in space and
time is defined as 'change' by Aristotle. When it occurs in a social
institution catering for human needs, we can call it 'social change'.
There is therefore a direct link between satisfaction and change.
Moreover, this link is evidenced in the formation of new relationships
to satisfy human needs. If the human needs themselves change, then,
'a fortiori', so will the social relationships.

If we return to the model of religious belonging, one can see that
the various types of belonging are also types of social relationship.
As such, therefore, they are dependent on the level of satisfaction of
an individual or individuals. When they fail to satisfy then one can
hypothesise a change in type of religious belonging, as the individual
seeks alternative relationships that satisfy his religious drive. In
the uniform model of religious belonging there were no alternatives to
organisational relationships between members: one was either satisfied
with them and remained within the Church, or one was dissatisfied and
was tempted to opt out. Under a pluriform model of religious belonging,
dissatisfaction does not imply lack of alternatives. Indeed, it is
the force of dissatisfaction, rather than satisfaction, that now can
be seen as the cause for opting for a change of relationships and
a change in type of religious belonging.

Thus change, seen in terms of selection of options in types of
religious belonging, is both dependent on dissatisfaction and motivation.
The connection between motivation and satisfaction can be seen in terms
of the conviction whether satisfaction of personal needs can be
auto-fulfilled or whether they should be fulfilled through others. This
introduces a distinction of types of motivation, to be discussed
presently. At the moment one is establishing the dependence of
(diss)atisfaction on motivation, a dependence which must be seen as
logical rather than natural. However, for the purpose of our analysis,
we hypothesise a causal connection between (dis)satisfaction and
motivation. As change (in types of religious belonging), is dependent
immediately on (dis)satisfaction, its dependence on motivation must therefore be considered indirect, as follows:

MOTIVATION........(DIS)SATISFACTION............CHANGE

Under this schema, change is the only dependent variable and motivation the only solely independent variable. (Dis)satisfaction is both dependent and independent.

However, as it stands, such a model is incomplete. Every social actor is motivated, while conscious, and in such a state possesses various degrees of satisfaction and dissatisfaction relative to other social actors. In order for the causal model to be interpretative of change in types of belonging, one must clarify in greater detail what is intended by motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

A. Religious Motivation

The sphere of motivation is one area where we shall have to rely on the work of psychologists and social psychologists, without indulging in the research underlying their discourse. As an operational definition or description of motivation we follow Kreeh et al., who state:

"An account of the actions of individuals in interpersonal behaviour events involves two different questions of "why." First we ask why individuals choose one action and reject alternative actions. Why does Mr Arbuthnot go to church? Why did his brother refuse a political appointment in order to remain a judge? Why did his son accept a bid to join a fraternity? Why has his cousin chosen to join the Democratic party? Questions such as these have to do with the direction of action. Second, we ask why people persist in a chosen action, often over a long time, and often in the face of difficulties and obstacles. Why does Dr. Albert Schweitzer endure hardship and privation to provide medical care for the people of Lambarene, Gabon, in Africa? Why do men work long hours in the United Nations in an attempt to establish a permanent peace? Why do men risk death to convert others to their religious ways? Questions such as these have to do with the persistence of action. The study of the direction and persistence of action is the study of motivation." (11)

The above description of motivation in general we find useful in that it ties in with what has been said previously on the sociological need to seek causal explanation. The insistence on asking the question
"why?" has also been distinguished further into two elements: direction and persistence, an important distinction, we feel, in a discussion of the influence of motivation on change.

However, in the sociology of religion one is more concerned with religious motivation, as distinct from non-religious and mixed motivation. As we have said elsewhere:

"An example of non-religious motivation would be the person who goes to church simply to listen to the choir or the rendering of an obscure piece of polyphony, rather than participate in the actual liturgy. It has also been observed in certain churches that these are the meeting places for boys to make appointments with their girl friends. In fact, the church provides quite a good cover, especially if sign language is being employed and the other worshippers are intent on the ceremony in progress. Of course they might combine these two—they might also have the intention of attending the ceremony; in which case it will be up to the sociologist to determine which of these two motivations is uppermost in the subject's mind. The mixed motivation is similar to the latent function (which we spoke of in the second of these talks). A person may be praying for some material need, such as sunshine for his crops, or rain to swell his grapes, or for good health. That is his primary motive, and yet at the back of this is a belief in the providence of God and the work of creation...He is addressing himself to some form of supernatural power or someone sacred (the religious aspect and secondary motivation in this case), and so we shall describe this dual form of motivation as being mixed." (12)

Religious motivation, on the other hand, we define as:

that motivation primarily associated with a set of values considered to be of ultimate importance and to which the individual commits himself either temporarily or permanently through a system of beliefs and practices.

Once again sidestepped a lengthy discussion as to the nature of religion, and have gone along with Carrier and O'Dea, as in chapter one. For some, this definition of religious motivation may be considered too broad, as it can subsume a wide range of humanitarian causes, even Communism itself. For others, the present writer included, religious motivation should not be defined so narrowly as to include only the notion of a monotheistic god, as this not only detracts from
several great religions, such as Hinduism and Buddhism, but eliminates the religious aspect of millenaristic and allied behaviour. The definition can be narrowed in specific sociological contexts, such as the study of a particular religious sect, but the disadvantages of delimiting one's definition in a discussion of religious belonging to the Catholic Church would appear to outweigh the advantages of this approach, due to the fundamental difficulty of defining membership of the Catholic Church (cf. chapter one). It would close also the discussion on the need for an alternative model of belonging to that Church by tying one down to an organisational model, and thereby place in jeopardy the central problem of the research.

However, the above definition of religious motivation has allowed one only to distinguish those religiously motivated from those who are not. It does not permit one to study the degree and quality of religious motivation, nor to operationalise the definition for empirical purposes. Hence, there still exists the need to examine religious motivation from a qualitative perspective. The method adopted for such a task is inductive. One shall investigate religious motivation in theoretical writings and in empirical research, and attempt to abstract common elements in such a way as to operationalise religious motivation in terms of a simple dichotomous variable. Then one shall seek to match one's new dichotomous variable with types of belonging in one's pluriform model by re-examining the sociological theory of those contributing to the different types of religious belonging in the Catholic Church.

a) Towards the operationalising of religious motivation

i. The once born / twice born distinction

If one goes back to the turn of the century, one encounters the well known typology of William James: the once born and the twice born. According to the author of The Varieties of Religious Experience (13), the once born are optimistic, they see good in everything, they see God not as judge but as beautiful and kind. They are not subject to
introspection or metaphysical enquiry, and they are totally at ease in the presence of God. Often a conscious effort to overcome bestial fear assumes an immanent form, as:

"The great central fact in human life is the coming into a conscious vital realisation of our oneness with this Infinite Life, and the opening of ourselves fully to this divine inflow." (14)

Into the once born category James places Latin race Catholics rather than German Protestants. The twice born are those who see not only evil in objects, but feel themselves to be evil by nature. From a state of pain, failure, and querulous melancholy, ensues a period of gnawing questioning, through which the subject seeks to deliver himself (15). Into this latter type James places the convert and religious leader (16).

Really James's distinction is one between those who adopt a picture of God as immanent (the once born), and those who see Him as eminently transcendent (the twice born). Although the distinction was made in order to devise a typology of religious experience, it has allowed us to see that there is a difference in approach between this-worldly and other-worldly types. The sociological counterpart to James is found in Weber's Protestant Ethic, where again Catholics are assigned to a this-worldly set of values, with Protestants relying heavily on transcendence, as prescribed by Calvin's doctrine of predestination.

For our purposes, however, we cannot accept the identification of the once born with Catholics and the twice born with Protestants, as this would lead one to the logical conclusion that there is only one type of motivation to be found among Catholics. However, as we have seen earlier, both immanent and transcendent approaches to the divinity are present among members of the Catholic Church. The former is evident in new forms of spirituality, while the latter is more traditional in outlook, a reversal of the pre-Vatican II position. Thus, while accepting James's distinction, we must allow for its application to both forms of motivation within the Catholic Church.
ii. The direct / indirect approach to God

Vandermeersch derives motivation from the two commandments of love to be found in the New Testament: love of God and love of neighbour. However, instead of separating them for the purpose of analysis, she creates a new dichotomy between human motivation and love of God, which, she claims, fuse into one in a true religious vocation (17).

While this approach may be theologically sound, one feels that it is difficult, if not impossible, to verify empirically. The reason for this is that it is not sufficiently clear as to what is intended by one's own human motivation. By our reckoning it could fall quite easily into the categories of mixed or non-religious motivation, and as such would fall outside the scope of the present inquiry. However, one can go along with the New Testament distinction, because, if correctly understood, implies a difference between those who take a direct approach to the love of God, and those who love God in and through others (18). The former corresponds to the transcendent twice born outlook of James and the latter can be identified with the immanent once born motivation. Again both forms are to be found among Catholics.

Fichter, in his Religion as an Occupation, is more explicit over the distinction between the direct love of God and the indirect love of God through others. The former motivation insists more on personal salvation and love of God, whilst the latter stresses more the attraction of the vocational occupation and the salvation of others. Fichter gives the example of the 1958 Vocation Institute at the University of Notre Dame as illustrating the two motivational approaches. The motivations for entry of seminarians were compared with those for brothers, and it was found that the indirect approach to salvation through others was gaining over the direct supernatural approach. The conclusion reached on that occasion was:

"The desire to help others, to counsel them and motivate them to a better life is indicative of the whole apostolic bent in the religious vocation." (19)

Moreover, they claimed to be echoing the mind of Pius XII, who was
reported as saying to the members of Pax Christi in 1953:

"A supernaturalism that holds itself aloof, and especially one that keeps religion aloof from economic and political needs and duties, as if they did not concern the Christian and the Catholic, is something unhealthy, something alien to the thinking of the Church." (20)

Later the same pontiff was to say:

"With the ever-growing needs of the Church and of souls and the pursuing call for all to work for their relief, we think the moment has come for a reconciliation of the monastic life with a moderate participation in the apostolate." (21)

As further evidence of the acceptance, not only of Pius XII's distinction, but of his preference for the indirect approach to God through others, Fichter then gives the reasons for entry of seminarians and brothers. The reasons, in order of importance, offered by the seminarians were:

- attraction to priestly work, surety of salvation, strong sense of vocation, love of God and salvation of others.

The brothers' preferences were expressed as follows:

- to do good in life, surety of salvation, edification by brothers, attracted by brothers' work and salvation of others.

Here one notes a certain amount of motivational conflict. Both groups placed personal salvation in second place, and salvation of others came last on both lists. However towards the top of both lists were the motivations of their apostolates, which taken overall, allowed Fichter to argue that the indirect approach was gaining the upper hand among these two types of Church personnel.

Further, one can identify the direct approach (salvation of self) with the transcendent twice born of James, and the indirect approach (salvation of self through others) with the immanent once born variety of motivation. Again both types are to be found in the Catholic Church. One's only quarrel with Fichter, is not his use of the direct/indirect distinction, but the rather clumsy battery of five indicators that fails in some ways to clarify the predominant motivational type among Church membership.
iii. The this-worldly / other-worldly distinction

We have seen that Leech contrasts the Jesus People with the Underground Church by showing that the former have an other-worldly and the latter a revolutionary view of the Christian Gospel. He also maintains that this conflict is one that cuts across all denominational barriers and divisions:

"It is the conflict between Billy Graham and Martin Luther King, between Enoch Powell and Trevor Huddleston." (22)

Leech further states that the Underground Church tends towards a 'Catholic' position with socialist and sacramental overtones. The litany of the Free Church of Berkeley, for instance, contains the names of St. John of the Cross, the Curé d' Ars, St. Francis of Assisi, Pope John and Teilhard de Chardin (23). The driving force of the Underground Church is derived from its theological radicalism (the hallmarks of which have been noted previously). However, it is possible to interpret the characteristics of such a theology as being predominantly this-worldly in outlook, and with radical theology being considered the driving force of movements, such as the Underground Church, one feels justified in ascribing motivation to it, as it states direction, if not permanence, of commitment to a system of ultimate values. The motivational perspective of the Children of God, on the other hand, is both fundamentalist and other-worldly. It is anti-political involvement, anti-hippy, anti-sex, anti-liberation, in its manichesitic view of the world. As such it can accommodate easily Malcolm Muggeridge and Lord Longford and stage the Festival of Light (24). Leech would agree that it would be a mistake to identify members of the Catholic Church solely with this-worldly motivation; indeed, Lord Longford, himself a Catholic, is placed in the other-worldly camp. Leech is suggesting, however, that younger members of the Catholic Church tend towards a this-worldly motivational outlook, while older members, holding more traditional values, tend to be found with other-worldly motivation.
Perhaps Leech oversimplifies when he categorises motivation according to age by assertion rather than validation of hypothesis. This situation hope to remedy. In the interim, one can see the similarity between the this-worldly and the once born immanentists, taking an indirect path to salvation, and those characterised by the other-worldly approach, with their affiliation to the twice born transcendent orientated, relating to God directly.

An empirical investigation into this-worldly and other-worldly motivation formed one of the many hypotheses of the C.M.S.W. survey of the 180,000 strong Catholic sisterhood in the United States. Central to this survey was Sr. Augusta Neal's linking of pre-Vatican belief systems with interest change and post-Vatican belief systems with value change. A full explanation of her hypothesis can be found in her Douglass lectures (25). Here what is of interest is her identification of belief system with values that are considered ultimate (ie. in one's own terms: motivation), and change, being seen as of interest to the individual or her congregation (interest change), or else being directed outwards towards others (value change). When tested, her hypothesis was validated, and showed that those whose motivational pattern was other-worldly (pre-Vatican) tended towards interest change (family, total institution, closed community, belonging?), and those whose motivational pattern was more this-worldly tended towards value change (open network belonging?). The importance of Neal's findings here can be seen from her linking of motivation with change, one of one's own hypotheses, which will be tested in the second section of this research. Again it is interesting that both forms of motivation can be found within the Catholic sisterhood, the largest element in Catholic Church personnel (26). What is also worthy of note is Neal's finding that the majority of her respondents tended towards this-worldly motivation and value change, which suggests that the change brought about by Vatican II has witnessed and given rise to an alternative model of religious belonging, that of the open network.
However, to our way of thinking, the concepts of this-worldly and other-worldly motivation are not quite precise enough to distinguish quality of motivation and in many cases can be seen to overlap.

iv. The distinction between prophetic and non-prophetic motivation

Weber provides one with quite an exhaustive treatment of prophecy. We shall have to content ourselves with a summary of his analysis. According to Weber, a prophet:

"is a purely individual bearer of charisma, who, by virtue of his mission, proclaims a religious doctrine or divine commandment." (27)

He terms both the renewer and the founder of a religion 'prophets', and says that followers can be attracted either by the prophet's personality or teaching (28). Above all a prophet is a preacher, who is unpaid, and one who preaches either an ethical view of the world or by example. Both sorts of prophet, though, offer a meaningful world view to their disciples (29). This is the prophet's charism, which distinguishes him from the priest, seen as the organisation cult-man. Such charism is unstable, as there are no laws or structures to support it, only the duty of his followers to respond (30). Provided successors can be found to continue the charism in the brotherhood of disciples, then prophecy will survive. However, it is more likely that charisma will become routinised and become surrounded by traditional or bureaucratic authority structures (31).

Thus for Weber the criterion for discerning prophetic motivation is the possession of charismatic authority. However, as we have seen, such authority can be seen most in evidence in closed community belonging, where prophecy becomes identified with opting out of the system. Thus, if charismatic authority is the sole criterion for identification of prophets, then one feels that its motivation, while initially this-worldly perhaps, will tend inevitably towards other-worldliness. We feel, therefore, that Weber's notion of prophetic motivation is too limited. He does not allow for the prophet bent on renewal from within, a form of
prophecy that can be detected in open network belonging. That one is not alone in our criticism can be seen from the understanding of prophetic motivation in the writers who follow.

For example, the vehicle of prophecy is seen by some to be Millenarism (32). For Christians, Millenarism carries the connotation of the thousand year reign of Christ on earth (33), where peace and good government will prevail. It is something that will take place in the future, with the coming of the Apocalypse, yet the 'golden age' will bear all the characteristics of the simple days of the apostolic era. Also it is assumed generally that the prophet will predict when the Messiah, or Christ, will return.

Nor is Millenarism to be limited just to Christianity. One can see it clearly in Judaism, in the Taborites, Adamites, Moravians, Anabaptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, Mormons, Black Muslims and Ghost Dancers. Talmon sums up Millenarism as follows:

"The most important feature of millenarism seems to be its composite intermediate nature. It unifies components which are seemingly mutually exclusive: it is historical as well as mythical, religious as well as political, and most significant, it is future orientated as well as past orientated. It is precisely this combination of a radical revolutionary position with traditionalism that accounts for the widespread appeal of millenarism and turns it into such a potent agent of change." (34)

Millenarism usually appeals to the poor and underprivileged, the isolated and suppressed, as it promises liberation and the coming of a golden age where positions will be reversed and happiness will prevail (35). In Cargo cults this often means that the black man will have supremacy over the white and inherit his wealth in the form of cargo coming from afar (36). Not a few false prophets and messiahs appear for a variety of selfish motives, ranging from material greed to concubinage (37). The more genuine prophet, however, is usually one who has undergone an experience of religious conversion (38), and who seeks to alleviate the lot of the underprivileged by overthrowing the system to which they are bound.

It is interesting to observe the number of Christian prophets in
millenaristic movements. In 1908 Fr. Le Roux founded Zionism, and Fr. Cicero and João Maria were both Catholic prophets in Brazilian messianic movements. The Mammaian Polynesian cult and the Hawaiian Hepu cult were also closely identified with the Catholic Church (39). In 1840 the Filipinos saw Fr. Apollinario de la Cruz take up their cause against the Spanish by forming the Confraternity of St. Joseph (40). Another group used symbols of the Sacred Heart to ward off the Spanish invasion of 1897 (41).

It is also interesting to note that millenaristic prophecy is not exclusively a male prerogative. The Tuhumas in Brazil were founded by a girl (42). Among prophetesses one encounters the names of Philo, Koreri and Hepu in Latin America, and Kitamura and Nakayama Miki in Japan, who established the Mioshi and Tsenrikyo cults to combat Shintoism (43).

The similarity between millenaristic movements and Christianity is quite striking. Christianity itself offered a new kingdom of happiness with its own moral code, which would overthrow the Roman rule and liberate those newly born by baptism. (In parenthesis one can add that the ritual of many messianic cults is very similar to that used by the Catholic Church.) Christianity also stressed the three virtues of *metanoia*, *dunamis*, and *koinonia*, which stemmed from the founder's own experience and charisma. Moreover the early Christians lived in daily expectation of the *parousia* (whence the season of Advent). This is reflected in the earliest of the New Testament writings (Paul's letters to the Thessalonians), and in communal living (as described in the Acts of the Apostles), where the group of the prophet Jesus's disciples were living out a far from routinised charisma. Since the apostolic era (and the official closure of Revelation), reformist movements in the Church have always shown a distinct similarity to Millenarism. One can include here the reform of Vatican II, seeking to update the Church by returning to a purified form of Christianity, akin to that lived in the time of the apostles.

By thus putting its own house in order, the Church of prophet
John XXIII sought to give witness, based on the evangelical virtues of faith, hope and charity, to a greedy strife ridden world. John's vision of a united world and the brotherhood of man was thus both future orientated and based on the past. It was only a short step, therefore, for the followers of John to proclaim this message of peace to all men of good will. In so doing they assumed the nature of prophets. Many of the new prophets were priests or people in vows. This posed, and still poses, a problem for the Church, if Weber is correct in diagnosing the incompatibility of priests and prophets.

The fact that the problem exists today tends to discount Weber's routinisation. With prophets existing within the body of the Church, it is also difficult to see how their charismatic protest can only be seen as a form of closed community or opting out. Rather the analogy between Christianity and Millenarism suggests that one can find both prophets and priests within the same priesthood. The former are this-worldly in outlook, preachers of a kingdom of happiness on earth, stressing human values in the name of development, future orientated while basing themselves on an evangelical purity of the past, and directed towards people sharing the same prophetic interest, who may be thousands of miles apart, while united in the same conviction. The latter are other-worldly, cult men, mediating between God and man, pointing to a heavenly kingdom, upholding supernatural values, preferring to retain what they have, fearful of the future, while being more concerned with the maintenance of the institutional Church than those who comprise it.

Such a distinction of prophet and priest has led certain sociologists to explore their motivational differences. The Canadian Survey of 1971 sought to investigate two types of motivation among its English speaking priests, which they identified as the distinction between diaconal — prophetic and sacromagical — official motivation. It is worthwhile reproducing the first page of its report in full:

"Three fundamental elements make up the role-set of the priest in the Church: the cult (sacraments and liturgy), the Word (teaching and preaching) and the pastoral ministry (government and formation of community). The sociology of religion teaches
us that the cult is always the determining element in the different sacerdotal functions. We consider this therefore as being constitutive of the role of the priest. But this cultic activity defines two very different types of priests according to the order of priority established among these three elements: one type, if the cult is seen as the principle of authority; the other, if the cult is seen as the expression of the symbolic action of the Word of faith.

In the first type, if the cult is seen as the principle of authority and function, the priest is inclined to see himself as the official representative of the Church, and a specialist in the liturgy and the sacraments. The stress is laid on the instrumental role of the priest. The emphasis in the relation between the cult and the pastoral ministry rests on an image of the priest and of the Church whose action is sacred and whose authority is hierarchic... a sacro-hierarchic type.

In the second type, if the cult is seen as the expression of the symbolic action of the Word of faith, the emphasis is on the expressive role of the priest in as much as he is both a witness to and a "prophet" of the Christian message. The priest is not exclusively occupied with the sacred functions nor with administrative tasks, but his role is seen as a ministry of service in the ecclesial community. His pastoral ministry is collective in the sense that he participates and cooperates in the proclamation of the Gospel, and in giving witness to a common faith. From this second type emerges an image of the priest and of the Church whose action is prophetic and whose authority is defined as diaconal... a prophetic - diaconal type." (44)

In chapter four of the report the attempt is made to classify the respondents into one of the two motivational types, by examining the reasons given for becoming a priest and those for remaining a priest. It emerges that while 62% of diocesan priests and 55% of religious priests gave prophetic-diaconal reasons for becoming a priest, this figure rises to 73% and 71% respectively in the reasons given for remaining a priest. The latter figure is even higher for younger members of the clergy. However, the shift in motivation towards prophetic - diaconal is even more noticeable among religious priests under the age of fifty, causing the authors of the survey to state:

"This shift in motivation on the part of younger religious suggests that the orientation of religious life is changing at a very fundamental level, and probably is being achieved at the price of a certain amount of personal uprooting. It suggests that the current clergy crisis is probably more radical and severe.
"among religious clergy than among the diocesan priests." (45)

In his study of the Catholic clergy in Italy (and later also his analysis of the laity in that country), Silvano Burgalassi identified four motivational types of respondents (46). He described their outlooks as being either official, sacro-magical, indifferent or innovative. This last type he described as being 'prophetic'. Such a priest was fired with a strong desire for freedom, and reacted strongly against legalistic formalism based upon prestige and status. The prophetic priest also survived the crisis of identity brought about by social change, the crisis of totality brought about by legalism, the crisis of role brought about by tight ecclesiastical structures, the crisis of affectivity due to the rule of celibacy, and the crisis of coresponsibility connected with authority. According to Burgalassi, no priest can fail to encounter these crises, and only about ten per cent emerge successfully as prophets.

The vast difference between Burgalassi's figure of 10% and the Canadian figure of 70% for prophetically motivated priests cannot be simply explained away by cultural differences or theological mentality, although one senses that Canada is in the forefront of 'aggiornamento' in the Catholic Church. Rather, we feel that Burgalassi is measuring fruits as well as roots. He is looking at behaviour and motivation at the same time. The Canadians treat of religious behaviour separately and admit that there is a wide discrepancy between how a person is motivated and what he does in practice. Many Canadian priests are acting in a sacro-hierarchical manner, while being prophetically motivated (47). Nevertheless the Canadian survey does not exclude future prophetic behaviour from those likewise motivated, and warns of radical change to come as a result of prophetic motivation.

The word 'prophet' has been applied to the Catholic priest in a more Weberian sense by Schallert and Kelley (48). They point to the risk value of the prophetic priest, who is quite likely, they say,
to abandon his priesthood. Unless he can resolve the paradoxes of religious liberty versus authority and person versus function, he may well prophesy by opting out, rather than prophesy by reforming from within. Presumably they could have supplied the cases of Charles Davis, Ivan Illich, Philip Berrigan and Peter Hebblethwaite to support their contention, and indeed could have perhaps gone on to argue that more priests of their intellectual calibre will soon see the incompatibility of the priestly garb and their prophetic role.

The above view is shared by Gannon (49), who envisages self-styled prophets as wrecking the professional image of the priesthood, and places them alongside faith healers and clairvoyants.

Wuthrow (50) sees the priestly/prophetic split occurring within the seminary, where, he maintains, there is open conflict between traditionalists on the one hand, and revisionists, academics and activists, on the other. The latter three groups form the subcultures of prophecy. The revisionist is influenced a great deal by everyday experiences, rather than theology; he sees God wherever human sympathy is required and looks to various groups as functional substitutes for the Church. The academic sees Jesus as relating to man rather than as God, and theorises about selfishness being overcome by communal relationships. The activist wishes to give meaning to people's lives by preaching a revolutionary Jesus, who will break down political and economic barriers in order to liberate man for a spiritual message. The Church for the activist is thus any group pursuing liberation and transformation. According to Wuthrow, the revisionist subculture of prophecy is more in evidence in seminaries than the other two forms. He further envisages the emergence of a substantial number of high risk prophetic priests from the seminaries.

However, one is not so inclined to accept routinisation of charisma or the opting out of vast numbers of prophetic priests and seminarians, as suggested by the last mentioned three authors. While agreeing that the phenomenon of 'burnt out' prophecy certainly exists among Catholic clerics, one does not subscribe to the view that prophecy
in the priesthood automatically spells high risk or denies the possibility of reform from within. The variety of institutions and interest groups for such priests testifies to their continued existence. Reviews such as Informations Catholiques Internationales and Herder Korrespondenz survive on the contributions of prophetic priests and publish for an even wider audience of them. Neither can one agree with Wuthrow that seminaries today are producing a greater number of high risk prophets than say during the Vatican Council. If one looks at the type of seminary entrant in Britain and the United States over the last three years one encounters a conservative, middle class, serious minded, often convert type of candidate for the priesthood, more similar to the preconciliar priest. This inclines one to think that the prophets remaining within the Church can be found among those who underwent training between 1960 and 1970, the period surrounding and including Vatican II, and those affected by their ministry. This interpretation carries some weight when one examines the composition of prophetic groups by age. Prophetic priests tend to be in the 30's rather than the 20's.

Emile Pin treats of prophetic and other motivation in a wider context than that of the priesthood by extending his analysis to the Catholic laity. His typology of religious motivation was first applied to Latin America (51), as we have seen, but has since been tested elsewhere.

According to Pin, there are three types of primary religious motivation, corresponding to three types of secondary religious motivation. The first primary type he terms 'cosmobiological motivation'. This is connected with man's basic needs: food, sex, sleep, etc., and is to be found in all religions. In Latin American Catholicism one sees various deities and madonnas being used for the powers that are attributed to them; rites are performed without any understanding of their content and in an automatic fashion; there are processions and various forms of 'grazie ricevute' (52). The secondary motivation
accompanying the cosmobiological, Pin calls the 'spontaneous cultural', where religion becomes a local affair, connected with the traditions of a particular area. The reason why such motivation is critical is because it can be found to a large degree among the 90% of nominal Latin American Catholics, only 5% of whom practise their faith, with a large proportion of them participating in rites that border on the magical. There is evidence too of an increase in revival sects, witchcraft and spiritism, all of which cater for cosmobiological motivation (53). Pin maintains that the low level of religious motivation causes a crisis of religious belonging. The Church is thus caught in a dilemma: either it attempts to purify cosmobiological motivation at the expense of losing several million members, or else it manipulates it, thereby maintaining the same quantity of Catholics, but losing the quality of motivation necessary for more than nominal commitment. This dilemma is more acute in areas where there is a severe priest shortage, where parishes can contain 75,000 people in the same number of square miles. Prophecy in such areas, argues Pin, is practically non-existent.

Pin calls his second type of primary motivation 'salvational', corresponding to a secondary type of motivation termed 'reflective cultural'. Here one detects a more rational approach to religion. There is a division between the sacred and the secular to the point of hiatus, where man uses religion solely to be saved from hell fire and to gain entry into 'el paradiso'. Here there is an emphasis on sermons, ritual, confessions, and rather macabre enactments of the mysteries of the Passion. Stress is placed on the sinful individual, similar to James's 'twice born' or Weber's 'Protestant'. In the secondary cultural context, more often than not of the city, traditions are still conserved, but this time there are more political overtones, as conservatism is the prerogative of the élitist classes in collaboration with higher Church dignitaries. The only sense of belonging generated by such motivation is that born out of class hatred.
Finally there is a mystical or 'prophetic' motivation with its counterpart in socio-religious grass root grouping. Under this type of motivation, the Church is seen as a way of living together, based on evangelical ideals, and hostile to organisational structures (54). This is referred to as the 'communal religion of spiritual transformation' (55), and is to be found among members of Catholic action groups, left wing priests and C.E.L.A.M. For Pin, this last type of motivation represents the ideal to which the Church should tend, rather than a picture of the real situation in Latin America. The reason for this state of affairs is that there are several obstacles that prevent prophetic motivation from functioning. One has treated of these in the second chapter, when one saw how Pin and Houtart argued for an organisational model of the Church due to the impossibility of changing primitive motivation by prophecy. However, what has not been noted is Pin's change in terminology when speaking of primitive and prophetic motivation. He now begins speaking of motivation in terms of inner and outer motivation. According to Pin, the reason why the average Latin American Catholic cannot accept Catholicism is because his vision of life is too inner directed. Catholicism cannot change his personality or outlook. He thinks in terms of his family and neighbourhood and not in terms of ceremonial and the 'al di là'. He cannot identify his working existence with Church groups, fascist leaders, elitists, and an alien style of dress, language and set of symbols. Whilst his motivation is limited to cosmobiological needs, it remains inner directed and cannot seek identification with outer directed forms of religious grouping. Such cosmobiological motivation is much higher in rural areas, but is also inherited by urban groups from rural backgrounds. Salvational motivation in the urban situation is similarly inner directed. The structural organisation of the Church, its marginal celibate ministers, its scholastic talk of death and fatalism cannot draw out higher forms of motivation. Institutionalism only serves to promote inner directed motivation.
Later Buntsig employed Pin's typology of motivation in a study of popular forms of religiosity in Argentina (56). Pin himself later took the opportunity of testing his hypotheses in three Italian socio-religious surveys, those of Rome (57), Naples (58) and Potenza (59), in which the present writer participated. Here, it must be stated, one did not encounter the pessimistic picture painted earlier by Pin, although the inner / outer distinction of motivation was clearly discernible.

Shortly afterwards, Pin applied prophetic motivation to the priesthood. His starting point was that pastoral action of priests presupposes a knowledge of lay motivation, just as Christ himself only acceded to requests for help, provided he thought he could change the motivation of the supplicant. A priest, then, according to Pin, is not someone who simply responds to needs (as a great number of these are cosmobiologically motivated), but someone who can communicate and preach a word that has a meaning in everyday life and can elevate motivation. The priest, therefore, responds to, and creates, motivation, and in so doing can be termed 'prophetic'. Two obstacles, however, remain to be overcome. First, how can a priest preach a message of meaning for everyday life if he himself does not participate in it? Second, does a Christian community arise as a result of prophecy, or does it arouse prophetic motivation in the priest? The first question Pin answers by stressing the need for the prophet to participate in everyday life in order to communicate, by shedding his sacro-magical priestly image. The second question is answered by the suggestion that prophetic leadership will emerge from animated Christian groups, rather than a community being created by a sacro-hierarchic type of ministry. One has already pointed out that where we take issue with Pin is in his assumption of a uniform model of the Church, conceived of as an alienating organisation. From this premiss he argues to the existence of his motivational typology, which, because deduced in an 'a priori' fashion, has little room for prophecy, and will of
necessity highlight inner directedness, as that is the only form of motivation that can exist in the passive membership of organisational belonging. With a change in the model, however, which we suggest implies also a change in motivation, because of the option for outer directedness, Pin's picture loses some of its fatalism. It is also worth pointing out that Pin's typology was constructed before the Vatican Council, and since that time his rare prophets in Latin America have become more of a normal phenomenon in the life of the Church, with an increase in the communicating power of groups such as C.E.L.A.M. Nevertheless, Pin's typology does have application, particularly in its later inner / outer directed format, our final motivational typology.

In concluding this rather lengthy, albeit necessary, sub-section, we have looked at prophetic, as distinct from non-prophetic, motivation. We have seen that confusion can arise if it is assumed that prophets must opt out of the system, and similarly that they can only be routinised if an organisational model of the Church is assumed.

Confusion in the notion of prophecy, and also what is non-prophetic, inclines one to abandon this motivational typology. However, if one considers the outer / inner directedness of motivation, then it can be seen that there is room for distinguishing prophets who opt out from those who reform from within. While the former begin as outer directed, only the latter persevere and persist in the direction of their initial motivation. For this reason we must now turn to one's final dichotomy, that of inner and outer directed motivation, a point in one's argument reached only by the necessary discussion of prophecy and its implication for religious belonging.

v. The inner-directed / other-directed distinction

Riesman et al., speak of motivation in terms of other-directedness and inner-directedness. For them, other-directed people want to be loved rather than esteemed, do not wish to gull or impress, let alone oppress, others, but, in the current phrase to relate to them; they
seek less a snobbish status in the eyes of others, than an assurance of being emotionally in tune with them (60). The authors continue:

"What is common to all other-directed people is that their contemporaries are the source of direction for the individual, either those known to him or those with whom he is indirectly acquainted, through friends and through the mass media." (61)

The following description of the inner-directed is given:

"In Western history the society that emerged with the Renaissance and the Reformation and that is only now vanishing serves to illustrate the type of society in which inner-directedness is the principal mode of securing conformity. Such a society is characterised by increased personal mobility, by rapid accumulation of capital (teamed with devastating technological shifts) and by an almost constant expansion: intensive expansion in the production of goods and people, an extensive expansion in exploration, colonisation and imperialism. The greater choices this society gives and the greater initiatives it demands in order to cope with its moral problems, are handled by character types who can manage to live socially without strict and self-evident tradition direction. These are inner-directed types." (62)

To this Riesman et al. add:

"The source of direction for the individual is "inner" in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders and directed towards generalised but nonetheless inescapably destined goals." (63)

In other words, what they appear to be saying is that the other-directed relate to people out of interest, an interest that is often awoken through the media, while inner-directed people have been traditionally conditioned to identify their own goals with that of society, based on a model of bureaucracy. They are inner-directed in that they are motivated by self-interest. Neal would say that the inner-directed are motivated towards interest change, whereas the other-directed, going outwards towards other people, tend towards value change. One can also note the similarity of the inner-directed with James's twice born, Weber's Protestant, relating to a transcendent God directly, the other-worldly, and the non-prophetic traditionalist. The other-directed,
on the other hand, bear a striking resemblance to the once born, this-worldly immanentists, who relate to God through others (i.e., indirectly), and who are prophetic in the sense that they are future orientated to giving evangelical witness to others through the Christ of the gospels.

Greeley employed the inner-directed / other-directed distinction in his survey of the American Catholic priesthood. According to Greeley:

"The inner-directed person appears to have incorporated a psychic 'gyroscope' which is started by parental influences and later on is further influenced by other authority figures. The inner-directed man goes through life apparently independent, but still obeying his internal piloting. The source of inner-direction seems to be implanted in early life and the direction is guided by a small number of principles. The source of the direction for the individual is inner in the sense that he is guided by internal motivations rather than external influences. This source of direction becomes generalised as an inner core of principles and character traits." (64)

Greeley substitutes the notion of 'time competence' for other-directedness and utilises the definition of Shostrom and Marlow:

"The self-actualised person is primarily time competent and thus appears to live more fully in the here and now. He is able to tie the past and future to the present in a meaningful continuity. He appears to be less burdened by guilts, regrets and resentments from the past than is the non self-actualised person and his aspirations are tied meaningfully to present working goals. He has faith in the future without rigid or over idealistic goals... The self-actualised individual's past and future orientations are depicted as reflecting positive mental health to the extent that his past is used for reflective thought and the future is tied to present goals." (65)

The time competent person is thus identified with the self-actualising:

"One who is more fully functioning and lives a more enriched life than does the average person. Such an individual is seen as developing and internalising all of his unique capabilities and potentialities, free of inhibitions and emotional turmoil." (66)

While recognising the weakness of Greeley's personality inventory scale as an indicator for measuring inner-directedness and time competence (67), one can nevertheless appreciate his distinction of two sorts of motivation and attempt to design indicators capable of
underlining the predominance of one type over the other. While Riesman et al. stressed bureaucratic belonging as the outcome of inner-directedness, Greeley appears to emphasise familial belonging, along the lines suggested by Durkheim. Greeley also develops to a fuller degree James's characteristics of the once born, when discussing the self-actualised person in terms of having few feelings of guilt, regret and resentment from the past.

Moreover, the distinction between inner-directedness and other-directedness appeals to us, not only because it subsumes the motivations underlying the four previously discussed dichotomies, but also because of its simplicity. While agreeing with Riesman et al. that no individual is ever entirely inner-directed or other-directed (68), nevertheless one feels that it is possible to look at the predominance and persistence of the motivational direction. In so doing, one is following one's definition of motivation, given earlier. The link between type of motivation and type of change as supplied by Neal, is also well highlighted by the inner/other distinction, one that is not so clear in the other dichotomies.

However, the term 'other-directed' could be slightly misleading, as it could imply that the direction of a person's motivation is to one other person. For this reason, we suggest that the term 'outer-directedness' is substituted for other-directedness, as inherent to it lies the idea that a plurality of relationships is envisaged. This is precisely what we have in mind when we speak of open network belonging. An individual, because of his outer-directed motivation, is able to relate not only to one other person, but to share the interests of several individuals and groups, whether in his immediate environment or not. He places the value of going outside himself higher on his list of priorities than the self-interest, associated with total institutional, familial or closed community, belonging.

To conclude this sub-section, one can present the other dichotomies in terms of inner-directedness and outer-directedness as follows:
Motivation

Inner-directed

Twice born
God is transcendent
Protestant ethic
Direct love of God
Other-worldly
Pre-Vatican belief
Interest change
Opting out charisma
Traditional
Sacro-magical, official
Cosmobiological / salvational
Total institution, family, closed community, belonging

Outer-directed

Once born
God is immanent
Catholic sacramentality
Love of God through others
This-worldly
Post-Vatican belief
Value change
Charisma of renewal from within
Future orientated
Diaconal-prophetic
Prophetic
Open network belonging

b) Inner and outer directed motivation applied to religious belonging

One has suggested already that outer motivation tends to lie behind the commitment described as open network belonging, and that inner motivation is at the root of the other three types of religious belonging. However, for further elaboration of this hypothesis in theoretical terms, it is necessary once more to review those writers selected for their identification with the different types of religious belonging to be found in our pluriform model. This subsection, therefore, will be divided into four parts, corresponding to the four types of religious belonging.

i. Inner motivation and total institution belonging

We have seen from Weber that the overriding motivation in belonging to the Catholic Church is rationality, be it of a value or instrumental variety. The distinction between rational and either traditional or affectional motivation further allows one to distinguish organisational belonging from familial or closed community belonging. In Weber's motivational schema there is no room for open network belonging, as this implies the possibility of non-routinisation of charisma. Etzioni
too, while desiring a moral-normative compliance structure for the Church, in practice finds himself tending towards a coercive-alienative compliance structure, due to the Church's difficulties in controlling for charisma. Coercive rationality was evident in Goffman's total institution and in two of the examples given: the presbytery and the boys preparatory school.

One is not arguing here that rationality itself is the hallmark of inner-directedness or of inner motivation. Rather, we would like to introduce the distinction between what is rational and what is reasonable (69). In the former case, individuals passively respond to an overall plan that affects the totality of their existence; they do not and can not question it because they are not free to question its reasonableness. In the latter case, on the other hand, there is a freedom of choice between a variety of plans that can be termed 'rational' the criterion for the choice rests with what is considered reasonable by the individual or group of individuals. This is what Winter is implying when he stresses the freedom of the act of faith as a necessary factor in religious commitment. Faith is not assimilation of a set of beliefs or propositions logically deducible from each other. It is not an identification with the rational. Indeed, he could point out that it would be most irrational to believe that there are three members of the Trinity. Rather for Winter and others (70), faith is a free commitment to what is reasonable, however irrational. Newman's belief in the absurd can be understood in this context. The object of belief itself is absurd and irrational, but it can nevertheless be highly reasonable. In the light of Revelation, belief in the doctrine of the Trinity is most reasonable, as for many it offers the most reasonable explanation of a mysterious reality. Similarly, Kierkegaard's leap into the unknown is a perfectly reasonable step for an individual to take, while others may judge such behaviour as irrational. It is unreasonable rationality that admits of no freedom, and it is this form of rationality that one associates with the total institution mentality.
Moreover, it is difficult to see how such unreasonable rationality can be anything but inner-directed. The overall plan encompassing lives of individuals exists for itself and its self-maintenance and perpetuation. There is no looking outwards in the quest for a selection from among reasonable alternatives, because under this mentality, membership is not acquainted with the word 'reasonable'.

Davis is really making the same point when he objects to the changeless objectivity of dogma based upon a fixed concept of human nature. What is objective and 'a priori' rational cannot change; it is as perennial as the first principles or premisses of the faith syllogism. By definition such principles are self-evident and non-induceable; hence they cannot change. Similarly, assimilation of such principles can only be inner-directed and self-perpetuating, as no reasonable alternative is available; for this there must be a subjective and outer-directed choice.

Pin and Houtart stress the cosmobiological and salvational nature of rational motivation when they speak of the elitist and fatalistic power structures of the organisational Church. It is highly rational for oppressed Latin Americans to think in terms of their basic needs and to use religion in a sacro-magical manner for their own interests both in this life and the hereafter. By maintaining inner motivation among the faithful, the Church can perpetuate and even rationalise its own power structures. By permitting outer motivated prophecy, the organisational Church loses its hold over its members.

A similar picture was painted by Hebblethwaite, who identified the inner motivation of self-interest with the centralised power of the Vatican. Illich further suggested that the same motivation can be found in any large corporate structure, intent on maintaining the status quo and destined towards institutionalism, with its hallmark of bureaucratic efficiency, all utterly rational. Rationality further relies on a perennial philosophy and on traditional wisdom; it opposes disciplines that speak of change. In addition it codifies conditions
for membership into a set of rules, all thoroughly rational, but existing for the self-interest of the organisation.

Inner motivation too is detectable from the pattern variables encompassing the total institution mentality. The emphasis on order and hierarchy by divine, or quasi-divine, right, follows the pattern of self-interest maintenance. Members cannot achieve positions of leadership as they exist for the good of the organisation, rather than vice-versa. The universalistic diffuseness of the world view transmitted to membership with a total institution mentality makes everything sacred and reasonable questioning taboo. Any outer-motivated attempt at conscientisation, or awareness of self through others, is seen as a profane intrusion into the monopoly of the sacred. The further quest for affectivity, based on love of neighbour, has no place in a system grounded on divine authority and a transcendent notion of God.

**ii. Inner motivation and familial belonging**

An important difference between Tönnies and Weber is that while the latter considers motivation in terms of types of relationships stemming from the intellect, the former appears to lay greater emphasis on the volitional aspects of motivation. Although strictly speaking one cannot separate the workings of the intellect and the will, nevertheless one encounters analogous emphases among the various schools of philosophy (71). There is a difference of approach, for instance, between those who say that an object or person cannot be loved unless first known, and those who state that an object or person cannot be known unless first loved. In other words, the difference lies in whether reality, external to man, attracts or is attractive to his intellect or to his will. While it is outside the scope of this research to enter into such a philosophical debate, one may nevertheless be permitted to make one sociological observation, relating to an emphasis of the cognitional or volitional aspects of motivation.
One maintains that by stressing rationality in motivation (the intellectual emphasis), sociologists are tempted to look for rationality in relationships and commitment; other forms of motivation, because irrational, are more difficult to understand, and for that reason tend to fall outside the sociologist's conceptual schema. Perhaps this explains why Weber has been criticised for overemphasising bureaucracy. We have seen how this has led to Weber's stress on organisational belonging, identifiable with the total institution mentality. Other forms of religious belonging, allowed for in our pluriform model, find little or no place in Weber's conceptual paradigm. The rationality and efficiency of the bureaucratic organisation or the total institution, on the other hand, correspond in a one-to-one relationship with rational motivation. Such motivation is also well described by the Parsonian variables of universalism-neutrality, ascription-diffuseness, just as knowledge itself is based on 'universals' (72), is objective and value free.

However, the emphasis of Tönnies is altogether different from that of Weber. He can take in the Parsonian variable of affectivity because the distinction in motivation he makes concerns the will of man. For this reason the variables of universalism and neutrality are removed from the Tönnian schema and replaced by those of particularism and affectivity. Man's will does not conceptualise through universals, but acts subjectively and step by step (73). Nevertheless, relationships based on the will are still ranked and ordered, as for the intellect, only this time the appeal of order is not based on intellectual preference but may take in the emotions as well (74). Neither are all these emotional feelings of necessity positive in nature: they can be based on fear and awe, as we noted in Durkheim's treatment of the individual confronted with the sacred. Feelings of duty can also be evoked, as in the case of a clan before its totem. The figure of an emu or a kiwi (75) does not appeal to the intellectual side of man or his rationality, but it does make certain demands on his will.
That familial belonging derives from the volitional aspect of motivation can be gleaned from the following statement of Tönnies:

"In fact, however, it may be supposed to be the normal case that a man affirms his family with all his heart, so that he posits it by his essential will precisely as he posits by his arbitrary will a commercial company." (76)

The essential, or natural, will of man is thus directed towards the family, the epitome of relations which are Gemeinschaft-like in their essence (77). The words 'affirms' and 'posits' are not to thought of as judgements of the intellect, but rather as decisions of the 'heart', what we can describe as emotional and volitional decisions. Moreover, such decisions are 'natural' and 'essential' in man, implying that it is of man's nature to seek relationships based on the family, Gemeinschaftlich relationships, ones that we have termed familial belonging. The arbitrary, or rational, will, on the other hand, tends towards Gesellschaftlich relationships, those relationships based on conflict, competition and exploitation that, Tönnies suggests, destroy man.

We have seen how Tönnies explains social change in terms of movement from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft, just as Durkheim saw change as the transition from mechanistic to organic relationships. We also noted their preference for the 'terminus a quo' at the expense of the 'terminus ad quem'. Their partiality for Gemeinschaftlich and mechanistic relationships was not entirely value free, with their attempts to illustrate the monstrosity of Gesellschaftlich and organic relationships. It could thus well be argued that they were presenting no model of change whatsoever, but merely illustrating the consequences of departure from their ideal models of society, based on familial relationships. If that is the case, then it would tend to support our view still further that both Tönnies and Durkheim begin with a volitional perspective of motivation. In offering an ideal vision of society, based on a set of value judgements, they were committing themselves to a series of motivational decisions, based not on the intellect but on the will.
However, it does not follow that all volitional motivation is of necessity inner-directed. Where one breaks through Banfield's amoral familism to Neal's value change, quite the opposite would seem to be the case. Indeed, one could refer to such motivation as being outer-directed. One thinks of the example of Mother Theresa of Calcutta (78). Her outward going love for the people of Calcutta, for the 'barracati' of Rome, and elsewhere, is not directed towards herself or her own self-interest. It is an open-ended commitment to the poor. The love that she displays is universal, it is not hemmed in by affectivity and particularism.

On the other hand, one has the right to question the direction of the motivation advocated by Tönnies and Durkheim. It would appear that Gemeinschaftlich and mechanistic relationships are still bound by the dimensions of affectivity and particularism. Durkheim's clan can be considered distinct from, and even hostile towards, other tribal groupings. It can also become over-integrated with its identification with the totem and the taboos which surround it. While the clan may have eliminated internal conflict, it has done so by externalising conflict to the point where in-group solidarity creates a series of out-groups. The same can be said of Tönnies' Gemeinschaftlich relationships. The ties of blood, land and hearth, while allowing love and communal harmony to reign within the family community, do not permit the same love to be extended to similar communal groups, territorially distinct from it. For this reason Harvey Cox questions the freedom of face-to-face relationships (79). The element of choice outside the immediate family or village is minimal. Lack of freedom, brought about by oversocialisation, leads to inner-directedness and hostility towards rival groups, as we saw in Spencer's analysis of the situation in Northern Ireland. One would like to go one step further and suggest that the 'village' of Belfast suffers from a crisis of inner motivation. One cannot even unite people under the general terms of 'Protestant' and 'Catholic', as excessive inner motivation
within the two "communities" produces rival factions.

Thus we would like to suggest that in the case of familial belonging, it is not so much achievement and diffuseness that tend to be the products of inner motivation, but rather the qualities of particularism and affectivity. Nevertheless, such familial belonging will manifest internal order in the form of a hierarchy and prescriptive rules with accompanying sanctions, but they will not be felt to the same degree as under the total institution mentality. Both forms of belonging, however, can be seen as products of inner motivation.

iii. Inner motivation and closed community belonging

Unlike the motivation to be found in total institutional and familial belonging, those who tend towards closed community belonging are fundamentally anti-institutional in outlook. They are disenchanted with the instrumental rationality of the bureaucracy and total institution, and object to the traditionalism of the family. This crisis of allegiance leads to Nisbet's quest for community, a search for the mixture of affective relationships and specific goals. The pattern variables of achievement and specificity distinguish those tending towards closed community belonging from the two elements of religious belonging to be found on the right of our model. In other words, specificity of goal is the distinguishing characteristic. If one relates this stance to Weber's fourfold distinction of types of motivation, one can say that motivation, seen in terms of specific goals, can be described as value-rational, as opposed to the instrumental-rational and manipulative motivation of the bureaucratic total institution.

However, value rational motivation can take one of two directions. It can either tend towards the coordinates of particularism and affectivity or else those of universalism and neutrality. It is the former direction that is typified by closed community belonging.

When discussing prophetic motivation, we made the distinction of prophetic motivation that opted out of a given situation of religious belonging, and that which persisted. The former type of prophetic
motivation is that to be found in Weber's routinisation of charisma, a hallmark of the closed community. As Weber says:

"Charismatic rulership in the typical sense always results from unusual, especially political or economic situations, or from extraordinary psychic, particularly religious states, or from both together. It arises from collective excitement produced by extraordinary events and from surrender to heroism of any kind. This alone is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that the faith of the leader himself and of his disciples in his charisma—be it of a prophetic or any other kind—is undiminished, consistent and effective only in statu nascendi." (80)

In other words, what Weber is saying is that prophecy is characterised by an initial wave of enthusiasm, similar to that found in sects, the growth of which is at its peak when oppressive social situations prevail (81). However, such motivation cannot persist, as Weber himself points out:

"When the tide that lifted a charismatically led group out of everyday life flows back into the channels of workaday routines, at least the 'pure' form of charismatic domination will wane and turn into an 'institution'." (82)

By institution Weber intends a routinised religious community: *

"Primarily a religious community arises in connection with a prophetic movement as a result of routinisation (Veralltäglichung), i.e. as a result of the process whereby either the prophet himself or his disciples secure the permanence of his preaching and the congregation's distribution of grace, hence insuring also the economic existence of the enterprise and those who man it, and thereby monopolising as well the privileges reserved for those charged with religious functions." (83)

Weber argues that what began as a charismatic group suffers its first crisis when it faces the problem of finding a successor to its prophet (84). He continues:

"This problem inescapably channels charisma into the direction of legal regulation and tradition." (85)

The reason for this statement is that either the community has to await a successor, thereby becoming amorphous (86), or else it has to appoint one, which leads to forms of dictatorship or family appointment, as under Roman Rule (87). Other options are election of a prophet,
which becomes bound by oligarchic norms (88), transmission of prophecy through blood ties, which leads to depersonalisation of prophecy (89), or through ordination, which introduces the distinction of office and charism, again depersonalising prophecy (90).

If one applies Weber's routinisation to Nuij's alternative communities and fundamentalist communes within the Jesus People, one can see the justification of Weber's hypothesis. Either one encounters the rigidity of groups, such as the Children of God, or else the dispersal of groups, such as the followers of Arthur Blessitt.

The point we wish to make, however, is that prophetic motivation does not endure as long as it is inner-directed. Communities become institutionalised because of inner motivated prophecy and charisma. It does not follow that all prophecy is so motivated. The reason why prophetic motivation can and does follow an inner-directed path is because it tends towards the qualities of particularism and affectivity. With the above proviso, one can therefore accept Weber's analysis, and conclude with him that inner-directed prophecy, tending towards particularism and affectivity, will eventually become routinised, and the community of disciples gathered round it will become closed to outside influences and groups. Its specific goals can become so particularistic that they are incapable of relating to other institutional goals of society (or of the Church); its insistence on intimate relationships, pooling of goods and money, turns such a community into an egoistical and selfish group, perhaps characterised by affectivity within its own spatial confines, but unable to go out towards others in a visible demonstration of love. We argue that in such a community inner motivation is more predominant than outer motivation.

iv. Outer motivation and open network belonging

The open network avoids the tendency towards inner motivation, brought about by the dimensions of particularism and affectivity. As
such it is to be distinguished from the motivation associated with closed community and family belonging. It is further distinguished from the instrumental rational motivation of the bureaucratic total institution, that seeks to manipulate membership for a variety of vested interests, intent on maintaining the status quo. It militates against the pro-institutional hierarchical ascription of belonging to be found on the right of model, and avoids affective particularism, with its tendency towards the Parsonian variables of universalism and neutrality.

We have also seen that value rationality can become burnt out or routinised in the hands of charismatic prophets, who opt out of the Church and become closed to any further form of communication with outside forces. However, prophecy does not have to follow the path of closed community belonging. In the first place, prophecy need not be identified with the charismatic qualities of an individual. It can be identified with groups of individuals sharing the same interest or commitment (Scherer), whose relationships change with the adaptive needs of the environment (Burns and Stalker). Second, prophecy, seen as renewal from within, takes the form of conviction of commitment, the Latin prepositional prefix implying a sharing of or with. Third, rationality is to be understood in the sense of being 'reasonable', thus guaranteeing the same freedom in religious belonging as in the act of faith itself (Winter). Fourth, the reasonableness of such motivation is directed towards value change, as opposed to interest change (Neal), and as such is once born (James), immanent (Weber), indirect (Fichter), this-worldly (Leech) and prophetic (Canadian survey, Burgalassi, Pin and Talmon).

In our study of change in the Catholic Church since the time of Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council, noted the shifts of emphasis in belief towards the Christ of the gospels, in ethical consequences of belief towards the values of Christian Humanism, and in religious practice towards greater liturgical participation, based on
a notion of 'gratia ex opere operantis'. We now suggest that these observable changes were due to a fundamental change in motivation, from the inner motivation, characterising the period from the Council of Trent to Vatican I's decree on papal infallibility, to the post-Vatican II outer motivation, evidenced by the emergence of interest groups within the Church, a policy of decentralisation, oecumenical relationships and the existence of parties in the Church, with their consequent internalisation, rather than externalisation, of conflict. In other words, there has been a radical examination of the nature of the Church itself, seen as a necessary step towards the ultimate goal of Pope John's unity of mankind. It does not imply that outer motivation in the Catholic Church is only to be found since Vatican II. Indeed, it argued that it was present in the early days of the Church and continued until the Middle Ages. What we say, however, is that the return to outer motivation is both based on the past and is future orientated, the hallmark of non-routinised prophecy.

The extent of open network belonging in the Catholic Church must therefore be considered in terms of outer motivation and the degree to which membership has assimilated the fundamental changes wrought by Vatican II. Various surveys of lay opinion at the national level display great variation, with the cultural variable playing a significant role. Nor is the picture complete for full membership of the Catholic Church. Indeed, few surveys have sought to measure outer motivation directly. What scattered information is available, though, would incline one to place a maximum estimate of 30% of Church membership displaying such motivation. The figure for the clergy may be possibly slightly higher. The difficulty, of course, in quantifying such motivation for the 659 million membership of the Catholic Church is the sheer impracticability of conducting such an investigation. For this reason we attempt to treat the problem at the micro-level, testing relevant hypotheses, and suggesting areas of possible generalisation.
B. Religious Dissatisfaction

The reason why the negative concept of dissatisfaction is chosen in preference to its positive counterpart of satisfaction is threefold. First, satisfaction is often confused with notions of morale and happiness, which, while logically identifiable with satisfaction, in practice do not correlate very highly with it (91). Second, specific questions concerning satisfaction are often of a direct nature. Such questions tend to produce answers in the 'yes' direction. This phenomenon is more observable in inquiries employing just one direct question on satisfaction, which is then used as a sole indicator of satisfaction for the remainder of the investigation (92). To one's own way of thinking such methodology is sociologically non-viable. Third, in recent socio-religious research, it has emerged that the variable of dissatisfaction has greater predictive power than that of satisfaction (93). Put in analogous medical terms, one feels that one can predict from symptoms to illness in a more reliable fashion than from present health to future well being. Moreover, having diagnosed the complaint, it is possible to seek its remedy. However, lest the medical analogy be taken too far, one hastens to add that one does not subscribe to the view that dissatisfaction is indicative of social deviancy or that it is always destructive in nature. Indeed one hopes to argue that dissatisfaction can bring about social change, which, in the more specific context of this piece of research, signifies a change in type of belonging.

Therefore one is of the opinion that not only is the variable of dissatisfaction to be preferred to that of satisfaction, but that several indicators should be used to measure it in the form of indirect questions. One's preference for dissatisfaction, however, is only methodological, as one wishes to examine satisfaction as well. In other words, the notion of dissatisfaction will be taken as one's starting point. A definition of dissatisfaction will be built up inductively from a series of recent socio-religious surveys, hopefully
avoiding confusion with similar concepts of unhappiness, loneliness and anomie. Satisfaction will then be considered the negative counterpart to dissatisfaction, providing that indifference and apathy are excluded. Put in more mathematical terms, dissatisfaction will be considered as the summation of a series of dissatisfaction indicators, while satisfaction will be treated as the absence of dissatisfaction, indifference and apathy.

However, as with motivation, one is concerned with religious dissatisfaction. In other words, dealing with dissatisfaction with a system of beliefs and values that are considered ultimate by an individual or group of individuals. As we have seen, systems of beliefs and values are structured into various forms of commitment, one has what termed types of religious belonging. According to this way of thinking, therefore, an individual displays dissatisfaction (or satisfaction) with the way that his beliefs and values are structured. For example, if one or more individuals have inculcated and are committed to a post-Vatican II system of beliefs and values, and yet the actual religious structural system to which they belong is based upon a pre-Vatican II set of beliefs and values, a certain amount of tension and conflict will be produced, which one calls dissatisfaction. Where beliefs and values are in harmony with a religious structural setting, then this will be referred to as satisfaction. Crucial to an understanding of religious dissatisfaction, therefore, is the meaning attached to religious structural system, or setting, by an individual or group of individuals. For some it may be the official teaching Church, composed of the pope and bishops. For others it may be a national episcopal conference; for others it may be a local bishop or parish priest; for others it may be a religious order or a particular monastery or convent; for others it may be a religious superior or co-worker; for yet others it may be a religious interest group or commune, etc. The list could extend more or less 'ad infinitum'. What is important, though, in an understanding of
what is intended by religious dissatisfaction in the rejection of one religious structural system and its replacing by another. Where this occurs then we say that there is a predominance of dissatisfaction over satisfaction. We use the word 'predominance' advisedly, for failure to do so implies that individuals are utterly dissatisfied or completely satisfied. We suspect that this is a sociological rare occurrence. More normal, we feel, is the situation of an individual, satisfied on certain counts but dissatisfied on others. What we wish to determine is which of the two tendencies outweighs the other.

So far only spoken of the degree or amount of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual. We realise, however, that it is possible to speak of dissatisfaction in qualitative terms. One can talk of an individual being dissatisfied with himself, of a person being frustrated at the individual level. It is also possible to find dissatisfaction in the individual's relationship with others, with his family, with those at work, among his friends. We can say that he is dissatisfied at the communal level. Again, one can discover dissatisfaction with one's job or task in life, the sort of dissatisfaction encountered between subordinate and superior, between member and organisation to which he belongs. One can refer to this as dissatisfaction at the specific group level. While there are doubtless many other varieties of dissatisfaction, we feel that these three are the most important, and hopefully they encompass in some way the many shades and nuances associated with the term dissatisfaction.

Moreover, the above three levels can be abbreviated in sociological shorthand to encompass problems of identity (individual level), of status (communal level) and of role (specific group level).

Problems of religious identity focus on the question: "Who am I?" They are concerned with an individual's personal commitment to a set of religious beliefs and values, as considered ultimate, in the Christian sense, often as related to God. The emphasis is on personal belief and relationship to God through religious experience. Commitment is often
thought of in terms of personal witness to the evangelical counsels of poverty and chastity, and their effect on the life-style of the individual. A Christian feels that somehow he must be an example to others in the way he conducts his life, that he must attract others to the same system of beliefs and values. He does this by proclaiming that he is a Christian, thereby answering the question: "Who am I?" Individual dissatisfaction is evidenced when, for a variety of reasons, a person encounters difficulty in answering this question.

Problems of religious status are concerned with the question: "What am I?", or to be more accurate, "What am I in relationship to others?" This sort of dissatisfaction is more acute among those who militate against ascription of status, the normal method of bestowal of power, associated with religion. One thinks of the anointing of kings, whose power is often conceived in terms of Divine Right, the consecration of bishops, who have been appointed rather than elected, and the nomination of superiors and parish priests, on the basis of seniority rather than achievement. For those dissatisfied at the communal level, status is something that is to be achieved rather than ascribed, and is based on human professional merit rather than on the reception of a supernatural gift. Further, the power achieved is not seen in terms of a position of domination over others, as this is not consonant with harmonious relationships based on equality, but rather attainment of a position from which a person may be of greater service to others through his individual contribution. Dissatisfaction at the communal level is highlighted by a revulsion towards obedience to a higher authority, the hallmark of ascriptive status.

Problems of religious role centre on the question: "What should I be doing?" This sort of dissatisfaction is similar to communal dissatisfaction in that it finds difficulty in accepting modes of behaviour based on ascribed authority. Consequently it militates against the specificity of prescribed goals, to be identified with a religious system or sub-system. Similarly it reacts against forms of religious
socialisation that it considers to be modes of preparation for the carrying out of certain prescribed behaviour. It differs from communal dissatisfaction in that it focusses attention, not so much on relationships with those in authority, but more on the identification of that authority with a structural system of goals and their prescribed enactment.

However, for the purposes of this research, one is limiting still further the notion of religious dissatisfaction. In the empirical section that follows we shall explain why one has limited one's investigation of religious belonging in the Catholic Church to a missionary congregation of sisters. At present one need simply note that one is concerned with religious dissatisfaction of religious, i.e. dealing with the dissatisfaction of those who have committed themselves in a permanent fashion to a life of witness, based on the evangelical precepts of poverty, chastity and obedience. One's examination of literally the ideal type of commitment should later enable one to extend one's analysis to those Catholics who tend towards this ideal. While not specifically professing it in the concrete fashion of membership of Church personnel, other members of the Catholic Church nevertheless attempt to live out the Christian values of poverty, chastity and obedience. The difference between the two sorts of membership is, then, theoretically one of degree. The implication for sociological methodology, however, is that to arrive inductively at a notion of religious dissatisfaction (in ideal terms), one should consult surveys of Church personnel, rather than those dealing specifically with lay members of the Church. This method one intend to follow by concentrating on several major surveys of Church personnel in Europe and the United States, conducted in the last ten years. Omission of a sociological inquiry is either due to the fact that dissatisfaction has not been treated, or else it has been dealt with in too direct a fashion. A further reason offered for omission of an inquiry is inavailability of data, due to anonymity, copyright, or
lack of attainable published results. The surveys have been further complemented by a few theoretical writings treating of the same theme of religious dissatisfaction.

We shall now present our three types of dissatisfaction, as derived from twenty-one sources, stating the source together with each abstracted theme.

i. Individual Dissatisfaction

1. Unwillingness to enter the same life again (Greinacher (94), Survey of United States priests (95), Survey of United States curates (96), Survey of English speaking Canadian priests (97)).

2. Lack of religious experience (Survey of United States priests, Survey of English speaking Canadian priests, Sr. Edna Mary (98)).

3. Crisis of identity (Survey of Italian priests (99), Survey of Spanish seminarians (100)).

4. Unwillingness to encourage others to the same way of life (Survey of United States priests, Survey of United States curates, Survey of English speaking Canadian priests).

5. Crisis of affectivity (Survey of Italian priests, Colaianni (101)), due to loneliness (Survey of Italian priests, Survey of United States priests, Survey of Spanish seminarians, Schallert (102), Sr. Jeanne d'Arc (103)).

6. Possession of modern values (Survey of Italian priests, Survey of United States priests, Schallert).

7. Personality factors (Survey of United States priests, Cara (104)).

8. Family background (Survey of United States priests, Fichter (105)).

9. Emotional instability (Sr. C. Borromeo (106), Sr. Edna Mary).

10. Unfulfilled desire to give witness (Sr. Edna Mary, Sr. Jeanne d'Arc, Sr. Vandermeersch (107)).

11. Desire to give secular witness (Greinacher, Gannon (108)).

Item 6 is omitted from our treatment of individual dissatisfaction as it is dealt with under outer motivation. Items 7 and 9 are omitted for a similar reason. In addition, they are less capable of subjection to sociological treatment. Item 10 is withdrawn from the list on account of conflicting findings. Our process of abstraction deals only with commonly held factors. The construction of our indices from the above factors is left until chapter three of the next section.
ii. Communal Dissatisfaction


2. Desire for greater democracy (Survey of Italian priests, Survey of United States priests, Survey of English speaking Canadian priests, Borromeo, Edna Mary, Fichter, Schallert, Berrigan and Illich (109)).

3. Aversion to group codes of conduct imposed from above (Survey of United States curates, Fichter, Edna Mary, Borromeo).

4. Problems of communication (Survey of United States priests, Survey of Italian priests, Borromeo).


All these items concerning status have been included in one's research. Indicators are similarly to be found in chapter three of the next section.

iii. Dissatisfaction at the Specific Group level


2. Reaction to blueprinting of goals (Borromeo, J. Ford (110)).


5. Problem of role (Survey of Italian priests, Survey of English speaking Canadian priests, Borromeo, Edna Mary, Schreuder).

6. Feeling lack of responsibility (Survey of Italian priests).

7. Lack of identification with goals (Survey of English speaking Canadian priests, J. Ford, Edna Mary).

8. Objection to socialisation process towards goals (Jeanne d'Arc).

From this list only item 6 has been deleted, as it is felt that it is subsumed by the other items. As with the other two types of dissatisfaction, indicators of dissatisfaction at the specific group level are held over until chapter three of the following section.

If one now takes all three types of dissatisfaction together,
one can refer to this summation as religious life dissatisfaction. This latter term can be described as follows:

Religious dissatisfaction is a state of mind enacted by a person who has committed himself by religious vows or promises to a life of consecration in the Church, but who fails to see the point of, or who fails to give either public or private witness to prescribed vows or promises. The specificity of the consecration is blurred, so that the subject either cannot, or will not, see its relevance. Thus there emerges a conflict between what the subject should be thinking, saying and doing, and what he actually thinks, says and does. The discrepancy between the intended goals of the individual, or group of like minded individuals, and those of the religious institution to which they belong, is manifested by protest against the content and form of the prescribed goals and against the manner in which they are devised. Members external to the life to which the individual is committed are discouraged from such a way of life, unless the perceived goals of the individual are accepted by, or can be married to, the institution to which he belongs.

Simplifying the above description, we can say that religious dissatisfaction is:

The selection and enactment of ultimate goals that coincide with a personal or shared model of religious consecration, differing from that model prescribed by the religious institution to which the individual(s) belong.

In other words, the chief characteristic of religious dissatisfaction is the selection of an alternative model of religious commitment. We suggest that this implies that an alternative model of religious belonging is being chosen in preference to the nominal type of religious belonging to which the individual(s) would appear to belong.

The counterpart to religious dissatisfaction is religious satisfaction, which can now be defined as follows:

The assimilation and enactment of ultimate goals that coincide with a personal or shared model of religious consecration, which is the same or similar to that model prescribed by the religious institution to which the individual(s) belong.

The only difference between the two definitions is the substitution of the words 'assimilation' for 'selection', and 'same or similar' for 'differing from'. The word 'assimilation', while denoting a more positive stance than that associated with the word 'selection', implying
an alternative model, nevertheless is intended to rule out the implication of 'apathy'. It is rather the positive acceptance of a given world view.

One is now in the position to highlight the difference in more detail between religious satisfaction and religious dissatisfaction. They are presented in the following tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious satisfaction</th>
<th>Religious dissatisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Identity prescribed by institution</td>
<td>Identity achieved by individual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status based on ascription</td>
<td>Status based on (professional) achievement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role based on traditional expectation</td>
<td>Role dictates future expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to encourage others to the same way of life</td>
<td>Desire to encourage others to one's own view of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orders given: security experienced</td>
<td>Desire for autonomy, democracy, freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consecration lived out with secondary adjustments</td>
<td>Consecration lived out with major adjustments</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It simply remains to establish the connection between (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging, the connection between dissatisfaction and change in commitment having been already established in our definition.

(Dis)satisfaction and Total Institution Belonging

Rudge and Etzioni suggest that tension will exist where the organisational employee does not find his own needs satisfied by the structural setting in which he finds himself. His 'de facto' placement in anomic-coercive compliance structures fails to satisfy his desire to belong to a moral-normative compliance structure. Whether he has sufficient outer motivation to alleviate his condition is another question from the tension and dissatisfaction that exist within total institution belonging. Bogan suggests that the concomitance of alienation and anomie, while indicative of dissatisfaction, actually sustains what we have termed inner motivation. Pin and Houtart have also pointed out the hopeless condition of large numbers of Latin
American Catholics who have to remain dissatisfied as long as there is an absence of ethico-prophetic motivation (outer motivation). Therefore we are of the opinion that a change from organisational and total institutional belonging cannot be brought about by the mere presence of dissatisfaction. It must be somehow accompanied by outer motivation. We have already noted instances where this has occurred in Latin America, among prophetic figures such as Helder Camara, Paulo Freire, and groups such as C.E.L.A.M. We maintain that their purpose is to change the motivation of people at grass roots level in the attempt to alleviate their dissatisfaction.

(Dis)satisfaction and Familial Belonging

One has noted the tendency in this form of religious belonging to externalise conflict, in the attempt to strive for harmonious living. This has enabled one to characterise familial belonging with the Parsonian qualities of particularism and affectivity. With the added emphasis on ascriptive authority, such membership is given an extra sense of security, one which it could not find outside the family group. There is no reason to suppose, therefore, that tension and dissatisfaction are in evidence to any marked degree in familial belonging. Further, the micro-ecclesial authority structure of the family group heightens the orthodoxy of such belonging by allying it with the ascription-diffuseness of the organisational Church, whose magisterial authority goes unquestioned. Out-groups, for those committed to familial belonging, are therefore those which are anti-institutional and which question their traditions, i.e. those forms of belonging to the left of our model. Hostility towards closed community and open network belonging shown by familial membership does not, we one maintain, make them dissatisfied with their own position. One thus tends to identify inner motivation and satisfaction with familial belonging, making this type of membership least likely to change.

Noting Greeley's negative correlation between inner-directedness and
We also think it quite likely that familial belonging will, by and large, be the prerogative of more elderly members of the Catholic Church. Where positions of authority are assigned according to the criterion of seniority, one should also be able to detect a greater commitment to familial belonging among Church leadership.

**(Dis)satisfaction and closed community belonging**

Earlier, we came to the conclusion that the distinction between closed community and open network belonging lay in the fact that in the former case charisma had been routinised. What at first had begun with protest tended to become either institutionalised or evaporate altogether. The specificity and particularism of the protest was seen to be characterised by inner motivation, thus facilitating the tendency of the group to turn in on itself. The final outcome was similar to familial belonging, in that there was an emphasis on particularism and affectivity and often a strong reliance on leadership. The similarity of authority structures in the closed community and in familial belonging was due to the problems associated with the appointment of a successor to the prophet. Where prophecy was continued (artificially) by designation or 'ex officio', this similarity became even more pronounced.

One is further of the opinion that in closed community belonging satisfaction is more in evidence than dissatisfaction. While the initial charismatic, anti-institutional, stance of such groups was indeed indicative of a certain underlying dissatisfaction, after routinisation of the original charisma and the institutionalisation of the group along familial lines, the isolated commitment to a specific cause if anything changed the initial dissatisfaction in the direction of a self-centred satisfaction. The group has registered its protest. It had cut itself off from the rest of Church membership, and was now following the ideal it had set itself. If one looks at the examples one has given of closed community belonging, those of the
Children of God, the Alamo Christian Foundation, the Isolotto community and Don Franzoni and his followers, one would hesitate in applying the epithet 'dissatisfied' to such groups. They are certainly hostile to other groups in the Church, as they are towards the organisational model of the Church, but this dissatisfaction is not evident within their own ranks. One suggest, therefore, that the closed community, precisely because closed, is characterised by inner motivation and satisfaction.

However, one stated that inner motivation and satisfaction are also the attributes of familial belonging. How then is one justified in separating these two forms of religious belonging? The answer to this question has been given in several places already. First, the origin of these two forms of belonging is completely different. Closed community belonging begins with charismatic protest, while familial belonging inherits its life style. Second, the commitment to a specific cause is more the reason for the isolationism of the closed community, whereas affectivity and particularism separate familial belonging from other types of religious commitment. Third, the suggested age factor should separate closed community belonging from familial belonging. It is more likely that a group beginning with charismatic protest will have a greater proportion of young members than one with an emphasis on heredity and traditional forms of leadership. Finally, there may well be other factors that separate the two forms of belonging, ones associated with protest and its subsequent routinisation. Clearly, these and other assertions stated in this sub-section, will have to be subject to empirical inquiry before any further conclusions can be drawn.

(Dis)atisfaction and Open Network Belonging

The difference between the protest of closed community belonging and that associated with open network belonging is that the latter endures and somehow refuses to be routinised. Moreover, when the protest is of a specific and anti-institutional nature, this
creates a position of instability, one of the characteristics of open network belonging. The sheer open-endedness and openness of this latter type of affiliation (as described by the pattern variables of universalism and neutrality), contributes to the instability of such belonging. Different causes are taken up as social and environmental conditions themselves change, groups emerge and disappear only to be replaced by new ones, centres of networks become pushed to the margin and new ad hoc centres of communication fill their positions. Territory is transcended with the arrival of new ideas. Just as interests change, so does conviction associated with such interest undergo radical transformation; new interest groups, pressure groups and parties, emerge, and membership has constantly to rethink its commitment.

With little or no room for the maintenance of the status quo, one suggests that the position of open network belonging is characterised by an inherent dissatisfaction with the present. The only two tenses that exist for such membership are those of the past and future. Either they seek renewal by a process analogous to demythologisation, and seek relationships similar to those found in the unstable and persecuted Church of the apostolic era, or else they seek 'aggiornamento' by trial and error, looking towards the future for the satisfaction of their needs and aspirations. The open network is thus characterised by outer motivation and dissatisfaction.

The relation between (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging thus assumes the following pattern:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Belonging</th>
<th>Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Familial Belonging</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed Community Belonging</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open Network Belonging</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Institution Belonging</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one introduces the motivational dichotomy, the overall model appears as follows:
Unfortunately, the data at our disposal do not permit one to test directly the hypothesis that total institution belonging is the product of inner motivation and dissatisfaction. In order to avoid such an hypothesis remaining at the level of pure assertion, one therefore suggest that it be removed from our model and be subsequently the object of later empirical investigation. Total institutional belonging, has, however, been included in our theoretical treatment of religious belonging until this stage in order that the picture of the overall pluriform model be complete. The remaining model (ie. that to be found immediately beneath the present chapter heading (p.214)), can be tested empirically, and it is this task that we set oneself in the second section of this piece of research. By testing such a model one thereby hope to contribute something original to the sociology of religion, something that goes beyond typological description and towards explanation in terms of cause and effect.

Finally, we shall investigate types of dissatisfaction and their influence on open network belonging (the only remaining type of belonging subject to dissatisfaction). We hope to separate analytically types of dissatisfaction, while remaining open to the possibility that the overall force of life dissatisfaction may be greater than any of its constituent parts.
SECTION TWO

EMPirical
In section one of this piece of research it was argued that there were theoretical grounds for supposing that the Catholic Church, since the Second Vatican Council, offers more than one mode of belonging to its members. A pluriform model of religious belonging was presented as an alternative to the uniform organisational model of the Church, in evidence from the Council of Trent until the First Vatican Council. In the attempt to go beyond the levels of description and typology, it was further suggested that an explanation for desired types of alternative belonging could be sought in terms of motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

In this section it is hoped to develop the argument by subjecting the suggestions and hypotheses underlying theoretical assertion to a more empirical form of analysis. Such sociological treatment of necessity involves one in a discussion and elaboration of testable hypotheses. Further treatment of the variables that constitute the hypotheses is also required. One also has to examine the indicators that represent the variables, and the way in which the indicators are ordered in a conceptual framework. In other words, sociological methods are to be investigated. Parallel to such an inquiry is the question of sociological strategy and technique - the way hypotheses are tested in a given social context. The choice of method depends to a large extent on the problems associated with the subject and object of the research. These problems will have to be overcome before a satisfactory method can be accepted. A discussion of methods and techniques generally has the effect of placing limits on a piece of research; such limits, where encountered, need to be stated. In addition, one needs to look at the history of the inquiry and how the central problem of the research evolved. The remaining questions to be discussed concern the actual methods and techniques employed in tackling the
problem of the research.

This introductory chapter will be concerned with four problem areas:

1. The methodological problem of investigating desired change in types of religious belonging in the Catholic Church. A solution to the problem is suggested and adopted.
2. The evolution of the central problem of the research in the light of the above solution.
3. The elaboration of hypotheses to deal with the research problem.
4. The discussion of methods and techniques employed in the testing of the research hypotheses.

Chapter two will then investigate the subject of the inquiry and the independent variables associated with it. Chapter three concentrates on the indicators constituting the research variables of motivation and (dis)satisfaction, that is those variables associated with the object of the research, the need for an alternative model of religious belonging. Chapter four deals with the actual testing of the research hypotheses that make up the overall research model, while chapter five, employing different techniques, looks at the research model as a whole. Conclusions are drawn in chapter six, where areas for further research are also suggested. The work is completed with the addition of a list of references and four appendices.

1. The methodological problem of investigating desired change in types of religious belonging in the Catholic Church. A solution to the problem is suggested and adopted.

To investigate desired change in religious belonging in the Catholic Church appears empirically to be an insurmountable problem. Clearly a population study of 659 million Catholics is impracticable for a variety of reasons, not least of which are considerations of time and cost. The sample survey usually suggests itself as an alternative method when a population study becomes impracticable. However such a strategy has never been employed with regard to the Catholic Church for reasons similar, and sometimes identical, to those associated with the difficulties of conducting a population study. It is felt that a sample survey of the Catholic Church would fail to meet the
minimum requirements of adequacy and representativeness, essential conditions for statistical generalisation (1). Similarly the use of case studies would require the fulfilment of the requirements of adequacy and representativeness, in their inductive approach to the same problem. Nor is the problem of generalisation made any easier by the consideration of a series of national surveys of the Catholic Church, all of which have supplied findings of one particular area or culture. One has surveys of American priests, of French sisters, of West German laity, and so on (the last mentioned incidentally dealing with 4.4 million questionnaires (2)). The different pieces of research are then assembled through some international clearing house (3), and the results made available to others so that a jigsaw is assembled of the Catholic Church. However valuable this research is, though, it cannot provide a picture of the Catholic Church as 'catholic', because it cannot treat any one aspect of the faith simultaneously and over wide areas. The normal outcome is a series of pictures of national opinion on a variety of socio-religious subjects. One feels therefore that such an approach cannot supply one with a comprehensive investigation into religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church.

It would appear therefore that one has reached a sociological impasse. There seems to be no method that can deal satisfactorily with pluriform religious belonging within the Catholic Church. They are either impracticable or else they make generalisation impossible through failure to treat the cultural variable adequately.

However, one feels that many of the above difficulties can be overcome by focussing one's attention on an international organised group within the Catholic Church, that gives evidence within its ranks of pluriform religious belonging. Moreover, one claims to have found such a group in an international congregation of missionary sisters (4). This organised group can be said to be representative of membership of the Catholic Church for the following reasons:—First, as the congregation is international, it can to a certain extent tackle the cultural or super-national variable, necessary for a study
of the Catholic Church 'qua catholic'. Second, sisters hold a midway position in Church membership. They share membership with the laity in that they do not belong to the official hierarchy of ordained ministers, and also by virtue of their interpersonal contact in schools, in visiting, at worship and in the many activities of their apostolate. They are similar to other members of Church personnel in that they have dedicated their lives to the Church through the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Third, as a congregation with its own form of organisation and constitutions it can be considered analogous to the macro-structures of the Catholic Church as a whole, (this point is argued more fully in the next chapter). Fourth, if it can be shown that a congregation of sisters is representative of sisters in general (the demonstration of which is left to chapter two of this section), then one finds oneself with a possible 1 in 659 sample of Catholic Church membership. Just how representative this sample is remains to be seen, but it does suggest that possible grounds for generalisation exist in studying an international congregation of missionary sisters. Finally, being a missionary congregation, it has to adapt and change with environmental conditions. One has argued elsewhere (5) that the Catholic sisterhood has been at the forefront of change in the Catholic Church, not only due to its sect-like origins, but because of its need to survive in its apostolic purpose, which in turn is subject to forces of social change, not only within, but also outside, the Catholic Church. Such change can be looked at from the point of view of a change in religious belonging, the object of one's research.

However, there are certain disadvantages to an examination of religious belonging in an international congregation of missionary sisters with a view to tentative generalisation towards other forms of membership in the Catholic Church. First, a breakdown by age of the actual congregation under study shows a slight tendency towards a higher mean age than other groups of sisters, priests and laity,
as the following table suggests:

**TABLE I**

Comparison by age categories of international congregation of missionary sisters with other groups in the Catholic Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
<th>Group 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>12.52</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>24.0    (16-29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>19.34</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>29.0    (30-44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>16.21</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>20.72</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>(45-59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-70</td>
<td>16.94</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>22.0    (60+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71-80</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81+</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent data</td>
<td>2.30</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- Group 1: International congregation of missionary sisters
- Group 2: C.M.S.W. Survey, United States, 1967 (6)
- Group 3: Latin American clergy, 1964 (7)
- Group 4: English laity, 1970 (8)
- Group 5: West German laity, 1970-1 (9)

Second, as regards university qualifications of B.A. and higher degrees, groups 1 and 2 give percentages of 19.7 and 23.4 respectively (10), which are considerably higher than the 3% encountered in group 4 for example (11). Third, while Church legislation makes marriage an impossibility for groups 1-3, the actual percentage for groups 4-5 is in the region of 78% (12). Fourth, the size of household for groups 1-3 differs from the family of 5 of the latter two groups (13). Finally, while all four types of previously discussed religious belonging can be detected with ease in both lay groups (4 & 5), it is not so easy to find total institutional belonging today in the first three groups (14).

However, when one considers the present research from the point of view of interest, one's attention is directed towards the most radical form of religious belonging in the Catholic Church, i.e. open
network belonging. If one's theoretical assumptions are correct, then such a form of belonging should become increasingly more evident in the Catholic Church within the next few years. As it is up to the sociologist to supply testable hypothetical explanations for the emergence and persistence of open network belonging, he may be permitted to investigate the sources of his intuition. One has suggested that open network belonging is the product of dissatisfaction, outer (or communal) dissatisfaction, and outer motivation. In order to test such hypotheses, one feels it is necessary to examine an area in the Catholic Church where one suspects that the above three conditions are present to a sufficiently marked degree to enable one to draw satisfactory conclusions. A reading of the literature suggests that a likely area for the testing of one's hypotheses is the Catholic sisterhood (15); hence one's choice of an international congregation of missionary sisters. Moreover, one's more detailed discussion of the missionary congregation itself (in the following chapter), while not attempting to sidestep the disadvantages, outlined above, nevertheless may be able largely to overcome the fear that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages by studying such a group. The purpose of introducing the disadvantages at this stage in the argument is to add a note of caution to one's inquiry in its overall problem of generalisation. However, with these limits accepted, one still maintains that by examining an international congregation of missionary sisters, one has overcome many of the limitations imposed by alternative methodologies. On balance, therefore, one suggests that one's proposed method be at least tried. Subsequent researchers in the field can then assess one's findings and further test and elaborate one's hypotheses.

2. The evolution of the central problem of the research in the light of the above solution, i.e. the selection of an international missionary congregation of sisters as the subject of one's investigation.

Sociologists quite often appear to rationalise their methods or findings, particularly when 'ex post-facto' solutions are proposed.
They all commence with a series of value judgements which dictate the scope and limits of their inquiries, as do considerations of time and cost (16). Often too the focus of their initial interest changes, sometimes the result of a series of unanticipated outcomes (17) or the employment of an alternative set of techniques to data assembled in a different form (18). It is on these occasions that sociologists should supply their colleagues with background information to their inquiries in order that they may not later be misrepresented. A similar need is felt by the present writer in order to place his research in a more accurate perspective. The paragraphs that follow, therefore, should not be judged as an exercise in autobiographical self-indulgence, but as a necessary preamble to the remainder of this empirical section.

In the summer of 1970, when the present writer was about to commence his final year towards his licentiate in social science at the Gregorian University, Rome, with a view to continuing his course to the doctoral level, he was asked by Emile Pin, then the director of C.I.R.I.S., whether he would be interested in a proposed sociological survey of a missionary congregation of sisters, whose Generalate (19) was situated just outside the city. Upon displaying sufficient interest in the project, an interview was arranged between himself and the superiors of the congregation in question. An understanding had been reached prior to this meeting that were the inquiry viable then the present writer would conduct the research, aided by the director and co-workers of C.I.R.I.S.

From 1965 onwards, many religious congregations, following the instructions and directives of the Second Vatican Council, decided to hold extraordinary chapters of renewal in which their constitutions would be examined anew and updated where necessary (20). The congregation of missionary sisters was no exception to this. However, unlike several congregations, they had decided to hold a further chapter of renewal in the summer of 1972, when they would take
appraisal of the attitudes of their members to the quite dramatic changes that had been introduced at their first chapter of renewal following the Vatican Council. With this end in mind they sought the help of sociologists. Such was the position explained to the present writer in his first meeting with the superiors of the congregation of missionary sisters.

Subsequent meetings clarified the purpose of the inquiry. The broad lines of investigation were to be within the framework of the religious life itself. The following areas thus had to be covered:

a) the aim and spirit of the congregation
b) religious consecration
c) prayer life
d) community living
e) the apostolate
f) formation
g) government

However, in further consultation with Emile Pin, it was suggested that while the above framework could be adopted, it nevertheless had to be treated from a socio-religious perspective by using recent and available research hypotheses. This suggestion was carried out and a questionnaire designed incorporating three key variables: those of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change. The questions were further constructed in such a way as to permit indirect investigation of the three variables.

Initial reaction to the questionnaire on the part of the congregation's superiors was extremely favourable and induced the present writer to accept the commission for the inquiry. It was then explained that a mailed questionnaire would be the method of the survey for a variety of reasons, ranging from excessive cost of alternative methods to the impossibility of obtaining visas for some of the countries to which the questionnaire would be destined. June 1971 was the proposed date for the mailing of the questionnaires, and results in the form of a report were planned for the following June, in order to give the chapter delegates sufficient time to digest them before the second chapter of September 1972.
The period 1970-71 was one which saw the initial questionnaire pass through five redactions in English and two French translations, until a mutually agreed final format was reached in the summer of 1971. Preparation of the questionnaire was facilitated by a pilot inquiry held in one of the houses of the congregation in the North of England (22). Eventually the questionnaires were posted to every sister in the congregation, accompanied by letters from the Mother General and the present writer, with a view to obtaining a high and accurate return rate. A certain amount of difficulty was encountered in the sending of questionnaires into Bangladesh, Burma, India and Vietnam, all of which were in a situation of war or martial law. However by the autumn of 1971 almost a 90% return rate had been realised, details of which are given in Appendix IV.

Help for the codification of the replies was enlisted from C.I.R.I.S., the secretary of the congregation and two university students. Four people were involved in the coding procedure, each of whom was given a separate number appearing with the coded data for cross-checking purposes (23). Each followed the coding slip given in Appendix II. When the present writer transferred to Surrey University for the continuation of his studies, based on his collected data, it was necessary to airlift the 220 kilograms of questionnaires with him.

The first year at Surrey was spent analysing the data with the help of Professors Tropp and Van Hove. The findings were then assembled in the form of a report and were presented to the congregation's elected chapter delegates in September 1972 (24). The format of the report followed the previously outlined areas of the religious life, and as a policy document did not dwell upon the sociological testing of hypotheses, still contained in the data.

The period 1972-4 directed the analysis along the lines suggested by the initial hypotheses by concentrating on the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change. By this time, however, it had become quite apparent that the variable ' change ' had become much more specific than originally envisaged. The respondents had
focused one's attention on one particular area of change - that of religious belonging. It was thus possible for research purposes to tackle the little discussed subject of religious belonging from existing data, by omitting those parts more concerned with congregational policy. Moreover, this approach was not forcing data into an unfamiliar pattern. Rather it was highlighting a particular area of importance and treating it in more depth than was originally anticipated. The variables of motivation and (dis)satisfaction were thus related to change in religious belonging ( cf. discussion in chapter six, first section ). A second set of computer cards, linking the three variables, were punched for each individual and a new program written for a re-run of the data (25). The testing of the hypotheses which follows ( chapter four ), is thus based on the second stage of analysis, that focussing on religious belonging. Supplementary to the quantitative analysis was the conducting of nine interviews, representative of each of the provinces in which the congregation was present. These interviews were conducted in the autumn of 1971 among tertians (26) present on a renewal course at the Generalate. One has also conducted a series of 80 in-depth interviews in the Canadian province ( summer 1974 ), the results of which will be presented at a later date.

The theoretical section ( section one ), was written between 1973–4 when the research was sufficiently 'problem-orientated' as to provide material for a thesis. The intuitions, assertions, suggestions and hypotheses, underlying the theoretical section were in the main based upon earlier published and unpublished material. However, they were revised to include the results of later socio-religious research based upon similar hypotheses (27).

Thus the present research is not to be thought of as a theoretical revamping of old hypotheses, aided empirically by the 'data dredging' of unused material, but rather the evolution of a process of thought that began as far back as 1968 in Rome. The marrying of theology
to sociological insight takes one back a further six years. One could thus say that this piece of work represents ongoing thought from 1962.

The application of hypotheses used in the inquiry into the missionary congregation to a general picture of the Catholic Church again could appear as a form of rationalisation justifying one's research commission. That this is not the actual case must be argued from one's derivation of initial hypotheses prior to the construction of the questionnaire. C.I.R.I.S. itself had conducted 70 pieces of research and one was privileged to participate fully in two major inquiries under the direction of Emile Pin, Cesare Cavallin, Paulo Tufari and Fabio Buratto. The surveys that C.I.R.I.S. carried out were for the most part socio-religious in nature and concerned with the Catholic Church in particular. The sociological tradition of the research centre was European, rather than American, with direct links to F.E.R.E.S. and the initial inspiration of Gabriel Le Bras (28). Thus one was soon made familiar with research hypotheses and indicators that centred specifically on the Catholic Church. Naturally one modified and adapted such hypotheses according to the nature of different surveys. Buratto's study of religion and tourism in the Val d'Aosta (29) took a different approach from the investigation of superstition and witchcraft in Lucania. Yet their similarity lay in that nearly all inquiries were manipulating a battery of variables and hypotheses applicable to the Catholic Church. One's own investigation was thus tempered by this outlook. The research into a missionary congregation was seen as a piece of socio-religious research within the larger framework of the Catholic Church. One's approach therefore was not one of trying to argue from the particular to the general, but of substantiation of hypotheses already existing in some form in a more general body of socio-religious theory concerning the Catholic Church. The inquiry into the congregation was a means to this end. Thus the 'findings' which follow should be considered as a form of secondary analysis of data within a broader socio-religious perspective. This should not belittle their importance either, as
upon reflection it can be noted that most empirical research is of the same nature.

3. The elaboration of hypotheses to deal with the research problem

The construction of hypotheses is dictated by the type of sociological model employed, for hypotheses spell out in more detail causal connections assumed in the model. Thus one considers it worthwhile to refresh one’s memory and to enlarge on previous theoretical discussion (chapters five and six, first section) by re-presenting the research model to be tested:

**FIGURE V**

The research model to be tested

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OPEN ENDED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WESTERN</td>
<td>INNER</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(COMMUNITY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACKGROUND</td>
<td>MOTIVATION → SATISFACTION</td>
<td>CHANGE → FAMILY BELONGING</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>QUALIFICATIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td>OPEN ENDED</td>
<td></td>
<td>BELONGING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEACHING</td>
<td>QUALIFICATIONS</td>
<td>INDIVIDUAL</td>
<td>OPEN ENDED</td>
<td></td>
<td>(COMMUNITY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATIVE</td>
<td>OUTER</td>
<td></td>
<td>OUTER → CHANGE</td>
<td></td>
<td>OPEN NETWORK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSE SIZE</td>
<td>MOTIVATION</td>
<td>DISSATISFACTION</td>
<td>CONGREGATIONAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>BELONGING</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To the earlier model (fig. IV) one has added a series of independent background variables, which, it is suggested, clarify the distinction between family belonging and closed community belonging, and which hopefully contribute further understanding to open network belonging. These independent variables are:

/ the age of the individual
/ the cultural background of the individual (WESTERN/ NON WESTERN)
/ the qualifications of the individual (UNIVERSITY, TEACHING)
/ the size of community in which the individual lives (HOUSE SIZE)

The reason for the inclusion of these variables will be given presently.
Before one states the hypotheses linking the variables in the model, certain observations are in order. **First**, the model is causal moving in the direction of the arrows from left to right. For example, an explanation of satisfaction is to be sought in terms of inner motivation, i.e., in a consideration of two variables, the variable to the right seeks explanation in terms of the other variable to its left. Thus variables at the extreme right of the model look for at least logical causal explanation in all variables to their left (and in their own 'half' of the model) (cf. fourth point also). **Second**, the model is in two 'halves', divided by the dotted line. One should remember that this line does not render the variables dichotomous but rather highlights the predominance of one over another. It is thus hypothesised that explanations for variables should be sought within their own half of the model. For example, dissatisfaction looks for explanation in outer, rather than inner, motivation. **Third**, the model includes both quantitative and qualitative dimensions of variables. From a quantitative standpoint one is examining degree of (dis)satisfaction and change, dependent on motivation. From a qualitative point of view, however, one considers the **types** of motivation, dissatisfaction and change. Hence the appearance of the words 'degree' and 'type' above the variables. Again, explanation of types of variables is to be sought within their own half of the model. For example, one does not look for an explanation of family belonging (type of change) in terms of outer motivation (type of motivation) or outer (communal) dissatisfaction (type of dissatisfaction), but rather in terms of inner motivation, satisfaction not having been broken down into types. **Fourth**, hypotheses elaborated from the model should be derived from consequent to antecedent, i.e., from right to left, thus giving lie to the logical sequence of events from left to right. This logical ordering of events should not be taken to imply that this is an ordering of reality 'ex natura rerum' or that temporal succession is necessarily involved. Similarly, the establishment of quantitative, prior to qualitative, connection between variables, is a question of
method rather than natural sequence. It is in the above sense that one uses the term 'causality' (cf. discussion in chapter six).

Finally, one has substituted the terms 'outer' for communal and 'congregational' for task orientated, under types of dissatisfaction. The reasons for this change in terminology will soon be made known.

The problem of how the model evolved will become clearer in the third chapter of this section, when one treats of the indicators underpinning the major variables. These indicators have been drawn from a series of socio-religious surveys, investigating causal links between one's variables. However, as no single survey presents its findings in one's model as a complete entity, but only establishes partial connection between pieces of the model, the question of the evolution of the research model should be seen as a process of induction from indicators underlying certain variables to the linking of those variables as a structured whole.

Similarly the introduction of the additional independent variables of AGE, WESTERN BACKGROUND, UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATIONS, TEACHING QUALIFICATIONS and SIZE OF HOUSE, is suggested by hypotheses in allied socio-religious research, which one has employed in the construction of one's indicators. For example, a connection has been established between youthfulness and resignation from the religious life (30), itself an indicator of dissatisfaction. There is also a connection between the young and those prophetically motivated (31), what one has termed 'outer motivation'. The young are also more desirous of change and certain types of change (32). However, as there is a temptation to overlook the above independent variables, while discussing the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, one feels that this is the place to treat them, before the actual statement of one's hypotheses. (One also intends taking a further look at these variables in the following chapter).
a) The independent variable of AGE

Most recent socio-religious surveys testify to a negative correlation between dissatisfaction and age. In other words, the younger the respondent the more likely he is to be dissatisfied. However, this finding does not permit one to distinguish types of dissatisfaction, a subject to which one now turns.

Taking dissatisfaction at the individual level (cf. this and other distinctions in the discussion of chapter six, section one ), one notes, for example, that Greeley states that the 36-45 age group displays the greatest amount of dissatisfaction (33), and the 31-40 age group is highlighted for individual dissatisfaction in the two laity surveys conducted in West Germany (34) and in Rome (35). Fichter's study of American curates (36) underlines individual dissatisfaction among the 35-49 age bracket, which is reflected in the 36-50 group in Burgalassi's survey of Italian priests (37). However, this middle age group is extended to include younger members of Church personnel when questions of authority, celibacy and the encouragement of others to a similar way of life, are treated (38). Pin suggests that dissatisfaction among the 'devotus feminineus sexus', aged between 31-40, can possibly be explained in terms of the difficulty encountered by this group in following the Church's official teaching on birth control. It is, of course, impossible to test Pin's hypothesis among unmarried sisters, although an interesting finding from one's own research shows that the 31-40 age group is the least inclined to support the official teaching on birth control in the classroom situation (39), possibly indicating the identification of sisters with other women of their own age. Another insight into individual dissatisfaction among the 31-40 age group can be gleaned from writers supporting Women's Liberation (40). They suggest that dissatisfaction among women will be at its greatest where there is maximum subservience to, and enactment of, traditional family roles, that is, when most women are bringing up a family and feeling the strain associated with possible
future pregnancies, i.e. the 25-44 age group. From these figures it would appear that the negative correlation between dissatisfaction and age is due in the main to the fact that it is the middle aged groups who are displaying the greatest individual dissatisfaction. In other words, it is quite likely that the negative correlation is due to the presence of a bi-modal distribution.

However, when one turns to communal or outer dissatisfaction, all surveys agree that this form of dissatisfaction is encountered among the younger age groups. The possible reasons for this phenomenon will be treated in one's examination of the indicators for outer dissatisfaction. Here one can state briefly that they centre on problems of status, authority, democracy and reaction to traditional community harmony. This time, therefore the negative correlation is more linear in nature.

In discussing task-orientated or congregational dissatisfaction among religious personnel, sociologists appear to disagree as to whether this is more predominant among younger or older age groups. Here the surveys of American priests (41) and of Spanish seminarians (42) point to greater congregational dissatisfaction among younger respondents, whilst the surveys of Canadian and Italian priests and of American curates (45) come to the opposite conclusion, enlarging the debate to include the concept of professionalisation. As a result of these differing conclusions, one prefers to leave open the question of the influence of age on congregational dissatisfaction.

Taking dissatisfaction as a whole, however, and allowing for discrepancy in findings, it would appear more likely and reasonable to find it negatively correlated with age. This conclusion is suggested by combining the 31-40 age group (below mean age for female Church personnel) (46) displaying individual dissatisfaction, with the younger 21-30 age group giving greater evidence of outer dissatisfaction. Even if the unknown outcome of congregational dissatisfaction points to an older age group, this in itself, one feels, is not sufficient to
tip the balance of overall dissatisfaction in favour of the elderly.

Turning to motivation, all surveys demonstrate a greater tendency among the young towards outer motivation, where age is treated as an independent variable. This conclusion is reached when one distinguishes outer from inner motivation according to the criteria of: reasons for entry, use of prayer forms, questions of identity and attitudes towards belief. One thus hypothesises a similar finding in one's own survey.

As regards change, all major socio-religious surveys that treat of this variable, show that the young display a greater enthusiasm for overall change in the Church than their elders (47). However to the best of one's knowledge, no socio-religious survey discusses types of change in terms of religious belonging, along the lines of one's model. Consequently one cannot find any direct hypothetical connection between the independent variable of age and types of religious belonging as one has described them. However, in the theoretical section it was implied that younger membership of the Church would take an anti-institutional stance as regards religious belonging. Church leadership, on the other hand, is based on ascription and seniority, and it has been suggested that the majority of persons in such positions of authority tend to favour the preservation of the status quo. Thus, as regards one's model, one hypothesises a tendency for older membership to favour total institution and family belonging. However, it is not so easy to distinguish closed community belonging from open network belonging by the sole criterion of age, as both types originate from forms of prophecy (normally to be found among younger members of the Church). For this reason one only hypothesises a positive correlation between age and family belonging and a negative correlation between age and both closed community and open network belonging.

Thus a consideration of age in allied research inclines one to hypothesise that it will be correlated negatively with overall dissatisfaction and anti-institutional forms of religious
belonging. It will, however, be correlated positively with familial belonging and inner motivation.

b) The independent variable of cultural background (WESTERN / NON WESTERN)

Earlier on in this chapter, one stated that the choice of an international congregation of missionary sisters as subject of one's research into religious belonging in the Catholic Church had a distinct advantage over alternative methodologies in that it permitted one to study the cross-cultural variable. Indeed, it was considered disadvantageous for a socio-religious survey in the Catholic Church to be limited to merely the national level. Moreover, as all the surveys that one has utilised in the construction of one's hypotheses and indicators are national surveys, one cannot use them as a direct basis for discussing the cultural influence on the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change. However, one can argue indirectly from their overall conclusions, in that all the surveys used for one's inductions are Western in origin. When one adds to this information the conclusions reached in the theoretical section, then it is possible to identify certain patterns associated with Western membership of the Catholic Church. The implication of such an indirect approach is that by highlighting certain Western characteristics associated with motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, one may be permitted to hypothesise an alternative set of characteristics for non-Western membership. The cultural variable, while capable of extension to include ten provinces (Australia, Canada, England, France, New Zealand North, New Zealand South, India, Bangladesh & Burma, Vietnam and Rome) and twenty-four ethnic backgrounds, will at this stage be treated as a dichotomy between Western and non-Western Church affiliation. Western provinces are those of Canada, England and France, while non-Western provinces are made up of the remainder. (Rome is excluded from this subfile treatment for reasons soon to be explained). One may, of course,
object on 'a priori' grounds to the inclusion of the provinces of Australia and New Zealand with those of India, Bangladesh & Burma, and Vietnam, to form the non-Western part of the dichotomous variable of cultural background. However, one's primary analysis of data persuades one that the Commonwealth provinces (Canada excluded) are more akin in their attitudes to non-Western, rather than Western, provinces.

Taking dissatisfaction, it should be clear from the commentary and examples of the theoretical section, that there is a tendency for greater dissatisfaction to be found among Western membership. For example, one finds more defections from Church personnel, not only by proportion but also in crude numbers, in the United States and Europe, than one does in countries such as India, Bangladesh and Vietnam (48). If one considers defection or lapsation as an indicator of dissatisfaction, then one is permitted to draw the conclusion that dissatisfaction, as evidenced by this indicator, is more observable in the Church of the West than in its non-Western counterpart (49). Similarly, if one considers other indicators of dissatisfaction, such as crises of identity, status, role, etc., then again there is evidence to support the view that these are more apparent in the Western Catholic Church (50). The same conclusion is reached by a consideration of the three types of dissatisfaction. When one further observes an increase in vocations to the religious life among non-Western Catholics (51), then one feels that by contrast to the Western Church (52), this is indicative of a certain level of satisfaction. When commentators suggest that this increase in vocations may gradually be brought to a situation of diminishing trends with the advent of Western cultural values (53), then one is entitled to attribute to the cultural variable a certain measure of importance.

Similarly, one expects to find a difference in motivation between Catholics of the West and of non-Western countries. Perhaps an increase in outer motivation of the West is due in part to the fact that most of the thinking behind the renewal of Vatican II was of Western origin,
with its repercussions on attitudes towards change in the five
dimensions of religiosity, and particularly those of belief and
religious experience (54). On the other hand, one reads in surveys of
non-Western countries descriptions of the following order:

"A wide variety of apostolates with the poor, especially in the
cities, is open to the sisters, but they are often prohibited
from undertaking them by their own obsolete stereotype of what
it means to be a nun." (55)

and

"One of the worst symbols of this (clericalised) attitude is the
'confession ticket', which must be signed by the pastor twice
a year for each adult Catholic then turned in by the person when
he next goes to Confession..." (56)

and

"The Church and local community is conceived of as primarily an
institution for the eternal salvation of its members." (57)

and

"They seem to have an ambiguous attitude towards the involvement
of organised religion and religious specialists in attempts to
solve social problems. Their basic idea of religion is heavily
influenced by Buddhist ideas of karma — the evil producing
character of worldly involvement — and consequently, they tend
to feel that in order to remain a 'pure' thing religion should
not become too concerned about the affairs of men." (58)

and

"It is a religion of prohibitions which restrict freedom. Catholic
martyrs and the emphasis on celibacy, together with Protestant
puritanism have contributed to this image." (59)

and

"In spite of many superficial renewals the present mission structure
has only changed a little... i.e., the basic structures are still
those of the parish, the school, the hospital and welfare work,
and then mainly with an institutional aspect or for emergencies.
This was all established before Vatican II and with the then
prevalent mentality, and when colonialism was the dominant
factor." (60)

The list could continue. What one is saying is that the motivation
displayed by Catholics in these non-Western countries is capable of
apt description in terms of twice-born, inner-directed, other-worldly, and transcendent, which one associated with inner motivation (cf.c.6)

One has also noted (chapter three onwards) that change in the Catholic Church is largely attributable to Western influences. The tardiness of non-Western membership to adapt to renewal of structure can be seen in its operations within the traditional structures of parish, hospital and school (61). Other organisations that work for social welfare are highly clericalised and institutionalised and indicative of a ghetto mentality (62). There is a tendency to still care for women and children instead of fostering responsible commitment among adults (63). Catechetical methods, responsible for the production of 'rice Christians', tend to be rather outdated too (64). Failure to adapt to social change, however, cannot be blamed entirely on non-Western Catholics. In some of their countries freedom of religion is not even constitutionally guaranteed, which tends to produce excessive small group loyalty among Catholics (65). Their membership of the Catholic Church also alienates them from the non-Catholic community (66), which suggests that perhaps non-Western Catholics are inclined towards closed community or family belonging. If one had to choose between the two forms of religious belonging predominant among non-Western Catholics, one would tend to opt for closed community belonging, especially in the context of rapid conversions in countries where Catholicism was not of long standing. Such membership would bear the hallmarks of initial charisma which soon becomes routinised, similar to the situation encountered in the Jesus People of the West.

Thus by indirect argumentation from Western surveys, and more direct reasoning from scanty inquiries conducted in non-Western countries, one hypothesises that non-Western Church membership will differ from that of the West in that its motivation will be primarily inner-directed, it will tend to display more satisfaction than dissatisfaction, and it will not be overtly concerned with change.
The type of religious belonging characterising non-Western Church membership should be either of the closed community or family variety, with a more pronounced emphasis on the former.

Under cultural background, however, one may also include a variable distinguishing native from non-indigenous respondents. The reason why one has included this dichotomy is to test the hypothesis, put forward by Hickey (67) and others, that immigrant Catholics will find it more difficult to integrate themselves into the Catholic life of the host country than those born and raised there. The variable NATIVE may also have repercussions on one's three variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change. If integration into the Catholic community is found difficult, then there may be evidence of identification with fellow immigrants of the same cultural background, and a patterning of religiosity into an 'ethnic mentality', similar to the various ethno-religious groupings to be found in the United States (68). This could lead to the classification of such individuals into the category of family belonging, based on the traditions of their country of origin. Inner motivation and satisfaction might also be expected to accompany such attitudinal and behavioural patterns. In the case of the missionary congregation of sisters, such an hypothesis could possibly be tested in the English province, which is composed of a large number of sisters from the Republic of Ireland (69).

c) The independent variable of qualifications (UNIVERSITY qualifications and TEACHING qualifications).

The variable of academic qualifications at the level of university or teachers' training college is encountered most frequently in socio-religious studies of lay Catholic membership (70). Even with a reported significant increase in the percentages of Church personnel with academic qualifications (71), the actual variable of qualifications is little utilised in socio-religious studies concentrating on Catholic priests and sisters. Such an omission is strange, not only when
considered in the light of rapidly increasing educational opportunity (72), but also in its reported concomitant effects when found among Catholics (73). For example, one learns that the Catholic student in a university environment is subject to the same intellectual and emotional crises as his companions of other religious persuasions, that he emphasises freedom of belief (74), the relativity of knowledge (75), that he looks to science rather than religion for answers to ultimate problems (76), and that he is distrustful of authority, whether wielded by adults (77) or by society at large (78). A critical stance is adopted by students vis-à-vis the Church's authority (79), particularly in the field of morality (80). The Church as an institution is distrusted and criticised (81), and fundamental beliefs, such as belief in God and life after death, are increasingly discounted (82). It is difficult to see how members of Church personnel, mixing in the above climate of higher educational opinion, can remain unaffected by it, even when university courses are taken within a Catholic institution of higher learning (83). For this reason one considers it necessary to include the variable of qualifications within one's own inquiry.

It is hypothesised that those respondents who have graduated or who have undergone teacher's training will be more critical of the religious life than those sisters who have not been professionally trained. In other words, they will tend to display greater dissatisfaction. Moreover, it is further hypothesised that such dissatisfaction will be anti-institutional in nature, and will be displayed in outer and congregational dissatisfaction rather than individual dissatisfaction. Consequently desired religious belonging can take one of two paths (cf. discussion in chapter six). Either the protest will take the form of permanent fixation with a specific issue and become routinised, aided by a predominance of inner motivation, or else it will take up a series of specific causes relating to more universal values and dominated by outer motivation, a process leading to open network belonging.
In the present inquiry two variables were employed to test the above hypothesis, those of UNIVERSITY qualifications and TEACHING qualifications, the former indicating the possession of a BA or higher degree, and the latter showing that the respondent was a fully qualified teacher. It should be further noted that by introducing these two variables one is not measuring the same attitudes as those associated with youthfulness, as their distributions related to age are random in nature. Hence the link of qualifications with dissatisfaction is independent of the association of age with the same variable.

The original questionnaire included a question asking the respondent whether she possessed one or more diplomas, but this variable has been eliminated from the presentation due to the emergence of non significant results (cf. chapter two of this section). One's centre of interest, therefore, is not so much the possession of academic qualifications, but the process the individual underwent and the secular climate of opinion she endured in obtaining them.

d) The independent variable of size of community (HOUSE)

A discussion of religious belonging among the Catholic sisterhood necessarily introduces the question of the size and type of religious community. One finds the C.M.S.W. survey emphasising this variable, as can be seen from the following table:

TABLE II
Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding the question of optimal size of community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Invalid</th>
<th>No reply</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>99.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (sic)           | (n = 80,753) | (n = 43,653) | (n = 49) | (n = 10,674) | (n = 135,109) | (84)
The succeeding question sought to quantify the optimal size of community:

### TABLE III
Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding quantification of optimal size of community

"If yes, what is that optimal size?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
<td>3,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>20,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>30,322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>12,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>22,897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>44,906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(sic) **TOTAL**: 99.7% (n = 135,109)

Placing these two questions together, it would appear that the majority of the respondents were of the opinion that not only was there an optimum size for a religious community, but that this size was in the region of 15 members (allowing for the survey's use of discrete categories).

However, the replies to two further questions in the same survey, tend to reduce the above figure of 15 somewhat:

### TABLE IV
Replies of C.M.S.W. respondents regarding desired extent of association

"If you had your choice, with how many sisters would you prefer to live?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 - 5</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>7,136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 10</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>45,260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - 20</td>
<td>35.8%</td>
<td>48,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>17,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>9.2%</td>
<td>12,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>4,584</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(sic) **TOTAL**: 99.6% (n = 135,109)
Weighting the above replies would place the chosen optimum size (in terms of association) at around 13 members. A further question asked the actual size of community in which the sisters lived. The answers to this produced an average of between 15 and 16 members, coinciding with the answers in table III (87). A difference of 2 members is thus registered between the optimal size of community and the number of sisters with whom the respondent would like to live. This suggests that two extra members can be tolerated in a community, with whom one may live in a state of tension or even dislike; yet the presence of the two, possibly hostile, members, does not detract from the existing or perceived optimal size of the community.

In the same survey the majority of sisters were of the following opinion as regards the working of local communities:

There should be superiors in charge of communities.
The style of residence should be functional for the work involved.
Superiors should not be involved in both legislative and executive functions regarding policy; rather they should be assisted by an elected committee of sisters (88).

Respondents also considered present morale to be above average, and higher than that of five years ago, due in the main to a pace of renewal, thought to be neither too rapid nor too slow (89). In other words, the interim findings suggest that there is an increase in the level of morale after change has taken place. This implies an extension of one's own model, in that it is hypothesised here that low morale is followed by change, which in turn produces higher morale. Unfortunately this is an hypothesis that one cannot test with one's present data, the inquiry reported here not being longitudinal in nature. One is also hesitant in equating low morale with dissatisfaction and high morale with satisfaction in the absence of established high correlations between the above variables. Nevertheless one feels the hypothesis is worth examining in either future research or by a reinvestigation of one's own respondents at a later date. Hopefully the results of one's recent follow-up interviews in Canada will enable
one to test the hypothesis of the C.M.S.W. survey (90).

At present full cross tabulations and correlations of the C.M.S.W. survey are not available, thus making it impossible to judge the exact size of community where morale was high as a consequence of satisfactory renewal. However, from the replies to the above questions it would appear that one is looking at communities with between ten and twenty members.

Contrary to the implications of the C.M.S.W. survey, one encounters the suggestion put forward by many congregations, as a result of experimentation in communal living, that small group arrangements are more conducive to a heightened sense of religious belonging. For instance, one reads that styles of apartment living are meeting with a certain amount of success and are found satisfying to members of congregations living in 'communities' of this nature (91). At the same time one is warned against acceptance of the small sociometrically designed religious group as the ultimate panacea for harmony in the religious life (92).

It is the conflict between the findings of congregations regarding the effect of size of community on morale, satisfaction and religious belonging, that adds interest to one's employing size of community as an independent variable. Moreover, one feels that the debate can be extended to other forms of religious belonging in the Catholic Church. It would be an opportunity, for instance, to test Winter's assertion that the extent of social relationships that could be structured along religious lines varies from 20 to 30 in number (cf.c.5). In other words, it has been suggested or asserted that size of community affects satisfaction and religious belonging. One should like to test this in the form of an hypothesis.

The only outstanding question related to one's variable of community size is the decision whether to formulate one's hypothesis in the light of the anticipated results of the C.M.S.W. survey or along the lines of
more recent small group experimentation. Sociologically speaking, it makes little difference whether one formulates one's hypothesis in terms of large or small groups, provided one defines what is meant by 'large' and 'small'. However, since one's questionnaires were sent out to members of the missionary congregation, there has been a modest increase in small group experimentation, and a move from larger communities to smaller 'fraternities' (93). One maintains that this implies a change in religious belonging. Further, as one has hypothesised that change in religious belonging is brought about by dissatisfaction, the form one's new hypothesis should take becomes more apparent. One therefore suggests that membership of larger houses (which one defines as being composed of 16 or more individuals, the mean figure for size of community in one's own inquiry, consonant with the figure for the C.M.S.W. survey, cf. next chapter), tends to be more dissatisfied than that of smaller houses (less than 16 members), and that this state of affairs brings about a change in religious belonging, as evidenced by the emergence of fraternities. (The hypothesis can, however, be treated without reference to any given size by correlation analysis, which naturally treats size of house as a continuous, rather than discrete, variable).

A word about the variables

One has already introduced the variables of AGE, CULTURAL BACKGROUND, QUALIFICATIONS and SIZE OF HOUSE, as independent variables to be found on the extreme left of one's model (fig.V). In other words, their influence is expected to be felt in all variables to their right, regardless of whether they are to be found at the top or lower half of the model (hence the dotted line does not begin until the variable of motivation). The hypotheses which follow will spell out just where causal connections are anticipated.

One has also spoken of the distinction between inner and outer motivation. These two variables which mark the predominance of a type
of motivation have been constructed from a 17 point scale, which will be treated in chapter three of this section. Again satisfaction has been distinguished from dissatisfaction in terms of predominance of attitude. Dissatisfaction is further distinguished according to type. One speaks of individual dissatisfaction, outer dissatisfaction and congregational dissatisfaction. (The reason for change in terminology from 'communal' to 'outer' and task-orientated' to 'congregational' will be seen in chapter three).

The survey also deals with change as a dependent variable and a 11 point scale has been constructed to this end. This will be known as total change or degree of change. However, the last two items on this change scale deal with the replies to an open-ended question (numbers 121, 122 in the questionnaire), concerned with freely offered suggestions regarding change. Thus type of change is of two sorts; it is either the response to an open-ended question on change (two items), or else it forms part of the remaining 9 points on the change scale, responses of a closed nature. Open responses, indicating freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change are further distinguished according to whether 'community' change is one of the areas selected. This has the effect of creating two more variables associated with open-ended change. The remaining 9 closed items on the change scale are distinguished by their highlighting the predominance of the three types of religious belonging under investigation. Thus family belonging, closed community belonging and open network belonging, become three variables, all types of change in closed question format.

Finally, religious experience is treated as a variable (although it does not appear in fig. V for reasons which will become clearer later). Religious experience is treated both quantitatively and qualitatively. When one simply refers to degree of religious experience the variable is known as RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE. When one discusses type of religious experience, as derived from two Guttman scales, then
religious experience is described qualitatively as being of TYPE ONE or TYPE TWO variety.

Thus in one's secondary analysis, to which one refers in this empirical section, there are twenty-four variables involved in the testing of one's hypotheses and model. Now is as good a time as any to list them, as follows:

AGE, NATIVE, WESTERN, HOUSE, UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATIONS, TEACHING QUALIFICATIONS, SATISFACTION, DISSATISFACTION, CONGREGATIONAL DISSATISFACTION, INDIVIDUAL DISSATISFACTION, OUTER DISSATISFACTION, INNER MOTIVATION, OUTER MOTIVATION, TOTAL CHANGE, FIRST AREA OF OPEN ENDED CHANGE, SECOND AREA OF OPEN ENDED CHANGE, FIRST AREA OF OPEN ENDED CHANGE DEALS WITH COMMUNITY, SECOND AREA OF OPEN ENDED CHANGE DEALS WITH COMMUNITY, FAMILY BELONGING, CLOSED COMMUNITY BELONGING, OPEN NETWORK BELONGING, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, TYPE ONE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, TYPE TWO RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE.

The research hypotheses

One now lists the hypotheses to be tested without justifying them at this stage. A more complete understanding of the derivation of the hypotheses will be left to chapter three, dealing with indicators. Should the reader at first sight feel that some of the hypotheses are axiomatic in nature, it is recommended that he bear in mind the following points:

/ the definitions of dissatisfaction and motivation (cf. c.6)
/ the distinction between degree and type of variables (cf. c.6 and the present chapter)
/ the notion of causality employed in this research (cf. c.6 and the present chapter)

Hypothesis One

a. The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly according to the degree of dissatisfaction displayed. The degree of dissatisfaction will vary inversely with the age of the individual(s) and directly with the qualifications, Western cultural background, size of house in which
the individual(s) live, and lack of religious experience.
b. Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

Hypothesis Two

a. The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly with the type of dissatisfaction displayed. More change will be advocated by those displaying congregational and outer dissatisfaction than those displaying individual dissatisfaction.
b. Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

Hypothesis Three

a. The type of change advocated in closed format questions will depend upon the predominance of (dis)satisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals. Network belonging, as a type of change, will vary directly with the degree of dissatisfaction. Family and closed community belonging, as types of change, will vary directly with the degree of satisfaction.
b. The type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

Hypothesis Four

Network belonging, as a type of change, will vary with the type of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals. However it will tend to be the product of overall dissatisfaction than any particular type of dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis Five

a. The degree of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals will depend upon the prevailing type of motivation. Inner motivation will be more conducive to satisfaction than dissatisfaction. Outer motivation will tend to lead to dissatisfaction to a greater degree than inner motivation.
b. Outer motivation will be more observable among the young, the qualified and those of Western cultural background. Inner motivation will be seen more among the elderly, non-qualified, and those of non-Western cultural background.
Hypothesis Six

The type of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals will depend upon the degree of outer motivation. Outer dissatisfaction will depend to a greater degree on outer motivation than the remaining two types of dissatisfaction.

Hypothesis Seven

a. The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly according to the type of motivation displayed. Those outwardly motivated will tend to be more in favour of such change than those inwardly motivated.

b. Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

Hypothesis Eight

a. The type of change advocated in closed format questions will depend upon the type of motivation displayed by an individual or group of individuals. Family and closed community belonging will vary with the degree of inner motivation displayed. Open network belonging will vary with the degree of outer motivation shown.

b. The type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

If one returns to figure V, it is clear that hypotheses 3, 5 and 8 are those underpinning the research model as outlined. (Hypotheses 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 are included for their 'nuance' value.) Consequently the rejection of hypotheses 3, 5 and 8 at a preset level will be taken as sufficient reason for abandoning one's model. In the event of the research model being validated step by step by hypotheses 3, 5 and 8, it is considered desirable to test the model as a whole. Multivariate techniques have been reserved for this purpose.

Hypotheses 1, 2 and 7 are concerned with total change, as opposed to types of religious belonging. Hypotheses 2, 4 and 6 deal with types of dissatisfaction, as opposed to overall dissatisfaction. Consequently, hypotheses 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 play a less important role vis-a-vis religious belonging than hypotheses 3, 5 and 8. Their
rejection, therefore, will only require that certain modifications to the research model be made.

In common with general sociological methodology, both the hypotheses and the model they support are stated prior to empirical testing by a variety of techniques (94). When the above hypotheses 1–8 are tested in chapter four they will be phrased in such a way as to allow for the rejection or acceptance of null and alternative hypotheses, consonant with the wording of the hypotheses as stated above. As the testing of hypotheses is largely a matter of statistical technique, one concludes this chapter with a brief discussion of the techniques to be later employed.

4. The discussion of methods and techniques employed in the testing of the research hypotheses.

Method in sociology is that way of proceeding systematically and reflectively for the obtaining of determined results (95). Thus it is presupposed that a problem or an area of research has been defined, and that remaining to be discussed is the best way of treating the object of research. In one's own case one has defined as the scope of one's investigation religious belonging in the Catholic Church, and one has designed a causal model that hopefully explains the pluriformity of such belonging. How one tackles the research is a question of method and demands a choice between the following alternative approaches:

- empirical or rational
- inductive or deductive
- quantitative or qualitative
- general or particular

By selecting a missionary congregation of sisters as an instance of pluriform religious belonging, from which one later hopes to generalise to such belonging in the Catholic Church as a whole, one has, in effect, opted for a method that is empirical, inductive, particular and quantitative. From statistical testing of hypotheses, based on indicators (taken from preceding socio-religious theory) and operational concepts, one hopes to make an empirical generalisation
in the form of a model linking variables causally.

As a means to such a methodological end one has opted for a series of strategies and techniques. The strategy of the inquiry has been previously described in terms of a pilot inquiry, a questionnaire and a few in-depth interviews. The techniques of the research are statistical. To these one now turns.

In the first place, one has decided to employ parametric statistics wherever possible, not only because they are more powerful than their non-parametric counterparts, but because the data itself merits their use. The almost 90\% return rate to the questionnaire and the coincidence of the expected and actual proportions associated with each of the independent variables relating to the background of the respondents, permits one to treat the responses as a population study rather than as a sample. One therefore does not need to make the assumptions associated with the utilisation of parametric statistics in the study and testing of a sample.

Secondly, one should preset in advance the amount of error one is prepared to tolerate by establishing a probability level to be associated with the rejection of one's null hypotheses. Such a step is in many ways arbitrary, but once a level has been set it must be adhered to throughout the testing of the hypotheses. The amount of error tolerated due to conditions of chance in most socio-religious surveys is 5\%. One therefore follows the same norm and sets the critical region at the 0.05 level. Hence the outcome of one's statistical tests will be significant or not at that level. With a known population size, it is thus possible to predict in advance of the statistical test which correlation values, F values, Beta values, etc., will be significant at the 0.05 level, and on that basis which findings validate or nullify one's hypotheses.

Thirdly, techniques for testing hypotheses 1-8 will differ from those dealing with the overall model. In the former case, the general
procedure will be to examine the connection between defined variables from a correlation matrix and to see whether the variables are associated significantly. If this is the case, cross tabulations will be applied to the data and tests for significance based on Chi-square will be utilised. Linearity will also be tested. In certain cases specific tests on the tails of distributions, such as the t-student test, may also be applied. Occasionally also path analysis will be applied to individual hypotheses in order to gain a picture of the build up of the overall model. The complete model will be tested by path analysis by examining the Beta coefficients generated from regression analysis. Factor and content analysis will also be applied. More specific treatment of techniques will be supplied when and where the situation demands.
CHAPTER TWO

The subject of the inquiry: an international missionary congregation of sisters

In chapter one of the present section one observed that by choosing an international missionary congregation of sisters as the subject of one's inquiry, not only were certain methodological problems largely overcome (particularly the difficulty of generalisation to a model of religious belonging in the Catholic Church as a whole), but that interest could be focussed on open network belonging, that type of belonging which one has suggested will become increasingly more relevant in future studies of the Church. In a brief history of the inquiry one also made known the fortuitous set of circumstances which made the research possible.

In this chapter, one looks at the subject of the investigation in more detail. The reason for this is twofold. In the first place, one hopes to reassure the reader that this particular congregation is not a-typical of congregations of sisters in general. This will require a closer examination of the variables employed. Secondly, such a presentation should pave the way for succeeding chapters that treat of the construction of indicators and the testing of hypotheses. In other words, in order to gain an overall picture of the research, one looks at both the subject and object of the inquiry. This chapter is concerned with the former aspect and will be divided as follows:

1. A socio-historical treatment of the congregation
2. The variable of province: the congregation at the macro-level
3. The variable of house: the congregation at the micro-level
4. Another look at the independent variables
5. A comparison between the congregation of missionary sisters and other congregations of female religious.

1. A socio-historical treatment of the congregation

Due to reasons of anonymity, the congregation of sisters surveyed cannot be named (1). However, one can give a brief outline of its development from its foundation to the present day (2). Like many
congregations of female religious, this particular congregation was founded in nineteenth century France, and in achieving recognition, the foundress was helped by the head of an already established male religious congregation. Informal ecclesiastical approval of the congregation came sixteen years after its foundation, during the pontificate of Pius IX, and its constitutions were later approved by Pope Pius X, a few years after the death of the foundress. Beginnings were modest, with an intake of only five sisters in four years, while the missionary zeal of the foundress could be described as being disproportionately ambitious. Within the same four years this small band of missionaries had established a centre in New Zealand, principally with a view to the evangelisation of the Maoris. Six years later the sisters had succeeded in opening additional houses in New Zealand and had attracted sufficient vocations to establish themselves in Australia and England and on three Pacific islands. The first ten years of the congregation's existence saw the admission of 86 entrants one of whom was a native of New Zealand. By the end of the nineteenth century there were almost 550 sisters and centres had been established in India, Pakistan, Burma and Canada. Shortly after the end of the First World War, Vietnam was added to the list of missionary areas, by which time also another 400 sisters had been admitted to the congregation (3).

Such a pattern is consonant with the general foundation and expansion of orders and congregations. There had been the initial charismatic zeal of the foundress with a prophetic call to follow her inspiration. She succeeded in attracting a small body of disciples fired with the same enthusiasm, who gave up all in pursuit of a specific goal. The element of protest was registered in that an apostolate was being advocated so far not adequately covered by the Church. The exponential rate of increase in the numbers of applicants was also similar to the pattern associated with the birth of a sect.

By 1971, the year of the survey, there were 1,214 sisters in the congregation. Statistics given in Appendix III do not illustrate how
this latter figure is arrived at, as they only give non-cumulative totals of entries, those in perpetual vows, those who have died, left or have been exclaustrated, every decade. However, these figures have been supplied to illustrate the phenomenon of an expanding congregation. One notes that from 1860 to 1960 the number entering was on the increase every decade, with the one exception of the post Second World War period, from 1941-50. The number dying also increased, as did the number leaving the congregation each decade from 1911 to 1960, though to a lesser degree than the number of entries. The phenomenon of an expanding congregation until the 1960's is typical of nineteenth century congregations of female religious in the Catholic Church. However, just as typical is the decline in vocations from 1960 onwards. From the figures given, one notes that from 1961 to 1970 the number of entries was down 25% on the previous decade, the number of deaths was fewer, but the number leaving in that period was equal to the total number leaving in the previous hundred years. The picture that one sees today, therefore, is one of a diminishing congregation with increasing mean age. Again such a picture is typical of other congregations of female religious in the Catholic Church (4).

A possible sociological explanation for the following of a sharp increase by a slow decline in membership can be sought in terms of routinisation of charisma, and the lack of appeal that a congregation has for likely young entrants, once it assumes the appearance of an institution. However attractive this hypothesis may appear at first, one feels that it fails to take into account the renewal within congregations during and after the Second Vatican Council, where prophecy was far from routinised. Again, one is hesitant in accepting secularisation theory as the sole factor in explaining the diminution of vocations to the religious life. Where one does think it throws a certain amount of light on the phenomenon, however, is in its implicit suggestion that there may be a new set of alternative vocations in the Church, particularly since the Vatican II documents dealing with
The Laity and The Church in the Modern World. This is not quite the same as secularisation though, as one is now considering alternative vocations within the Church, or at least in those areas where the religious institution overlaps with other institutions in society. For example, a young girl may feel that she is following her vocation by joining an organisation such as Pax Christi or Voluntary Service Overseas. While one could argue that such organisations are not specifically religious, it would be more difficult to demonstrate, one feels, that a young person had not entered such a venture for a religious motive. It is also possible to discern a certain amount of Church involvement in these and other para-religious bodies, which would tend to discount the claim of secularisation theory that the Church's sphere of interest is bound by the limits of religious belief and practice. Instead one suggests that since the Second Vatican Council there has been an increase in the opportunities for alternative modes of religious belonging, many of which are not strictly speaking religious, but when considered in motivational terms can be seen as forms of affiliation to the Catholic Church. In other words, if one takes the hypothesis of pluriformity of religious belonging in the Catholic Church to one of its logical conclusions, one would expect to find a decrease in the number of those offering themselves for such institutional forms of belonging as the priesthood and the sisterhood. This interpretation is strengthened by one of the earlier described characteristics of open network belonging, namely that of instability. One suggests that with a growing tendency towards open network belonging there will be fewer people ready to commit themselves permanently to a specific way of life, particularly when it is surrounded by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. Were part-time commitment to the religious life (as in Buddhism) be considered by the Catholic Church, then it is possible that one might be witnessing an increase in the number of vocations to membership of Church personnel. But in the absence of experimentation along these lines in the Catholic Church, the above
suggestion must remain largely problematic.

Mention should also be made of the organisation of the congregation. Within the first twenty-seven years of the congregation's existence, three chapters (5) had been held, by which time a pattern of general administration had been made complete. There was now a hierarchy, stemming from an elected Mother General to her elected four assistants, and nominated secretary and bursar, to the general membership. Chapters formulated and revised the constitutions (6), and in turn were subject to them. At first all members of the congregation attended chapters every ten years, but today with larger numbers, members are represented by 'ex officio' and elected delegates at chapters that occur every six years.

For administration purposes the congregation came to be divided into provinces, corresponding to the missionary territories in which it was to be found. Such a move facilitated decision making at the national level without recourse each time to the central authorities in Rome, i.e. the Mother General and her assistants. It also avoided the imposition of general directives on provinces tackling a specific problem in a different cultural milieu. The provincial authorities thus dealt with the problems of the houses directly under their overall supervision, and, where necessary, made the results of their decisions known to central administration in the Generalate. The taking of decisions by a lower authority whenever possible and expedient, thus operated in the congregation, and was known as the following of the principle of 'subsidiarity' (7). The same principle was extended to the local level of individual houses within provinces, where day-to-day decisions were taken by a local superior without immediate recourse to the higher provincial body. Delegates to the provincial council were nominated and elected in the same way as those to a General Chapter.

Again such hierarchical organisation can be found in most congregations. It has been suggested that the Society of Jesus
offers the clearest ideal type of this sort of organisation, and that the familial patterning of earlier religious orders, such as those based on the Rule of St. Benedict, are the exception, rather than the norm, associated with the working of religious congregations (8). Today, however, the hierarchical structure is somewhat looser than at the turn of the present century, due to greater independence and autonomy at the provincial and local levels, and since the emergence of fraternities (9).

A classical picture of the organisation of religious congregations takes on the following structural appearance:

FIGURE VI
Classical structure of religious congregations

THE GENERALATE (Often the locus of General Chapters)
MOTHER GENERAL ex officio: Generalate members
4 assistants to the General
General Secretary General Bursar

THE PROVINCES (The locus of the Provinical Council)
PROVINCIAL SUPERIOR ex officio: Provincial superior and helpers
Provincial Councillors
Provincial Secretary Provincial Bursar

LOCAL LEVEL (houses)
LOCAL SUPERIOR
Local councillors (all optional)
Secretary Novice mistress Bursar

ORDINARY MEMBERSHIP

Such a structure bears a striking similarity to that of the Church as a whole, which can be depicted diagramatically as follows:
In comparing figures VI and VII a few observations should be made. First, in the congregational structure, and also in that of the Catholic Church, there is a recognised overall leader of each (the Mother General and the Pope). Second, the power invested in these individual leaders is delegated to those immediately surrounding them (the assistants to the Mother General, and members of the College of Cardinals, Secretariat, and Curial Commissions), and by the principle of subsidiarity, extended downwards to the provincial or national level. Third, if one considers decision taking at the top level of each structure, this power can be said to be centralised. It is also physically located in a particular place (the Vatican in the case of the Church, and Rome for the generalate of many congregations). Fourth, if one considers the vertical delegation of authority, there is a close analogy between the provincial council of a congregation and the national episcopal conference.
in the Church. **Fifth**, at the local level too there is a distinct similarity between local superior and parish priest and the help and advice each receives. **Finally**, the conciliar or horizontal pattern of decision taking is analogous for the congregation and the Church. At the highest level one has a General Chapter and an Oecumenical Council. At the secondary level one has a provincial council and the national conference of bishops.

However, there are a few differences which should be mentioned. One notes, for instance, that there are less elected representatives in the Church as a whole than in the case of a religious congregation. This applies to all levels, but particularly to the top two levels of Oecumenical Council and National Conference of Bishops. The reason for the relative absence of election of Council delegates in the Church is due to the concept of 'office', based on the notion of sacramentality of orders. In the case of a congregation there is no sacramental distinction between members (with the one important exception of priests and brothers in male congregations, a distinction that is rapidly disappearing). At the provincial level too there is a difference between congregations and the Catholic Church in that the division of the former does not always follow national boundaries. The same, to a certain extent, can be said of the local level, where a house or community of the congregation does not have the same territorial limits as those associated with a parish.

Nevertheless, one feels that there are sufficient similarities in organisational structures between congregations and the Church to permit the drawing of an analogy between the two. It is this similarity in macro and micro structures of an organisation within the Church and the Church itself, that allows one a certain amount of room for generalisation, from the observation of congregational behaviour to that of the Catholic Church as a whole. This point has been made already with reference to the problem of generalisation from a methodological
Finally, one has suggested that congregations today have become more decentralised in their overall organisation, that decisions are being left more and more to the provincial and local levels, without recourse to the higher level of the Generalate and Mother Superior. This modification of outlook is reflected in the constitutions of many congregations, which are no longer seen as blueprints or principles for the religious life, but rather as guidelines, to be adapted according to prevailing cultural circumstances and conditions. The same remark could be extended to the Catholic Church in general. No longer is there such a heavy reliance on Rome and the utterances of Curial Commissions. Much of the work is now undertaken by national episcopal conferences, with their own helping bodies and commissions. The legislative mentality too has largely disappeared, and this is reflected in the non-anathematising tone of Vatican II documents in comparison with those of previous councils.

The congregation studied follows the above pattern of organisational structure, i.e., the modified and decentralised classical structure, in common with most religious congregations. For this reason one feels that one's particular congregation is not a-typical of congregations as a whole, and that this strengthens one's case for generalisation with regard to patterns of religious belonging.

2. The variable of province: the congregation at the macro-level

One has noted from an historical point of view the spread of the congregation from France to New Zealand, and later its extension to Australia, England, the Pacific, India, Bangladesh, Burma, Canada and Vietnam. The establishment of a Generalate in Rome came at a much later period of the congregation's existence, and its consideration as a separate province is purely arbitrary. What one has not mentioned is that for historical and administrative reasons the emergence of ten separate provinces did not take place until 1964, and when this
did occur, provinces were not identical with national boundaries. That such is the case can be seen from the following list of the provinces of the congregation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlined Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia and New Guinea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada and Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England and (Ireland, Scotland) and Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand North and Samoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh and Burma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The underlined name is that of each province. It can be noted that New Zealand has been divided into two provinces, following roughly the division into North and South islands, although this is only a rule of thumb, as will be seen presently. In fact, New Zealand North is confined only to the Western part of the North island, while New Zealand South takes in the Southern and Eastern parts of the North island and the top half of the South island. The division into two provinces was to facilitate administration, as there were more sisters working in New Zealand than in any other country. One also observes that Bangladesh and Burma have been united to form one province, distinct from the Indian province, even though all three countries border on each other. Prior to the 1971 war, the Bangladesh province was known as the province of East Pakistan. It was also congregational policy for each province to adopt a missionary area as its own and to staff and support it. Thus, where another country appears alongside an underlined province, it shows that this policy has been carried out, and that the country in question is to be considered as belonging to the underlined province. In parenthesis one can add that there are no native sisters working in countries attached to provinces. Thus, for example, in this sense one can consider Kenya as English. However, brackets encircle Ireland and Scotland, as the three houses in those two areas are not to be considered missionary territory in the same sense as
FIGURE VIII

Areas of the congregation's presence

Key
1 = Australia
2 = Canada
3 = England
4 = France
5 = India
6 = New Zealand, North
7 = New Zealand, South
8 = Bangladesh & Burma
9 = Vietnam
10 = Rome
Kenya. One further point that can be made is that these ten provinces cover all five continents. One is not thereby claiming that they are completely representative of membership of the Catholic Church (Iron Curtain countries are not covered by the congregation, for example), but worldwide presence of the congregation is at least analogous to that to be found in the Church as a whole. The map (fig.VIII) indicates those areas of the world where the congregation is to be found.

At this stage it is considered appropriate to describe very briefly the distinguishing characteristics of each of the provinces, as this in turn has a certain bearing on the cultural dichotomous variable of Western / non-Western, to which one has previously referred. The basis of the comments that follow lies in the main in the interviews conducted with various sisters from each of the ten provinces.

a. Australia

This province has a problem of size, aggravated by a two thousand miles communication barrier between East and West. The above difficulty affects recruitment, formation and the apostolate, of the sisters. As regards recruitment, many parents do not wish to see their daughters go West for a novitiate training, when there are many congregations in the East that are closer to home. Consequently few enter, and the shortage of new postulants subjects the existing new recruits to added loneliness. The formation problem affects not only postulants but other sisters too, as only Victorian registration qualifies one to teach throughout Australia. In a missionary teaching congregation this can present quite a problem. In practice this means that those sisters seeking academic qualifications from the West have to cut themselves off from their colleagues. The teaching apostolate is made more difficult by a shortage of personnel, where there are insufficient sisters to cover distances up to five hundred miles per week in order to give religious instruction. This distance can be increased where sisters are to cover outlying areas, where immigrant
children (for instance those of Italian parentage), have not been admitted to schools. The shortage of personnel is reflected in the high mean age for the province and the slow turnover of superiors, which can have a stultifying effect on apostolic activities. Lack of numbers also makes it difficult to release sisters for newer forms of catechetical training, a possible source for attracting more young girls to the congregation. There appears to be a vicious circle situation, initiated in the first instance by problems of distance and qualifications, but affecting recruitment and shortages in personnel, tempting those in positions of responsibility to adopt a policy of adapting present resources to ever increasing demands and needs, a policy which would seem to have little future in the long term. Lack of experimentation for the reasons described above is indicative of a conservative mentality, to be found among those superiors intent on maintaining the status quo. One thus expects to find among Australian sisters polarisation of attitudes between generations, and between the unqualified and those possessing academic qualifications.

b. Canada

In common with Australia, Canada has a large number of elderly sisters, and the country itself is vast in area. However, the communication problem is not so much based on geographical division between East and West, but rather on the distinction between French and English speaking sisters. The differences in the two groups are highlighted in the sphere of life style, the former group appearing to be more traditional in outlook, with the latter modelling itself on forms of religiosity encountered in the United States. When extended to the apostolate, differences in approach to life style can in turn lead to inter-generational conflict in the areas of dress and experimental activities. The younger sisters tend to try anything from downtown beat parties to work in slum areas, while the older group
wishes to restore a sense of familial belonging based on more conventional forms of spirituality than those of Pentecostalism or the 'Third Way' (10). Where internal conflict results from the above differences of outlook, it is difficult to control the situation by appeals to authority, as such a concept has by and large been rejected by the younger sisters. One of the results of such conflict is that there is confusion over religious identity, which in turn explains perhaps the lack of recruits. However, just as it can be seen that the Canadian province has, in many respects, led the way in Vatican II renewal and in its euphoric effects, parallel to the lead given by the Canadian hierarchy during the Council and succeeding Roman Synods, so too one senses that many of the difficulties associated with rapid change and experimentation have been largely overcome. Evidence of this is discernible in a deeper emerging spirituality among the sisters of this province. If one is correct in diagnosing the Canadian situation, it is possible that the lead given there may be followed by sisters of other provinces. A study of experimentation in religious belonging in Canada, for this reason, has an increased relevance.

c. England

This province shares a communication problem with Australia and Canada, but for a different reason, namely only 11.3% of its sisters are native born. Instead of a territorial or language barrier, there is the problem of harmony between English and Irish born sisters, comparable to the difficulty many English Catholics experience in identifying themselves with some of the excesses of Irish Catholicism (11). One is not surprised, therefore, if one detects an element of cliquishness engendered by the differences in outlook. A further problem for the English province is the actual size of its houses. Many sisters feel that to live in a Victorian mansion with thirty or forty others, in the style of the last century, can easily produce feelings of anomie and a sense of purposelessness in the apostolate.
A certain amount of frustration is added to the situation when ideals of poverty, service and witness, put forward by the general renewal of Vatican II, are seen to be impracticable, due to the maintenance of large houses. Such frustration in some cases can lead to laziness. The above lifestyle also makes it difficult to carry out small group experimentation as conducted in the Canadian province, with which many sisters of the English province (particularly younger members) tend to identify. However, perhaps more frustration is felt due to lack of opportunity for missionary work. The two missionary areas in Kenya, to which only a handful can aspire, are thought of by certain younger sisters not to be the ideal places for evangelisation, but rather the occasion for imposing colonial cultural religious packages. However, there are signs that the influence of the Canadian province is being felt in England. Not only are there now increased opportunities for professional training in a variety of apostolates, consonant with the talents of the individual sister, but experimentation in lifestyle is also being introduced. The religious habit is no longer mandatory and three fraternities have been established, a beginning of the breaking down of the large communities.

d. France

France as a nation has contributed a disproportionate number of theologians to the Catholic Church and its Vatican II programme of aggiornamento. It has been also very much aware of itself as a mission territory since Le Bras and Boulard (12) indicated the religious ' malaise ' to be found among the ' saisonniers ', atheists and communists, making up a considerable proportion of the French population, and since Abbé Micchonneau (13) extended the term parish to include all people in a given area of pastoral activity. Theologians, such as Congar (14), have stressed the evangelical counsel of poverty in their writings and included it in their concept of mission. It is not surprising, therefore, given the above climate of
opinion, to find that many of these attitudes are present among the sisters of the French province. One feels that these sisters are the most advanced theologically and that their replies to questions are given serious reflection. Their emulation of the ideal of poverty is to be seen in their relatively simple way of life and the extension of their charity to the people among whom they live and whom they invite to share their meals. Mission for the French sisters means first of all ministering to those about them, those on their doorstep. When one is capable of this then one can consider mission in terms of overseas work among the poor and homeless. Perhaps the approach of the French sisters to the religious life explains why their contribution to the Vietnamese province has been marked by success and why France is the province from which the greatest number of Mothers General is drawn.

e. India

One suspects that the sisters of this province are brought up on an idea of what the traditional nun should be, namely a person who has surrendered all for a life of perfection and prayer, for the ultimate salvation of her soul. Consequently, one expects from the Indian sisters a high degree of compliance to authority and great attachment to the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. However, emphasis on the sacred, and the consequent taboo of all that is profane, is not the ideal situation for adaptability to social change, particularly when it is evidenced in an attitude of familial belonging. Such a situation too is not conducive to responsible and mature leadership. Realising this, the congregation has often placed non-Indian sisters in charge of the province and of local communities. This has, in some cases, produced feelings of resentment from native born sisters. However, greater tension is to be found within communities, between sisters from different caste backgrounds. It is known, for instance, that sisters from the more Christian South consider themselves
somewhat superior to those from the more pagan Northern hill tribe areas. Such in-group conflict can, and does, have repercussions on apostolic activities. While poverty is the number one problem in the Indian province, one feels that many of the sisters are insufficiently adaptable to deal with this ' profane ' problem. One cannot say that this difficulty is due to the fact that the sisters are too old or untrained, as they are among the youngest and most qualified in the congregation. Rather one feels that it is a question of outlook, or what one has preferred to call lack of sufficient outer motivation.

f. New Zealand (Southern province)

This province has been described as embodying a certain pioneer spirit, in that a sister turns her hand to anything, however difficult. It probably explains why a good number of the sisters are over-worked, have little time for relaxation, have limitless capacity for sticking to a task, and are reluctant to retire from what they consider to be their duty. It is also a possible reason for lack of adaptability among several of the sisters. Most of their work is taken up in private education, which, because of the educational policy of the country, requires them to man their own unaided schools and be responsible for the secular and religious education of Catholics. Their source of income is derived from the Church rather than the parents of Catholic children, and supplementary income comes from private musical tuition. Their dependence on income from the Church, in addition to producing considerable financial strain as regards their own existence, also does not permit them to branch out into an alternative apostolate to education. Such a situation is a source of frustration for many of the sisters of this province, many of whom still aspire to the missionary ideals of the foundress, who initiated her work among the Maoris of New Zealand. They also feel any shortage in personnel with the work loads they undertake. This latter problem is heightened by a lack of vocations from the girls they teach, who
feel reluctant to follow the same dull way of life. What vocations there are to the religious life in New Zealand go by and large to congregations such as the Islian sisters, who, as the name suggests, work among the inhabitants of the Pacific islands.

5. New Zealand (Northern province)

The Northern New Zealand province is similar to its Southern counterpart in that it faces the same problems of understaffing and overwork in schools, with the consequences that these problems bring. However, it has less secondary schools to maintain than the Southern province, which takes a little pressure off its personnel, and allows the opportunity for apostolic activity in the sphere of CCD work (15) and more missionary endeavours. This latter possibility is enhanced by the presence of a greater number of Maoris on the warmer North island. Thus one detects among the sisters of the Northern province a greater sense of apostolic zeal than those from the Southern province of New Zealand. In other words, knowledge of the possibilities of missionary enterprise can be seen as a pre-condition for a likely trait of outer motivation, particularly among the younger sisters. However, where this possibility is seen as unlikely among the outer motivated then there is an added danger of resignation from the so-frustrated. This pattern has been observed to a limited extent among New Zealand priests (16), and sisters feel that it may spread to their own congregation.

h. Bangladesh and Burma

Due to the partition of India in the aftermath of World War II, and on account of political and communication difficulties, East Pakistan and Burma became a separate province from India. In 1971 Bangladesh became an independent state, having suffered the loss of millions of lives, not only on account of the war, but also due to the devastating effects of a cyclone the previous year. As in India, the main problem facing Church and State is that of poverty, in a country where it is
estimated that there are 1,300 people to the square mile and the annual wage per capita is approximately twenty-seven pounds sterling (17). Added to this is the problem of the frequent overflowing of the Ganga-Brahmaputra rivers on to a hopelessly undernourished population. Catholicism is very much a minority religion with an estimated 110,000 Catholics out of a total population of 75 million (18). Most of the Bengalis are members of the Islamic faith, itself a proselytising religion, making the missionary work of conversion extremely difficult. At one time the sisters had hoped to convert the animist Chakmas, but this hope was dashed in 1959 when the tribes were forced to abandon the Bangamati district due to the construction of a hydro-electric dam in the area.

The sisters' work centres largely on fee paying education, but they do cooperate with charitable organisations, such as Caritas and Unicef, in the distribution of food. However, as with the Indian sisters, one detects a certain immaturity among the indigenous sisters, accompanied by a lack of social and political awareness. They tend to resent the intrusion of foreign superiors and appear to be more caught up in infra-community problems than with the more pressing needs of the external apostolate. One wonders just what are the motives for entry of the sisters in Bangladesh, as in addition to the suggested inner-directedness of their outlook, it is quite normal for girls to be engaged by the age of 11 or 13.

In Burma the sisters encounter the additional problem of a hostile government. In 1966 all Christian schools were nationalised, the buildings were taken over by the government, and most of the foreign missionaries had to withdraw. The sisters in Burma became even more isolated from the rest of the congregation with the government restrictions on foreign visitors. When the sisters were released from imprisonment by their Japanese captors, after the Second World War, they discovered that most of the Christians, Muslims and Hindus, had left the country and that those remaining were predominantly Buddhist.
Their missionary work of conversion is thus largely limited to members of the Chin tribes, animists in outlook. Today they have taken over many of the tasks originally performed by foreign congregations and collaborate with the La Salette Fathers in catechetical instruction.

If the Burmese sisters are inner-directed in outlook, one thus feels that they are hardly to blame for such a limited world view, cut off as they are from their congregation in particular and from the Church in general. One can mention in passing, in connection with the above points, the difficulty encountered in the sending and obtaining questionnaires from these sisters. One cannot discuss the technique employed. Suffice to say that the completed questionnaires were returned via Paris.

i. Vietnam (19)

As in the other Eastern provinces, Vietnam has been directed by foreign provincial superiors, due to the alleged immaturity of the native sisters, a situation resented by indigenous members of the province. However, more acute frustration is felt by many, who in a situation of war, find themselves constrained to teaching in fee paying schools of the South, instead of working among the sick and poor, a task for which many have been trained. Pressure exerted on the sisters to remain teaching in 'safe' areas has not just been a matter of congregational policy, but also is the result of military decisions taken by the United States' forces. Consequently, some feel that their image as a missionary congregation has been damaged, a state of affairs that is not conducive to the attraction of vocations. Their inner-directedness has in some instances taken the form of a manicheistic revulsion against American materialism, and this fear is evidenced in the over-rigorous vetting of applicants wishing to join the congregation. Lack of vocations is also explained by a number of departures from the religious life since 1970 of those dissatisfied with the congregation and its apparent lack of concern with those suffering around it. This 'malaise' is also discernible
in the Vietnamese priesthood.

j. Rome

Rome is province in name only as it comprises just two houses. One is the Generalate of the congregation where the Mother General, her councillors, secretary, bursar and administrative staff, reside. The other is a small house for higher academic training of student sisters who frequent the Regina Mundi institute in the city. It is a very rare occurrence to find all members of the Generalate present at any given time, as the councillors are each responsible for two provinces which they visit frequently. Similarly, in the course of her six year term of office, the Mother General undertakes to visit every house in the congregation, a task that can take anything up to two years, a good reason for conducting one's inquiry by questionnaire rather than interview. One has included the six replies from Rome along with the other returns, but for purposes of analysis of one's hypotheses ( chapter four onwards ), Rome is treated as part of the population and not as a separate subfile.

In one's primary analysis of the data, one coded the provinces as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ. South</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ. North</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh &amp; Burma</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregation</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>1,086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE V

Codification of provinces ( 0 — 9 )
This had an advantage in the compilation of a policy document for the congregation in highlighting the similarities and differences between the provinces, facilitating also the taking of administrative decisions.

However, the results of the above analysis showed that one's underlying hypothesis of significant differences in the spheres of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, between Western and non-Western provinces to be justified. It was noted, for example, that Canada, England and France, were consistently producing different replies from the other provinces, and that Australia and the two New Zealand provinces were more akin in their thinking to the Eastern provinces of India, Bangladesh & Burma and Vietnam. Thus in one's secondary analysis (that reported here), while not discarding the division of the congregation into provinces, one preferred to utilise more frequently the simpler dichotomy of Western / non-Western instead of the variable 'province'. (This statement does not exclude one's further reporting significant or interesting differences in the remaining twenty-three variables between provinces, where the consideration of provinces as subfiles permits such treatment).

Before passing on to the Western / non-Western variable, though, it is worth recording from one's primary analysis the areas of significant difference in the replies registered by Canada, England and France:

**TABLE VI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>DF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sisters in Western provinces were older</td>
<td>160.76</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters in Western provinces stressed reform in community living more than any other type of change in freely offered suggestions for change</td>
<td>226.52</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters in Western provinces were less specific regarding the actual aims of the congregation</td>
<td>96.57</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters in Western provinces expressed greater reticence regarding hypothetical reentry to the congregation</td>
<td>84.32</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued overleaf.)
It can be seen from this table that all values of Chi-square are significant at the 0.05 level.

As will be seen in chapter four, many of the replies of the sisters from Canada, England and France, were indicative of outer motivation and dissatisfaction, coupled with a desire for open network belonging. One will also see in the next chapter how the various indicators are formed into scales producing the basic
research variables. At this stage one is simply reporting the fact that the provinces of Canada, England and France differed significantly at the 0.05 level on well over 60% of the items of the questionnaire from sisters in other provinces. This established finding, one feels, allows one to consider the cultural variable in terms of Western and non-Western, a procedure which simplifies later analysis.

3. The variable of house: the congregation at the micro-level

In 1971 the congregation had 113 houses in 10 provinces. Returns to the questionnaire showed the size of house to be in the range of 1 to 40 members, with an absence of reply from three communities of small membership. The return rates for each house are given with those for the ten different provinces in Appendix IV. Unfortunately it is not possible to name the houses, as this would make identification of the congregation a relatively simple task. A guarantee of anonymity prevents one supplying this information. However, with one's interest focussing on the effect of size of community on religious belonging, via the independent variables of motivation and (dis)satisfaction, the actual location of the houses is not so important. The table that follows distributes the replies according to size of house by approximate quartile division. The distribution gives a mean of 16.89, a median of 16.051 and a mode of 17. The standard deviation is 10.453. Thus one feels justified in taking a membership of 16 as one's cut-off point, thereby distinguishing large from small houses (cf. discussion in the previous chapter). The dichotomy of small / large coincides fairly well with the distribution percentages of 51 / 49. It also coincides with the reported mean for house size encountered in the C.M.S.W. survey, thereby allowing for direct comparison between that survey and one's own. However one is not insisting so much on the distinction between small and large houses, as the position of the house on a continuous scale.
There is no significant over-representation by age groups or qualifications in the above fourfold division of house according to size. However, there is a greater proportion of native sisters in larger houses, which variable when cross-tabulated with house gives a Chi-square of 29.6 with 3 degrees of freedom. Yet this finding should not give too much cause for concern, particularly when one considers that the highest correlation established between native and any other research variable is only 0.13199, that between native and age, (i.e. a
greater proportion of native sisters comes from among the younger age groups. One thus feels that the variable native can be controlled in the light of the observation that there is no overrepresentation by age groups in the quartile division of houses.

What is to be noted, however, is the fact that \(39.9\%\) of Western membership belongs to houses with a membership of 26 or more (due in the main to 7 houses in this category in the English province), and that \(61.9\%\) of its membership belongs to 'large' houses, compared to only \(39.2\%\) of non-Western membership in the same size of house. The correlation between cultural background and size of house is 0.34726.

The crosstabulation of the two variables yields the following table:

**TABLE VIII**

Crosstabulation of house and Western

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSE SIZE</th>
<th>WESTERN</th>
<th>NON-WESTERN</th>
<th>TOTALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-15</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>67.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-25</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.8</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26+</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>469</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Chi-square resulting from table VIII is 99.22849, which with three degrees of freedom is significant at a level less than 0.0000, certainly adequate enough for one's own 0.05 level. Given a relatively high degree of association between house size and Western cultural background, it should now be clear why table VIII has been included. If, for instance, one finds that there is a significant degree of association between size of house, and say dissatisfaction, it is quite likely that such a correlation may well be due in the main to the fact of disproportionate Western membership of 'large houses'. In other words, the connection between size of house and dissatisfaction may be none other than a reflection of the association between Western cultural background and dissatisfaction. The point of introducing the table, therefore, is to instil a note of caution into the proceedings, in order to avoid over hasty attributing significant 'findings' to the variable of house size. One can, of course, say the same thing by taking partial correlations between house size, cultural background, and a specified third variable, controlling for the effects of Western on size of house. Thus, taking the example of dissatisfaction once more, one observes the following correlations from one's 24 x 24 matrix of research variables:

TABLE IX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correlations between house size, cultural background and dissatisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House versus Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.34726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Were one to discount the influence of Western on size of house one would come to the conclusion that there was a positive association between increasing house size and increasing dissatisfaction. However, the partial correlation coefficient of house with dissatisfaction, controlling for cultural background, is only of the order of 0.06089,
a result barely significant at the 0.05 level with \( n = 1086 \). Thus house size in itself plays a small part in contributing to overall dissatisfaction. The same may well apply to other research variables related to size of house.

Another way of reaching the same conclusion is to perform a micro-analysis in each of the 113 houses of the congregation, i.e., independent of province and western cultural background, and attempt to relate size of house to variables such as types of motivation, dissatisfaction, and types of religious belonging. Such an operation has been carried out producing a series of random results from which no definite conclusions could be drawn. In other words, knowing the size of the religious community did not enable one to predict types of motivation, dissatisfaction or change. However this rather tiresome analysis, the results of which are not recorded here, did suggest that perhaps another, as yet undefined, variable was making a 'difference' to the results, a variable which can be described in terms of the cultural environment of the religious community. One has since operationalised this variable in more recent research into the Canadian province, but in the absence of results from these 80 interviews, one is not in a position to say how significant a finding this new variable will turn out to be.

4. Another look at the independent variables

a. Age

All but twenty-five of the 1,086 respondents gave their age, which ranged from 21 to 95, with a mean of 50.565, a median of 51 and standard deviation of 16.279.

The distribution of age in percentages in eight age brackets by province (including Home for the moment), was as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-40</th>
<th>41-50</th>
<th>51-60</th>
<th>61-70</th>
<th>71-80</th>
<th>81-90</th>
<th>91+</th>
<th>No data</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>56.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ South</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ North</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bang &amp; B</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be apparent from the above table that the age of those sisters from Eastern provinces is not only below the mean for the congregation as a whole (under TOTAL), but significantly different from the mean age of those from Western provinces. This is also reflected in the median scores to be found in appendix III. A possible reason for this discrepancy in age has already been suggested in terms of the low engagement to marriage in certain Eastern provinces, with the consequent pressure placed on girls to either marry or enter the
religious life at an early age. Indeed, until quite recently, it was not unknown for girls to run away from their homes in order to enter convents. These early entries had the effect of reducing the mean age of the sisters of those provinces. Another likely factor producing the same effect might be the lower life expectancy in Eastern provinces, although there is no evidence to show that this is the case for female religious.

Recruitment in Western provinces, on the other hand, was generally through the schools in which the congregation taught, and often girls were encouraged to enter after completion of high school studies, and in some cases (now more commonplace), after they had taken their degrees or worked outside in the world. The phenomenon of 'late vocations' is also more in evidence in the West, following the same pattern as that of the Catholic priesthood.

Of all the independent variables in the questionnaire (if one discounts the constructed variable of WESTERN for the moment), that of AGE was found to correlate significantly with more items than any other independent variable. A connection was established between salvation of others as a primary motive for entry and youthfulness, as also with a certain reluctance to hypothetically re-enter the congregation or religious life. The young advocated the principle and practice of democracy wherever possible, whether it was to do with amending the constitutions, working out a system of appointments or making known a budget within a community. They were also reluctant to accept traditional definitions of commitment in terms of the three vows, and this was reflected in the questions concerning identity as a religious. On the whole the younger sisters preferred modern to traditional prayer forms, although there was no evidence to support the view that they had a diminished attitude towards religious experience, expressed either in quantitative or qualitative terms. By and large they were more critical of the congregation than their older colleagues, particularly when it came to their perceived reasons for the decline
in the number of vocations. They were similarly reluctant to encourage others to the congregation. Lack of religious interest among the girls they taught was blamed on the Church rather than society, perhaps indicative of their open states of mind. One area that was not criticised by the younger sisters was the formation given to them by the congregation, a finding of interest when one considers that they were the group who had just completed training. If one associates outer motivation with the young, then perhaps this last finding indicates that the young thought that the training given them by the congregation was likewise orientated, a significant indicator of the presence of outer motivation in the congregation as a whole.

One does not consider it fruitful to supply a list of all the correlations established by the variable age on the original 104 x 104 matrix. One has merely given a summary of the 47 items where a correlation greater than ± 0.1 was found. With a population of 1,086 such correlations are significant at the 0.001 level. Similarly one does not see the value in recording all the values for Chi-square derived from the cross tabulation of age against all other variables. In the secondary stage of quantitative analysis, where age will be dealt with as one of 24 variables on the SPSS program, more detailed results will be supplied, particularly where it is hypothesised that age has a causative effect in the elaboration of the research model. In this latter secondary analysis one has collapsed the eight age brackets to four, namely 21-30, 31-50, 51-63 and 63+, following the distribution of the age variable in the last three categories, while still allowing attention to be focussed on the youngest age group.

b. Native

This variable was constructed from the sister's country of birth and place of work. Where the two were the same she was termed native; otherwise she was referred to as being non-native. It was hypothesised that this variable would allow one to see an important source of type of
motivation and degree of (dis)satisfaction within provinces.

For example, one detected a predominance of inner motivation among native born Australians, New Zealanders and Indians, in their respective provinces, thus tending to push inner motivation above the mean within those provinces. By contrast, without members from Ireland, both North and South of the border, the English province would have displayed more outer motivation. Again, when it came to dissatisfaction, one noted, for instance, that native born sisters belonging to the province of Bangladesh and Burma were largely responsible for the province's fairly high individual dissatisfaction score.

However, when considered within the congregation as a whole, the variable NATIVE played little significant part in affecting other research variables. The only correlations over ± 0.1 established between NATIVE and other variables were those of native and age (r = 0.13199) and native and house (r = -0.10787), indicating that there was a slight tendency for non-native sisters to be found among the older age groups and working in smaller houses (cf. discussion earlier in this chapter). However, when held constant by partial correlation with the above variables, the variable native could not be found to relate significantly to any other variable in the research model. Still, it was decided to retain it for overall factor and path analysis in the event of an unforeseen causal connection, however weak.

For the record, however, one supplies the breakdown by province of the sisters' place of birth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Native born</th>
<th>Countries of birth of non-natives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>100 / 119</td>
<td>Canada (1), Eire (4), England (2), Germany (1),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New Zealand (4), N.Ireland (2), Scotland (2), Absent data (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Province</td>
<td>Native born</td>
<td>Countries of birth of non natives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>111 / 144</td>
<td>Alsace (1), Eire (5), France (3), Holland (1), N.Ireland (1), Poland (3), Scotland (3), Switzerland (1), USA (6), Austria (1), Belgium (1), Absent data (7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>30 / 285</td>
<td>Canada (1), Eire (171), France (1), Germany (3), Holland (1), Hong Kong (1), India (1), New Zealand (2), N.Ireland (21), Scotland (28), USA (2), Absent data (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>24 / 60</td>
<td>Alsace (7), Eire (3), England (2), Germany (2), New Zealand (2), Poland (1), Switzerland (5), Vietnam (0), Austria (2), Absent data (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>59 / 70</td>
<td>Alsace (1), Canada (1), Eire (3), England (2), France (1), Italy (1), New Zealand (1), Absent data (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ. South</td>
<td>149 / 159</td>
<td>Australia (3), Eire (2), England (1), France (1), Italy (1), Scotland (1), Absent data (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ. North</td>
<td>121 / 134</td>
<td>Canada (1), Eire (3), England (3), Holland (2), Switzerland (1), Wales (1), Absent data (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh and Burma</td>
<td>41 / 72</td>
<td>Eire (4), Germany (1), India (25), W. Pakistan (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>54 / 57</td>
<td>Canada (1), England (1), China (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rome</td>
<td>0 / 6</td>
<td>Australia (2), England (1), New Zealand (2), Switzerland (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>668 / 1,065</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Engagement

In the questionnaire (question 116), the sisters were asked whether they had been engaged to be married before. This question was posed at the suggestion of Emile Pin, who hypothesised that those who had been engaged previously would tend to display more outer motivation than other sisters. The reasoning behind the hypothesis was not too clear, particularly in the absence of this question in parallel surveys among Church personnel. Perhaps there was the underlying idea that somehow sisters who had been in love prior to their commitment to the religious life would be less 'clerical' in their outlook and more sympathetic to human and emotional problems. In other words, they would display a more this-worldly, rather than other-worldly, mentality, and in that sense could be said to be more outer motivated. Thus one was not so concerned about actual engagement, and for this reason the option 'almost engaged' was included. This was preferred to the expression 'having been in love', as engagement or quasi-engagement implied deeper commitment, and it was further felt that the above expression could be capable of so many interpretations that one might receive a 100% affirmative response to it.

The responses to the question showed that 8.38% of the sisters had been engaged or almost engaged before entry, 4.33% preferred not to reply to the question, and the remainder had not been engaged to be married. Filtering out the unusable replies, one thus reached a figure of 8.76% who had (almost) been engaged. Although one expected this percentage to be considerably higher in Western provinces, in point of fact the respective percentages for non-Western and Western provinces were 8.97% and 8.48%, displaying no significant difference. The provinces showing the highest rates were France and Bangladesh (just under 20% in each) with the Commonwealth countries all under the congregational mean for this form of life experience.

However, when this variable was run on the SALLY program, producing the 104 x 104 matrix, the only significant correlation of + or - 0.1
established with any other variable was that of 0.1 between engagement and the possession of a diploma. For this reason the variable was dropped from further analysis.

d. University qualifications

Following Fichter, Pin, Gannon (20) and others, one wished to investigate the effect of increased professionalisation on the research variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging. The C.M.S.W. survey had further reported that over 1 in 5 of its respondents possessed B.A or higher degrees, and it was hoped that the figures for the congregation studied would be in that region also. Earlier the two sets of figures were compared and it was noted that 19.67% of one's respondents were so qualified, once the unusable replies had been filtered out. Later one shall report the findings related to the underlying hypothesis that sisters with university qualifications, an indicator of professionalism, should tend to display greater outer motivation, dissatisfaction, and openness to network belonging, as a result of their wider contacts and broader outlook on life. Here one gives a summary of the results obtained from the 104 x 104 correlation matrix in the first stage of the quantitative analysis.

First, the possession of degrees was distributed randomly by age throughout the congregation, thus avoiding the co-influence of the two independent variables. However there was a slight negative correlation between age and university qualifications, indicating perhaps that the congregation was following the pattern of other female congregations in combining professional training with its own formation programme. That the obtaining of degrees was linked with the educational aim of the congregation was discernible from the 0.247 correlation between university and teaching qualifications. A greater proportion of sisters from Western cultural backgrounds possessed degrees when compared to their non-Western colleagues, but the respective 21.83% and 18.04% did not differ significantly from the mean.
On the whole those with degrees tended to give similar replies to the younger respondents. They were critical of the Church with regard to religious instruction, they discounted more traditional prayer forms, they did not see the need for the mandatory wearing of the habit, and they advocated greater democracy in the system of appointments. However, where their emphasis appeared to differ from that of younger sisters was in their concentration on reform within the congregation itself. The changes they advocated were to do with government and more efficient running of the congregation as an organization. Failure to encourage vocations or to give adequate witness to the vow of poverty was not blamed on the individual or the community in which she lived but rather attached to the macro-structural level of province. One further point where they disagreed with the young was their unwillingness to accept the adage that "to work is to pray." (21)

Later one will examine the type of motivation and the satisfaction rate of those with university qualifications, as also the type of religious belonging they favour. However, already one is gaining the impression that they may not be so attracted to open network belonging as first envisaged by one's initial hypothesis. Their emphasis on changes within the congregation places a certain limit on the more -structural view associated with what one has described as open network belonging. Certain elements among the 'intelligentsia' may, in other words, be channelling their 'prophetic' criticisms in the direction of closed community belonging.

e. Teaching qualifications

Again one expects to find those professionally qualified as teachers to follow the same pattern as those who have obtained university degrees, although perhaps to a lesser extent, the actual level of qualification being somewhat lower. As members of a missionary and teaching congregation, one suspects that those qualified
as teachers will express their identity in terms of the goals of the congregation. Thus there may be found among the teachers the advocacy of internal reform, which, as one saw above, may be directed towards closed community belonging rather than open network belonging.

From primary analysis it did in fact emerge that 63.65% of the congregation, those with teaching qualifications, did tend to identify themselves with the aims and goals of the congregation and that the changes they advocated were to do with the macro-organisational level of internal government. The independent variables of age and cultural background did not correlate significantly with that of teaching qualifications, although there was a slight tendency for teachers to be found in the younger age groups and among those from non-Western provinces. In addition to their teaching certificates several teachers possessed diplomas as well. In common with those possessing degrees and younger members, the teachers were opposed to the obligatory wearing of the religious habit, and with the young extended this question of identity to include the questionability and relevance of the vow of chastity and the distinction between a sister and a social worker. The topic they found most difficult to impart in the classroom was the Church's teaching on economic capitalism. As the variable of teaching qualifications is closely associated with that of university qualifications, both in hypothetical terms and regarding the findings of the primary analysis, one intends retaining it for the secondary analysis in the testing of the research hypotheses.

f. Nursing qualifications

Prior to sending out the questionnaire, it was anticipated that many sisters, particularly those working in developing countries, would possess nursing qualifications, and that this would have been considered necessary for sisters working on the missions. One also hypothesised that those who were trained nurses, as a result of increased contact with the poor and helpless, would by force of circumstances be more outer-directed in their motivation than other sisters.
When the questionnaires were returned and preliminary coding was completed, it transpired that only 6.31% of the congregation were trained nurses, with only a very few more to be found in non-Western provinces (6.92% in non-Western as opposed to 5.48% in the Western provinces). Moreover, one learnt to one's surprise that only one of the sisters from the province of Bangladesh and Burma was so qualified, an area that surely required this kind of involvement from Church personnel. Thus it was lack of qualifications in this field that rather suggested the predominance of inner motivation in these provinces, a criticism levelled by Pro Nundi Vita against the Church as a whole, working in the Far East (22). Correlation analysis showed two consonant motivational tendencies among the nurses. The first was that the changes they suggested were not primarily concerned with the good of the congregation, and the second was that they viewed their commitment in outer-directional terms in answer to the question seeking to establish the differences between a sister and a social worker.

However, it was felt that two indicators were not sufficient to either nullify or verify one's hypothesis linking nurses and outer motivation, and that the actual number of nursing sisters in the congregation was not sufficiently large to warrant further analysis. For these two reasons it was decided to drop this variable.

5) Diplomas

The percentage of those possessing additional qualifications from those listed above, in the form of diplomas, was relatively high. 31.29% of the respondents stated that they possessed such diplomas, the greater proportion coming from non-Western provinces (36.96% as opposed to 23.98%). Part of the explanation for this phenomenon lay in the fact that in the New Zealand provinces many sisters had diplomas in music in order to subsidise the meagre income they were receiving from the Church. It is also likely that sisters in other non-Western provinces working in dispensaries also were required to possess diplomas.
In Western provinces, on the other hand, sisters obtained diplomas in domestic science, home economics and allied subjects.

The possession of a diploma correlated significantly with university and teaching qualifications, engagement to marriage and nursing qualifications, thus suggesting that professionalisation among sisters may include the obtaining of more than one qualification. Also of interest was the finding that those with diplomas criticised present formation in the congregation and laziness to be found in some of their colleagues (one suspects those not trained professionally). There was also a tendency to identify with the aims and goals of the congregation, as with the teachers, and a slight tendency towards dissatisfaction with the congregation, as evidenced by their replies to the question of hypothetical re-entry. The similarity with the variable teacher, established by the above indicators, and also by partial correlations taken between the two variables and these indicators, suggested that the variable of possession of diplomas was not adding very much to the variables of university and teaching qualifications, and for this reason it was decided to omit it from further analysis.

h. Areas of suggested change

The answers to question 38 (columns 121-2) were treated as independent variables in the primary analysis of the questionnaire returns, in order to establish the association between freely offered areas of change with other motivational and (dis)satisfaction indicators used in the survey. In the preparation of a policy document for the congregation one was most interested in the areas of change desired by the sisters. The coding slip for these questions reflects this interest. Correlations between types of change and other independent variables were calculated and have been mentioned already. However, when the data from these questions began to focus on religious belonging as such, it was considered more fruitful for
secondary analysis to consider change along these lines, more in
general keeping with the overall general research model. The variable
was thus retained, recoded and treated as a dependent variable, subject
to motivation and (dis)satisfaction. A fuller treatment of this
process will be left to the section on indicators of change in the
chapter that follows, and the actual testing of hypotheses relating
to areas of suggested change will be treated in chapter four.

1. Religious experience

This variable was included for more than one reason. In the
first place, it sought to establish whether there were grounds for
treating it as an indicator of dissatisfaction, in the light of
conflicting findings from socio-religious surveys. Second, by
considering types of religious experience, one hoped to highlight the
predominance of inner or outer motivation in individuals. Finally,
as little sociological investigation had been carried out on this
variable since William James and Glock & Stark, it was thought that
the variable merited treatment in its own right.

Here one was not concerned with motivational and (dis)satisfaction
indicators of religious experience, but rather the presence or absence
of religious experience and the testing of types of religious
experience based upon two scales: that of Glock and Stark (23), and
one of one's own making. In this way one could treat religious
experience as an independent variable both from a quantitative and
qualitative point of view from the responses to questions 27 and 28
(columns 257-9) in the questionnaire, i.e., independent from
considerations of motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

Question 27 treated religious experience from a quantitative
standpoint when it asked:

"Are there any particular moments during the day when you
experience the presence of God?"

This was an adaptation of a similar question used in the Rome survey
for members of the laity (24). The responses to this question
were of the following order:

**TABLE XII**

**Congregational responses to quantitative question on religious experience**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reply</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percent</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>75.23</td>
<td>75.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>6.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>3.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't wish to reply</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>12.89</td>
<td>12.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent data</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affirmative responses to this question were ranked in the following order by province:

- India
- France
- Canada
- New Zealand South
- Vietnam
- New Zealand North
- Australia
- England
- Bangladesh & Burma

As one can see, this order is quite random if one introduces the variable of Western/non-Western cultural background. Indeed the correlation between religious experience and that variable was only 0.00916. Similarly there were no significant correlations between religious experience and any of the other previously discussed background variables. However, a correlation greater than 0.2 was found between religious experience and type of dissatisfaction, and for this reason the variable was retained for secondary analysis.

The scales examining types of religious experience were of the Guttman variety, leading from more common forms of religious experience to the more mystical. They followed the coding to question 28 (columns 259, 263), as supplied in Appendix II. Primary analysis showed that the Glock and Stark scale was superior to the alternative scale in that it correlated significantly with the variables of age.
and qualifications, indicating that younger, more qualified sisters were reporting higher forms of religious experience. This accords with the findings on motivational factors that new, more outer-directed prayer forms were being advocated by the young and the qualified. However, the second scale established a significant connection between sisters in non-Western provinces and higher forms of religious experience. For these reasons one decided to retain the two scales, referring to them as TYPEONE and TYPETWO.

Thus from this further look at independent variables, one hopes that the decision to retain the independent variables of AGE, NATIVE, CULTURAL BACKGROUND, SIZE OF COMMUNITY, UNIVERSITY QUALIFICATIONS, TEACHING QUALIFICATIONS, RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE, TYPEONE and TYPETWO, can be appreciated. Similarly one hopes that it can be understood why one has omitted the variables of ENGAGEMENT, NURSING QUALIFICATIONS and DIPLOMAS, and the treating of FREELY OFFERED SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGE as a dependent, rather than independent, variable.

5. A comparison between the congregation of missionary sisters and other congregations of female religious.

One has already noted the problem of generalising from the study of a particular religious congregation to tentative hypotheses applicable to the Catholic Church. One also gave one's reasons why one thought the findings dealing with a representative international missionary congregation of sisters could be treated in the form of a model of general applicability. The missing link in one's argument so far has been the demonstration of the representativeness of one's congregation vis-à-vis other congregations, although one has given a few indications that one's own congregation bore a distinct similarity to the independent variables used in the C.M.S.W. survey. Here one should like to continue that argument, particularly in the light of the fact that the C.M.S.W. survey was dealing with practically 20% of female
religious in the Catholic Church. If the responses to one's questionnaire on independent and dependent variables are similar to the findings of the C.M.S.W. survey, then one feels one is entitled to conclude that one's congregation is not a deviant case, but rather shares the common attributes and thinking of sisters in general.

One will argue that one's congregation is representative of other congregations in four stages:

a. One's congregation shares the same socio-historical characteristics of other congregations of female religious.
b. The attributes of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.
c. The attitudes of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.
d. The activities of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.

It was not until the year 1900, with the promulgation of Leo XIII's bull *Conditae a Christo* that congregations of women were officially recognised by the Catholic Church as 'religious' (25). It had taken the Church almost nineteen centuries to overcome the Pauline injunctions that "women should be silent in Church" (26) and that "women should not be permitted to teach." (27) It is true that in apostolic times there were a few women who helped the apostles in their tasks (28), and the orders of deaconess and widow were established (29), but such women did not form an organised group of religious who took solemn vows or lived the cloistered life of community. The advent of female religious coincided with the great monastic leaders. With Benedict came Scholastica, with Francis—Clare, and with Dominic—Catherine of Siena. However, in those days, female religious were enclosed. They lived in the 'clausura' of their convents and dedicated themselves chiefly to prayer. These women were called 'nuns' (The Italian word 'monaca', meaning a 'nun', is the feminine form of the noun for 'monk'). Thus if a woman wished to dedicate
her life to the Church she had to take perpetual vows, remain
cloistered, wear a distinctive habit, and follow a monastic rule.
Such women were known as nuns and the organisation to which they
belonged was referred to as an 'order'.

In the seventeenth century one witnessed two separate initiatives
that attempted to establish an apostolate for women outside the
cloister. In 1615, Mary Ward received the blessing of Bishop James
Blaise O.F.M. for her community of 'English ladies' whose aim was
to educate English Catholic girls in her persecuted home country (30).
She intended to follow the rule of the new Jesuit order and to teach
girls not only Latin and secular subjects but also to give them religious
instruction. Until that time such teaching had been solely a male
prerogative and her plans were attacked from all quarters by
ecclesiastics. They pointed out that Mary Ward's ladies were not
wearing a distinctive habit and had no intention of becoming cloistered,
and therefore could not be considered religious by any stretch of the
imagination. The most forceful attack came from William Harrison,
Archpriest of England, who argued that women had never undertaken
apostolic office in the Church, living outside the cloister was
contrary to the teaching of Pius V's Circa Pastoralis, and that their
teaching on spiritual matters would lead to both scandal and heresy.
His anti-feminist stance is detectable in the following passage:

"Since that sex is acclaimed not only by the fathers of the Church
in passing but also by other writers as soft, vacillating, fickle,
inconstant, erroneous, always affected by novelties, and subject
to countless dangers." (31)

Nor was Harrison alone in his prejudice. He soon had the English
Jesuits won over to his arguments, and further hostility was shown to
Mary Ward by the college of cardinals when she pleaded her own case
before Gregory XV in 1621 and before Urban VIII in 1624. On 13 January
1631, the congregation of Mary Ward that refused to accept the
hallmarks of a religious, while desiring to be known as a religious
congregation, was suppressed by the bull Pastoralis Romani Pontificis
of Urban VIII. It was not until fifty-eight years after Mary Ward's death that Pope Clement XI approved the first congregation of simple vows engaged in apostolic work. This was later rescinded by Benedict XIV in 1749, so that it was not until 1877 that Mary Ward's institute received full papal approval by Pius IX. Mary herself was recognised as foundress in 1909 by Pius X. Later Francis Cardinal Bourne of Westminster declared:

"...the very existence of the modern educational and charitable congregations, such as we know them in their almost countless multiplicity, was made possible by the supernatural foresight, the heroic perseverance and the terrible disappointments and sufferings of Mary Ward. She waged the battle, to the point of apparent defeat, of which they are reaping the victory. To no one after their own special founders do they owe greater gratitude than to Mary Ward."

Parallel to the efforts of Mary Ward were those of Vincent de Paul. In 1633 he selected four girls to work among the poor in Chatillon-les-Dombes. They were known as the Daughters of Charity, and it is more than likely that this was the first time that the title 'sister' was employed to refer to women who carried out apostolic tasks outside the cloister, while resembling religious life in structure. However, Vincent was careful not to identify his newly found workers with religious, not only for fear of ecclesiastical censure, but because he maintained that by so doing they would not be able to fulfill their apostolic activities. As he wrote in his Oeuvres:

"They would consider that they are not in religion; this state not being conformable to the goals of their vocation. Nevertheless, because they are more exposed to the outside, to the occasions of sin, than the religious living in the cloister, having for monastery only the houses of the sick; for cell only a rented room; for chapel the parish church; for cloister the streets of the city; for enclosure, obedience; for grill the fear of God; for veil holy modesty...They must have as much or more virtue than if they were professes in an order and are obliged to conduct themselves in all places where they find themselves in the world with as much recollection, purity of heart and body, of detachment from creatures and edification as true religious in the retreat proper to their monastery."
Although Vincent was reluctant to use the term 'congregation', nevertheless the projects undertaken by the approved Confrérie de la Charité des Servantes des Pauvres Malades des Paroisses soon began to resemble closely the apostolic activities of modern congregations. They not only worked among the poor but undertook nursing and teaching work as well. Moreover, the vows they took were simple, as is the case in modern congregations.

Thus Mary Ward and Vincent de Paul between them had managed to break down the traditional barriers that until their time had prevented women undertaking an active apostolate in the Church. The cloister, associated with religious orders of women, had in effect been replaced with the concept of congregation, and the term nun, associated with religious order, had been replaced by the title of sister. In this was congregations of sisters were born in the Catholic Church.

However, it was not until after the French Revolution and the disbanding of religious orders by Napoleon that female congregations were looked on with any favour by Church authorities. The French Revolution had attempted to replace divine law with human reason, and it was in this climate that both Bonaparte and the Church saw it expedient to promote congregations of women without solemn vows and a cloistered existence. Cain sums up the situation well when he writes:

"The end of the Revolution marks the beginning of a notable development of congregations of simple vows and mitigated cloister. France was the centre and inspiration of this tremendous growth; the revolution had brought into clear relief the problems confronting the Church and the need of zealous workers... Nearly eighty percent of the congregations approved by the Holy See today had their beginning in the course of the nineteenth century." (37)

He cites the Sisters of Charity of Jesus and Mary as probably the first congregation of women to receive ecclesiastical approval of both institute and constitutions in 1816 (38), although official indirect recognition as congregations of religious did not come until the
following the Normae of Leo XIII. Finally, congregations received recognition in the 1917 Code of Canon Law and were treated as true religious bodies. (39)

Although congregations of sisters were European in origin, it did not take long for several foundations to make their appearance in the United States, particularly under the leadership of Bishop John Carroll (40). Today there are over four hundred congregations of sisters in North America, and the total number of sisters in the Catholic Church is over the million mark, representing two thirds of Church personnel (41).

The congregation one studied can be said to be typical, in that it was one of those many congregations that was founded in nineteenth century France. The approval as an institute and of its constitutions also followed the pattern of other congregations, in common with Mary Ward's 'Ladies' and Vincent de Paul's 'confraternity', and indeed all existing congregations of female religious, they undertook an active apostolate in the world, unhampered by rules of cloister or vows following the monastic tradition. They were no longer bound by locality or walls and were able to carry the inspiration of their foundress to the four ends of the earth.

From a sociological point of view, Francis suggests that the movement in the Catholic Church from monasticism, and its earlier forms based on a patristic 'sua mundi', to the modern congregation, is comparable to a 'Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft' theory of change (42). He argues that the first indications of such change were evident in the centralised organisation of St. Norbert and Prémontré and the advent of the Knights Templar, although both were limited in aim, in that priority was placed on personal salvation of one's soul (43). He claims that although St. Francis registered a collective protest against medieval capitalism, his rural apostolate could not merit the term 'order', to be found in the Order of Preachers of
St. Dominic, where obedience was not sworn to a local superior but to a Grand Master (44). However, it was not until St. Ignatius and his Society of Jesus, that emphasis was placed on the salvation of others and an efficient organisation was drawn up, comprising a General, consultants, procurators and provincials, that one approached the 'Gesellschaft' end of the Tönnian continuum. Thus, claims Francis, the Jesuits are the ideal type for modern orders and congregations, with outer-directed apostolates, not bound by conditions of locality (45).

If Francis is correct in diagnosing the Jesuits as the ideal type for modern congregations, then one can claim that the congregation one studied certainly fitted the Jesuit model in its organisational structures. One has dealt with these earlier. What may need emphasising here is that the structure of one's congregation followed the Jesuit model exactly in its pattern of Mother General, assistants and provincials.

Hill (46) has suggested that instead of insisting too much on the organisational aspects of religious congregations, one should look at their sect-like qualities. He substantiates his claim by pointing to the voluntary membership of congregations, the fact that there is an element of protest with regard to the Church in particular and society in general, and that there is a rigidity of norms and imposed behaviour, which leads to perfection as an ideal. Combining these factors, one can see that sisters are a cultural institution, an institution that forms part of a larger institution — the Church. Moreover, as sisters have not protested so violently as to split themselves off from the Church, and as they permit subcultures within their ranks, they can be described as a sect within the Church.

One feels that Hill has a certain point here, not only when one considers the social and ecclesiastical situation to which founders and foundresses were objecting, but also when one reads accounts of their lives, one is struck by the forms of charismatic protest that are registered. Nor is Hill's analogy of sect to be limited to congregations of the nineteenth century. Modern congregations of today
are founded precisely to combat evils of social injustice glossed over by the Welfare State. If there is any over-simplification in extending the analogy of sect to congregations, it probably lies in the assumption that congregations view themselves as ecclesiastical elites. While this may be true for certain congregations in the Church, one suggests that there is now a changing climate of opinion in the Church where congregations are sometimes prepared to sink their differences and merge where apostolates are seen to overlap. Nevertheless, congregations are encouraged to renew themselves in the light of the original inspiration of their founder or foundress, as it is there that the specific aims and goals, indeed the identity, of religious congregations are to be found. In that sense all congregations can be considered sect-like. The congregation one studied is no exception. Fired with an initial enthusiasm for missionary work, it now seeks to adapt itself to all the alternative senses attributed to the word 'mission' since the Second Vatican Council. While the ability to adapt to changing missiological conditions, brought about by rapid conditions of social change, persists, there is still scope and identity for the congregation. Moreover, such change is one of form, not content; it is still based on the missionary zeal of the foundress and the prophetic protest she voiced over a century ago. As such the congregation one studied can be described as sect-like, not only in origin, but also with regard to the continuation of its protest within the Church today.

Thus one may conclude that one's congregation of missionary sisters shares with other congregations, not only the historical qualities associated with the emergence of congregations in general, but also the sociological qualities of similarity of structure and sect-like appearance. As such one feels that this congregation can be said to be representative of others.

b. The attributes of one's respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.
Most of the available for this subsection comes from the United States. In the 1920's, 30% of sisters came from rural backgrounds, a figure twice as high as that for seminarians (47). By the 1950's this figure had not altered very much, but the gap between male and female religious had widened (48). However, this trend does not look like continuing, as at present fewer than 16% of sisters come from rural areas, a reflection of the changing mobility patterns of society as a whole (49). Sisters have always tended to come from large families (of up to ten children), although nowadays the majority appears to come from families of approximately four children (50). Very few sisters are 'only children', and this pattern too has been evident since the turn of the century. There is further evidence to show that neither the oldest nor the youngest in the family tend to become sisters to the same extent as other children (51). Family opposition on behalf of one or both parents to a girl becoming a sister has often been the case for over 50% of present sisters, but it is difficult to forecast for just how long this opposition will continue (52). There has been a steady trend demonstrating that sisters also are tending to come from more middle class backgrounds, although ethnic status, in terms of descent from one or other foreign born parents, still persists, though to a lesser degree today than previously (53). Sisters still come from 'good' Catholic homes and most do not leave their families until about the age of 18 or 19 when they enter the convent (54). As far as education is concerned, most sisters achieve a higher level than their parents, and the opportunities for higher studies have increased quite dramatically in recent years, particularly after entering the religious life (55). Only about 60% receives a full Catholic education (56). Fecher has argued that between 1900 and 1954 sisters have shown a continuous improvement in health and life span, and concludes that they can expect to live longer than other white females, to an age of 80 or more (57). At the same time most congregations are reporting a
decrease in the number of vocations. If longevity increases and the number of young applicants decreases, then one can forecast an increase in the average age of sisters in congregations.

As this description of the 'average' sister is one based on findings in the United States, it might be more appropriate to just compare the attributes of sisters of Western cultural background in one's own congregation. It has already been noted that the age of entry for such sisters tends to be later than that for sisters coming from Eastern provinces, and that some take the opportunity for higher education or outside employment before entering the congregation, suggesting that the average age for entry may be even higher than 18 or 19 today. The majority too has been attracted to the congregation through contact with the sisters at the school it attended, all of which are Catholic in the Western provinces, suggesting that a figure higher than 60% for Catholic education is in evidence. The sisters' family background was not investigated, but from interviews and discussions with many of them it would appear that most came from 'good' Catholic homes, above the national average in the case of Irish-born sisters, and on the whole from middle-class suburban areas. Fecher's estimated life expectancy has not been tested, although the age of many of the French and Canadian sisters would tend to support his findings. One clear and accurate response to the questionnaire was completed and returned, for example from a sister of 95 years old.

If one compares some of the independent variables associated with the Western provinces with the data from the C.M.S.W. survey, one notes that the sisters of one's own congregation tended to have a mean age almost five years higher, that their university qualifications after entry were 2.62% lower, their teaching qualifications 2.92% lower, and the size of houses in which they work slightly higher than the 16 registered by the respondents of the C.M.S.W. survey, due in the main to the large number of sisters in the English province living in large convents.
Rounding up the percentages for the independent variables in the two surveys, one can present them in tabular form as follows:

**TABLE XIII**

Comparison of independent variables for Western provinces of one's own congregation with the findings of the C.M.S.W. survey, in percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Western provinces</th>
<th>C.M.S.W. survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House size</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University qualifications</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching qualifications</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no comparative figures for other independent variables, such as nursing qualifications and diplomas, as the C.M.S.W. survey allowed for the possibility of sisters engaged in nursing work, for instance, with or without qualifications. Similarly, the C.M.S.W. survey did not investigate the variables of engagement or native. However, one feels that one's figures are sufficiently close to those of the C.M.S.W. survey to permit one to recognise the representativeness of one's case study.

A final comparison can be made concerning the reading habits of both groups of sisters. As regards one's congregation of missionary sisters, 129 out of the 134 books and articles taken from their reading list were post Vatican II publications (58). The response to question 244 of the C.M.S.W. survey indicated that 90% of the respondents were 'en fait' with postconciliar literature, although this figure drops for certain sets of authors covered by questions 269–80. One is entitled to draw the conclusion, however, that both surveys indicate the high proportion of sisters familiar with postconciliar literature, and again one suggests that here one encounters approximate coincidence of another attribute. Thus one feels that a consideration of the independent variables in each survey.
leads one to the conclusion that the attributes of one's own respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.

c. The attitudes of one's own respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.

Prior to the construction of one's questionnaire, one had neither the results or the hypotheses underlying the C.M.S.W. survey. Thus the coincidence of many of the items making up the two questionnaires came as a pleasant surprise. Indeed in some cases the wording of the questions was almost identical. A 'post facto' assessment, however, reminds one that the coincidence of items should have been quite likely, with renewal the focus of both inquiries, and the fact that the C.M.S.W. survey contained over six times as many questions as one's own survey. Here one will compare the responses to more or less identical questions. One should at the same time remember that there were several important differences in the two inquiries. First, the major hypotheses were not the same. The C.M.S.W. survey sought to demonstrate the causal connection between type of belief system and type of change, while one's own preference was for a consideration of motivation and (dis)satisfaction as conducive to types of change. Moreover, in one's own case, change was later specified to focus on the area of types of religious belonging. Second, religious experience, as an independent and motivational variable, was omitted from the C.M.S.W. survey. Third, types of religious experience, as indicators of motivation and (dis)satisfaction, were not employed by the C.M.S.W. survey. Fourth, while one's own replies were looked at from the point of view of expressions of motivational commitment, the C.M.S.W. survey was stressing the difference between pre and post-Vatican II expressions of belief orientation. Finally, the C.M.S.W. survey was more extensive in its research into background variables, thereby increasing the number of independent variables. This it was able to do largely on account of the size of the population, 160 times greater
However, the two surveys are comparable in their responses to dependent variables, particularly those that can be broadly described as being attitudinal in nature. One prescinds from the question of whether measurement of pre-Vatican II mentality is the same as measurement of inner motivation, and examination of post-Vatican II mentality is similar to that of outer motivation, as one has tried to show in chapter six (first section) that these two types of attitudes are practically identical. Moreover, one is more directly concerned with a comparison of the responses to questions, as dependent variables, rather than trying to compare indicators of a hidden reality, which, in all probability, was unknown by the respondents to be the object of measurement. Thus one will remove words such as motive, belief and satisfaction, from the comparison, in order to compare the two sets of replies, which one now presents in tabular form:

**TABLE XIV**

Comparison of replies to dependent variables in C.H.S.W. survey and one's own.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>OWN SURVEY</th>
<th>C.H.S.W. SURVEY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>column question number</td>
<td>percent positive response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason for entry in terms of personal hypothesis of re-entry to congregation</td>
<td>123-5</td>
<td>64.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothetical re-entry to congregation</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>86.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meditation valued</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>73.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In favour of retention of habit</td>
<td>130, 141</td>
<td>59.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
<td>62.04+57.52+66.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITEM</td>
<td>OWN SURVEY</td>
<td>C.M.S.W. SURVEY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>column</td>
<td>percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In favour of pooling salaries and gifts</td>
<td>132, 133</td>
<td>60.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for superiors</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>69.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General councillors should be more available</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>54.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In favour of repetitious prayer</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>59.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community decisions to be taken jointly</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All to elect Mother General</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>41.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Budget to be declared to all</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual encouragement of vocations</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>78.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common agreement over timetable</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>96.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic formulation of constitutions</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>92.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty of interesting young in religion</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be noted that where more than one question refers to a given item an arithmetic mean of the scores is taken. One can also observe the relative closeness of the responses covering such a
diversity of areas in both surveys. One does not expect an exact replica in the pattern of replies, indeed one would become suspicious were this the case, but one feels that the percentages are sufficiently close for one to conclude that one's own survey is comparable on the above dependent variables with the C.U.S.W. survey. For this reason one has no sufficient grounds for not supposing that one's own congregation is representative with regard to replies registered by sisters in general.

d. The activities of one's own respondents are similar to those of sisters in general.

Eighteen years ago in the United States about 80% of sisters were engaged in teaching (59). Today this figure has dropped to just over 60% (60). There are at least two possible explanations for this phenomenon. The first is that the apostolate of sisters is becoming increasingly specialised, as are careers in general. This Durkheimian hypothesis is borne out by the greater number of sisters in nursing, further studies, catechetical work, care of the poor, counselling, social work and publishing. The second reason is that religious communities, realising that they must somehow be 'open' in order to survive, are expanding their apostolates to cover areas glossed over by the Welfare State and the change it has brought about in society (61). Realising this, 'value change' orientated congregations are adapting the original aims and goals of their foundresses to fit modern conditions, and in so doing are employing a criterion of usefulness (62). In some cases this can mean the pooling of energy and resources with other congregations and merging for apostolic purposes.

Figures relating to the primary of work of sisters in the C.U.S.W. survey have been recalculated by filtering out missing data.

The picture one obtains is as follows:
TABLE XV

Occupation of C.I.S.W. survey respondents in percentages (n = 136,691)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching and school administration</td>
<td>62.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work within own religious community</td>
<td>14.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital and nursing work</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>4.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and allied work</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and arts</td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catechetics</td>
<td>2.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling and social work</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing and library work</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures relating to one’s own congregation follow those of the C.I.S.W. survey ± 1% for each category, such is the goodness of fit, with only very slightly higher deviations encountered by sole consideration of the Western provinces. Prior to their renewal programme, analogous to that initiated by the major superiors in the United States, they too had a greater proportion of sisters in teaching with less emphasis on higher education, catechetics, counselling, social work and publishing. When one bears in mind also that one’s own congregation is specifically orientated towards missionary and educational work, whereas the C.I.S.W. survey takes in congregations of a variety of apostolates, then the closeness of fit of the two surveys with regard to apostolic activity is even more remarkable. However, all one is claiming here is that one’s own congregation can be considered representative as regards apostolic activity of sisters in general.
In this chapter, one has looked at the subject of one's research—an international missionary congregation of sisters—with a view to overcoming the problem of later generalisation from one's findings to the Catholic Church as a whole. First of all, the congregation was looked at from an historical and cultural perspective to see how typical this congregation was of others. Sociological treatment of the independent and dependent variables in the C.M.S.W. and one's own survey further highlighted the representativeness of one's own congregation on more than one count. A comparison with almost 20% of other female religious in the Catholic Church showed that one's own congregation closely followed the broad attributes, attitudes, activities and socio-historical origins of sisters in general. One thus suggests that the serious methodological obstacle, standing in the way of a study of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging, has been largely overcome. There may be more satisfactory methods of investigating the Catholic Church from the micro-level, but while awaiting the research of others to shed further light on this problem of generalisation, it is suggested that the present methodology and techniques are sociologically viable.
CHAPTER THREE

The choice of items, indicators and scale construction, associated with the three major research variables of (dis)satisfaction, motivation and change

As one saw in chapter six (section one), the three major variables comprising the research model are those of (dis)satisfaction, motivation and change. Now these variables are in fact treated as scales, combining indicators, which themselves are broken down into sixty-three questionnaire items. In order to understand the scaled variables, therefore, it is necessary in this chapter to examine their elaboration through the stages of item, indicator and scale construction. Underlying one’s treatment lies the suggestion that measurement by scaled variables is more reliable than the testing of individuals by single items or indicators of (dis)satisfaction, motivation or change. The reason for this stance should become apparent as one proceeds. Briefly, therefore, one’s reasoning is as follows: (Dis)satisfaction, motivation and change, are scaled variables. As such they are composed of various indicators, themselves represented by one or more items. In turn, the indicators (which when composed of more than one item may be thought of as sub-scales), have a theoretical grounding in allied theoretical and empirical socio-religious research, as do the items or questions representing these indicators. One’s elaboration of scales, therefore, requires an examination of indicators and items, providing a theoretical framework for one’s scaled variables.

Taking (dis)satisfaction first, there are thirty-seven items, representing twelve theoretical indicators, which, when scaled allow one to assess the predominance of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of any given respondent. In theory, therefore, it is possible for an individual to receive a dissatisfaction score of 37 and a satisfaction score of 0. In practice, however, there is a certain amount of absent or unusable data, making the attainment of a total satisfaction /
dissatisfaction score of 37 impossible. One may also add that lack of data also has the effect of reducing the strength of correlations not only within scales but also between scales. One should also remember that the same 37 items are being used to produce a satisfaction / dissatisfaction score, which, when totalled, gives a theoretical maximum of 37. Thus, for example, a score of 15/22 indicates a satisfaction score of 15 and a dissatisfaction score of 22 over the 37 items, indicating also a predominance of dissatisfaction in the respondent.

The reason for the use of one scale, which later dichotomises in effect into the two variables of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, is to operationalise the predominance of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Were one to give a respondent a single score, eg. 18, it would be no longer possible to examine his mixture of satisfaction and dissatisfaction separately, either quantitatively or qualitatively, ie. by degree and type. Thus one's uniscalar technique, based on items treated as dummy variables, while lacking the simplicity of a single score, can nevertheless be seen as essential for a discussion of types of dissatisfaction. Similarly, the above technique will be extended to one's treatment of motivation and change. Whether it is useful to speak of types of dissatisfaction, motivation and change, remains to be seen when hypotheses relating to them are tested in the following chapter. What one is stressing here is the need to examine variables by type, a need reflected in, and suggested by, recent socio-religious literature.

With these considerations in mind, dissatisfaction is then subdivided according to type, giving rise to individual dissatisfaction, outer dissatisfaction and congregational dissatisfaction. These types are derived from the same dissatisfaction scale, and contain a maximum of 12, 15 and 10, items respectively. When totalled, of course, these items (or sub-scales) give an overall dissatisfaction score.
The motivation scale employs 17 items, representing 4 theoretical indicators, and seeks to discover the predominance of either inner or outer motivation in a given individual. A score of 7/10, for instance, shows that a respondent has an inner motivation score of 7 and an outer motivation score of 10; in that case outer motivations is predominant. As with (dis)satisfaction, the one same set of items distinguishes motivation by type into inner and outer motivation.

The change scale is slightly more complicated, as it incorporates an open-ended question allowing for the selection of two freely offered suggestions for change. When added to the 9 closed items, this produces a total change score of 11 (maximum). The 9 closed items can then produce the following options (maximum):

- family change (3),
- closed community change (6),
- open network change (9).

The sum of the individual's score for types of change, as it is measured on the same scale, can therefore never exceed 9. A typical example might be a score of 1-3-5, indicating a family change score of 1, a closed community change score of 3, and an open network change score of 5. However, as the sub-scales for types of change have different maxima, one needs to refer to the mean value of these scales before assessing which type is predominant for any given respondent.

One can now turn to one's original research model, linking the three major variables with their associated types, giving in brackets the maximum item score attainable for each variable, by degree and type, as follows:

**FIGURE IX**

The main research variables containing number of scaled items.

1st & 2nd CHANGE (2)

INNER MOTIVATION (17) SATISFACTION (37) TOTAL CHANGE (11)

--- FAMILY CHANGE (3) (6)

CLOSED COMMUNITY CHANGE

OUTER MOTIVATION (17) DISSATISFACTION (37) OPEN NETWORK CHANGE (9)

INDIVIDUAL (12) OUTER (15)

CONGREGATIONAL (10)
One should also remember that the variables of first and second choices of change concentrating on areas of community change (i.e. type of freely desired change), associated with 1st and 2nd change (i.e. the existence or degree of freely desired change), while not actually in figure IX, complete the picture of qualitative treatment of change.

The remainder of this chapter examines the research variables by type, illustrating how the indicators, underpinning the items in the questionnaire, have been drawn from allied socio-religious research. Parametric statistics associated with each scale will be provided together with the correlations between items comprising the scales. The surveys to which one refers have been briefly discussed already in chapter six (first section). In this chapter only relevant findings will be highlighted, even at the expense of a certain amount of repetition.

The chapter will assume the following format:

1. **Dissatisfaction**
   a) Individual dissatisfaction: 5 indicators
      12 item scale
      statistics
   b) Outer dissatisfaction: 4 indicators
      15 item scale
      statistics
   c) Congregational dissatisfaction: 3 indicators
      10 item scale
      statistics

   **Statistics for overall Satisfaction / Dissatisfaction**

2. **Motivation**: 4 indicators
   17 item scale
   Statistics for both inner and outer motivation

3. **Change**
   a) Family versus Open network: 2 indicators
      3 items
   b) Closed community versus open network: 4 indicators
      6 items

   **Statistics**

A word about open-ended questions on change.
1. Dissatisfaction

a) Individual Dissatisfaction

Indicator 1: Hypothetical unwillingness to re-enter the religious life

( one item : question 127 )

The choice of this indicator was influenced by the fact that it had been used in an analogous form in three major surveys dealing with both secular and religious clergy. The first of these surveys was conducted by Fichter among 3,048 American priests, of whom 2,287 were curates, termed by the author, 'America's Forgotten Priests', whose satisfaction and morale was hypothesised as being low. The inquiry was conducted in 1966, after the close of Vatican II. With regard to this indicator of individual dissatisfaction, Fichter states:

"In this survey we may measure satisfaction by the answer to the question whether the respondent would again enter the seminary and at the same age at which he had previously entered." (1)

An affirmative response was judged as indicative of satisfaction, a negative reply was taken as displaying dissatisfaction. Thus one's own treatment of satisfaction / dissatisfaction as a dichotomous variable is similar to that used by Fichter above. The main difference, of course, lies in one's own preference for scales as opposed to single indicators. From Fichter's question it emerged that 13% of the respondents were not only against entering the seminary at the same age as they actually did, but that they would hesitate about re-entering at all (2). Fichter then used this sole criterion to distinguish satisfaction from dissatisfaction, and later cross-tabulated these replies with other items in his questionnaire, including those concerning the encouragement of vocations and job satisfaction.

Also from the United States emerged the well known 1 in 7 sample survey of all American priests, both secular and religious, which included bishops and resigned priests as well. Results were published in 1972, two years after the questionnaires had been sent out. Dissatisfaction, satisfaction, morale and happiness, were all treated,
and this time no single indicator was used to deal with dissatisfaction. Regarding the above indicator, one finds a table breaking down the responses of those who said they would enter the priesthood again. From this table one notes that the lower the rank and the lower the age of the respondent, the more likely he is to answer the question in the negative. One slight discrepancy, in an otherwise linear trend, is that the 36-45 age group appears to be 3% more dissatisfied on this item than those aged between 26 and 35 (3).

Between 1970 and 1971, a sample survey among English speaking priests in Canada was conducted by the Socio-Religious Research Center of the University of Laval. 947 of the 1,643 questionnaires were returned, giving a slight bias towards younger diocesan clergy over older religious priests (4). Relating to this indicator, Stryckman and Gaudet state:

"In addition to inquiring into their motivation for becoming and remaining a priest, we asked the priests what they would do if they had to do it over again." (5)

The table giving the replies to this question showed that 7% of the diocesan and 6% of the religious priests said that they would remain a layman, with 13% of the diocesan and 11% of the religious priests offering "don't know" replies. The explanation given for the number of religious priests preferring to remain laymen is sought in terms of their alleged radical motivation (6). Thus the Canadian survey is the first to directly link outer motivation with this indicator of dissatisfaction.

An allied question to that of hypothetical re-entry is that directly asking the respondents whether they have considered leaving the religious life, priesthood or Church, which later filters to reasons for this attitude. Here one encounters many more socio-religious surveys, producing generally higher rates of individual dissatisfaction than evidenced by the indicator stressing hypothetical unwillingness to re-enter the religious life or priesthood. However, most of these
surveys link the discussion of dissatisfaction to the issue of celibacy, which one feels is a separate question, and for this reason it has been treated under the problem of affectivity (cf. indicator 4).

In one's own survey, the following item was used to represent the re-entry indicator:

"If you had to begin all over again would you yourself enter the religious life?" (questionnaire, number 127)

From the discussion in one's pilot inquiry it was felt that the repetition of "you yourself" would emphasise the individual dimension of dissatisfaction and that it would be distinguished from congregational dissatisfaction by substituting "religious life" for "congregation" (cf. question 126). The response distribution was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REPLY</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>70.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't know</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>7.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don't wish to reply</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absent data</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>15.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high absence of data figure can be explained by the link of this with the previous question concerned with hypothetical re-entry into the congregation.

Further cross-tabulation between the two questions (126, 127) appeared to indicate that the "don't know" and "don't wish to reply" responses were in the direction of satisfaction, suggesting an overall dissatisfaction rate of between 5 and 6% on the re-entry indicator.
TABLE XVII
Crosstabulation of questions 126 and 127

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>dk</th>
<th>dw</th>
<th>no data</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enter the congregation</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter the religious life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of those replying yes</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter the religious life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of those replying no</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter the religious life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of those replying DK</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter the religious life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of those replying DW</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enter the religious life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of those not replying</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ringed responses highlight the internal consistency of the replies indicative of overall satisfaction / dissatisfaction. However, for purposes of one's analysis of types of dissatisfaction, based on theoretical considerations and one's own pilot inquiry, one decided to separate the two items and leave the question of hypothetical re-entry to the congregation for treatment under congregational dissatisfaction.

Returning to the question of hypothetical re-entry to the religious life, when the replies were further broken down by age, one noted that the younger members' rates of individual dissatisfaction were roughly twice as great as those produced by the over 50 age group. The only other finding of significance was that those sisters coming from non-Western provinces displayed greater individual dissatisfaction on this indicator. One has earlier suggested that in non-Western provinces there is a greater identification of the sisters with a traditional stereotype of 'sister.' Perhaps their replies indicate the beginning of a reaction to such a stereotype.
One has explained already that religious experience was introduced to supplement a lacuna in sociological research. However, an additional reason for its use is suggested by the conflicting findings produced by surveys when they consider religious experience as an indicator of individual satisfaction and lack of such experience as an indicator of individual dissatisfaction. Added to this latter consideration is the point of interest that lack of religious experience is often a favourite reason offered by Church leaders for the defection of its personnel, even though this explanation is not generally acknowledged by members of the laity or of Church personnel itself. In other words, it was hoped that by employing lack of religious experience as an indicator of individual dissatisfaction, certain prior single factor explanations of dissatisfaction could be investigated.

The survey of American priests concluded in chapter seven of its report that those priests with low scores on religious experience were those most likely to be dissatisfied with the present state of Church structure (7). However, a closer inspection of Greeley's findings revealed that the maximum correlation he could obtain on a matrix including all other research variables was that of -0.19 between religious experience and age (8), which persuaded him to drop the variable from further analysis (9). Moreover, the correlation between frequency of prayer and religious experience was only 0.29. Earlier analysis also showed that the level of religious experience among resigned priests was higher than that attained by bishops, religious superiors, secular and religious, active priests (10). One thus felt that the apparent internal contradictions of Greeley's survey required further investigation.

Burgalassi suggests that dissatisfaction is linked more with religious motivation than with religious experience (11), and the
Canadian survey appears to arrive at the same conclusion (12). Others, such as Fichter and the Cara study, prefer to omit religious experience altogether from a discussion on dissatisfaction. The Spanish inquiry comes to the conclusion that dissatisfaction is not connected with a crisis of spirituality (13). On the other hand, Sister Edna Mary states that satisfaction can only be found in communion with God (14), and that without this communion not only those in the religious life, but man himself, will remain fundamentally dissatisfied (15). The only unfortunate aspect of this last remark is that it fails to identify communion with God with religious experience, and thereby gives no empirical yardstick for testing hypotheses. Thus it would seem that those surveys which seek to establish a connection between lack of religious experience and dissatisfaction reach two opposite conclusions.

In one's own survey one began with the hypothesis that greater individual dissatisfaction would be found among those with little or no religious experience. This indeed was found to be the case, a correlation of 0.27 being established between lack of religious experience and individual dissatisfaction. This figure was somewhat higher than correlations of 0.14 and -0.11 between lack of religious experience and overall dissatisfaction and satisfaction, respectively. However, no significant correlations were established between religious experience and age (or indeed any of the other independent background variables), again calling into serious question Greeley's finding that younger members of Church personnel evidence greater lack of religious experience. One's correlation matrix also revealed that religious experience as an indicator explained much more of the variance in individual dissatisfaction than it did in either type of motivation. It was only when one considered types of religious experience that motivation played a significant, though weak, role. Thus one found a certain amount of support in one's own findings for the simplistic view that individual dissatisfaction
and lack of religious experience were associated. However, before subscribing to this uni-factor explanation, one not only needs to investigate additional causes of individual dissatisfaction, but also other indicators of it. Final examination of the above view must also take into account the importance of religious experience as a factor in one's model. The procedure testing the relative strength of religious experience compared with other variables in the model will be left until one introduces factor and path analysis into the argument (cf. also chapter four of this section).

Indicator 3: the crisis of identity, 5 items: questions 130, 141, 164, 176, 248

What has been termed 'the crisis of identity' is very closely linked with the 'crisis of role' in many socio-religious surveys, which seek not only to establish typologies of Church personnel, but hope to predict from these typologies the course of action taken by a categorised group of individuals. Thus the question: "Who am I?" often becomes confused with the question: "What should I be doing?"

Fichter and Pin partially resolve the confusion by stating that members of Church personnel are professionals (identity), and therefore should act professionally (role), thereby enhancing their satisfaction. However, the picture becomes rather more complex in the Canadian survey, which categorises priests as sacro-magical or prophetic, according to their overriding motivation, but then concludes that tension arises because these identities are not played out according to role expectation. Burgalassi, in his study of the Italian clergy, feels that the identity crisis is the first of many crises to be encountered, and that it is brought about by social change. He claims that a crisis of identity leads immediately to a crisis of role between the official, sacro-magical, indifferent and innovative, types of priest. These two crises are said to be aggravated by optimistic, pessimistic or uncertain, outlooks, and an overriding crisis of totality, the result of ecclesiastical legalism,
which in turn brings about loneliness, compensatory activities, neuroses, lack of affectivity and lack of coresponsibility. Greeley and the Cara study avoid the confusion between identity and role by making the distinction between vocational dissatisfaction and job dissatisfaction, a distinction which one has noted and followed.

The first question dealing with identity in the present survey was the following:

"Do you think that there is a significant difference between a sister performing social work and a lay social worker?" (question 164)

The reason why the area of social work was selected lay in the fact that since the Second Vatican Council a growing number of sisters had undertaken this sort of work (cf. last chapter). Many had been criticised for it, some considered it to be one of the few fields of relevant apostolate, whilst others had left their congregations to take up social work. In other words, it is rather a burning issue. Moreover, it is a question that tends to polarise the satisfied from the dissatisfied. It is maintained that those who have overcome, or who have not succumbed to, a crisis of identity, will tend to emphasise the distinction between a sister and a social worker to a greater degree than those whose dissatisfaction is manifested by confusion over identity.

Three other questions concerned with identity dealt with the problem of the religious habit, the garb by which a sister is recognised as, and feels herself to be, a religious. One considered three questions not to be over-excessive in view of the fact that many Chapters of female religious since Vatican II had been almost entirely devoted to practically every possible aspect of dress. The three statements:

/ "I should wear the religious habit" (question 130)
/ "The clothes a sister wears should be the personal decision of each sister" (question 141), and
/ "The religious habit is a necessary sign of a sister's consecration" (question 248)
not surprisingly produced a high mean inter-correlation of 0.48. What was more of interest, however, was that the words "should wear the religious habit" (French: 'devrait', cf. Appendix I), were connected in the minds of many not with a command, but rather as an aspect of consecration or identity ($r = 0.74$) than a freedom versus authority issue ($r = 0.31, r = 0.37$). The link with individual dissatisfaction is similar to that established by the social worker item. Those who do not appreciate the difference between a sister and a social worker are not so likely to see the value of the habit as a sign of consecration, and this latter group is more likely to be dissatisfied than those who do.

Finally, under the heading of identity, mention should be made of the individual's own rating of her witness to poverty. In the Canadian survey it was found that among religious priests, the younger members differed from their elders quite considerably over the importance they attached to poverty. They felt that a stricter interpretation of the vow was required in order to give witness to the religious life (16). They also stated that poverty was the vow that brought them the most spiritual enrichment (17). Consequently, among one's own respondents, one expected younger sisters to be more critical of themselves as regards witness to the vow of poverty, and as such more prone to manifest greater individual dissatisfaction on this item, than their elders. That this was indeed the case could be seen from the breakdown of the replies by age to this question. In the 21-30 age group, for instance, almost 50% felt it was failing in this regard, a figure over 10% higher than that registered for the congregation as a whole. It is strange, therefore, to find rather low correlations between this item and other items of individual dissatisfaction (cf. table XVIII). For this reason one was tempted to remove item 176 from the scale. However, equally forcible, one felt, were the theoretical reasons for retaining it. As the alpha-value of the scale was not diminished markedly by its retention
(cf. discussion following table XVIII), one decided to keep the poverty item as representative of individual dissatisfaction, while noting its weak association with other items concerned with religious identity.

Indicator 4: the problem of affectivity: 2 items, questions 242–3

The problem of affectivity is perhaps the one area common to all surveys dealing with Church personnel. It is well known that the Catholic Church's insistence on celibacy, not only for its ordained ministers, but also for all those, both male and female, who have taken a vow of chastity, is a hallmark that distinguishes it from other Christian denominations.

It can be argued that apart from the human tensions brought about by the vow of chastity, there is also a theological conflict inherent in it. Not only is the vow of chastity a disciplinary matter, marginal, many would maintain, to the main body of ecclesiastical teaching, but it is also a discipline introduced at a relatively late stage in the Church's history (18). Moreover, with the main thrust of Vatican II renewal being in the direction of returning to the evangelical purity of the apostolic age, it is perhaps surprising that 'aggiornamento' has stopped short of changing this discipline in the direction of that period in the Church's history when it was not unknown for canonised bishops and even popes to be married. It is all that more astonishing when one considers the advances made in sexology, and when every major survey conducted among Catholics in the last ten years has shown that both priests and laity are ready for a change from compulsory to optional celibacy (19). The tension is heightened too, not only when a 'de facto' desire is not implemented 'de iure', but when this desire is transformed into behaviour by the recently increasing number of priests and sisters abandoning their walks of life. Further, there is a rift between Church leaders and other members of the Church over the celibacy issue, which turns the problem of affectivity into a
wider question of authority, thereby making it even more acute. One cannot possibly discuss here all the surveys that have
touched on the question of celibacy. Instead one can underline three
major areas covered by these inquiries that may have a more direct
bearing on this research.

First, there are those surveys which place the question of celibacy
in the wider context of dissatisfaction in human relationships. Marc
Oraison has said that the role of the priest is the role of relationships,
and this can apply to sisters too. However, if these relationships
become formalised or subject to legalism, then the individual may feel
that he cannot relate to his superior, to his peers (as their affectivity
is also prescribed), to members of the laity (as his total role has
been spelt out in such a way as to place him on a pedestal and make
his affectivity marginal). With relationships thus stifled, the
individual may soon become subject to loneliness and neurosis, so that
he feels the only way he can escape this frustration is by a complete
change of identity (opting out of his vows), or by compensation
(staying in and making secondary adjustments, possibly hoping for a
change in legislation). Such is Burgalassi's analysis of priests
in Italy, which causes him to observe that this frame of mind will
bring about more defections from religious than from seculars (20).
Greeley generally agrees by emphasising that a priest's principal
satisfaction is working with people, and his chief problems are
authority, reaching people, loneliness, relations with superiors, and
celibacy (21). However, Greeley starts with the question of why
priests resign and concludes that it is because they wish to marry;
why do they wish to marry? - because they are lonely. He then
arrives at three characteristics of lonely priests: those who are
low on work satisfaction, those who have modern values, and those
who are young (22). However, one does not consider this last
contribution from Greeley to be particularly useful, when he
states:
there is no clear division between traditional and modern attitudes towards religious life and the vows."

Second, surveys consider the difficulty of observing celibacy as a vow. Greeley notes that 75% of religious think that the vow itself is reasonable, but two thirds object to the way it is presented. Similarly 75% do not think that were optional celibacy granted for seculars that it would bring about a decrease in the vocations for the religious life (24). However, the Canadian survey produces different results. The majority of its religious priests found the vow of chastity the hardest of the three vows to observe (more so among the younger respondents) and that it did not bring much spiritual enrichment either (only 20% thought that it did). There was also a good deal of reticence about chastity, as opposed to discussions on poverty and obedience, with a certain tacit acceptance of change, were the legislation itself to change (25). What Greeley and the Canadian survey have in common is that the vow of chastity is seen as a piece of legalism, not exclusively linked to the concept of the religious life. It is thus possible to see that where individuals are reacting against legalism and authority, then they may well be including the vow of chastity as a particular instance of a wider issue. Moreover, when one observes that precisely the dissatisfied object to legalism, then one has the connection between dissatisfaction and the vow of chastity. In other words, an objection to the relevance of the vow of chastity is likely to be accompanied by dissatisfaction. Sister Charles Borromeo, after a lengthy discussion along similar lines, concludes:

"In the community of friendship we are ruled not by the love of authority but by the authority of love." (26)

Third, one can note those surveys that see the problem of affectivity as an obstacle to identification with the Church. The Spanish survey of priests and seminarians not only states the phenomenon in these terms (27), but also adds that it is likely to be most acute among
seminarians concluding their studies and among recently ordained priests (28). Chastity is not simply posing a question of identity, but it also stands in the way of effective role performance. For this reason it produces dissatisfaction (29). Fichter argues in a similar vein (30), and further extends identification with the Church not only to members of the hierarchy, but also to relationships with superiors (31), and to questions of type of residence and degree of specialisation (32). According to Fichter, the man whose talents are recognised and utilised, who is democratically appointed, and who works usefully and industriously, with a view to technical promotion rather than the receiving of an artificial reward (such as accepting the title of 'Monsignor'), is far less likely to show dissatisfaction than the man who turns in on himself. The latter individual is dissatisfied because identification with the Church, in terms of role commitment, is made difficult, and the temptation exists for him to seek more satisfying relationships outside the ecclesiastical system. Celibacy for the dissatisfied is just one more piece to role ascription which the satisfied role achiever is less likely to encounter (33).

In one's own survey one began with the vow aspect of chastity. As a result of one's pilot study the actual phrasing of the two questions relating to affectivity included the notion of "sign value." This was understood by the sisters to mean that the way of life they had chosen (their identity) was an outward sign of a deeper hidden reality, (i.e., the fact that they were not married yet were committed to a certain way of life could be interpreted by themselves and others as a sign of dedication to an alternative way of life, embracing attachment to Christ and availability to man's needs. In this sense "sign value" was understood in the same sense as a sacramental sign value). The two questions (242-3) were as follows:

"Do you think that religious chastity has a sign value for the people with whom you come into contact outside the community:

a) at the present time?
b) in 10 years time?"
The questions thus phrased, it was hoped that they would include the three aspects of affectivity, discussed above. (A further question on celibacy for priests was also included (question 169), but this was intended to distinguish the inner from the outer motivated, cf. discussion that follows on motivation in belief).

It can be seen that these two questions relating to the vow of chastity had respective mean inter-item correlations of 0.15 and 0.17 when computed from other items of individual dissatisfaction. Of interest too was the finding that Bangladesh & Burma, the province displaying the greatest individual dissatisfaction, rated the lowest on both chastity items. The insecurity associated with the present and future relevance of chastity for the sisters from Bangladesh and Burma reinforced one's interpretation that failure to see the sign value of chastity was an indicator of individual dissatisfaction. India too followed the same pattern as Bangladesh and Burma, though to a lesser extent, preparing one for the possible finding that individual dissatisfaction would be more noticeable in non-Western provinces.

Indicator 5: Unwillingness to encourage others to a similar way of life: 1 item, question 144

In America's Forgotten Priests, Fichter says:

"We may logically make the assumption that a man who believes in his profession and finds satisfaction in it would want to share that belief and satisfaction with potential recruits." (34)

What was also of interest in Fichter was that the age group that did the least encouraging of vocations was the 35-49 age bracket. Those who were in more specialised assignments also displayed greater satisfaction on the above indicator. Having noted Fichter's percentage swings in the hypothesised direction, it was decided to adopt and modify his question.

Greeley also employs encouragement of vocations as an indicator of individual dissatisfaction, while emphasising that it must be distinguished from the reasons why a priest remains satisfied and
within the ministry (36). Greeley points out too that young priests with modern values are less likely to encourage vocations than others, because they will be more beset with problems of authority, job satisfaction and the desire to marry (37).

Burgalassi, on the other hand, points to the 36-50 age group, most of whom are parish priests, as being the most troubled by his multiple crises. This would tend to suggest that the middle age group is likely not only to be the most dissatisfied, but the least likely to encourage others to a similar way of life.

Thus, while Fichter, Greeley and Burgalassi, are in agreement over the indicator and its use, they disagree in their findings as to which age group is the most prone to individual dissatisfaction.

One's own analysis with respect to this indicator tended to confirm Greeley's findings, the 21-30 age group being the least inclined to encourage others to a similar way of life. The 31-40 age group was the next to display similar attitudes. From table XVIII one can also calculate a 0.18 mean inter-item correlation between unwillingness to encourage others to a similar way of life and the other items of individual dissatisfaction. It should be noted that this figure is higher than that of 0.12 calculated for item 127, hypothetical willingness to re-enter the religious life. This latter finding suggests that it might be more reliable to begin with encouragement of vocations as a dissatisfaction indicator than with the re-entry item, as in Fichter.

One should also report a certain misunderstanding that arose over the wording "encouragement of vocations." From the comments surrounding this question (derived from questions 39 and 40 in the questionnaire, cf. Appendix I), it was clear that the expression had more than one connotation for the respondents. Some sisters felt that they encouraged vocations by prayer, others by example, whilst others (mainly from non-Western provinces) felt that encouragement meant active recruitment. In other words, respondents felt that one could
rationalise one's position over encouragement of vocations. Thus one should forewarn others that this indicator, especially if used as a sole criterion of individual dissatisfaction, is capable of bizarre results. With Fichter, Greeley and Burgalassi, remaining silent on this point, one can only say that the above difficulty was not anticipated in the preparation of the questionnaire, yet hindsight makes possibility of multiple interpretation more than feasible.

One now presents one's scale for individual (dis)satisfaction, together with its associated statistics:

**TABLE XVIII a**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-item mean r</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Satis.</th>
<th>Dissat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>If you had to begin all over again would you yourself enter the religious life? yes no, DK, Di.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Outside the liturgy, a certain period of mental prayer a day is essential for a sister SA agree SD disagree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>I should wear the religious habit always never</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>The clothes a sister wears should be the personal decision of each sister SD SA disagree agree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>Do you yourself encourage vocations? yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>Do you think that there is a significant difference between a sister performing social work and a lay social worker? yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>Do you think that there is sufficient witness to poverty in your own life? yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>Do you think religious chastity has a sign value for the people with whom you come into contact outside the community a) at the present time? yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>b) in 10 years time yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-item</td>
<td>Indicator</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Satis.</td>
<td>Dissat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mean r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>The religious habit is a necessary sign of a sister's consecration.</td>
<td>always</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>Do you make any visits on your own to the Blessed Sacrament during the day?</td>
<td>once, twice</td>
<td>no more often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Are there any particular moments during the day when you experience the presence of God?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Statistics**

- Maximum possible score: 12
- Actual range: 0-8
- Mean score: 1.538
- Median score: 1.337
- Mode: 1
- Standard deviation: 1.242

With regard to the above table certain observations may be made. The inter-item mean correlation for each item, ranging from 0.05 to 0.22 should not only pinpoint which items are more representative of individual dissatisfaction, but also forewarn one from using single items as sole criteria for separating the satisfied from the dissatisfied. In fact, one decided to try and apply each separate item to one's population and thereby discover which sisters were predominantly satisfied or dissatisfied. The outcome of this rather laborious analysis was that not only was the population split asymmetrically on each item, but that it did not permit one to distinguish with any accuracy the satisfied from the dissatisfied. One was thus persuaded that individual dissatisfaction was more aptly measured by a scale than by separate items. This latter approach also had the added advantage of simplifying ulterior analysis. One was thus able to speak of individual dissatisfaction as one variable.
and to measure it against other research variables compounded in the same fashion. Had one attempted an inter-item analysis of one's major research variables throughout the questionnaire, then 1,953 separate results would have been recorded and commented on, a number quite unmanageable for later statistical analysis for a work of this nature, not to speak of considerations of time and cost. Relating this last comment to one's scale for individual dissatisfaction, one felt that it was less tiresome, and possibly more reliable, to speak of one scale of individual dissatisfaction than to examine 66 separate results. It should also be mentioned that although on average sisters were individually dissatisfied on 1.5 items out of a possible 12, one still presents the results in terms of dissatisfaction, rather than satisfaction, for reasons outlined earlier (cf. chapter six). One now presents the full matrix of inter-item correlations, as follows:

**TABLE XVIII**

Correlation matrix of items comprising the individual dissatisfaction scale derived from the original 104 x 104 matrix

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccccc}
127 & - \\
128 & 0.13 & - \\
130 & 0.09 & 0.16 & - \\
141 & -0.11 & -0.09 & -0.37 & - \\
144 & 0.32 & 0.13 & 0.23 & -0.14 & - \\
164 & 0.08 & 0.06 & 0.12 & -0.07 & 0.12 & - \\
176 & 0.01 & -0.10 & 0.09 & 0 & 0.15 & -0.02 & - \\
242 & 0.14 & 0.06 & 0.12 & -0.10 & 0.15 & 0.11 & 0 & - \\
243 & 0.19 & 0.16 & 0.16 & -0.15 & 0.17 & 0.12 & -0.04 & 0.56 & - \\
248 & 0.09 & 0.18 & 0.74 & -0.32 & 0.26 & 0.07 & -0.08 & 0.17 & 0.19 & - \\
256 & -0.04 & -0.13 & -0.26 & 0.17 & -0.20 & -0.06 & 0.12 & -0.13 & -0.11 & -0.26 & - \\
257 & 0.10 & 0.11 & 0.03 & 0.05 & 0.07 & 0.10 & 0 & 0.07 & 0 & 0.04 & -0.1 \\
\end{array}
\]

| 127 | 128 | 130 | 141 | 144 | 164 | 176 | 242 | 243 | 248 | 256 |
The only remaining question now facing one is the reliability of one's scale based on the above section of the matrix (table XVIII). To answer this question one could in theory have employed factor analysis. However, in practice computer programs for a 104 x 104 matrix were not available for such a task, and one was advised for this and other reasons to seek an alternative measure of reliability. Fortunately, one was able to employ McKinnell's coefficient alpha and apply it to one's scale. In this way reliability could be calculated from the mean inter-item correlation of the section of the matrix by applying n of the formula:

\[
\alpha = \frac{n \times \text{mean } r}{1 + \text{mean } r \left( n - 1 \right)}
\]

where, \( r \) = the mean inter-item correlation, and \( n \) = the number of items in the scale (38). Indeed one has used this coefficient for scale reliability throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Regarding table XVIII, a coefficient of \( \alpha = 0.66 \) was realised, adequate enough for one's purposes. It is also interesting to note that an alpha of 0.62 (four points lower) is reached if only the 4 highest inter-correlating items (130, 141, 144 and 248) are used as a scale to replace that of the 12 items utilised. Similarly, a rejection of 'weaker' items, such as 164 and 176 only results in a lowering of the alpha for the now 10 item scale by 0.02. Thus retaining the scale would appear to have no serious disadvantages, while having the merit of including items placed in one's scale for theoretical reasons. Moreover, it is maintained that by retaining the full scale one obtains a more complete picture of individual dissatisfaction than if one were simply to consider separate items or indicators as adequate measures of individual dissatisfaction. Surely it can be argued that one has a more reliable guide to individual dissatisfaction by using a scale with an alpha of 0.66 than by treating indicators 2-4 as separate measures of individual dissatisfaction. Were this latter procedure to be adopted, then one
would obtain 0.29, 0.54 and 0.71 as respective values for alpha, the single item indicators (1 and 5) clearly not having calculable alpha values. In addition to possible distortion being introduced by measuring individual dissatisfaction by the above separate indicators, treated as sub-scales, with alpha values lower than 0.66 (with the exception of indicator 4), one would again face the problem of multiplying work for oneself, particularly when the above sub-scales had to be correlated with other sub-scales underpinning the remaining major research variables. On balance, therefore, one feels that the case for employing this and other scales in one's inquiry is supported both by empirical considerations of reliability and theoretical reasons for obtaining a more complete picture of a given variable than would be otherwise obtained by piecemeal consideration of items or indicators. For these reasons the major research variables will be represented by scales, and the above argument will be extended to include analogous areas of scale construction in this chapter.

b) Outer dissatisfaction

One has seen already how an individual can be dissatisfied within himself. This sort of dissatisfaction bears on the questions of identity and relevance of the particular form of life he has chosen, and makes him less inclined to re-enter, from a hypothetical standpoint, the same walk of life, or to encourage others in the same vocation.

Now one turns one's attention to that type of dissatisfaction that is brought about through having to live in a certain prescribed communal pattern, and the tensions that can arise from relationships which are not freely chosen by the individual. True his original vocation was for the most part a free choice, but once having chosen a way of life, it does not necessarily follow that his relationships with others who have made the same choice will be ' a fortiori ' compatible. Indeed if that were the case then the need for group
dynamics, sensitivity training, and the human relations approach in organisation theory, would all cease to be relevant, as would the
greater part of social psychology.

In the case of sisters too, prescribed communal living brings with it a series of tensions. First, tensions can arise from the
totalising effect that convent life can have upon the individual. Not only are many of the sister's activities time-tabled, but she may have the added complication of enacting multiple roles under the same roof. Such a situation stands in sharp contrast to other walks of life, where the roles associated with work, family and leisure, are played out in a variety of times and places. Second, the mobility patterns in convent life can be practically non-existent. Although the superior (sometimes re-elected term after term), may have her own circle of advisors, who perhaps achieve intermediary status as a result, there may in practice be a deep division between superior and sister. This is a division based on status, and on ascription rather than achievement. Outside the convent, however, that same status of religious superior is not so highly rated. This can mean that a sister who wishes to express her dissatisfaction with convent life and its notion of hierarchy, often does so by a mental projection of the superior and herself outside the convent walls, to a situation where it is felt equality of status will be more in evidence. Such an attitude may have repercussions in her behaviour, where opportunities are sometimes taken by sisters to place themselves in situations where they will be compared in a favourable light with their superior, e.g. school meetings, dances, discussion groups, or where they will be treated as equals, e.g. charismatic prayer groups. Third, the question of status is closely linked with that of authority, an authority which may be perceived as resting on the commands of a superior being carried out by other sisters. Again outside the convent, a series of orders that relies on religious obedience is felt to have less impact than it
would have had inside the religious community. Fourth, the pattern of communication in many convents can be described as vertical, as from superior to subject. Outside the convent, however, sisters feel that this may not be the case; they sense that the pattern of communication may be of a more horizontal nature. Inside the convent sisters are aware of unilateral decisions and discussions that tend to focus on advice rather than having a direct impact on the decisions taken by the superior. Outside the convent, however, sisters are in many cases aware of those institutions that covet another ideal, namely that of democracy.

Thus one may detect polarisation occurring in convents where two sets of ideas are in conflict with each other. The former stresses totality, status, authority and vertical communication. The latter emphasises the enactment of roles outside the convent, equality of status, coresponsibility, and democratic forms of decision taking. Where such polarisation does occur then one can say that there is a certain lack of harmony in that convent, or that there is an element of dissatisfaction in evidence. Moreover, such dissatisfaction is brought about by a dislike of the former of the two sets of views and a preference for the latter. Such an outlook one terms indicative of 'outer dissatisfaction.' It is that dissatisfaction with prescribed forms of communal living with all that they imply, much of which, it is felt, can be alleviated by projecting these forms on to an extra-mural situation.

It just remains to establish indicators and corresponding items for the elements of outer dissatisfaction that one has just outlined. In so doing, one will be drawing on theoretical support for one's indicators and eventual scale construction from recent socio-religious research. The plan undertaken will be analogous to that used in the construction of one's scale for individual dissatisfaction.
Indicator 1: the problem of status, 1 item: question 135

According to Burgalassi, status is the result of the positioning of roles within an institution. Thus when a crisis of roles occurs then this in turn will affect status. He then puts forward the hypothesis that such a crisis will take place in direct proportion to the tightness of the institutional structure. In other words, to use his own typology, there will be a greater conflict of roles and status where there is confrontation between the official/sacramagical outlook and the prophetic mentality in the Church. A quick look at part of his table 44 sums up Burgalassi's findings:

TABLE XIX
Correlations between Burgalassi's various indices and types of belonging to subcultures (39)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subculture</th>
<th>Optimism</th>
<th>Solitude</th>
<th>Innovation</th>
<th>Openness</th>
<th>Satisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indifferent</td>
<td>-0.981</td>
<td>0.789</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>-0.891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>0.118</td>
<td>0.345</td>
<td>0.456</td>
<td>0.456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacro-magical</td>
<td>0.236</td>
<td>0.781</td>
<td>-0.889</td>
<td>-0.887</td>
<td>0.657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophetic</td>
<td>0.981</td>
<td>-0.981</td>
<td>0.988</td>
<td>0.976</td>
<td>0.345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Admittedly some of the above correlations are so high that they give immediate cause for suspicion, and should be treated with caution. Similarly three correlations of 0.981 should raise some doubts in one's mind as to the reliability of Burgalassi's results. Nevertheless, certain interesting trends can be detected. In the first place one can fairly safely identify the prophetic with most of one's own traits of outer dissatisfaction. There is complete polarisation between the prophetic and the indifferent, and one also detects significant differences between the prophetic and sacramagical on all items, with the possible exception of satisfaction. The difference between the
prophetic and official is less marked but nonetheless in evidence. However, when one comes to the hallmarks of the prophetic, then it can be seen that with their high ratings on innovation, openness and optimism (which one terms 'outer-directedness'), and high negative correlation with solitude (which one has previously treated under individual dissatisfaction), then the conflict between outer and individual dissatisfaction can be seen to be one concerning status, as it is not simply a conflict of attitudes, but of attitudes belonging to identifiable types of people. The satisfaction correlations have been included, even though they can be misleading, as dissatisfaction has not been subdivided as in one's own research. Were Durgalassi to have partitioned his dissatisfaction scores, then one feels that striking differences might have occurred between his prophetic and other types of subculture.

Fichter declares that status plays more of a part than age in explaining change, i.e. the higher a person's position the less change is advocated (40). However, as one has seen, dissatisfaction too is linked with change, and thus it is hypothesised that dissatisfaction is to be found at its maximum in those of lower status, among the 'forgotten priests.' Greeley comes to similar conclusions, although he tends to place more emphasis on age. The difference between his and Fichter's approach is not all that significant in the present context when one considers that among Church personnel there is a direct linear relationship between status and age. The Spanish survey too points to greater outer dissatisfaction among the young, in that they fail to identify with the hierarchical status structure of the Church, and the norms stemming from such leadership (41).

There is thus some link between outer dissatisfaction, as one has described it, and the problem of status. It could, however, be argued that the problem of status was more dependent on motivation or desire for change than outer dissatisfaction. All one can say at this
moment about this latter possibility is that in one's primary analysis the 104 x 104 correlation matrix revealed that the question of status was more significantly linked with outer dissatisfaction than with motivation or change, although other independent background variables such as age, size of community and province, were also associated with the phenomenon. It is maintained, however, that size of community and age are almost bound to play some significant part in a discussion of status, as it is in precisely the large communities with elderly sisters that one would expect the tension of status to be felt most acutely. However, the actual testing of the hypothesis that such dissatisfaction is associated with size of religious community must be left to a later stage in the argument, and will be treated in the following chapter.

**Indicator 2: The problem of authority, 6 items, questions 223-228**

The problem of authority is highlighted as one of the major causes of dissatisfaction among Church personnel by practically all recent socio-religious surveys.

The Spanish survey reveals that one of the main reasons for defections among priests and seminarians is the clash of opinion between the junior clergy and its superiors. Fichter discovers dissatisfaction among those who have poor relations with their pastors and bishops (42), and argues that the situation is further aggravated in the Catholic Church, as, to the best of his knowledge, it is the only organisation where legislation and administration are carried out by the same individuals (43). Greeley places authority as the number one problem for the dissatisfied (44). However, as one has seen, he confuses the issue somewhat by only measuring inner-directedness and in concluding that both the satisfied and the dissatisfied have inner-directed personalities (45). Greinacher lists the reaction to hierarchical authority among his main reasons for the lapsation of the laity in Europe and the United States. Surveys among lay Catholics in
the United States and West Germany come to the same conclusion, identifying authority with the concept of the institutional Church (46). Sister Edna Mary claims that authority is diametrically opposed to a life of religious commitment in community (47). Sister Charles Borromeo states that authority is dysfunctional to the religious life, while Sister Jeanne D'Arc suggests a possible reason for this from her own experience when she writes:

"More than half the nuns in present day France are under the authority of superiors who have no direct experience of their life."

Burgalassi points to authority and paternalism as the two major causes of dissatisfaction among the Italian clergy, and illustrates this with the clichés used in the obedience versus freedom debate, taking place in the theology of the priesthood (49). The Cara study lists the vow of obedience among those factors productive of dissatisfaction and standing in the way of psychological success (50), and gives it as a main reason for defection (51). The Canadian survey underlines the polarisation of attitudes among religious over the vow of obedience. While two-thirds of priests over the age of fifty state that obedience is the mainstay of the religious life, only 27% of those under the age of thirty-five agree with them. Moreover, 33% of those over fifty argue that obedience needs to be restored to strict observance, with only 7% of the younger religious echoing this view. Similarly, the older priests find obedience the most enriching vow; the younger priests find it the least enriching. The picture becomes complete when one notes 25% more disagreement among the young that the religious life is basically a life apart from the world (52). In other words, it seems that one now has the link between outer dissatisfaction and aversion to the vow of obedience, with the traditional notion of authority it implies.

In one's own survey it was decided to ask six consecutive questions on authority and obedience. Respondents were asked whether they thought that religious obedience increased or decreased:
responsibility, faith, frustrations, community spirit, fear of the unknown and laziness. In all cases, bar that concerned with faith, over 20% of the sisters displayed outer dissatisfaction in their replies. The items themselves produced a mean inter-item correlation of 0.31. Further correlations on the full 104 x 104 matrix strengthened one's interpretation that one was dealing with outer dissatisfaction, and that it was to be found to a greater extent among younger members. When the replies were broken down by province it was found that there was a complete divergence of opinion between Eastern and Western provinces over the obedience / authority items, with the Oceanic countries taking a middle course. Bangladesh & Burma and India, for example showed high rates of satisfaction on all six items, while England, France and Canada, displayed considerable dissatisfaction. England expressed the most dissatisfaction on all six items. If one recalls that England was the province with the largest communities, then it seems quite likely that explanation for England's outer dissatisfaction on these items may be sought in terms of the size of house in which its members were living. In Canada and France, however, the reason for the dissatisfaction is probably not so much the size of house (as there are few large houses in those two provinces), but more directly related to the question of whether the community had a superior. Thus, with the possible exception of the item linking obedience and faith, one maintains that the battery of items dealing with the problem of obedience and authority provided a reasonable measure of outer dissatisfaction.

Indicator 3: the quest for democracy: 3 items, questions 138, 146, 149

From the interim findings of the C.M.S.W. survey, it became clear that those congregations that persisted with their pre-Vatican II belief systems could only expect a limited lifespan, while those who
were prepared to adapt to renewal were more likely to survive. Moreover, such postconciliar thought was characterised in many ways by two major documents: *The Church in the Modern World* and the *Decree on Religious Liberty*. It was this latter decree that spelt out the principles of democracy for the first time in the history of the Catholic Church, and consequently it was a document that attracted many sisters and congregations of sisters in the United States and elsewhere. They realised that unless democracy was seen to operate within their own congregations then the specificity of their commitment would be placed in serious jeopardy. As Sister Françoise Vandermeersch writes, one can maintain the unchanging elements of consecration and witness, but has to change the way and style in which they are carried out. The reason why one has to change is because patterns of communication in religious congregations are changing (53). Francis concludes in a similar vein when he states that religious orders must now respect the rational norms and rights of the individual unless they wish to remain cut off from the rest of society (54). Sister Jeanne D'Arc, while arguing for greater democracy, prefers to place it in the context of greater decentralisation and freedom for the individual (55).

The Canadian survey tackled the question of democracy by asking for actual areas of influence in decision making and by contrasting them with desired influences. The most notable difference between those aged under thirty-five and the remainder of the sample was that the former expressed a preference for more democratic bodies in diocesan decision taking, such as the diocesan senate and pastoral council, while the latter wished to retain the power of overall decisions in the hands of the bishop (56). Although the senate and pastoral council were said to be of consultative capacity by the *Motu Proprio Ecclesiae Sanctae*, the feeling of the younger clergy was that they should be more than this. Bargalassi saw an increase of prophetic priests compared with the sacro-magical, precisely over the
freedom issue, with the breaking down of traditional relationships between priests and superiors and even among the clergy themselves. The Spanish survey highlighted the polarisation of attitudes between priests and seminarians on the one hand and members of the hierarchy on the other, who were employing a bureaucratic model of the Church. The quest for democracy among Spanish priests is well illustrated in the attitudes of Basque priests towards the Franco régime, as also in the support of the miners' pay claim by a group of Barcelona Jesuits. However, with cases such as that concerning the Bishop of Bilbao, coming more to the fore of late, one may suppose that the division between priests and bishops in Spain is not so serious now as it was five years ago (when the Spanish survey was conducted). Fichter agrees with Burgalassi and is quoted by him. However, Fichter dwells more on democracy in the system of clerical appointments, in the setting up of grievance and personnel committees, in the greater humanising of chanceries, in the improvement of relationships with superiors, and in the desired freedom brought about by specialisation in apostolic activity (57). Since Fichter's publication, the famous case of Cardinal O'Boyle and the Washington priests has taken place. From that incident the National Conference of American Priests became, if anything, more powerful. In this it was aided by the Canon Law Society of America, which threatened strike action in Detroit (the See of the then president of the United States Conference of Bishops), unless democratic 'due process' were implemented. In Britain too a National Conference of Priests was established in 1969, with elected delegates and annual meetings, although this is more of a consultative body of the hierarchy than its American counterpart.

In 1973, Pro Mundi Vita produced an issue on Pluralism, Polarisation and Communication in the Church. There, as one has seen, Rudge argued that greater satisfaction was to be found in circular egalitarian patterns of communication than in the hierarchical framework of the
wheel or chain. Moreover, he claimed that in the circle one encountered higher morale and better functioning under conditions of instability than in the other two patterns of communication. In other words, Budge is suggesting that democracy is productive of satisfaction and high morale, which is not the case in vertical patterns of communication. Finally, Budge identifies the postconciliar Catholic Church with an increased tendency towards circular communication and greater democracy, whereas charismatic groups and sects, along with the majority of Protestants, once upholders of democracy, have become routinised into the wheel formation (58). If Rudge's analysis is correct, then one can expect to see a growing predominance of outer dissatisfaction in the Catholic Church, consonant with the striving for, and preservation of, the democratic ideals of the postconciliar period.

In one's own survey democracy was examined within the community and within the congregation. In the former case it was thought that one could expect to obtain some sort of measure of outer dissatisfaction. The items selected were appointments, the timetable, and the method of dealing with conflict in the community. In point of fact these three items turned out to form the weakest of one's four indicators of outer dissatisfaction, with an inter-item mean correlation of 0.14. However, it was decided to retain the indicator both from the point of view of the above theoretical arguments and due to significant correlations with other allied items in the 104 x 104 matrix.

Indicator 4 : Community harmony, 5 items : questions 143, 158, 175, 247, 250

Among the major surveys, Fichter's was the only one to tackle this problem. He treated satisfaction where there were good relations with the pastor, where the residence problem had been overcome, where priests were on a first name basis (59), before dealing with work
satisfaction in parishes, where there were good relationships between pastors and curates (60). In other words, Fichter was treating the presbytery as a 'community' in the same way as one is speaking of the convent as a community.

Sister Charles Borromeo, on the other hand, tended to romanticise community by referring to it as the real issue of renewal (61), where friendship would equalise (62), where there would be openness and brotherhood (63), where there would be common worship, pooling of goods, availability to all through celibacy, and where the superior would focus the unity of all. However, in her revolt against bureaucracy (64) and with her desire that:

"religious communities may gradually bring back into Catholic life the genuine traditions of protest and prophecy (65),"

one feels that she has designed a caricature of the closed community (or possibly the family community based on a traditional concept of status), a community to which the outer-dissatisfied would object. Perhaps this one-sided approach to community explains why she left the religious life before her book was even published. Sister Edna Mary, on the other hand, does not confuse community with uniformity in satisfied members (66), and she further maintains that sisters can avoid the authority issue by likening the convent to a family. However, it would seem that even she fails to tackle the problem of the possible disintegration of the Gemeinschaft-like convent when she declares that stability can only be found in God (67), the theme with which she began her book (68).

As regards one's own survey, it was felt that the mentality of "the family that prays together and plays together, stays together" would be attacked by the outer-dissatisfied, who might object to the closed community and familial overtones inherent in this adage. Thus two questions were introduced concerning the desirability of the office and recreation in common. As hypothesised, the outer dissatisfied were against both ideas, as they perceived that they were connected
with questions of authority, status, patterns of decision taking, and the enactment of roles under the same roof. This latter conclusion was not so much arrived at from quantitative analysis as an examination of the freely given comments that surrounded the above items.

Finally, as there had been questions on the encouragement of vocations and giving witness to poverty at the individual level, and these had been found to be indicators of dissatisfaction, it was decided to extend the analogy to the area of communal relationships in order to measure outer dissatisfaction by these additional items. The hypothesis underlying these two questions was that the outer dissatisfied would answer that their community was not giving sufficient witness to poverty and that it was not encouraging vocations. For this one would have to look to some other form of Christian witness outside the perceived authority-status bound convent.

One additional question was put to the respondents concerning the reason for the fall off in the number of vocations. This was really a check question to determine whether the outer-dissatisfied would project their own feelings towards society and criticise the congregation or Church in general for lack of vocations. Later analysis showed that this item could equally well have been used as a measure of outer motivation. However, it was decided that it was more consonant with one's original hypotheses as derived from the literature on dissatisfaction, and for this reason the item was retained within the outer dissatisfaction scale. Notwithstanding the mean inter-item correlation for one's fourth indicator of outer dissatisfaction attained the 0.15 level.

As with individual dissatisfaction, one now presents the full scale for outer dissatisfaction, together with its associated statistics:
### TABLE XXa

Scale for Outer Dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-item</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Satis.</th>
<th>Dissat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>correlation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>All sisters living in a house should be of equal status disagree agree</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>In the case of public disagreement in a given community the matter should disagree agree be settled with all the sisters present</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>Does your community encourage vocations? yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>Do you think discussion should precede the appointment of a sister to another community? no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>... the amendment of an item on the timetable? no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>Fall off in vocations is due to lack of freedom/desire to have a family/increasing opportunities in the employment of women no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>Does your community give sufficient witness to poverty yes no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>Obedience increases frustrations no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>fear of the unknown no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>laziness no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>Obedience decreases responsibility no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>faith no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>community spirit no yes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>247</td>
<td>Recreation in common is everyday never desirable sometimes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>Office in common is better than that said agree disagree privately</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Statistics**

- Maximum possible score: 15
- Actual range: 0-13
- Mean score: 5.227
- Median: 4.876
- Mode: 4
- Standard deviation: 2.355

Table XXa is taken from table XX which follows:
Table XX

Correlation matrix of items comprising the outer dissatisfaction scale as taken from the 104 x 104 matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>135</th>
<th>138</th>
<th>143</th>
<th>148</th>
<th>149</th>
<th>158</th>
<th>175</th>
<th>223</th>
<th>224</th>
<th>225</th>
<th>226</th>
<th>227</th>
<th>228</th>
<th>247</th>
<th>250</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.21</td>
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<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.29</td>
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<td>247</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Computation Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Mean r</th>
<th>Alpha Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All (ie. whole scale)</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Certain observations may be made with respect to tables XXa and XX. As regards table XXa, one notes that sisters are dissatisfied on average with just over five of the items of the scale, an increase in the proportion recorded in table XVIIIa. The low inter item correlations of items in indicator 3 have already been commented upon as have the reasons for retaining this indicator in the overall scale for outer dissatisfaction. When one looks at the computed values for the mean inter-item correlation and alpha under table XX one sees that only indicator 2 has values higher than that attained by the scale itself (clearly one cannot calculate the values for indicator 1 as it is represented by only one item). Although one is tempted to use indicator 2 as a separate scale for outer dissatisfaction, thereby abandoning the other indicators and items in the scale, one is dissuaded from so doing from the theoretical consideration that items concerned with obedience and authority in all probability do not give one a full picture of outer dissatisfaction, and from the acceptable empirical value of alpha = 0.63 for the outer dissatisfaction scale taken as a whole. In deciding to retain the scale as it stands, one's reasoning is analogous to that employed in one's acceptance of the individual dissatisfaction scale. Similarly for the reasons given there one is not prepared to conduct an item by item analysis of outer dissatisfaction throughout the remaining variables in one's survey.

c) Congregational Dissatisfaction

So far one has looked at individual and outer dissatisfaction. The former dealt with questions of identity, those affecting the individual himself. The latter, on the other hand, was more concerned whether the individual reacted to a prescribed pattern of living with others, or whether he accepted a system based on authority and status. Non-acceptance of the traditional form of convent life turned the individual outwards to situations where values of achievement and
democracy were seen to be more in evidence.

Finally one comes to what one has termed 'task-orientated' or 'congregational' dissatisfaction. Under this heading one will investigate that type of dissatisfaction which is brought about by the sheer fact of belonging to a specific congregation, or organisation of female religious, within the Catholic Church. As joining a particular congregation will affect the type of work that a sister will be expected to perform, clearly this is the point where an assessment of job satisfaction is in order. Closely allied to job satisfaction, is satisfaction with the sort of formation that is given, as one has a direct bearing on the other.

Indicator 1: the aims and goals of the congregation, 2 items:

question 260, 151

From an historical perspective, it can be seen that all major religious orders were founded for a specific purpose. The Benedictines were founded for liturgical worship, the Dominicans for preaching the Faith against the heresies of the day, the Franciscans for dedicating themselves to the ideal of poverty, and the Jesuits for education. However, as one has seen (in the last chapter), this was not the case for female religious. Until the time of Vincent de Paul and Mary Ward, all female religious were 'enclosed', and were thus all dedicated to the one aim of contemplation and prayer. It was difficult, in other words, to apply a criterion of specificity in aim in order to distinguish religious orders of women from one another. However, from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, came a multiplicity of congregations of female religious, which could be distinguished from each other, as the inspiration, charism and writings, of the founder or foundress, spelt out the specificity of each congregation. Some congregations were founded for work among the poor, others were founded for teaching purposes, yet others took on missionary work. Later, though, it was found that many congregations of sisters were performing the same or similar tasks, and the only criterion of distinctiveness
lay in their name and dress.

Such a similarity of goal presented a problem for congregations. In order to preserve a sense of identity and commitment they had to have differing aims and goals from other congregations, and yet at the same time the sheer numbers of congregations made originality in purpose extremely difficult. The problem was aggravated by an accompanying decline in the number of vocations to the religious life. Two main choices presented themselves to leaders of congregations. Either they had to merge with all other congregations carrying out the same work, or else they had to branch out into new forms of apostolic activity which would once more distinguish them from other congregations of female religious. This latter alternative was found to be more appealing. Some congregations in their Chapters of renewal attempted to unearth some original insight in the writings and constitutions of their foundress, which would thereby give them a unique purpose. Others employed a criterion of usefulness and tried to work in areas not covered by the now well-established Welfare State. The remainder assumed a middle position and sought to reinterpret the insights of their foundresses in the light of modern conditions. This in practice often meant that their specificity lay not so much in the task they were performing, but in the people to whom they were directing their apostolate. An example from one's own research should help clarify this last point.

In the congregation studied, it was clear that the aims of the foundress were missionary work and education. However, in the hundred years of the congregation's existence, the concept of the word 'mission' had developed. No longer did it simply imply the preaching of Christianity to the heathen. It could also entail a sharing in the cultural values of already christianised peoples, for instance those who had been subject to colonial rule. It could mean a re-educating of Catholic areas where manpower was scarce, for example, Latin America. It could entail education of underprivileged pagan groups, eg. the
Maoris. It might involve the use of counter-propaganda in the Eastern bloc to combat the influences of atheistic Communism. Or, finally, it might mean calling a nominally Catholic country, such as Italy or France, a 'mission territory', and involve an 'unlapsing' process of people back to the Faith, whether considered from an oecumenical perspective or not. By adopting one or more of these newer formulations of the word 'mission', it was possible for this congregation to have a specific missionary insight not shared by other missionary congregations. Until such adaptability had taken place, however, it was hypothesised that congregational dissatisfaction would be in evidence.

Fichter's survey is one that concentrates largely on job satisfaction. He produces figures showing that 85% of his sample want specialisation in their tasks and assignments (69), and links it with his sole criterion of satisfaction to show that the satisfied are 25% better than the dissatisfied in specialised jobs (70). Such specialisation involves not only changes in training, but also in the system of appointments (71), in residence patterns (72), and in relationships with superiors too (73). However, of particular interest is Fichter's finding that those priests who were in non-parochial, more specialised, jobs, worked harder than those in the parish situation (74), and that these same hard workers displayed greater satisfaction with their jobs (75). In other words, where the specificity of parish work had not been modified to suit changing social conditions, through the medium of specialisation, brought about by increased division of labour, then greater job dissatisfaction prevailed.

Greeley, employing Bradburn's affect scale for morale (76), came to the conclusion that priests on the whole were happier than the average unmarried male. He writes too that:

"Work satisfaction is so high among religious clergy that it does not cause them to want to resign from their jobs." (77)

He then identifies the satisfied:
"Even though it is hard to explain satisfaction, those most likely to be favourably disposed towards their profession are the older priests, those with more 'traditional' values, those who have had mystical experiences, those who come from less tense families, and those who have inner-directed personalities."

With the ambiguity associated with Greeley's inner-directedness, his consideration of work dissatisfaction must be limited to the variables of youthfulness and the holding of modern values. One would favour such a consideration as one believes that it is the specifying of new aims and goals, together with a demand for specialisation, that highlights work dissatisfaction, and that it is quite likely that such demands are to be found among the young, rather than the elderly. However, one does not concur with the statement that work dissatisfaction among religious can only be due to the factors of loneliness and the desire to marry, or indeed that job satisfaction should be so high among religious.

Gannon agrees with Fichter that there will be greater job satisfaction where there is a higher degree of professionalism, but disagrees that satisfaction can be explained in those terms, because clerics 'de facto' are not professionals. That they are not can be argued from Gannon's five marks of a professional (the use of a professional organisation as a major reference group, the professional's belief in best serving the public, his sense of caring, his belief in self-regulation, and his autonomy from clients and the employing organisation) (79). While one tends to agree with Gannon that both clerics and sisters do not fulfil these five conditions, one feels that he has extended the argument well beyond the limits of job satisfaction, the subject under discussion. It is Pin who contributes this latter insight in his paper on the professionalisation of the clergy, where he maintains that specialisation can bring with it a multiplicity of roles for the cleric, but that such a situation diminishes, rather than increases,
job satisfaction, because the type of ministry is determined by the pastoral situation, rather than the pastoral situation being determined by the type of ministry, as was traditionally held in Catholic circles.

Burgalassi paints a rather grimmer picture. He maintains that a priest will find it very difficult to specialise and be satisfied with his job, because of the traditional role expectation that places him either into the category of functionary or magician. His only glimmer of hope lies in the emerging prophetic priest, who dictates the model of his apostolate, and then, at great personal risk to his vocation, places himself in it. According to Burgalassi's figures, only about 7-10% of priests in Italy can be described as being satisfied with their job, and it would seem from his earlier suggestion that, contrary to Greeley's findings, the majority of this percentage is made up of young priests (80). Martin Ford, dealing with religious priests of the Servite Order, comes to the same conclusion as Burgalassi, by emphasising that for job satisfaction to persist an individual must have opted for a model of the Church compatible with his own talents and personality (81).

The Cara study maintains that:

"... work satisfaction and life satisfaction are inextricably bound together," (82) and specifies four steps necessary for psychological success: there must be an active choice of the work goal, autonomy in achieving it, the goal should be important to the individual's self concept, and finally the goal must be achieved. In case one gathers from this that psychological success or work satisfaction is purely an individual matter, the study points out that the individual is influenced more by the environment than self. In other words, Cara is suggesting that what one has termed 'congregational dissatisfaction' is more closely linked with outer than with individual dissatisfaction. This last conclusion is borne out with its linking of job satisfaction
with problems of authority, which, as one has seen, comes more within
the scope of outer, rather than individual, dissatisfaction (83).
Even when Cara investigates personality theories of development with
a view to explaining job satisfaction, it reconsiders Erikson's
eight stages of psychological growth in terms of the vow of
obedience (84). What is of particular interest here, however, is the
Cara suggestion that job satisfaction and life satisfaction are
inextricably linked. If that is so, the converse may also hold in
terms of dissatisfaction, and one may find that overall dissatisfaction
has more suitable predictive qualities than any of its constituent
types. One intends examining this last point in the following chapter.

The Canadian survey measures job satisfaction by means of Patricia
Smith's scale (85), and concludes that 76% of its priests defined
their present work more in terms of satisfaction than in terms of
dissatisfaction (86). There was virtually no difference between
secular and religious priests, though younger priests displayed
slightly more satisfaction than their older confrères (87). Moreover,
only 12% of the priests reported that they would have liked a change
in their job. (With regard to the last points, it should be mentioned
that 50% of the religious priests and 30% of the diocesan priests had
a second official job, and that on the whole religious priests were
involved to a greater degree in more specialised work (88).)

A tentative conclusion can be drawn from the above survey. In Canada
there appears to be a high rate of job satisfaction, due in part to
a high degree of specialisation, particularly in secondary occupations,
jobs which usually are based on talents and potential rather than on
arbitrary assignment. Ford echoes this last point when he says that
religious priests display dissatisfaction until they discover an
individually rewarding situation. He would presumably agree with
Fichter that individual rewards do not include the acceptance of
honorary titles.

Colaianni, in his preface, maintains that the free seeking of
satisfying roles since Vatican II has been more marked among sisters than among priests (89). This is reflected in the C.M.S.W. survey data, reporting a 20% increase in specialised apostolates among sisters in recent years. Schallert and Kelley hint at increased job satisfaction among those priests who have successfully resolved the debates between the dichotomies of person versus function, law versus person, and pastoral versus doctrinal. In overcoming these questions, priests have somehow defined a situation as real for themselves, and are therefore less likely to leave the ministry than those who have not (90). The latter group tends to become subject to alienation, powerlessness, normlessness, meaninglessness and loneliness (91).

Sister Jeanne D'Arc employs a criterion of usefulness when it comes to the work a sister undertakes. With changing social conditions, it is clear that apostolates among religious must change accordingly, even if it means closing houses, amalgamation with other congregations, decentralising and pooling of resources (92). Otherwise a sister will feel that she is giving a counter-witness to her religious consecration (93). Thus for her the changing aims of the congregation have a great deal to do with satisfaction. Cardinal Suenens states this in another way:

"To the question 'what is a religious?' one ought to be able to answer, 'a modern woman, not one of the 18th or 19th century, who has dedicated her life to God for the salvation of the world, through the congregation to which she belongs.'" (94)

Suenens quotes Cardinal Garronne as saying:

"Should one congregation among you live its own little life apart from the rest without reference to the general good or the present needs and activities of the Church, it will have no vocations: and that will be a good thing." (95)

Finally, Carey points out that turnover and resignation in the priesthood should not be a necessary consequence of dissatisfaction alone. In addition there must be a dissatisfaction lower than that satisfaction offered by functional alternatives. Although his use of Thibaut and Kelley's scale for a comparison level of alternatives
(1959) does not bear directly on the questions put forward by this research, it does indirectly support the hypothesis that one can surely consider functional alternatives within the ministry, that is, one can look at the increase in satisfaction in the choice of secondary jobs (which can often be considered as functional alternatives).

The above, rather lengthy, preamble sets the scene for the two questions posed to one's own sisters. The first asked them directly to identify the main aims of the congregation, and if necessary to add to the list offered. From the Constitutions of the congregation, it was clear that what distinguished it from other congregations was its trinitarian and missionary outlook. The way that this aim was to be carried out was primarily through education (96). It was also clear from the constitutions that the chief apostolic aim of the congregation was a missionary one:

"undertaking work in areas where the faith had not yet been planted." (97)

This, however, did not exclude those areas "already evangelised." (98)

Thus those sisters who identified the missionary and educational aims of the congregation, the actual aims (in choices 0 and 4), were considered to be displaying congregational satisfaction; those who offered alternatives (choices 1, 2, 3, 5 or other), were more likely to be dissatisfied. The choice of "following the inspiration of Mother Foundress" was interpreted as not being an actual aim. In fact in many cases sisters used this phrase as a rationalisation for expressing alternative aims. From their surrounding comments, this phrase was taken as indicative of congregational dissatisfaction.

It transpired that the provinces opting for alternative aims were those of France and Canada, and to a lesser extent, England, provinces, which one has seen, were displaying higher rates of outer dissatisfaction. One also noted that congregational dissatisfaction, as measured by this item, was negatively correlated with age, indicating agreement with those surveys which pointed
to greater job satisfaction among the young. They had opted for the actual aims of the congregation, as these were felt to satisfy the criteria of specificity and usefulness, and there was sufficient leeway in the interpretation of the word 'mission' for them to discover a satisfying role without opting out of the congregation. Rather they were able to develop their talents and potential and thus pass through the stages of growth outlined by the Cara study.

The sisters were then asked whether they felt it was becoming increasingly difficult to interest and involve young people in religion. This was seen as the practical repercussion of the educational aim of the congregation. Here it was hypothesised that those who encountered more difficulty would be those who experienced greater job dissatisfaction (following Fichter). Again younger respondents showed greater job satisfaction on this item. However the position vis-à-vis provinces was reversed from that of the previous item, the provinces of Canada and France displaying more satisfaction than dissatisfaction when it came to the specific area of teaching. The paradox of the fluctuation of provinces on these two items may be better understood if one bears in mind the consistency in the replies of the young and the fact that both Canada and France had a greater proportion of elderly sisters than most other provinces. In particular it was the 31-50 age group in Canada, representing the majority of teachers in that province, that tipped the provincial findings in the direction of job satisfaction with regard to the difficulty encountered in teaching. With regard to the first item, concerned with the actual aims of the congregation, the influence of the older sisters, many of whom were no longer engaged in teaching, was felt to a greater degree in both Canada and France.

**Indicator 2: The question of formation:** 4 items, questions 229-232

The question of formation is closely linked with the apostolic aims of the congregation, in that it looks at the training for these
goals. Generally speaking, those who fail to see the relevance of specific goals, or who find them difficult to execute, will also be critical of the preparatory steps taken towards the carrying out or the formulation of goals specific to the congregation.

Sister Jeanne D'Arc linked specialisation, satisfaction and formation, by again applying her criterion of usefulness. The end product, the apostolate, must determine the means, the formation (99). Thus dissatisfaction over witness, specificity and relevance in the apostolate will be carried over to the sphere of training, where those who are dissatisfied with the congregation will be calling for change in the area of formation (100).

Cara underlined the psychological defects of training that could stifle vocational development growth with adverse repercussions on job satisfaction (101), and cited the Potrin and Suzieddin study of 1969, linking dissatisfaction with defection from seminaries. The Spanish survey pointed to the growing disillusionment during the training of a future priest, as the seminarian came to realise that he was not being prepared to meet the demands of a pluralist society (102), and that he was ill equipped to deal with modern problems (103). The reason given for the high incidence of insecurity and indecision among seminarians (104) was that they had come to realise that the changes advocated by Vatican II were not applicable to priests (105), and that therefore their training, modelled on Vatican II, was inadequate (106).

Hurgalassi mentioned in passing that inadequate formation was one of the variables influencing the multiple crises, later to be undergone by all priests. The Greeley report tended to place more emphasis on family background than on seminary training, but the companion survey (of a psychological nature), based on seven hundred interviews and conducted at the same time, expressed amazement that the high degree of underdeveloped personalities among the American clergy had not been noticed during their period of training. It also added that during their training priests had been encouraged to use
their intellects as a self defence mechanism against intimacy. Where mature emotional relationships with others could not be formed by underdeveloped priests then this gave rise to dissatisfaction. Moreover, the proportion of underdeveloped personalities among the American clergy was reported as being higher than that of a comparable sample of single graduate males. Gannon quoted Glasse and Fichter as saying that the concept of professionalisation would affect recruitment and training of priests. Fichter developed the latter point by highlighting greater dissatisfaction among those who did not see the necessary changes being implemented in seminary training, changes that should have given rise to a more professional model of the priesthood (107). Fichter's respondents also, while agreeing that seminary training had prepared them fairly well to lead an intellectual and holy life, did not agree that it prepared them sufficiently for dealing with lay people or the handling of parish problems (108), those spheres of 'intimacy' suggested by the psychological survey of American priests.

In one's own survey two main questions were asked about formation in the novitiate and about training during the period of temporary commitment (i.e. before vows were taken). 61.48% of the sisters were satisfied with the present system of formation in the novitiate, but this mean fell to only 27.25% when the question was extended to include the prospects for the next ten years. Similar swings were observable with regard to the period of temporary commitment. What was interesting was that the youngest age group was the most satisfied with present training programmes (i.e. the ones who had had the most recent experience of them), but they expressed the most reservations about their adequacy in the proximate future. Canada, France and Australia, consistently expressed dissatisfaction with both present and envisaged future training, joined occasionally by the provinces of England, India, and Bangladesh & Burma. The general trend of younger sisters displaying greater congregational satisfaction on these items and those from Western provinces showing more congregational
dissatisfaction, appears to be consonant with one's findings related to one's first indicator, as also with those recorded in the above mentioned surveys, suggesting that explanation for this trend should be sought in similar terms to those outlined previously. One may also note the high inter-item mean correlation of 0.57 between the items comprising the formation indicator, a correlation considerably higher than that established for one's other two indicators of congregational dissatisfaction.

Indicator 3: dissatisfaction at the macro-level: 4 items, questions 126, 142, 150, 174

Finally, it was decided to include the items of hypothetical re-entry, encouragement of vocations, democracy and witness to poverty, at the macro-level of the congregation. The theoretical reasons for the inclusion of these items are the same for those encountered in one's previous discussion of individual and outer dissatisfaction. Here, however, the questions were put in such a way as to make them pertain to the congregation rather than the individual herself or the community to which she belonged. As one can see from table XXI, clearly the weakest item was that concerned with democratic decision taking at the congregational level. Its exclusion from this present indicator would have had the effect of producing a mean inter-item correlation of 0.16 and an alpha value of 0.35. However this objection is not so serious when one considers that one is not treating this third indicator as one's sole criterion for assessing congregational dissatisfaction, and that its exclusion from the complete scale of congregational dissatisfaction is of minimal effect. Added to this, of course, are the theoretical reasons for retaining the item.

As in the cases for individual and outer dissatisfaction, one now produces the overall scale for congregational dissatisfaction. Again it should be remembered that although one has derived one's scale from items and indicators in allied socio-religious research, these items and indicators themselves are not to be considered as sole
measures of congregational dissatisfaction.

**TABLE XXI a**

Scale for Congregational Dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-item</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>indicator</th>
<th>question</th>
<th>Satis</th>
<th>Dissat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>correlation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>If you had to begin all over again would you enter the congregation ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Does your province encourage vocations to the congregation ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you think that discussion should precede the changing of an article in the Constitutions ?</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Do you think it is becoming increasingly difficult to interest and involve young people in religion ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Does your province give sufficient witness to poverty ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you feel that the present system of formation in the novitiate is adequate for present day needs ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>for the next 10 years ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you feel that the present system of formation for those in temporary commitment is adequate for present day needs ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>for the next 10 years ?</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>What do you think is the main aim of the congregation ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Christian Contemplation & prayer

Sharing in Imitation of the mission of Our Lady of the Blessed Trinity

The following inspiration of Mother Foundress Social work in deprived areas
Statistics (table XXI a)

Maximum possible score: 10
Range: 0-10
Mean score: 3.679
Median: 3.280
Mode: 3
Standard deviation: 1.963

Table XXI that follows gives the inter-item correlations for the congregational dissatisfaction scale:

**TABLE XXI**

Correlation matrix of items comprising the congregational dissatisfaction scale, as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>126</th>
<th>142</th>
<th>150</th>
<th>151</th>
<th>174</th>
<th>229</th>
<th>230</th>
<th>231</th>
<th>232</th>
<th>260</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Mean inter-item correlation</th>
<th>Alpha value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3, whole scale</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table XXI a, it can be seen that just over one third of the responses indicate congregational dissatisfaction on the scale, i.e., a proportion slightly less than that shown for outer dissatisfaction,
but about twice as much as that shown for individual dissatisfaction. This would suggest that sisters are more concerned with questions of status and role than that of identity, when considered in the light of overall dissatisfaction (cf. table XXII). From table XXI, one notes an overall alpha value of 0.58, indicating that this scale is less reliable than the previous two scales of types of dissatisfaction. One also observes the relative weakness of indicators 1 and 3 in comparison to indicator 2. However, as the indicators, are themselves not being considered as separate scales, but rather relate to the way the items are constructed for the complete scale of congregational dissatisfaction, their low alpha values should not give too much cause for concern. Rather they should emphasise a point that one has been making throughout this chapter, namely that one should be cautious of using separate indicators as sole measures of a variable.

Finally, one may sum the three types of dissatisfaction (together with their counterpart of satisfaction) in order to obtain an overall measure of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in the congregation, i.e. one may consider these as two dichomous scales of 37 items (and therefore two separate variables for the purposes of later analysis). These latter two scales of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction have the following associated statistics:

| Statistics relating to scales of overall satisfaction and dissatisfaction |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Satisfaction** | **Dissatisfaction** |
| Maximum possible score | 37 | 37 |
| Actual range | 4–34 | 0–26 |
| Mean score | 20.1 | 10.4 |
| Median | 20.2 | 9.8 |
| Mode | 19 | 9 |
| Standard deviation | 5.3 | 4.3 |
This last table (table XXII) shows in effect that one's respondents were on average twice as satisfied as they were dissatisfied. In other words, their overall satisfaction/dissatisfaction ratio is of the order of 2 to 1. However this ratio is only an average picture of one's respondents. It does not imply that all sisters will show a predominance of satisfaction over dissatisfaction. Where this is not the case, then according to one's research model, one may expect a tendency towards open network belonging. Where, however, this is so, then one may expect a tendency towards either closed community or family belonging.

The point of dichotomising the satisfaction/dissatisfaction variable allows this hypothesis to be tested.

However, in the construction of one's dissatisfaction scale, one has treated dissatisfaction by type. From this it has emerged that an approximate overall dissatisfaction score of 10 is on average composed of an individual dissatisfaction score of 1.5, an outer dissatisfaction score of 5 and a congregational dissatisfaction score of 3.5. Thus it can be seen that on average approximately 50% of one's overall dissatisfaction score is composed of items indicative of outer dissatisfaction. Again it is suggested by one's overall research model that where outer dissatisfaction is predominant within overall dissatisfaction, then this too tends to lead to open network belonging. Again this hypothesis must be open to empirical investigation.

Finally, a consideration of dissatisfaction by degree (overall predominance of dissatisfaction) and type (individual, outer and congregational, dissatisfaction) permits one to examine the relative importance of each with respect to open network belonging. Had one not constructed one's overall dissatisfaction scale from a consideration of types of dissatisfaction (suggested by the literature) then the testing of this last hypothesis would have remained impossible.
2. Motivation

As with dissatisfaction, an overall scale is built up by a consideration of theoretical indicators, which in turn give rise to the items utilised in one's scale. The difference in approach lies in the fact that one's overall scale for motivation gives rise to two dichotomous variables: inner and outer motivation, the necessity of which has been explained earlier.

Indicator 1: Reasons for entering the congregation: 2 items, questions 123, 125

The sisters were asked to place a (1) and a (2) opposite the descriptions that they thought best fitted their motive for joining the congregation. The following table shows the direction of their first choice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The best use of my talents and potential</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The best way to personal sanctification</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>54.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and salvation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In order to bring Christ to others</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>28.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admiration for the work of the congregation</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be a fully dedicated teacher</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>11.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent data</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was hoped that this coded format would separate the inner from the outer motivated. If respondents opted for either of the first two choices then the direction of their motivation would be of the inner variety. A choice of any of the last three reasons (excluding other reasons), would demonstrate a predominance of outer motivation.

In this question (123) (as also for that following, showing the second preference (125)), one attempted to clarify the set of questions given to brothers and seminarians in 1958, as reported by Fichter (cf. discussion in chapter six). The Canadian survey and
Burgalassi did not supply the indicators underlying their typologies of priestly motivation.

A further look at the above choices facing one's respondents illustrates the major division between personal sanctification and salvation, and bringing Christ to others. The former choice indicates an other worldly approach to the religious life, based on the idea of a transcendent God, who will reward and punish, and to whom every person must later give an account of himself. The individual places himself directly in contact with the supernatural, and in this sense can be seen to have a similar outlook to James's 'twice-born', Weber's 'Protestant', Greeley's 'inner-directed', Leech and Neal's 'other-worldly', Fichter's 'supernatural', Burgalassi's 'official' and 'sacro-magical', and the Canadian survey's 'sacro-hierarchical'.

(There is also a similarity to Pin's 'cosmobiological' and 'salvational', although ambiguity arises over the question of including his 'social' and 'cultural' types as well under the general heading of inner motivation). The latter choice displays more of a this-worldly approach to the religious life, based on the concept of an immanent God, who can be seen in others, and who can thus be contacted through human relationships. The contact with the supernatural is thus via the natural, it is indirect from effect to cause, from humanity to divinity. Here the individual's outlook is more similar to James's 'once-born', to Weber's 'Catholic', Greeley's 'self actualising' and 'time competent', Leech's 'revolutionary', Neal's 'this worldly Christian humanist', Fichter's 'natural', and the 'prophetic' of Pin, Burgalassi and the Canadian survey.

However, one also had to anticipate a certain number giving reasons of their own for entering the congregation. Here it was decided in advance to make use of Pin's typology of motivation, extending from the 'cosmobiological' to the 'prophetic' (cf. coding slip in Appendix II). In this way it was hoped that if the numbers falling into the prophetic category were sufficiently large, then one could
test one's inner / outer motivational typology against that of Pin. What happened in fact was that all but 11.4% of the respondents gave their underlying motivation in the inner/outer coded format, making analysis of the 124 cases giving reasons of their own liable to a certain amount of possible distortion, particularly as 76 of these 124 cases fell into the ambiguous socio-cultural category. It was therefore decided at this point to follow the inner/outer distinction for subsequent analysis of motivation, and to regroup respondents giving reasons of their own into categories of inner or outer motivation.

It had also occurred to one that this single indicator of motivation might be sufficient to categorise the respondents into predominantly inner or outer motivated, just as one entertained the possibility of allowing the sole indicator of hypothetical re-entry distinguish the satisfied from the dissatisfied.

However attractive this appeal to simplicity might have appeared at first, it was soon decided to abandon such an approach to motivational categorisation. In the first place, one was only looking at a reason why an individual entered the congregation in the past. Thus while the overriding type of past motivation might have coincided with present motivation for younger respondents, one could not assume that this was the case for the elderly. Second, the sisters had been given two choices for giving their reasons for entry. Hence four possibilities presented themselves for consideration:

/ both choices could be inner directed
/ both choices could be outer directed
/ the first choice could be inner directed, the second outer directed
/ the first choice could be outer directed, the second inner directed.

What occurred in fact was that the first choice (item 123) was predominantly inner directed, and this was negatively correlated \( r = -0.66 \) with the second choice (item 125), indicating that the third of the above possibilities had taken place. In other words, the respondents, realising that the question was dealing with motivation,
sought to 'cover' themselves by giving both inner and outer reasons for entry. The only way out of this dilemma (if one wished to use this indicator as the sole criterion for distinguishing type of motivation) was to concentrate on the first reason for entry (item 123'), given that the respondents had been asked to place their reasons in order of importance. However, even this approach could be criticised, as it did not fully allow for the possibility of mixed motivation on this indicator. Thus one was not too slow in reaching the conclusion that to use reason for past entry as a sole measure for type of motivation was not sociologically viable to one's way of thinking. In other words, one realised that a scale of indicators had to be employed for greater reliability, as with the case of satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

However it is worth recording the breakdown of the first item (first reason for entry) by some of the independent variables used in one's questionnaire. The following table illustrates the responses by province:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand North</td>
<td>73.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>67.86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand South</td>
<td>65.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>64.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>62.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>57.89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh &amp; Burma</td>
<td>54.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>53.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>45.24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Filtered mean: 62.5%

With a standard deviation of 8.27, one notes that France is the only province differing significantly from the mean; it is significantly non inner-directed on this item. Were one to calculate the figures for Western and non-Western provinces, one would note also a tendency for the latter group to be more inner-directed. However the provincial
figures become more interesting when one considers respondents by place of birth, as follows:

**TABLE XXV**

Percentages by place of birth of respondents giving first choice for entering the congregation: the best way to personal sanctification and salvation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of birth</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of population</th>
<th>inner motivation</th>
<th>% of 595 respect to mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alsace</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>9.76</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>11.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>10.68</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Pakistan</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2.12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eire</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>17.96</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>19.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>7.83</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>25.78</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>28.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Ireland</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent data</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1.93</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The important column is the last one, indicating how the native born sisters of a province would tend to raise or lower their province from the mean scores in table XXIV. It can be seen, for instance, that the native born sisters in Australia and New Zealand are the largest contributors to inner motivation (as measured by item 123) in their three provinces. In other words, were only native born sisters to be
considered with respect to this item then this would have the effect of raising the filtered mean for inner motivation in these provinces. By contrast one notes that native born Canadian and French sisters would have the effect of reducing the mean figure for inner motivation in their provinces. The picture in the English province is even more interesting. While English, Scottish and Welsh, born respondents, if answering on their own, would tend to bring the English province below the congregational mean for inner motivation, the fact that this is not the case is due to the presence of Irish born sisters from both North and South of the border. By similar reasoning it can be seen that by sole consideration of native born sisters, the provincial means for Bangladesh and India would be increased and that for Vietnam decreased, with respect to the congregational mean for inner motivation. If one regroups one's provinces into Western and non-Western provinces, then with the one exception of Vietnam one can say that being native born has the effect of increasing inner motivation in non-Western provinces but of decreasing it in Western provinces.

When one considers the first choice for entry into the congregation by age, the following picture is obtained:

TABLE XXVI

Percentages choosing personal sanctification and salvation as first reason for entry into the congregation, by age groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Percentage inner motivated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>36.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>47.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>54.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 - 60</td>
<td>61.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 - 70</td>
<td>62.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71 - 80</td>
<td>68.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 +</td>
<td>65.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No data</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregation (unfiltered mean)</td>
<td>54.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures require just one comment: there is a linear relation
between inner motivation and age.

Other background variables played little part in significantly affecting the replies to item 123.

Indicator 2: motivation in prayer: 6 items, questions 137, 145, 146, 147, 155, 253

It was hypothesised earlier that those individuals who ranked low on religious experience, both with regard to degree and quality, would tend to be individually dissatisfied. It was also seen that this could well be the case. However, when reporting this finding, one warned against the taking of a simplistic view of the matter before the strength of religious experience as a factor had been established. One also added that one had to take into account the motivational aspects of religious experience before reaching any firm conclusion on the matter.

It is this latter aspect that one treats of here, as it is maintained that by looking at an individual's attitude to prayer one can detect a predominance of inner or outer motivation. The reason for this last remark has been dealt with in the theoretical section. There one noted the basic difference between the pre-Vatican II forms of religious experience, based on the notion of a transcendent God, where the Mass was in an unfamiliar language to heighten the sense of mystery, where devotions were seen in terms of duty, and where participation in the liturgy was minimal, often expressed in paraliturgical acts such as the rosary, Benediction, Stations of the Cross, and individual meditation. The accent was on the individual, and motivation could be described as inner-directed. After Vatican II, however, many of these paraliturgical actions disappeared and were replaced by greater participation in the Mass, seen more in terms of a communal meal than a sacrificial act, where mystery was replaced by a greater understanding of symbolism, aided to a great extent by vernacularisation. Bible vigils, acts of communal repentance and group prayer, became more evident, as did the influence of movements such as Catholic Pentecostalism. In other words, the emphasis was on salvation.
through Christ in others, the characteristic of outer motivation. However, because changes had been introduced, it did not mean that mentalities automatically altered. Many groups, such as the Latin Mass Society, existed for preserving not simply pre-Vatican II, but Tridentine thinking. One thus had the phenomenon of the inner and outer motivated existing side by side, both claiming membership to the Catholic Church. They could, however, be distinguished by their pre and post-conciliar attitudes towards religious experience. The distinction of the predominance of these attitudes one examined within one's congregation.

Three questions were introduced to discover whether the respondents were adopting a pre-Vatican, inner-directed, attitude to prayer, or whether they had taken up a post-Vatican outer-directed position. Sisters were asked first of all to give their opinions on repetitious prayer. This is a form of prayer typified by the rosary, where the same set of prayers is recited over and over again, while the individual meditates on certain divine mysteries. Most of the respondents realised that the rosary was in question, as could be judged from their comments. Added to this was the fact that the rosary was still recommended for them in their Constitutions. The outer motivated, it was hypothesised, would thus not only have to state their dislike for this prayer form, but they would also somehow have to disengage themselves from advice given, as a matter of conviction. While the majority were in favour of retaining repetitious prayer, younger members and those from Western provinces were not. The possession of academic qualifications did not correlate significantly with this item.

Secondly, respondents were asked about their attitudes to ejaculatory prayer. Again this is a prayer form advocated by pre-Vatican spiritual writers (19), whereby an individual makes a habit of turning to God in moments of difficulty, joy, success, despair, etc. Certain formulas are suggested to save the individual from spontaneous
invocation of the deity, and habitual occasions are pointed out where the individual may make use of such prayer, eg. opening a door, climbing a staircase. It is certainly not a form of prayer that could be used in a group. For these reasons it was thought that a predilection for ejaculatory prayer would be indicative of inner motivation. Here the majority of the sisters could be described as inner motivated, although exceptions could be found among the young and the more qualified. The cultural variable was not significant on this item.

Thirdly, the respondents were presented with the proposition: "To work is to pray," and were asked to express their agreement or disagreement with it (110). For the inner motivated such an expression practically amounts to heresy, as he feels that those who do not pray in the prescribed manner to which he is accustomed are rationalising their activities in terms of prayer. The outer motivated, on the other hand, feel that working is where they come into contact with others, and, in particular, where they can see God immanent in others. Thus they feel that by indirectly experiencing God in this way they are nonetheless praying, especially if the work has to do with such apostolic activity as teaching or preaching. On this item two thirds of the sisters displayed outer motivation, a percentage that rose significantly with younger respondents, but one that did not correlate significantly with cultural background. A finding of interest was that those possessing university degrees tended to display greater inner motivation on this subject of work and prayer.

Two further questions were then introduced to examine motivation in two familiar prayers used daily in the Mass by the sisters. The prayers in question were the 'Our Father' and the 'Kyrie Eleison,' and exactly the same format was used as in the Rome survey (111). Both questions were open-ended and sought to categorise the overriding motivation of the respondents according to the hypotheses put forward by Pin. He argued that those who associated universal evil with the
expression "deliver us from evil," and those who thought less of themselves and more of others when they said "Lord have mercy on us," would display more prophetic motivation. The grading of Pin's motivational scale is reflected in one's own coding (cf. Appendix II). However, once the decision had been taken to employ a dichotomous distinction between inner and outer motivated (as opposed to Pin's five types of motivation), then Pin's scale was collapsed conveniently into two halves. Those receiving scores less than five could be seen to be thinking of themselves and particular evils, whilst those with higher scores were more universalistic in their attitudes. In other words, the former were more inner motivated and the latter more outer motivated. The effect of these items was to highlight greater outer motivation among Western respondents.

Indicator 3: Motivation in identity and role: 3 items, questions 156, 162, 165

Just as motivation at time of entry was examined, so the need was felt to examine present motivation. However it was decided not to ask direct questions in this area, for fear of prejudicing the replies to the reasons for entry. The intention was thus to see how far original motivation was consistent with present motivation.

Bearing in mind Sister Neal's hypothesis that preconciliar belief would indicate inner-directedness with respect to change, one decided to investigate just how far they were indicative of motivation. After all Neal had stated that pre-Vatican belief displayed other-worldliness, and other researchers had identified this with inner motivation, albeit under differing names and descriptions. Similarly her post-Vatican belief could be identified with a this-worldly set of attitudes, and hence outer motivation.

The only remaining question, therefore, was where should one focus one's attention in order to establish inner or outer present motivation, given that religious experience had already been tackled? Eventually it was decided to concentrate on the religious vows, as these were
not only identity/role indicators (cf. types of dissatisfaction), but it was hoped that they would evidence polarisation of attitudes as in the Canadian survey. The format of these two questions consisted in the presentation of two sets of descriptions, one for poverty and one for chastity, both of which were capable of highlighting preconciliar and postconciliar outlooks. Each description was then blended and mixed, and the individual was asked to select the expression she thought most aptly described the vow in question. A space was also allowed for other expressions, should the respondent wish to supply her own. This time the precoding of the open-ended part of the question simply distinguished between pre and post-Vatican motivation, and four judges were employed to interpret the replies according to the coding slip (cf. Appendix II). As regards chastity, the pre/post Vatican distinction lay in whether the respondent saw the vow as freedom from materialistic influences (pre-Vatican), or freedom to show love of others (post Vatican). Poverty reflected a similar distinction between those who saw the vow as giving up something (pre Vatican) or as an opportunity for service of others (post Vatican). The motivation thus displayed was motivation in identity, as it touched on the very question of who or what a sister was? It affected the enactment of identity too, as it posed the problem of what a sister should be doing? It thus examined motivational aspects of role.

One further question sought to elaborate the difference that a sister felt existed between herself and a social worker. Previously she had just been asked whether there was a difference, and this was used as a satisfaction item. As this was another open-ended question, a code had to be devised, extending from particular to universal reasons (cf. Parsonian variables), as in the motivational questions on prayer. The inner motivated, it was thought, would choose reasons reflecting individual life-style, attitudes to work, attitudes of the general public towards her, desire for increase in personal holiness, etc.
whereas the outer motivated would see the difference between a sister and a social worker lying in her special consecration that enabled her to give service to others.

On all three items dealing with motivation in identity and role the younger members displayed greater outer motivation, as in the case of the Canadian survey. Members belonging to Western provinces were also more outer motivated on the questions dealing with religious chastity and the difference between a sister and a social worker. However, contrary to the Canadian survey of priests, Western sisters tended to be more inner motivated when it came to religious poverty. This was further noticeable in several of the sisters' comments, which, in some cases, amounted to a minor campaign for increased spending allowances for individuals. One felt that the excesses of materialism, pointed out by another group of sisters, had not been entirely overcome, particularly in a province such as Canada. The variable of qualifications was positively associated, and significant at the 0.05 level, with outer motivated expressions of religious chastity. It was not significant when correlated against the other two items.

Indicator 4 : Motivation in belief, 6 items : questions 167-172

Finally, it was decided to examine Sister Neal's pre and post Vatican II belief values directly, with a view to identifying them with inner and outer motivation. However, instead of taking all her belief items, it was decided instead to examine six points of theological controversy: birth control, celibacy, economic capitalism, racism, war, and the real presence. That these were, and still are, points of controversy in the Catholic Church, hardly requires demonstration. What is more to the point, though, is that from the position adopted to these topics by the respondents, one can detect the presence of pre and post Vatican II thinking, and the predominance of inner or outer motivation. One now briefly examines the six topics in more detail.
As regards birth control, it is clear that the papacy has not changed its stand on the question of contraceptive methods (112). It is not so clear that national hierarchies have given the present Pope unqualified support, although by and large the traditional teaching is upheld by them. In other words, the 'de iure' official teaching of the Church, which does not favour the use of contraceptive methods other than those of abstinence and rhythm, is maintained by the Pope and the majority of Catholic bishops. However, the 'de facto' situation (which some would equate with teaching) on birth control has changed in the Catholic Church, particularly since Vatican II. There is a growing number of priests, for instance, that does not accept Humanae Vitae, and this is reflected in the advice given in the confessional (113). Similarly, many lay Catholics are tending more and more to accept the views of their fellow citizens on birth control. In 1967, for example, 53% of Catholic women in the United States, 60% in Holland, and 1.75 million in South America, were reported to be taking the pill (114). Rowntree claims that over 40% of Catholic women in Great Britain are practising some form of birth control other than those methods permitted by the Church (115). In 1970, a leading British Sunday newspaper cited a cross section of leading lay Catholic personalities who desired a change in the Church's official teaching on birth control (116). One maintains, therefore, that a 'de facto' change in outlook has occurred in the Catholic Church, polarising membership between those who uphold the traditional and official view on the one hand, and those who desire (and put into effect) an alternative set of principles, on the other. Whilst the former case rests on an argument based on divine law (a transcendent and other-worldly approach to the problem), the latter appears to be based on the Vatican II teaching on religious liberty and primacy of conscience, indicative of a humanistic and this-worldly approach to the issue. Such a dichotomy of mentality, it is argued, is well described by the variables of inner and outer motivation.
In one's own survey one characterised the inner motivated by those who upheld the official (or what they thought was official) point of view. The outer motivated were thought to be those who at least called the official view into doubt, either by putting forward both sides to the question, or else by holding the alternative view. Those who avoided the subject were not classified as either inner or outer motivated, and such replies were filtered out from the analysis. The same procedure was adopted for the remaining five items of theological controversy. As regards birth control, the outer motivated were to be found mainly among the young, those possessing academic qualifications, and those from Western provinces (Canada in particular).

The actual tradition of clerical celibacy is about sixteen hundred years old (117), though its full observance is comparatively recent in Church history (118). There are two main points of view on this question. There are those who uphold mandatory celibacy for priests and those who advocate optional celibacy. At present it is considered unlikely that the current official teaching of the Church, upholding mandatory celibacy, will revert to that of the Church's first four hundred years existence, where the marriage of priests was not only part of the Church's teaching, but quite standard practice as well (119). As with birth control, one has an official view which refuses to consider an alternative view, in this case optional celibacy for priests. The pro compulsory celibacy is an 'ex convenientiae' argument, resting on the assumption that a priest is a man 'set apart'. As such it can be considered other-worldly in outlook. The pro optional celibacy case, shared by the majority of priests and lay Catholics, stresses a this-worldly involvement of priests in the affairs of mankind, not only for a greater understanding of its problems, but also to be more pastorally effective. This latter view in behavioural terms is reflected in the dramatic increase in the number of resignations from the priesthood since Vatican II.
on account of the celibacy issue. Again it is maintained that the former view can be described as being largely inner motivated, while the latter is more outer-directed in outlook. In one's own survey, as with birth control, those more outer motivated came from the same group of respondents, as further suggested by the 0.65 correlation between both sets of replies.

The Catholic Church's teaching on economic capitalism is, to put it mildly, ambivalent. Officially it extends from the condemnation of usury (120) to the condemnation of free trade, where this results in the exploitation of developing countries (121). The principles of a just wage and the right to private property have similarly been upheld in the recent social teaching of encyclicals (122). However, in practice, outsiders to the Catholic Church, and indeed many of its members, may be forgiven for identifying the official teaching of the Church with a view favouring capitalism. It is impossible to place an accurate value on the real estate of the Church's artistic treasures, monuments, churches, chalices, vestments, tapisteries, books, manuscripts, and art collections (containing the Pietà and the Sistine Chapel), were they even to be considered for auction. Even prescinding from the above wealth, much more noteworthy is Vatican investment from the time of Bernadino Nogara to the present day. Today the Church has direct holdings in Italy, France, Brazil, the United States, Canada, Mexico, India, Argentina, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Holland, Chile and England, to name but a few countries. Its influence is felt through a chain of international banks, shipping companies, airlines and insurance companies, that have worldwide interests. Nine years ago, The Economist calculated the Pope's portfolio to be a minimum of 5,600 million U.S. dollars, but by now this figure must be very much higher since the dumping of the controlling interest of the Società Immobiliare on to the Italian market in 1969 (which controls the autostrade, steel, electricity, ceramics and the Hilton hotel group), in order to avoid the paying
of the 'cedolare', and to thereby run 'hot' capital through the Banco di Roma, Crédit Suisse, Rothschilds, Hambros and The Chase Manhattan Bank, with a view to purchasing Lomas Verdes S.A. and Immobiliare Corinto S.A., in time for the Mexican Olympics and the World Cup. The Church's control of over two hundred companies and thirty banks gained recognition from American Audit Management, who awarded Vatican investors with their top 'A' category. However, in 1967, when Pope Paul VI was asked why there was no publication of Vatican financial figures, his only reply was:

"Non vorrei essere accusato di commettere un falso in atto pubblico."

Two years later he was assisting at the sale of the Società Immobiliare shares. Shortly afterwards independent sources revealed that the Vatican was investing in the Istituto Farmacologico Serono, whose chief director was a Pacelli, and nephew of Pius XII. It was also learnt that the above mentioned chemical company manufactured contraceptives. (123)

It is no small wonder, therefore, that many members of the Catholic Church (not to speak of outsiders) identify the Church with a pro-capitalist mentality, and see this as the official teaching of the Church, in spite of not a few encyclicals deploring the abuses of capitalism. An alternative to the practice of the official Church can be found in the writings of Ivan Illich, Ernesto Cardenal (recently filmed by the BBC 1 Anno Domini programme) and others, which one has suggested display the hallmarks of outer motivation (cf. theoretical section on Christian Humanism). The actual practice of the official Church, one suggests, is not so much other-worldly, a case difficult to argue in the light of such alleged heavy involvement in capitalistic enterprises, but inner-directed, in the sense that it has created an empire for itself, and as such falling into the category of what Neal describes as 'interest change'. On the other hand, writers of the 'Left' suggest that material involvement prohibits or frustrates the desire for value change. In this sense their approach can be described as being more outer-directed.
In one's own survey it was only the qualified who detected the double standard of morality in the Church's teaching on capitalism and who emerged as outer motivated on this item. The lack of outer motivation among young Western membership is perhaps reflected in its response to questions dealing with poverty.

Similar ambivalent attitudes can be detected in the Church's approach to racism and war. It condemns both in theory (at one time soldiers were not even admitted to baptism (124)), but in practice it appears to condone them. Whether one looks at the silence of the bishops of Mozambique over the alleged atrocities brought to public attention by Fr. Adrian Hastings (125), or at Pius XII and the Nazi massacres, or at Cardinal Spellman's reference to Vietnam as a "Holy War," the picture is similar to the stance vis-à-vis economic capitalism: the Church does not practise what it preaches, and its official policy tends to become identified with what it practises.

The apparent condoning of racism and war, one maintains, is indicative of action for self-interest by the official Church, and as such can be termed 'inner-directed.' The protest to such a stance, as instanced by the Berrigans, for example (cf. section one) one has indicated as characteristic of a tendency towards Christian Humanism, a characteristic that is more outer motivated in approach.

Among one's own respondents outer motivation with regard to war was more noticeable among the young, those from Western provinces and those with university degrees. However, this same group of sisters did not display significant outer motivation with regard to racial issues.

The debate over the Real Presence is more academic. The traditional pre-Vatican view is based on the Tridentine notion of transubstantiation (126), which had the effect of combating the theories of the Reformers and making later attempts at oecumenism extremely difficult. In this sense the doctrine of transubstantiation can be said to be inner-directed. This interpretation is strengthened by the underlining of a notion of
mysterious transcendence, by which the substance of bread and wine is changed at the moment of consecration in the Mass (127). Since Vatican II, however, the terminology of transubstantiation has been by and large dropped, and one encounters theories of transignification and transfinalisation, similar to the views of Luther and Calvin. Although these latter theories have been condemned by Paul VI (128), nevertheless the mentality underlying them persists with many Catholics. It is also possible to see the oecumenical advances made since Vatican II over the question of the Real Presence, as a direct result of a less rigid approach to transubstantiation (129). Greater participation in the liturgy and an increase in the number of communicants can also be traced to this latter approach (130). For this reason one feels that postconciliar attitudes towards the Eucharist are more outer-directed and outer motivated than those of pre-Vatican II origin.

In one's own survey respondents were quick to detect that of the six belief items, the question of the Real Presence was the only one that could be described as 'dogmatic.' Hence the sisters were reluctant to adopt a view other than the official, or what they deemed to be the official view. This applied equally to those who had displayed outer motivation on the other five items. For this reason one suggests to other researchers that a belief item such as the Real Presence be only employed where one knows in advance that one is dealing with a theologically 'progressive' group of respondents. Nevertheless, one did obtain an inter-item mean correlation of 0.14 for this item, and was therefore persuaded to retain it.

Finally, it should be remembered that in one's own survey respondents were asked which point of view they expressed in their work. Although 'work' generally applied to teaching, it was also capable of extension to other forms of the apostolate. Whichever way one took the question, it did imply that sisters had to give the view that they expressed in public, and from their comments it could be
seen that they understood the question in this latter sense. Although
it could be argued that items of this nature were too emotionally
loaded to be included in a questionnaire, one is of the opinion that
as motivation does involve the emotions, such questions should be
posed from time to time.

As with satisfaction/dissatisfaction, one presents the scales
and inter-correlations for motivation, together with accompanying
statistics and comments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table XXVII a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scale for Motivation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inter-item Indicator Number</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>correlation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE XXVII a (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>inner</th>
<th>outer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>156 Which one of the following expressions do you think best describes religious chastity?</td>
<td>Virginity, Consecration</td>
<td>Imitation love, Dedication to Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>162 Which one of the following expressions do you think best describes religious poverty?</td>
<td>Detachment from material cares, Helping the needy</td>
<td>Service of others, Freedom to Christ's work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>165 In what do you think the difference between a sister and a social worker consists?</td>
<td>Freedom, Mobility, Prayer</td>
<td>Love of God, Dedication, Sanctification of souls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>167 In the course of your work which point of view do you think is official?</td>
<td>The teaching of Humanae Vitae on birth control?</td>
<td>The present ruling on priestly celibacy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>168 The terminology of a &quot;Just War&quot;?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>169 The present ruling on priestly celibacy?</td>
<td>Economic Capitalism?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>170 Economic Capitalism?</td>
<td>The Real Presence?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>171 The Real Presence?</td>
<td>Racial Discrimination?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>172 Racial Discrimination?</td>
<td>To work is to pray</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>253 To work is to pray</td>
<td>SD, disagree</td>
<td>SA, agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Statistics (associated with Table XXVII a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inner motivation</th>
<th>Outer motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maximum possible score</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actual range</td>
<td>0-15</td>
<td>0-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean score</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>6.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>2.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As under dissatisfaction, one presents the inter-item correlations for motivation. The size of the matrix requires that the table be split in two:

**TABLE XXVII**

Correlations of items comprising the motivation scale, as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix

123 –
125 -0.66 –
137 0.02 -0.05 –
145 0.11 0.08 0 –
146 -0.02 0 0 0.04 –
147 -0.11 0.06 -0.15 -0.08 -0.02 –
155 0.06 -0.01 0 -0.04 -0.07 -0.12 –
156 -0.02 -0.02 0.02 0 0.03 0.15 -0.06 –
162 -0.11 0.08 -0.10 0.01 0.01 0.11 -0.04 0.07 –
165 -0.02 -0.03 0.09 0.06 0.04 -0.04 0.04 -0.02 -0.14 –

123 125 137 145 146 147 155 156 162

(The other section of this matrix occurs after the following statistics)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Mean inter-item correlation</th>
<th>Alpha value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-4 (whole scale)</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From table XXVII a, one notes that on fifteen items (the average range) there is an average overall predominance of inner motivation in the congregation. This, of course, does not mean that the motivation scores for each province will be so distributed, nor that one can expect individuals to follow the above mean pattern.

It can be seen from the statistics immediately prior to table XXVII that the mean inter-item correlations for indicators 2 and 3 are only of 0.05 and 0.08 respectively, while those of indicators 1 and 4 rise to values of 0.66 and 0.45 respectively. Such findings could tempt one to jettison items 137-165 and 253, and to measure motivation by a scale composed of items 123, 125, 167-172, yielding a mean inter-item correlation of 0.28 and an alpha value of 0.76. However, as these
latter two indicators of motivation only present a partial picture of a sister's motivation, in that they only touch on work and reasons for entry (these last two items \((123, 125)\) capable of possible misinterpretation as one saw earlier), and exclude questions of prayer and identity, there are at least theoretical reasons for retaining the motivation scale as a whole, despite certain low correlations between the various items in the questionnaire. In other words, one feels that it is more reliable to utilise a scale for overall motivation with an alpha = 0.65 than an indicator, such as attitudes to education, with an alpha = 0.83, which may not be fully indicative of a sister's motivation.

In addition, retaining the full scale allows one to include such correlations as \(0.23\) between two of the belief items and motivation in prayer, as established by the adage: "to work is to pray." In fact it may be such a link that throws light on the Weberian interpretation of the Protestant Ethic. It may be no small coincidence that to consider working as prayer has a negative association with the Catholic Church's teaching on private property and effective support of economic capitalism. Similarly, motivation at entry's being associated with certain prayer and identity items should not be overlooked, even when these latter items are not inter-correlated to an astonishing degree. It is therefore for fear of throwing out the 'motivational baby with the bath water' that one treats all motivational items as forming a scale, as originally hypothesised and suggested by the literature. This stance, one feels, is consonant with the observations made with respect to other scales in this chapter.

Finally, one concludes this sub-section with an examination of the scales associated with the third of one's major research variables, that of change, considered in terms of religious belonging.
3. Change

The survey dealt with change from a series of nine closed questions and one open-ended question which admitted two possible replies. The former questions sought to classify the respondents according to the predominance of three types of religious belonging being investigated: family change, closed community change, and open network change.

This subsection, therefore, will treat of the indicators and items used to discriminate between the three types of change, considered in terms of religious belonging. Finally consideration will be given to the replies to the open-ended question.

1. The three types of religious belonging and their indicators

When one came to an investigation of change, it was not possible to construct one's indicators from allied socio-religious research, as no single survey had treated religious belonging from the same theoretical standpoint as oneself. Thus the basis for the construction of one's indicators, items, and eventual scale(s), had to rest on the research model itself, and in particular the Parsonian variables distinguishing types of religious belonging. The distinction between family change and open network change thus relied on indicators that hopefully were able to distinguish ascription from achievement and particularism from universalism. Similarly closed community change was to be distinguished from open network change by the variables of particularism and universalism. Thus it was hoped that family change would be distinguished from closed community change by an implicit distinction between ascription and achievement, based on the above two step dummy variable technique. Hence three scales are to be constructed, representing types of religious belonging. The technique is analogous to that used with respect to types of dissatisfaction and motivation.
a) The distinction between family and open network belonging

Indicator 1: authority, 2 items: questions 131, 140

In the preconciliar convent authority was vested in the superior of the house who was nominated by her congregation. It was up to her to take decisions and see that they were carried out for "the good of the congregation." In addition she controlled the financial situation of the sisters "for their own good." Private allowances were not permitted, as these were seen as the means towards an alternative life-style. The superior thus had status within her community. She was at the heart of the community, and her title of 'Mother' reflected her position. The remaining members of the house referred to each other as 'sister', thus maintaining the sibling relationship. The picture was one of a family, and was reflected in titles, hierarchy, status and authority.

The postconciliar convent is different. Here there is a movement towards a superiorless community, where decisions are taken jointly, personal allowances are held by each sister, and budgeting is done at the individual level. Titles are dropped and sisters are called by their Christian names, often different from their names in religion. The house or convent is no longer the centre of action. It is the base from which the sisters emerge to carry out their apostolate. Similarly the house itself may well reflect the nature of the sister's work and be situated in the area of the apostolate, e.g., a downtown slum residence catering from immigrants. It will also be more open to the people living in that area and to those from elsewhere with similar problems. This at least was the experience one received when visiting the congregation's Canadian province. In such houses, what status there is, is achieved. Moreover such status is achieved outside the convent. For these reasons, the postconciliar convent can be described as approaching an open network community.

That authority in the above two types of convent focusses on the dimension of ethical consequences of belief can be seen from the
opposition of the 'ex opere operato' approach of the superior in a family community to the 'ex opere operantis' outlook of those in an open network community. Thus one way of looking at the opposition between family belonging and open network belonging is to limit one's investigation of authority to the question of the superior in the two types of community.

In one's own survey the sisters were asked two questions relating to local superiors:

/ whether they should meet other local superiors more often
/ whether they should present a budget to the other sisters at regular intervals.

Disagreement with these two propositions was taken as indicative of a family mentality, agreement as indicative of an open network approach. It can be seen that both these questions were indirect. The subtlety of the first lay in the awareness of those sisters, partial to open network belonging, that increased contact with other superiors would tend to diminish the status of their own superior and leave room for a situation of change, where all local superiors meeting would be of equal status. In other words, in such a situation all superiors would be called 'mother', and would be in the subordinate position of combating decisions taken by those in higher positions of authority, eg. the provincial or General. Similarly, a sister who favoured open network belonging would tend to opt for a regular presentation of the budget, as in addition to a set of figures being given, reasons for expenditure would also have to be produced. The giving of such reasons, along with a diminution of power over the purse strings, would lessen the status of the superior in the eyes of the sisters. It would also be the opportunity for offering suggestions for alternative forms of expenditure based on experience of a situation outside the convent.

The outcome of these questions was that over 80% of the sisters were seen to be pro-open network belonging. The province in which the sister worked made little difference to the findings. However,
the budget item was seen to have a more polarising effect between young and old, the qualified and the unqualified. Older less qualified sisters favoured family belonging on this latter item.

**Indicator 2: Prayer: 1 item, question 255**

From one's pilot inquiry one learnt that the spiritual renewal of Vatican II had been taken very seriously by those in the religious life. However there appeared to be two different approaches with regard to the implementation of such renewal. There were those, mainly elderly sisters, who felt that greater attention should be paid to the spiritual laxity that had occurred in some convents and that definite rules, specifying times and places, should be re-introduced to guarantee the preserving of a spirit of prayer within the convent. In this sense their position was one of change. However, following Neal's typology, their position could also be described as one of interest change, where preconciliar attitudes dominated for the good of the congregation in general and one's own community in particular. As such, one was inclined to think that this first position was one characterised by inner motivation.

On the other hand, there were those, mainly younger sisters, who felt that spirituality had to be tackled more professionally. They were aware that some male religious orders, notably the Divine Word Fathers, had special houses which existed independently from their other communities for the specific purpose of spiritual renewal. Moreover these houses of prayer were open to members of other orders and congregations as also to lay groups. The success of such experimentation encouraged this group of sisters to suggest that a similar method be employed within their own congregation. One feels that this latter approach, being more value-directed in its change orientation, is more symptomatic of outer motivation.

If one returns to the Parsonian pattern variables once more, one can see that advocating of houses of prayer has some of the marks of universalism and achievement, in that a professional approach is
adopted (achievement), one that entertains the possibility of being open to others (universalism), thereby mutually sharing spiritual experiences. Those who maintained that every house should be a house of prayer, i.e., that each convent should return to a stricter spiritual observance, on the other hand, tended to emphasise the particularism of their own group, which would somehow progress in the spiritual life by timetabling its activities (an ascriptive process). One is therefore of the opinion that those who advocated separate houses of prayer outside their own particular religious communities were inclined towards open network belonging, while those who were against such an idea tended towards familial belonging.

In the questionnaire one sought to measure the extent of attitudes in favour of the establishment of a house of prayer within each province. The net result was that two-thirds of the sisters were in favour of the idea, one that was markedly supported by the younger respondents. One also noted strong support for the experiment from the Canadian province, no doubt explaining why this was the first province to implement the idea two years later.

One notes from table XXVIII that the mean inter-item correlation for family versus open network belonging was 0.18, certainly significant at the 0.05 level, but a value which hindsight suggests could have been increased, along with its corresponding alpha value by the inclusion of more items in this scale.

b) The distinction between closed community belonging and open network belonging

Indicator 1: Centralisation: 2 items, questions 136, 139

One has already noted (chapter four) that from the Council of Trent to Vatican II the pattern of centralised bureaucracy was evident in the Catholic Church, based on hierarchical leadership and the carrying out of a series of specified commands which were transmitted vertically. One also noted the tendency for groups whose charisma had become
routinised to follow this pattern, where often authoritarianism became more exaggerated than in the organisational model of the Church against which such groups were protesting, e.g., in the Jesus People, the Isolotto community. The result of routinised prophecy was the closed community. Opposed to such an outlook was the open network concept of belonging, where central authority had no fixed basis, and where democratic decision taking, as the result of adapting to changing environmental conditions, made it difficult to locate a stable centre of operations (associated with centralisation). The result was that decentralisation became the hallmark of open network belonging and centralised authoritarianism characterised the closed community. Thus the question of centralisation was taken as an indicator for discerning closed community from open network belonging.

In the survey, the sisters were asked whether they thought that provincial councillors should reside within their own provinces and whether they should be allowed to vote in the election of their Mother General. An affirmative response to both was taken as indicative of decentralisation and an open network mentality, as it emphasised not only democracy but the principle of subsidiarity. The point of the first question was that it allowed feedback to and from an overall director within her own cultural environment, as opposed to that same person legislating for others of a completely alien mentality. For instance, in the congregation studied, the general councillor for Canada was legislating for India from a Generalate in Rome! The election issue allowed for a full system of democracy to work, which, in an international missionary congregation, implied a series of elections: at the convent level, at the provincial level, and at the Chapter level. Under such a system it would be less likely that a person would be elected solely for piety or for her authoritarian personality. She would also be one 'au fait' with the opinions of others, both within the congregation and without. In the congregation studied one was able to observe the election of a General and to see the qualities possessed by the elected candidate. A comparison with two other
nominated Generals was also possible as they were both still alive. The difference between the elected and the nominated candidates was quite striking; the former knew the opinions and the attitudes of the sisters, the latter did not.

Looking at the replies in the light of the independent background variables, one was able to see support for decentralisation from younger Western sisters. What came as an initial surprise was that those who possessed university degrees were significantly inclined towards closed community belonging. However, when one remembered the characteristics of the charismatic and the prophetic at the initial lodging of their protests, i.e. before routinisation, then this finding could be seen to be in keeping with prior theoretical discussion. The correlation between the two items was 0.3.

Indicator 2: formation: 2 items, questions 249, 252

The problem of formation cuts across all dimensions of religiosity and refers to formation at time of entry and to continuous formation, in addition to the updating of sisters' ideas once commitment to the congregation has been made in terms of vows.

In the congregation studied, formation followed three phases:

/ that of the novitiate
/ that up to the time of the taking of vows
/ tertianship.

The problem with regard to the two initial periods of formation was whether the training given was adequate, not only for the needs of the congregation, but whether it would equip a sister to act in a mature fashion outside the convent. According to which of these two views was prevalent, a preference would be indicated for closed community or open network belonging. The problem as regards continuous formation was made more acute by the fact that only two dozen sisters a year were admitted to international tertianship. It also faced the same problems of relevance as those stages in formation during the novitiate and during the period of temporary commitment.

In the questionnaire, two questions were asked relating formation
to change. The first was concerned with the relevance of temporary commitment, and the other suggested an alternative to continuous formation - the use of refresher courses. It was hypothesised that those who thought about the purpose of training would not only see the need for constant updating, but that they would see the reason for such updating as lying in social change taking place outside the convent and congregation. They would, in other words, be more concerned with open network belonging.

While the majority of the sisters were in favour of refresher courses, they still wished to retain the system of temporary commitment, thus indicating the presence of a certain closed community belonging, while being basically open in their outlook. On both items sisters from Western provinces were more inclined to open network belonging than their non-Western counterparts. The variables of age and university qualifications were significant at the 0.05 level when crosstabulated against the first item, but not so for the second, indicating preference for retention of temporary commitment, and hence a tendency towards closed community belonging on this item. The divergence of the variables of age, qualifications and cultural background on this indicator in a direction contrary to a previously established pattern (where they tended to be associated) was one of the main reasons for a low correlation between the two items ($r = 0.06$).

Indicator 3 / Oecumenism: 1 item, question 173

One has noted the great strides made in the oecumenical movement, particularly since the Second Vatican Council. Indeed a stance for or against oecumenism was used by Neal as indicative of a post or pre-Vatican mentality. In this survey, however, one wished to highlight not so much the motivation underlying a preference for, or dislike of, oecumenism, but the types of belonging that were induced by such a belief.
One observed that the reason why the closed community became closed was that its specificity of purpose became bound by the Parsonian variable of particularism, while the open network was open by dint of the variable of universalism. It is precisely over the oecumenical question where particularistic and universalistic approaches become divided. The word 'dialogue' is not part of the closed community's vocabulary, as it sees its form of protest as unique and unchanging. Under open network belonging, on the other hand, interest groups are created by dialogue, and it is precisely the oecumenical flavour of its undertakings that enables this form of belonging to transcend the bounds of locality. For this reason one decided that a question on oecumenism would separate the two forms of belonging among the respondents.

In the questionnaire the sisters were asked whether they would be in favour of the introduction of a joint religious syllabus in schools. The question of oecumenism became more pointed when framed in such a manner, as it then focussed on one of the principal aims of the congregation, that of teaching. Although the idea of a joint religious syllabus had been accepted in principle by bodies such as the Plowden Committee, it had received no official backing from the hierarchy or the Pope. Nevertheless it seemed a logical outcome of the Church's recent thinking on oecumenism. One felt that if a question were posed that simply asked for agreement or disagreement with an oecumenical step that had already met with official approval then it would not have had the effect of splitting the responses of the sisters, considered necessary for distinguishing closed community from open network belonging.

The responses to this item showed that only about one in five of the sisters was prepared for this extension of oecumenism. Those in favour were largely from Western cultural background, bolstered in the main by a high percentage of French sisters supporting the idea of an oecumenical syllabus. There was a slight tendency for younger sisters to favour such an idea, but qualifications were not significant in
with regard to the item.

Indicator 4: Transcendence: 1 item, question 244.

Respondents were asked whether they would prefer to go to a parish Mass outside the convent or to attend Mass within their convent. The question was also filtered to ask the frequency of such a preference. It was seen that by applying the question to a daily occurrence there was greater opportunity for dividing the population, and thus question 244 (as opposed to 245 or 246) was utilised as one's indicator. Under the closed community it was hypothesised that sisters would prefer to have Mass celebrated within their own four walls (particularism/affectivity), one which would enable them to follow their own brand of liturgy (in this sense specificity and achievement). In the parish situation, however, sisters from a convent would just be part of the congregation, and have no extra status over the laity present. However they would have the opportunity of worshipping among the people to whom they had to direct their apostolate, and would also have the chance of meeting and speaking with them. It might also be the occasion for the visitation of outside homes. In this way the closed community approach could be seen as stressing the transcendence of God—the relationship of the sister to God without reference to people. On the other hand, the open network outlook allowed for participation with others at the 'ecclesiola' level, fostering a possible community of interest.

On this item one observed older qualified sisters from Western cultural backgrounds tending towards closed community belonging, even after an error in the French translation to a realted item (246) had been detected and the cases filtered out.

Thus from the items and indicators intended to separate closed community from open network belonging one can begin to see a certain pattern emerging. It appears that there is a tendency for those from
non-Western provinces and those bearing academic qualifications to opt for closed community belonging. One also notes that the variable of age tends to separate those advocating family, as opposed to open network, belonging. It is quite likely, therefore, that the two particularistic forms of religious belonging (closed community and family belonging) will be separated by the three variables of age, qualifications and cultural background, given that one's model suggests that they both share satisfaction and inner motivation. However this is an hypothesis that merits separate attention in one's next chapter.

Finally, one presents one's change scale(s) together with the correlated items from which they were derived:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table XXVIII a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Change Scale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inter-item</th>
<th>Indicator</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Type of change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>correlation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>1 fam.</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>Local superiors in each province should disagree—agree meet at least once a year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>1 closed</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>General Councillors should reside within their own province disagree—agree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>1 closed</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>As a matter of principle each sister of the congregation should be allowed to vote in the election of the Mother General disagree—agree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>1 family</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>The superior of a house should give a regular budget and report to the other sisters disagree—agree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>3 closed</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>Would you be in favour of a joint religious syllabus? no—yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued overleaf)
### Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Belonging</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Closed Community</th>
<th>Open Network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maximum score</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actual range</td>
<td>0-3</td>
<td>0-6</td>
<td>0-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mean score</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>median</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standard deviation</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mode</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above statistics one notes that the mean scores do not total 9; the reason for this is absence of data. Nevertheless, one can see that out of the 9 opportunities for registering a reply in favour of network change, on average over half these opportunities were taken. There is also a predilection for closed community change over family change, even after taking into account the availability of choice for each. From intercorrelations between the three scales one sees that there is a weak positive relationship between family and closed community belonging \( r = 0.29 \) with strong negative correlations between family change and network change \( r = -0.38 \) and between
closed community change and network change (r = -0.58), suggesting a certain capacity for one's scales to separate types of belonging from each other along the lines of Parsonian variables. (The positive correlation between family and closed community belonging thus seeks explanation in their shared particularism/affectivity).

However in order to calculate the alpha values for the above scales one needs first of all to examine the inter-item correlations. These are given in the following table:

**TABLE XXVIII**

Correlations of items comprising the change scale(s) as taken from the original 104 x 104 matrix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>131</th>
<th>136</th>
<th>139</th>
<th>140</th>
<th>173</th>
<th>244</th>
<th>249</th>
<th>252</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the alpha values associated with family change and closed community change are fairly low when compared with alpha values obtained for dissatisfaction and motivation, the actual overall scale upon which they are based yields a value of 0.55, comparable to that obtained for motivation. Although one could marginally improve the three alpha values by eliminating item 173 and by treating item 252 as a family
change (as opposed to closed community change) item, one is dissuaded from juggling with one's data in this way both from theoretical considerations and in the light of the acceptable inter-correlations between the three scales. The point that one wishes to make with regard to these scales and those others constructed in the survey, is that one feels that they are perfectly adequate for treatment as variables in subsequent hypotheses. The acid test for their acceptance or rejection lies in whether they themselves are capable of accepting and rejecting hypotheses within the stated level of significance. This one shall discover in the following chapter.

2. The open-ended question on change

The open-ended question on change read as follows:

"Briefly give your ideas on the changes you would like to see in the congregation giving your reasons for such changes." (cf. questions 121-2)

One has noted already that the original purpose of this question was to enable policy decisions to be taken in the light of the types of changes advocated and the quantitative strength of such comments.

Some sisters gave no particular instances of desired areas of change, whilst others gave several examples of areas for improvement. Finally, it was decided to accept the two main desired changes in accordance with the following coding slip:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Community changes (desire for more interpersonal relationships, joint decision taking, small groups replacing larger communities, etc.)</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Changes at the provincial level (organisational change, more autonomy for provinces, decentralisation, etc.)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Changes at the local level (change in administration procedures, elections of local superiors, etc.)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Changes dealing with external activities (changes in rules and permissions connected with travel, holidays, visiting friends and relations, etc.)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE XXIX (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Changes dealing with internal activities (changes connected with the care of elderly or sick sisters, retirement, etc.)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Changes concerning the spiritual life (changes in the pattern and style of the liturgy and prayer, questions of the need for silence and recollection, the vows, etc.)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Changes dealing with the outgoing apostolate (changes touching on the specific missionary and educational aims of the congregation with a view to adapting or broadening these goals, suggestions for alternative apostolic activity, etc.)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Changes concerning life style (changes to do with dress, use of money, the image that the sister presents to people, etc.)</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Changes to do with training and formation (changes connected with the screening and training of candidates, refresher courses and other forms of preparation to meet the demands of a changing society, etc.)</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This presented 672 first desired areas for change out of a possible 1,086. However, when one noticed the large number advocating community change (in the sense of network belonging) one decided to regroup the answers for secondary analysis into those relating to 'community' change and those relating to other matters. Thus the two variables: first and second areas of desired change relating to community change, were created. In the case of the first areas of desired change, it was decided to group answers 1 and 7 to form the new variable of desired community change. Items 2-6, 8-9, dealing with the congregation, were simply considered as the absence of desired community change (cf. prior dummy variable technique). One point was given for the presence of item 1 or 7, and two were given for the presence of one of the other items. One should also note that the grouping of the items in such a way closely resembles Neal's value and interest change, thus allowing one to examine anew her hypotheses.

The statistics associated with the new variables were as follows:
Thus in this chapter one has outlined the construction of one's major research variables, all of which are scales with the exception of those relating to the open ended question on change. The variables were built up from a theoretical consideration of indicators in allied research, which in turn led to the formulation of one's own indicators and items. It was decided that by summing the various items into scales this would have the merit of avoiding both measurement by sole criteria and piecemeal analysis of 1,953 findings, derived from one's 63 items. Intercorrelation of one's items and the taking of alpha values for one's scales persuaded one that one's variables were sufficiently reliable for the testing of hypotheses. It is to this subject, the testing by one's model step by step (chapter four) and by overall analysis (chapter five) that one now turns.
CHAPTER FOUR

The testing of the hypotheses underlying the research model

Having constructed one's variables as scales, in this and the following chapter one examines the research model linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, both by degree and type. This chapter deals with the variables in the model pairwise, while the following chapter treats the model as a whole. Underlying both chapters is the previously discussed notion of causality, i.e. while one may not necessarily be able to distinguish the variables according to a temporal sequence of events, one may treat them analytically as being in a logical series. Thus, for example, one treats change as dependent on dissatisfaction and motivation. Although one postulates, for analytic purposes, that a certain type of motivation produces a certain type of dissatisfaction, which in turn tends to produce a certain type of change, it does not follow necessarily that this is a temporal or natural ordering of events. If it is, then all well and good, but one's argument should not be invalidated by a re-arranging of one's logical ordering of variables. Thus to say that a person who desires change will always be dissatisfied (itself a debatable point, if one considers that dissatisfaction can also be of an apathetic nature), should not invalidate one's own logical ordering of the proposition, namely that the dissatisfied will tend to desire change (to a greater extent than the satisfied).

One's ordering of the variables: MOTIVATION... (DIS)SATISFACTION... CHANGE, from logical cause to effect, is treated sociologically by means of dependent and independent variables. The hypotheses to be tested work backwards from dependent to independent variables, step by step in the following fashion: Hypothesis one seeks to establish whether degree of change is dependent on degree of dissatisfaction, while hypotheses two, three and four, examine the same question by considering the types associated with the two variables. Hypotheses five and six attempt to establish the dependence of dissatisfaction on
motivation, again by the degree and type associated with both variables.

Finally, hypotheses seven and eight complete the picture by considering change as dependent on motivation, both from a quantitative and qualitative point of view.

Only after hypothesis eight has been tested will one have an idea as to which elements are to remain and which may need discarding from one's overall model. Chapter five then tests the resultant model as a whole. Again, it should be remembered that hypotheses three, five and eight are the key hypotheses underlying one's model (cf. discussion in chapter one of this section), and that it is these hypotheses which are the most likely to be retained for further consideration.

Finally, a reminder on the techniques employed in this chapter. As a general rule, hypotheses will be tested in the following manner: First one examines that section of the 24 x 24 correlation matrix relevant to the two variables being considered. If their intercorrelation is significant at the 0.05 level, then, as a second step, one checks the findings by means of a Chi-square test, based on the crosstabulation of the variables. (In practice this procedure is most useful when one obtains low correlations, i.e. between 0.06 and 0.10, which are nonetheless significant, a not unusual occurrence with a population of 1,086). Third, one often supplies partial findings from the multiple regression analysis of chapter five, in order that the reader may appreciate the pairwise association of the variables under consideration, while taking into account the influence of other allied variables; in other words, sections of one's path diagram are introduced here, which might be otherwise overlooked when the overall research model is presented. Occasionally 't-student' tests are also applied to highlight phenomena in the tails of distributions.

One should also mention that although the majority of one's figures have been calculated to five places of decimals, they have been rounded for purposes of presentation to only two places of decimals. The level of significance throughout is the 0.05 level.
Hypothesis One

a) The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly according to the degree of dissatisfaction displayed. The degree of dissatisfaction will vary inversely with the age of the individual(s), and directly with qualifications, Western cultural background, the size of house in which the individual(s) live, and lack of religious experience.

b) Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

In this hypothesis, one is concerned with the influence of the degree, rather than the type, of dissatisfaction, on total change and areas of desired change. The principal null hypothesis is that there will be no significant difference in total change, or areas of desired change, scores (the dependent variables), among individuals who display random and fluctuating overall dissatisfaction scores, i.e., differing degrees of dissatisfaction. A subset of null hypotheses states that there will be no significant difference in dissatisfaction scores among individuals of different ages, cultural backgrounds, sizes of house, qualifications, and quantity and quality of religious experience. One is also able to look at these latter hypotheses with respect to total change scores.

Null hypothesis i: There is no significant difference in total change scores among individuals with varying dissatisfaction scores.

a) Test for linearity

A sample of 1 in 10 is drawn from the population (n = 1,086), and dissatisfaction scores are plotted against those for total change. Although the resulting scattergram shows both variables to be discrete, one feels that it has sufficient 'face-validity' to indicate linearity, and one is therefore inclined to refrain from applying a further analysis of variance test (1). In this case one produces one's scattergram (figure 10X). However one does not intend giving a series of distribution plots for all remaining pairs of variables to be
FIGURE IX

Scattergram resulting from plotting a 1 in 10 sample of the population (n = 1,086) related to the associated variables of dissatisfaction and total change.

Dissatisfaction

30

25

20

15

10

5

0  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11

Total Change
discussed, as evidence of linearity in distribution. Such a task has in fact been carried out and linearity may be detected throughout the remainder of one's pairwise treatment of variables, based on face-validity as above. The reason for the non-inclusion of figures substantiating this last point is one of brevity.

b) Correlation analysis

Here one is examining the $24 \times 24$ correlation matrix, as derived from the $104 \times 104$ matrix of one's primary analysis by the scaling of items into independent and dependent research variables (cf. last chapter). One does not intend providing the full $24 \times 24$ matrix. Rather one concentrates on those sections relevant to the hypothesis under discussion. Applying an $F$-test to this matrix, one is prepared to accept values of $|r|$ greater than or equal to $\pm 0.06$ as significant at the 0.05 level (with $n = 1,086$).

With regard to this first null hypothesis, one obtains a correlation of 0.34 between total change and dissatisfaction, clearly significant at the 0.05 level. This technique of inspection shows that an increase in the total change score is accompanied by, and associated with, a change in the dissatisfaction score. The amount of variance explained by the association of the two variables is 11.56%.

c) Crosstabulation analysis

This technique enables one not only to investigate the distribution of the two sets of scores underlying the positive correlation, but also to apply a Chi-square test of significance to the crosstabulated findings. Total change (range 0 - 11) is grouped as a dichotomous variable: a score 0 - 9 representing 61% of the population, a score of 10 - 11 representing 39% of the population. Dissatisfaction scores are grouped in the following approximate quartiles:

- 0 - 7 : 27.8% of the population
- 8 - 10 : 27.7% " "
- 11 - 13 : 21.8% " "
- 14 + : 22.7% " "

The crosstabulation of total change with dissatisfaction, with column percentages in brackets, is as follows:

**TABLE XXXI**

Crosstabulation of Dissatisfaction and Total Change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Total Change</th>
<th>0-7</th>
<th>8-10</th>
<th>11-13</th>
<th>14+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>243 (80.5)</td>
<td>198 (65.8)</td>
<td>125 (52.7)</td>
<td>96 (39.0)</td>
<td>662</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10+</td>
<td>59 (19.5)</td>
<td>103 (34.2)</td>
<td>112 (47.3)</td>
<td>150 (61.0)</td>
<td>424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above crosstabulation yields a Chi-square of 107.67, which, with 3 degrees of freedom, is significant at the 0.001 level.

d) **Regression analysis**

Thus far one has seen that total change and dissatisfaction are directly associated. One is not in the position, however, to say which variable is responsible for a consequent change in the other. In order to predict the direction of such change, one must have recourse to one's research model, which predicted a causal influence of dissatisfaction on total change. If that is the case then the resulting Beta coefficient from multiple regression analysis should be positive and significant also (i.e. when calculated in relation to its corresponding F value).

In point of fact when dissatisfaction, along with seven other independent variables, was entered in a regression equation treating total change as the dependent variable, the resulting Beta value, and hence path, from dissatisfaction to total change was greater than for any of the other variables, with a value of 0.27. The associated F value of 64.71 meant that this finding was significant at the 0.001 level. One thus feels entitled not only in associating linear correlation between dissatisfaction and total change, but in predicting the direction of the phenomenon, i.e. the greater the dissatisfaction
score the higher the total change score will be. Moreover, as this, together with the results derived from above other forms of analysis, are all significant at the 0.05 level or lower, one feels that one may safely reject the null hypothesis of no differences and accept the alternative (research hypothesis) that the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly according to the degree of dissatisfaction displayed.

Null hypothesis ii: There is no significant difference in dissatisfaction (or total change) scores among individuals of varying ages.

a) Correlation analysis

The correlation between age and dissatisfaction is -0.23, and between age and total change is -0.22, implying that youthfulness (the correlation being negative) explains 5.29% of the variance in dissatisfaction and 4.84% in total change. That these findings are not simply associations can be understood from the nature of the variables. Dissatisfaction does not produce an effect in the variable age, neither does total change. Rather youthfulness has an effect on dissatisfaction and total change scores. Both correlations are significant at the 0.05 level.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The following is the table resulting from the crosstabulation of age (grouped into four categories) and dissatisfaction (four categories as before):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>21-30</th>
<th>31-50</th>
<th>51-63</th>
<th>64+</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>36 (22.2)</td>
<td>87 (22.7)</td>
<td>85 (30.2)</td>
<td>94 (36.3)</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>33 (20.4)</td>
<td>91 (23.7)</td>
<td>86 (31.3)</td>
<td>89 (34.4)</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>37 (22.8)</td>
<td>92 (24.0)</td>
<td>59 (21.0)</td>
<td>49 (18.9)</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>56 (34.6)</td>
<td>114 (29.7)</td>
<td>49 (17.4)</td>
<td>27 (10.4)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As with table XXXI, column percentages are in brackets. One can see from these percentages a tendency for the younger respondents to display greater dissatisfaction. This is reflected in a Chi-square of 64.61, significant at the 0.0000 level with 9 degrees of freedom.

\[ \chi^2 = 64.61, df = 9, p < 0.0001 \]

\( \text{d) Regression analysis} \)

The Beta values calculated for age on dissatisfaction and total change were -0.15 and -0.10 respectively, the former significant at the 0.001 level and the latter at the 0.01 level, confirming the conclusion of the correlation analysis. As this, together with the findings of (a) and (b) are significant at the 0.05 level or lower, one may safely reject the null hypothesis and accept the alternative research hypothesis that the degree of dissatisfaction ( and change ) will vary inversely with the age of individual(s).

Null hypothesis iii : there is no significant difference in dissatisfaction ( and total change ) scores among individuals who possess or do not possess university and teaching qualifications

\[ \text{null hypothesis rejected} \]

\[ \text{alternative hypothesis accepted} \]

\[ \beta_{	ext{age}} = -0.15, \beta_{	ext{total change}} = -0.10, \text{both significant at 0.001 and 0.01 levels} \]

\( \text{a) Correlation analysis} \)

The section of the correlation matrix relevant to the variables under discussion is as follows :

\[ \begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Qualifications} & \text{university} & \text{teaching} \\
\text{Dissatisfaction} & -0.15 & -0.14 \\
\text{Total Change} & -0.17 & -0.25 \\
\end{array} \]

The negative sign in the above table reflects the coding of 1 for qualifications and 2 for absence of qualifications. A comparison of the respective variances shows that whilst the possession of a degree explains 2.25% of the variance in dissatisfaction, the possession of a teaching certificate explains only 1.96% of the variance. However,
when one comes to total change, not only is a greater proportion of the variance explained by the two variables ( 2.89% and 6.25% respectively ), but the pattern of influence of the variables is reversed. Moreover, in the case of teaching qualifications, a greater percentage of the variance in total change is explained than was the case for the variable of age. The above findings are significant at the 0.001 level.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

Similarly, one can present both sets of crosstabulations in two tables, as follows:

**TABLE XXIV**
Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and university qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University degree</th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>31 (17.2)</td>
<td>223 (30.3)</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>40 (22.2)</td>
<td>219 (29.8)</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>51 (28.3)</td>
<td>145 (19.7)</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>58 (32.2)</td>
<td>148 (20.1)</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>735</td>
<td>915</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and:

**TABLE XXXV**
Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and teaching qualifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching qualifications</th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>156 (24.3)</td>
<td>122 (33.4)</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>166 (25.9)</td>
<td>110 (30.1)</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>150 (23.4)</td>
<td>71 (19.5)</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>170 (26.5)</td>
<td>62 (17.0)</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>1007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above crosstabulations yield Chi-squares of 26.37 and 19.3, which, with three degrees of freedom are significant at the 0.0000 and 0.0002 levels respectively.
c) Regression analysis

The Beta values for university and teaching qualifications with respect to dissatisfaction are both less than 0.1, which cautions one against attributing too much to the correlations and cross-tabulations in (a) and (b), however significant they might be. However, there is a tendency for those more qualified to be more dissatisfied, and these findings are sufficient to reject the null hypothesis of no differences at the 0.05 level.

Null hypothesis iv: there is no significant differences in dissatisfaction score among those from differing cultural backgrounds

Here one is considering cultural background in terms of the dichotomous variable: Western / non-Western.

a) Correlation analysis

The correlation between dissatisfaction and western cultural background is -0.16, again indicating (because of the 1/2 coding system) that greater dissatisfaction is displayed by those respondents coming from Western provinces. 2.56% of the variance is explained in this manner. On the reverse side of the coin, one notes with interest that belonging to a non-Western province accounts for 9.2% of the variance in satisfaction scores. Both findings are significant at the 0.001 level. A further finding of interest is that the cultural background of the respondent does not correlate significantly with total change (at the 0.05 level).

b) Crosstabulation analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table XXXVI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and cultural background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table yields a Chi-square of 36.68, which, with 3 degrees of freedom, is significant at the 0.0000 level.

c) Regression analysis

The path between Western cultural background and dissatisfaction is -0.13, significant at the 0.001 level, and consonant with the findings in (a) and (b). However, there is a positive, though less significant path of 0.12 between non-Western membership and total change. This finding, in the contrary direction to that originally supposed, will need closer examination when one relates change to its component types of religious belonging.

However, the connection between Western cultural background and dissatisfaction has been established by the above tests, and their significance at the 0.05 level is sufficient to warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Null hypothesis v: there is no significant difference in dissatisfaction scores among individuals belonging to different sized communities

a) Correlation analysis

A correlation of 0.11 between dissatisfaction and size of religious community indicates that there is a tendency for greater dissatisfaction to be displayed from those living in larger religious houses. The finding, though significant, is weak, and only explains 1.21% of the variance.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The following table (XXXVII) yields a Chi-square of 13.99, which, with 9 df, is only significant at the 0.1227 level, i.e. it fails to meet the 0.05 level of required significance. However, when one crosstabulates satisfaction scores with size of religious community, then one sees that there is a significant tendency for those in smaller communities to display greater satisfaction. This latter table (not produced here), yields a Chi-square of 29.8, which, with
with 9 df. is significant at the 0.0005 level.

**TABLE XVII**

Crosstabulation of dissatisfaction and size of community

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of community</th>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>0-6</th>
<th>7-15</th>
<th>16-25</th>
<th>26+</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>91 (31.9)</td>
<td>73 (27.1)</td>
<td>74 (28.6)</td>
<td>64 (23.4)</td>
<td>302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>81 (28.4)</td>
<td>63 (23.4)</td>
<td>78 (30.1)</td>
<td>79 (28.9)</td>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>58 (20.4)</td>
<td>70 (26.0)</td>
<td>54 (20.8)</td>
<td>55 (20.1)</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>55 (19.3)</td>
<td>63 (23.4)</td>
<td>53 (20.5)</td>
<td>75 (27.5)</td>
<td>246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>285</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c) Regression analysis**

The beta value, linking size of community with dissatisfaction is 0.09, which, while significant at the 0.01 level, is still less than 0.1, and as such indicates that the path is of a weak nature. One thus concludes that dissatisfaction is affected by size of community, though to a weak degree. However slight this association in (c), when combined with the findings of (a) and (b), it is nevertheless sufficiently significant to reject the null hypothesis of no association between the variables of dissatisfaction and size of community.

Null hypothesis vi: there is no significant difference in dissatisfaction scores among individuals admitting of varying degrees of religious experience

**a) Correlation analysis**

The relevant section of one's correlation matrix reveals that there is an association between dissatisfaction and lack of religious experience (r = 0.14). The positive value of 'r' making this interpretation possible is due to the 1/2 coding for religious experience. However, when one considers those who do admit of religious experience, there is a slight tendency (r = 0.06) for the dissatisfied to be among those displaying higher types of religious experience on the
Glock and Stark scale. When measured on the alternative scale of religious experience one found no significant relationship between type of religious experience and dissatisfaction. However, when one squares the above correlations, one finds that only 1.96% of the variance in overall dissatisfaction is explained by lack of religious experience, and only 0.36% by type of religious experience.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

It is not worthwhile reproducing the three tables where religious experience, both by degree and type, is crosstabulated with dissatisfaction. Chi-square is not significant at the 0.05 level for either of the two types of religious experience, but only significant at the 0.591 and 0.838 levels respectively. However one can present the crosstabulation between degree of religious experience and dissatisfaction, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Admit Religious Experience</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>yes 232 (27.3)</td>
<td>no 10 (15.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>219 (26.9)</td>
<td>14 (21.2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>178 (21.9)</td>
<td>17 (25.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>195 (24.0)</td>
<td>25 (37.9)</td>
<td></td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again this indicates greater dissatisfaction on the part of those admitting no religious experience. The Chi-square is 9.3, which, with 3 df, is significant at the 0.03 level.

c) Regression analysis

It was decided not to enter the variable of religious experience into one's multiple regression equations (and hence path model), due to the comparatively low numbers admitting lack of religious experience.
It was felt that the data might produce more distorted results than if the population had been more evenly divided. Also one was persuaded not to include the variable due to its non-significant and low correlations with others.

One simply notes here that it is possible to reject the null hypothesis of no differences with regard to dissatisfaction and degree of religious experience. A further look at the correlations between religious experience and both its types with total change (0.09, 0.02, and 0.01 respectively), and with various types of change (the latter all less than 0.06), finally persuaded one to drop these variables from further consideration.

However, to return to the argument, the rejection of null hypotheses i to vi at the 0.05 level, confirms part (a) of Hypothesis 1. One concludes, therefore, that the research hypothesis may be allowed to stand in its present form.

**Hypothesis One : section (b)**

In examining the open-ended question on change, one is dealing with the variables of first and second freely desired areas of change, in other words, whether a respondent has made use of her options to question 121-2 or not. It is hypothesised that these two variables will be dependent on the degree of overall dissatisfaction, as also on the associated variables of age, qualifications, Western background and lack of religious experience, in an analogous fashion to their association with total change. In other words, one is testing the hypothesis that respondents react to an open format question in a similar way to a closed format question dealing with change. It is not necessary to spell out the six hypotheses in full, in terms of null hypotheses, as they are similar to those in section (a), substitution only being made between the dependent variables of total change and first and second areas of freely desired change.
a) Correlation analysis

Here one can present a table giving the correlations and respective percentage variance explained between the dependent variables of first and second areas of freely desired change and the other independent variables involved in the discussion, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>First Change correlation</th>
<th>% variance</th>
<th>Second Change correlation</th>
<th>% variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>12.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University quals.</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching quals.</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>4.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western background</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of community</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious experience</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type one experience</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type two experience</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several observations are in order. First, dissatisfaction as a variable not only has greater explanatory power than any other independent variable with regard to first and second areas of freely desired change, but on its own accounts for over 40% of the explained variance relative to the other independent variables. Second, one notes that qualifications play a greater part with regard to open format questions than they do with regard to total change (closed format), cf. table XIII. Third, while it can be seen here that younger respondents, those from Western provinces and those living in larger communities tend to opt for choices on the open-ended question, one notes that only age is significant with regard to both choices. Moreover, here the explanatory power of youthfulness (3.61%)
is less than its 4.84% explanation of change in closed format questions.

Fourth, religious experience, whether considered either quantitatively
or qualitatively, has virtually no explanatory power with regard to
freely chosen areas of desired change. This is a further reason for
excluding it from ulterior analysis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

Instead of presenting all the crosstabulation tables linking the
above independent variables with first and second areas of freely
desired change, one summarises one’s findings by supplying values
of Chi-square together with their respective levels of significance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>First Change Significance</th>
<th>Second change Chi-square</th>
<th>significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>12.22</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>137.38</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>38.53</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>38.13</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western background</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>0.0937</td>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>0.0200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community size</td>
<td>5.54</td>
<td>0.1364</td>
<td>17.92</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University quals.</td>
<td>34.55</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>31.55</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching quals.</td>
<td>62.13</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>49.44</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious exp.</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.9237</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.9229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type one exp.</td>
<td>1.77</td>
<td>0.1838</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.6635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type two exp.</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>0.0847</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>0.0140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Chi-squares and their levels of significance confirm the
findings of the correlation analysis. First and second areas of
freely desired change are significantly associated with youthfulness,
dissatisfaction and possession of qualifications, in a similar manner
to the relationship of these variables to total change (cf. section (a)).
However, the variables of cultural background, size of community, and
those relating to religious experience, are not significantly associated
with both first and second change. In the case of Western cultural background, size of community and type two religious experience, there is significant change between second change and themselves at the 0.05 level, however. Now from the responses to the open-ended question on change it transpires that the probability of a respondent opting for only one change is 0.6, and that of opting for two changes is roughly 0.4, thus making the latter outcome less likely. The fact that the above mentioned variables are associated with a less likely outcome, therefore, could be sufficient reason to give added weight to their significance. In so doing, these three variables would be following the pattern established in section (a). The same argument applies to degree and type of religious experience, which, while having some impact on dissatisfaction, was not seen to be associated significantly with total change.

One may thus conclude from the above correlation and crosstabulation analysis that freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary by and large in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

**c) Regression analysis**

It was decided not to include the replies to the open ended question on change in the multiple regression analysis, as these themselves were dependent on total change. Hence one has no use of this independent method in corroborating the findings of (a) and (b) with a series of beta values. In any case one feels that such a step is not necessary in making the general point over which the second half of this hypothesis shows concern, namely that responses to open-ended questions will tend to take on the same characteristics as those given to closed format questions dealing with change.

With the second half of hypothesis one basically substantiated, through a rejection of a further series of null hypotheses, and with the first half already established, one is thus able to allow one's
first hypothesis to stand as it has been stated. The basic tenet is that change is advocated in direct proportion to the degree of dissatisfaction displayed, and this has been found to be the case. One has also noted the contributory factors to dissatisfaction, the variables of youthfulness, western background, possession of university and teaching qualifications, coming from a large sized community, and, to a lesser extent, lack of religious experience.

One final point of interest is the examination of the percentage variance explained in total change by a consideration of the same independent variables in the different provinces of the congregation. The following table shows not only the verification of one's first research hypothesis, but also highlights the cultural variable in so doing.

| TABLE XLI |
| Percentage variance in total change explained by independent variables in the various provinces |
| Province |
| Variable | AUS | CAN | UK | FRA | IND | NZS | NZN | BANG | VIET |
| Dissat. | 14.0 | 3.5 | 13.6 | 24.2 | 13.6 | 13.9 | 6.8 | 18.0 | 14.3 |
| Age | 14.8 | 2.1 | 5.2 | 11.3 | 0.1 | 3.7 | 3.7 | 8.3 | 0.02 |
| University | 0.3 | 1.4 | 5.6 | 15.1 | 6.0 | 2.2 | 0.4 | 5.1 | 0.8 |
| Teaching | 0.05 | 3.7 | 12.3 | 19.5 | 3.2 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 5.8 | 0.04 |
| House size | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.02 | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 7.2 | 0.04 |
| Rel. exp. | 1.5 | 0.01 | 1.1 | 2.9 | 13.3 | 0.5 | 0.02 | 0.06 | 1.03 |
| " type one | 0.4 | 1.22 | 1.7 | 3.6 | 2.7 | 1.3 | 1.42 | 13.8 | 2.1 |
| " type two | 0.8 | 0.04 | 2.6 | 0.1 | 3.5 | 0.6 | 0.01 | 0.3 | 0.9 |
Hypothesis Two

a) The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly with the type of dissatisfaction displayed. More change will be advocated by those displaying congregational and outer dissatisfaction than those displaying individual dissatisfaction.

b) Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

It has been established from hypothesis one that greater dissatisfaction tends to produce higher total change scores and freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change. What is being investigated here is the influence of different types of dissatisfaction on total change and freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change. In other words, one is discussing the influence of individual dissatisfaction (concerned with identity), outer dissatisfaction (concerned with status) and congregational dissatisfaction (concerned with role), on closed and open-ended questions dealing with change.

The following section of the matrix shows the interrelation of the three types of dissatisfaction and their degree of association with overall dissatisfaction:

TABLE XLII

Intercorrelation of types of dissatisfaction and overall dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Overall Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Individual Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Outer Dissatisfaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several points emerge from the above table. First, all scales are measures of dissatisfaction, i.e., types of dissatisfaction are highly associated with overall dissatisfaction (R varies from 0.64 to 0.84). However, this is only to be expected from the way that
overall dissatisfaction is constructed. The fact that these correlations are not higher can be explained in terms of absent data, cf. the actual range of the 37 possible items in chapter three of this section.

Second, outer dissatisfaction appears to be more indicative of overall dissatisfaction than congregational dissatisfaction, which in turn is more closely related to overall dissatisfaction than individual dissatisfaction. Third, the mean inter-item correlation of types of dissatisfaction is 0.36, indicating a reasonable degree of inter-relationship. However, as the individual correlation coefficients are positive in all three cases, it would appear that there is a certain amount of "line-crossing" between scales. In other words, it would appear that their common factor of dissatisfaction is stronger than the actual type of dissatisfaction that is portrayed. Thus one feels that if one is to distinguish types of dissatisfaction from each other then it is necessary to introduce other independent variables into the discussion. In this way one may redescribe the three types of dissatisfaction as follows:

Individual dissatisfaction is to be found predominantly among younger respondents, those residing in larger communities, those from Western provinces, those native to their province of work, those with university and teaching qualifications, and those admitting lack of religious experience.

Outer dissatisfaction has all the above qualities with the two exceptions relating to lack of religious experience and being native born. Unlike individual dissatisfaction, outer dissatisfaction is to be found to a greater extent among sisters not native to their province. Its relation to lack of religious experience, though present, is only of a weak and insignificant nature.

Congregational dissatisfaction is found to a greater extent among the more academically qualified than the other two types of dissatisfaction. Congregational dissatisfaction resembles outer dissatisfaction in that it is to be found among sisters not native to their province, and in
the fact that it has little or no association with lack of religious experience. Congregational dissatisfaction resembles individual dissatisfaction as regards the youthfulness of the respondents and their coming from large sized communities and western provinces.

The similarity of the attributes associated with types of dissatisfaction does not imply that they should be dropped from one's analysis and be treated under the all embracing overall dissatisfaction, as in hypothesis one. That would be an 'a priori' rejection of the suggestions to be found in the literature. Instead, one attempts here to test empirically the hypothesis which states that degree of change will be affected by type of dissatisfaction. This implies a comparison of strength of relationships, not a discussion on the merits of their presence or absence.

Null hypothesis i: there is no significant difference in total change scores among individuals displaying to a greater or lesser degree varying types of dissatisfaction

a) Correlation analysis

That section of the correlation matrix relevant to the above hypothesis is as follows:

TABLE XLIII
Correlations and variance explained in total change by types of dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Total Change</th>
<th>correlation</th>
<th>percent variance explained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>8.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>10.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although all correlations are significant at the 0.05 level, clearly outer dissatisfaction and congregational dissatisfaction explain more percentage variance in total change than individual dissatisfaction. A possible explanation for this lies perhaps in the fact that
dissatisfaction with regard to status and role tends to produce
greater advocacy of structural change than individual dissatisfaction,
caught up, as it is, with more personal problems of identity.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

It does not seem necessary to produce three sets of tables in
order to establish the differences between types of dissatisfaction
and their respective influences on total change. Instead one notes
that while only 45.19% of those with high individual dissatisfaction
scores have total change scores of 10 or 11, 55.48% of those with
high outer dissatisfaction scores and 55.56% of those with high
congregational dissatisfaction scores produce the same level of
total change scores. There is thus a swing of approximately 10%
between individual dissatisfaction and the other two types of
dissatisfaction. At the other end of the scale one notes a similar
percentage swing. While 66.79% of those with low individual dissatisfactio
scores are associated with low total change scores, this figure rises
to 72.69% and 73.2% for outer dissatisfaction and congregational
dissatisfaction when the same comparison is made. The face-validity
of significant differences in percentages between individual
dissatisfaction on the one hand and the remaining two types of
dissatisfaction on the other, is reflected in their Chi-square values.
while individual dissatisfaction yields a value of 13.09 with 1 df.,
significant at just below the 0.001 level, the value of Chi-square
for outer and congregational dissatisfaction with 2 df. reaches 59.81
and 60.2 respectively, a finding significant at a much lower level.

Blalock (3) argues that it is not really necessary to apply a
statistical test for significance when comparing correlations within
the same sample (or population). The researcher, according to him:

"may simply compare the relative size of the two "r's" and note
the magnitude of the difference."

Applying the above criterion, one could well argue that there was a
significant difference between types of dissatisfaction and change
scores.

However, preferred here is the examination of the tails of the distributions of the three types of dissatisfaction, and a comparison of the means in the resulting total change scores, by use of a t-test for difference of means. One argues that if there is any significant difference between the three sets of scores, then it should be evident in the extremes of the distributions, i.e., in those cases two standard deviations from the distributional mean. If significant differences are noted in the extreme cases then it is possible that they will be found in the remainder of the distributions. If, however, significant differences in total change scores are not discernible in the tails of the distributions, then it is hardly likely that they will be found in cases closer to the mean, given that the distributions themselves have been found to be linear in nature. Thus, using the above criterion, one may say that one is prepared to have the null hypothesis of no differences upheld where differences in means of total change scores are not found to be significant in the extreme cases of types of dissatisfaction.

Following the above procedure, and travelling two standard deviations from the mean, one finds in the tails of the three distributions, 26 cases of individual dissatisfaction, 44 cases of congregational dissatisfaction and 69 cases of outer dissatisfaction. Taking mean values for the resulting total change scores, one obtains the following picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>J.IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean total change scores of extreme cases of the three types of dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean total change score</td>
<td>(n = 26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual dissatisfaction</td>
<td>9.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational dissatisfaction</td>
<td>9.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer dissatisfaction</td>
<td>9.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Applying a difference of means test to the means produced by congregational and individual dissatisfaction (the greatest difference), one obtains a t of 1.63, insufficient to reject the null hypothesis of no differences at the 0.05 level with 68 df. Similarly the difference in means between outer dissatisfaction and individual dissatisfaction total change scores only yields a t of 1.50, which, with 93 df, again fails to reject the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level. There is no need to even calculate 't' for the difference of means in the total change scores of outer and congregational dissatisfaction. One can see at a glance that it will be insufficiently large to reject the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level with 111 df.

Thus one comes to the conclusion that there is no significant difference in the means of total change scores when the extreme cases of types of dissatisfaction are compared. One has also seen that there is only face-validity difference in their correlation coefficients and values of Chi-square. It is likely then that these latter differences are insufficiently great to enable one to reject the null hypothesis, in the light of the above discussion. One therefore prefers to err on the cautious side, and to maintain that while there may be significant differences in total change scores yielded by different types of dissatisfaction (and indeed there appears to be some difference between them), one cannot thereby reject the null hypothesis if one is using the criterion that if extreme cases fail to reject the null hypothesis, then 'a fortiori' it is hardly likely that less extreme cases will be able to do so, where relationships are even less pronounced.

One therefore retains the null hypothesis in this instance, within the margin of 5% beta error, thereby suggesting that possibly types of dissatisfaction, as considered in the literature, are really not as important with regard to total change as overall dissatisfaction itself. However, before one can abandon completely the distinction between types of dissatisfaction, one also needs to examine hypotheses four and six, which include such a distinction.
Null hypothesis: change in open format questions, like that of closed format questions does not vary with types of dissatisfaction.

a) Correlation analysis

As in the second section of hypothesis one, this half of the hypothesis looks at the degree of freely offered areas of desired change in both first and second instances. This time, however, one examines these two variables from the point of view of being influenced by type of dissatisfaction. The following section of the matrix establishes the necessary correlations and percentage variance explained between the relevant variables:

**TABLE XLV**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>First change correlation</th>
<th>Percentage variance</th>
<th>Second change correlation</th>
<th>Percentage variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>8.41</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>10.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>7.84</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>8.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here again face validity shows that there is a notable, though possibly not significant, difference between outer dissatisfaction and congregational dissatisfaction on the one hand, and individual dissatisfaction on the other. The difference between congregational dissatisfaction and outer dissatisfaction is further highlighted when one considers second change. However, as all correlations are significant at the 0.05 level, indeed the 0.001 level, one has no criterion other than Blalock's for distinguishing between types of dissatisfaction at that level of significance, apart from simply looking at the percentage variance differences.
b) Crosstabulation analysis

Similarly, by looking at the Chi-squares yielded by the three different types of dissatisfaction when crosstabulated against first and second areas of freely suggested change, one cannot detect significant differences between types of dissatisfaction. All Chi-squares are significant at the 0.000 level.

Thus one employs the same criterion as in part (a) and considers the tails of the distributions. However, this time one limits one's consideration to the second area of change, that area where outer dissatisfaction differs most from the other two types of dissatisfaction.

c) T-test for difference of means

Taking the extreme cases of types of dissatisfaction, as in table XLIV, the following percentages, mean scores and squared standard deviations, are obtained:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Mean scores</th>
<th>Squared SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>71.11</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Applying three separate t-tests for difference of means, one obtains the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction compared</th>
<th>Value of t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Significant at 0.05 level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational and Outer</td>
<td>0.7028</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational and Individual</td>
<td>1.0797</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer and Individual</td>
<td>1.7056</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus the hypothesis of no differences, stating that change in second change scores does not vary significantly with change in types of dissatisfaction scores, is upheld in the first two instances, but rejected in the comparison of the mean scores yielded by extreme cases of individual and outer dissatisfaction. It is thus possible, and moreover consonant with one's criterion, that there is a significant difference between the above two types of dissatisfaction when related to the open-ended question of change. This latter possibility makes it impossible to reject hypothesis two, as stated, in its entirety. Instead, one suggests, it should be reworded to allow for the likelihood of difference in change scores where outer dissatisfaction predominates over individual dissatisfaction to a marked degree. In this sense, therefore, the research hypothesis may be allowed to stand: degree of change is influenced to a certain extent by type of dissatisfaction.

However it is also possible, especially if one is not over-pedantic about the wording of hypothesis two, that the reason why type of dissatisfaction, notably outer dissatisfaction, influences the degree of change advocated, is due to the fact that overall dissatisfaction on average is composed in the main by outer dissatisfaction items. In other words, one does not feel that this hypothesis necessarily adds very much to hypothesis one, where it was seen that degree of change was associated with degree of overall dissatisfaction. Thus while hypothesis two as stated is technically upheld, as a finding it may not be all that important. Again one prefers to reserve judgement on this matter until the allied hypotheses four and six have been examined.
hypothesis Three

a) The type of change advocated in closed format questions will depend upon the predominance of (dis)satisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals. Network belonging as a type of change will vary directly with the degree of dissatisfaction; family and closed community belonging, as types of change, will vary with the degree of satisfaction.

b) The type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

One has already seen that the more dissatisfied a person is, the more he advocates change in both open and closed format questions, (hypothesis one). This hypothesis now turns from the question of quantity to that of quality, or type of change, as dependent on the degree of dissatisfaction displayed. Moreover, as type of change is considered in terms of types of religious belonging, the main problem to which the research is directed, clearly hypothesis three for this reason assumes extra importance.

Null hypothesis i: the type of change advocated by an individual(s) in closed format questions is independent of the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction displayed by that individual(s).

a) Correlation analysis

The relevant section of the 24 x 24 matrix is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Closed Community</th>
<th>Open Network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those correlations that are significant at the 0.05 level are between satisfaction and family change, explaining 1.44% of the variance, satisfaction and closed community change, explaining 8.41% of the variance, and dissatisfaction and open network change, explaining 4.41% of the variance. By inspection, therefore, it would seem
that the null hypothesis is to be rejected at the 0.05 level (the above correlations being significant at the 0.001 level), in the predicted direction of the alternative research hypothesis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

Instead of presenting the tables linking types of change with satisfaction or dissatisfaction, one need only present the levels at which the resulting Chi-squares were found to be significant.

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Significance levels of Chi-squares resulting from the crosstabulations of types of change and (dis)satisfaction.}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Type of change & Family & Closed community & Open network \\
\hline
Satisfaction & 0.02 level & 0.0000 level & not significant \\
Dissatisfaction & not significant & not significant & 0.001 level \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

The above findings, as expected, confirm those of the correlation analysis and reinforce the rejection of the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level.

c) Regression analysis

The following beta values were obtained in a set of multiple regression equations involving the variables of the hypothesis:

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Paths from (dis)satisfaction to types of change.}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
\hline
Variable & Dependent on & Beta value & F value & Level of signif. \\
\hline
Open network & Dissatisfaction & 0.18 & 32.36 & 0.001 \\
Closed community & Satisfaction & 0.26 & 72.66 & 0.001 \\
Family & Satisfaction & 0.09 & 8.31 & 0.001 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

From table L one can see that not only are types of change associated with degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, but the direction of the dependence is in keeping with one's original research model as well.
Although the beta values are not all that large, particularly that indicating the path from satisfaction to family change, one should remember that nowhere has one argued that type of change is dependent on satisfaction or dissatisfaction alone. Other variables, particularly that of motivation, are hypothesised in one's model as bringing about change in types of religious belonging. In addition there are the independent background variables to take into consideration. The full effect of the influence of all these variables will not be seen until one examines the overall path model in the next chapter. In the meantime one can note the confirmatory nature of the above paths and their contribution towards rejecting the null hypothesis.

**Part (b)**

**Null hypothesis**: the type of change in closed format questions will not vary significantly in accordance with differing degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction displayed by individuals.

Here one is considering the type of freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change. If one remembers that one has divided the choices into preference for 'community' change or otherwise, then it can be seen that here one is considering the effect of satisfaction and dissatisfaction on choice of type of change, i.e. community change or not.

a) **Correlation analysis**

The following is the relevant section of the 24 x 24 matrix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Change</th>
<th>1st Community change</th>
<th>2nd Community change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one remembers that question 121-2 has been coded in the 1/2
fashion (1 for presence of choice, 2 for absence, as in the rest of the survey), then one can see a significant and positive association between dissatisfaction and 'community' change in both instances. One also notes an inverse relationship between satisfaction and this type of open-ended change. The correlations, though on the weak side, are nevertheless significant at the 0.05 level, suggesting a rejection of the null hypothesis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

Three of the above four associations (table LI) are confirmed by the value of Chi-square derived from crosstabulation, and are significant at the 0.05 level or less. However, the crosstabulation of dissatisfaction with the second open-ended choice of community change just fails to reject the null hypothesis, Chi square having a value of 6.44 with 3 degrees of freedom. One cannot claim complete validation of one's research hypothesis, therefore, as the validity of part (b) is limited to only the first area of desired change in the case of dissatisfaction, despite the significant correlation between dissatisfaction and the second area of desired change in (a). Even though 40.8% of those with high dissatisfaction scores opt for community change in the second instance, as opposed to 27.4% of those with low dissatisfaction scores, the percentage swing does not meet the requirements of the statistical test.

The second half of hypothesis three should thus be amended to read:

The first type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

The remainder of hypothesis three, of course, stands.
Hypothesis Four

Network belonging, as a type of change, will vary with the type of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals. However, it will tend to be the product of overall dissatisfaction than any particular type of dissatisfaction.

In the last hypothesis one found that only network belonging was dependent on the degree of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals. The other two types of change (family belonging and closed community belonging), were seen to be dependent on satisfaction. Here one is investigating the influence of type of dissatisfaction on network belonging, that form of belonging, which, one has previously suggested, is of growing importance in the Catholic Church. If it can be shown that there is a predominance of type of dissatisfaction that tends towards network belonging, then this finding should make it easier to predict a likely outcome of preference for network belonging. It is quite possible, for instance, that those who display greater outer dissatisfaction (or even congregational dissatisfaction) will more likely be advocates of network change. However, if the distinction between types of dissatisfaction becomes blurred, then one may find that dissatisfaction itself more reliably predicts network change. Noting the findings of hypothesis two, it is this latter hypothesis that is favoured here.

a) Correlation analysis

Null hypothesis i: Network change, as a type of change, is independent from type of dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Open Network Change</th>
<th>Correlation</th>
<th>Variance Explained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE LII

Correlations between types of dissatisfaction and open network change
Although all the above correlations are significant at the 0.05 level, or lower, one detects a greater percentage of the explained variance in network change due to outer dissatisfaction when one compares it with the other two types of dissatisfaction. However, one is still not in the position to say whether the difference is sufficiently significant to warrant a rejection of the null hypothesis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

As suggested by the correlation analysis, the picture one obtains from crosstabulating types of dissatisfaction with network change is that of a linear relationship in each case, i.e. the greater the amount of each type of dissatisfaction displayed, the higher proportion of network change is evidenced. In the case of congregational dissatisfaction, a Chi-square of 6.07 results, which, with 2 df. is significant at the 0.048 level. As regards individual dissatisfaction, one obtains a Chi-square of 4.92, significant at the 0.026 level with 1 df. However, when network change is crosstabulated with outer dissatisfaction, a Chi-square of 10.98 is yielded, which, with 2 df. is significant at the 0.004 level. Admittedly these findings show a stronger connection between outer dissatisfaction and network change than is evidenced by the other two types of dissatisfaction, but nevertheless all findings are significant at the 0.05 level. It is only if one reduces one's level of significance, surely an inconsistent move, that outer dissatisfaction assumes more importance. One feels justified in concluding, therefore, that given that one is not prepared to lower the level of significance as a post-factum strategy, then the above findings do not demonstrate significant differences between types of dissatisfaction. The evidence does not permit one to reject the hypothesis of no differences.

c) Further analysis

So far one has only considered the differences between types of dissatisfaction and network change in closed format questions. It is,
however, still possible to test for significant differences with regard to types of dissatisfaction and types of open-ended change by employing one's dichotomous variables of first and second community change. As before, the null hypothesis will be that there is no significant difference in the scores of these two variables attributable to change in score of types of dissatisfaction.

i) Correlation analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Open-ended Change</th>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>1st Community change</th>
<th>2nd community change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correlation</td>
<td>% variance</td>
<td>correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>-2.25</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the correlations between congregational dissatisfaction and types of open-ended change insignificant at the 0.05 level, one may turn one's attention to individual and outer dissatisfaction. All one learns from an inspection of these correlation coefficients, however, is that while individual dissatisfaction is associated with first community change to a greater degree than outer dissatisfaction, the position becomes reversed when one considers second community change, where not only is the association with outer dissatisfaction stronger, but that with individual dissatisfaction is insignificant. On the face of it, there would seem to be a difference between types of dissatisfaction and type of change when this latter is considered in an open-ended question.

ii. Crosstabulation analysis

The above interpretation (of i) is given added strength when one turns to the Chi-squares yielded by the crosstabulations between types of dissatisfaction and types of open-ended change. Here the Chi-square
values of 1.71 and 3.95 (with 2 df.) for congregational dissatisfaction are not significant once more at the 0.05 level. Individual dissatisfaction, however, is significantly related to first community change (Chi-square = 7.19, which, with 1 df. is significant at the 0.007 level) but not so to second community change (Chi-square = 2.1). Outer dissatisfaction, on the other hand, is both significantly associated with first community change (Chi-square = 10.18, with 2 df., significant at the 0.006 level) and with second community change (Chi-square = 17.37, with 2 df., significant at the 0.0001 level).

Thus the stronger connection between outer dissatisfaction and open network belonging, when compared to the other two types of dissatisfaction, appears to be more clearly established in open-ended questions than in closed format questions. On technical grounds, therefore, there are reasons for rejecting the null hypothesis of no differences. However, as in hypothesis two, one's acceptance of the alternative hypothesis should be treated with caution, and not too much importance, one feels, should be attributed to this latter finding.

For this reason one has worded the second half of this hypothesis in such a way as to force one to compare the predictability of overall dissatisfaction with types of dissatisfaction. It may well be that types of dissatisfaction, while admittedly useful in the construction of an overall scale for dissatisfaction, may no longer prove so helpful when one's research model is treated as a whole.

Part ii

a) Correlation analysis

TABLE LIV

Comparative correlations between overall dissatisfaction and types of dissatisfaction as related to types of change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of change</th>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>network</th>
<th>first community</th>
<th>second community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\hat{\rho}$ var</td>
<td>$\hat{\rho}$ var</td>
<td>$\hat{\rho}$ var</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE LI V (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Network % var</th>
<th>First community</th>
<th>Second community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table it can be seen that overall dissatisfaction explains greater percentage variance in all but second community change when compared with types of dissatisfaction. However, of the types of dissatisfaction, outer dissatisfaction appears to have the greatest predictive power.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

From the first part of this hypothesis one recalls that outer dissatisfaction, unlike the other two types of dissatisfaction, when crosstabulated with types of change, yielded Chi-squares, all of which were significant at the 0.05 level. One also has seen in hypothesis two that overall dissatisfaction, while yielding Chi-squares significant at the 0.05 level when crosstabulated with network change and first community change, failed to do so with respect to second community change. In other words, outer dissatisfaction, on the face of it, would appear to be slightly more reliable when associated with all types of change. Thus strictly speaking the second half of the present hypothesis could be said to be invalidated. However, it could well be that this finding is of marginal importance, particularly in light of the proportion of outer dissatisfaction items comprising the overall dissatisfaction scores. Again one reserves judgment on whether to abandon types of dissatisfaction from one's model, on grounds of simplicity, if for no other reason, until one comes to hypothesis six, where types of dissatisfaction are once more involved.
Hypothesis Five

a) The degree of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals will depend upon the prevailing type of motivation. Inner motivation will be more conducive to satisfaction than dissatisfaction. Outer motivation will tend to lead to dissatisfaction to a greater degree than inner motivation.

b) Outer motivation will be more observable among the young, the qualified, and those of Western cultural background. Inner motivation will be seen more among the elderly, the non-qualified, and those of non-Western cultural background.

Having noted the significance of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in explaining not only degree of change (hypothesis one), but also its types (hypothesis three), one now examines the variable that is hypothesised as producing a state of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, that of type of motivation. As in the cases of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, one also attempts here to discover the association of the independent background variables, underlying the two types of motivation. It should be remembered that one is not considering the degree of motivation displayed by a respondent, as unlike the overall dissatisfaction scale, the motivation scale is not cumulative. Rather one is considering preponderance of types of motivation, i.e., one is treating inner and outer motivation as dichotomous variables. The principal reason why the correlation between the two sets of scores is only -0.52 is absence of data. For this reason one also suspects that variables associated with inner and outer motivation may not yield correlations as high as one should theoretically desire.

Null hypothesis i: Variation in (dis)satisfaction score is independent of predominance of type of motivation

a) Correlation analysis

The following coefficients and percentages of variance explained show the associations between the four research variables in question:
Correlations established from relating type of motivation with satisfaction and dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivation</th>
<th>Satisfaction correlation</th>
<th>( \hat{\rho} ) variance</th>
<th>Dissatisfaction correlation</th>
<th>( \hat{\rho} ) variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>8.41</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>12.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All correlations are in the predicted direction and are significant at the 0.001 level, sufficient to suggest a rejection of the null hypothesis and an acceptance of the alternative, part (a) of, the research hypothesis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The following four tables confirm the correlation analysis:

**TABLE LVI**

Crosstabulation of Inner Motivation and Dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>0-7</th>
<th>8-10</th>
<th>11+</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>86 (23.9)</td>
<td>92 (23.5)</td>
<td>124 (37.1)</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>90 (25.0)</td>
<td>112 (28.6)</td>
<td>99 (29.6)</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>80 (22.2)</td>
<td>89 (23.7)</td>
<td>68 (20.4)</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>104 (28.9)</td>
<td>99 (25.3)</td>
<td>43 (12.9)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with other tables, the column percentages appear in brackets after the number of cases. Table LVI yields a Chi-square of 38.52, which, with 6 degrees of freedom, is significant at the 0.0000 level.

**TABLE LVII**

Crosstabulation of Inner Motivation and Satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction</th>
<th>0-7</th>
<th>8-10</th>
<th>11+</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-16</td>
<td>134 (37.2)</td>
<td>91 (23.2)</td>
<td>83 (15.9)</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>100 (27.8)</td>
<td>113 (30.1)</td>
<td>66 (19.8)</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>60 (22.2)</td>
<td>87 (24.2)</td>
<td>102 (30.5)</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25+</td>
<td>46 (13.8)</td>
<td>96 (24.5)</td>
<td>113 (33.8)</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table LVII yields a Chi-square of 79.6, which with 6 df. is significant at the 0.0000 level.

**TABLE LVIII**

Crosstabulation of Outer Motivation with Dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Outer Motivation</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-7</th>
<th>8+</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>149 (37.0)</td>
<td>106 (29.2)</td>
<td>47 (14.7)</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>127 (31.5)</td>
<td>112 (30.9)</td>
<td>62 (19.4)</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>72 (17.9)</td>
<td>83 (22.9)</td>
<td>32 (10.6)</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14+</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>55 (13.6)</td>
<td>62 (17.1)</td>
<td>129 (40.3)</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>403</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table LVIII yields a Chi-square of 112.31, which with 6 df. is significant at the 0.0000 level.

**TABLE LIX**

Crosstabulation of Outer Motivation with Satisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satisfaction</th>
<th>Outer Motivation</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-7</th>
<th>8+</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-10</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>94 (23.3)</td>
<td>76 (20.9)</td>
<td>103 (33.7)</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>99 (24.6)</td>
<td>86 (23.7)</td>
<td>99 (30.9)</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-24</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>115 (28.3)</td>
<td>92 (25.3)</td>
<td>62 (19.4)</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25+</td>
<td>0-7</td>
<td>95 (23.6)</td>
<td>109 (30.0)</td>
<td>51 (15.9)</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>403</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>1086</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table LXI yields a Chi-square of 213.73, which with 6 df. is significant at the 0.0000 level.

Taking tables LVII to LIX together, the following associations can be seen to be significant at the 0.0000 level:
- high inner motivation and low dissatisfaction
- low inner motivation and high dissatisfaction
- high inner motivation and high satisfaction
- low inner motivation and low satisfaction
- high outer motivation and low dissatisfaction
- low outer motivation and low dissatisfaction
- high outer motivation and low satisfaction
- low outer motivation and high satisfaction.
c) **Regression analysis**

Thus far one has spoken of association between types of motivation and (dis)satisfaction. Multiple regression analysis and the use of beta coefficients allows one to see the direction of the association, along the lines hypothesised by the overall research model, namely that there will be a path from motivation to (dis)satisfaction, rather than vice-versa. The following relevant beta values were obtained:

| Table I
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dependent variable</td>
<td>Independent variable</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>$F$ value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>81.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>131.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus one feels confident in rejecting the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level. One also feels entitled in declaring the direction of the associations to be from inner motivation to satisfaction, and from outer motivation to dissatisfaction.

**Part (b)**

**Null hypothesis**: type of motivation is independent of an individual's age, university and teaching qualifications, and cultural background

**a) Correlation analysis**

| Table II
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Inner Motivation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Outer Motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correlation</td>
<td>% variance</td>
<td>correlation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western background</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University quals.</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching quals.</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The above correlations, all significant with the exception of that between university qualifications and inner motivation, are in the general direction of one's research hypothesis. The outer motivated tend to be found among the young, those academically qualified, and, to a lesser extent, those from western provinces. The inner motivated, on the other hand, tend to be older respondents, and those coming from non-western provinces. The qualification variable is barely significant with regard to inner motivation, although one notes a slight association between those with teaching qualifications and inner motivation. On balance, though, the trends observed with respect to outer motivation are sufficient to warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis at the 0.05 level.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The following table gives the Chi-squares produced by cross-tabulating the above independent variables with types of motivation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Inner Motivation</th>
<th>Outer Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chi-square df</td>
<td>significance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>17.50 6</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>4.27 2</td>
<td>0.118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University qualifications</td>
<td>3.71 2</td>
<td>0.157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching qualifications</td>
<td>6.39 2</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above findings confirm those established by the correlation analysis for outer motivation. Here, however, the variable of western cultural background becomes more significant. As regards inner motivation, only the variables of age and teaching qualifications are significant at the 0.05 level. The results derived from table LXII are sufficient however to reject the null hypothesis at the required level.

Taking both parts together, then, one may allow hypothesis five to remain as stated, an hypothesis underpinning one's research model.
Hypothesis Six

The type of dissatisfaction displayed by an individual or group of individuals will depend upon the degree of outer motivation. Outer dissatisfaction will depend to a greater degree on outer motivation than the remaining two types of dissatisfaction.

One has seen already that total change is produced by dissatisfaction (hypothesis one), that network change tends to be produced by overall dissatisfaction in general, and outer dissatisfaction in particular (hypotheses three and four), and that family and closed community change are produced by satisfaction (hypothesis three). One has also noted that dissatisfaction is dependent on outer motivation (hypothesis five). Given the high correlations between types of dissatisfaction and overall dissatisfaction (hypothesis two), it would seem logical to suggest that types of dissatisfaction are also dependent on outer, rather than inner, motivation. It is this latter logical assumption that one wishes to test here. Moreover one further hypothesises that outer motivation will be associated to a greater degree with outer dissatisfaction than with the other two types of dissatisfaction. If this latter possibility is clearly the case, then there may be grounds for retaining the partitioning of dissatisfaction according to type.

Null hypothesis i: type of dissatisfaction is independent of prevalence of type of motivation

Null hypothesis ii: outer dissatisfaction scores are independent of variance in outer motivation scores

Null hypothesis iii: overall dissatisfaction scores are more independent of variance in outer motivation than are outer dissatisfaction scores

a) Correlation analysis

From Table III that follows, certain observations are in order. First, it can be seen that type of dissatisfaction is dependent on outer motivation (and not inner motivation) as is dissatisfaction in general. This finding suggests that null hypothesis i can be rejected.
at the 0.001 level. Second, one observes that the percentage variance explained in outer dissatisfaction by outer motivation is approximately equal to the sum of the percentage variances explained in the other two types of dissatisfaction. In other words, the degree of association between outer motivation and outer dissatisfaction is markedly greater than for the remaining types of dissatisfaction. This suggests a rejection of null hypothesis ii. Finally, one notes that the degree of association between outer motivation and overall dissatisfaction is somewhat greater than that to be found between outer motivation and outer dissatisfaction. On the strength of this one could reject null hypothesis iii.

**TABLE LXIII**

Correlations between types of motivation and overall dissatisfaction, with its constituent types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Inner Motivation</th>
<th>Outer Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correlation</td>
<td>( \Phi ) variance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>2.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The Chi-squares yielded by the crosstabulation of outer motivation with overall dissatisfaction and its constituent types were as follows:

- Outer motivation with congregational dissatisfaction: 53.28, and 4 df., significant at the 0.0000 level
- Outer motivation with individual dissatisfaction: 24.73, and 2 df., significant at the 0.0000 level
- Outer motivation with outer dissatisfaction: 91.46, and 4 df., significant at the 0.0000 level
- Outer motivation with overall dissatisfaction: 112.31, and 6 df., significant at the 0.0000 level.

From this one notes that the prevalence of outer motivation influences types of dissatisfaction scores to a marked degree, thus allowing
one to reject the first null hypothesis. Again the dependence of outer dissatisfaction scores on outer motivation scores is clearly established by crosstabulation, thereby permitting the rejection of the second null hypothesis. Similarly, crosstabulation analysis confirms the findings of the correlation analysis with regard to null hypothesis iii., which may also be rejected.

While the rejection of null hypotheses i and ii is sufficient to permit the alternative research hypothesis (six) to stand, the rejection of null hypothesis iii, indeed its very introduction, once again raises the question of the usefulness of types of dissatisfaction in one's research model. From hypotheses two and four, one noted that the only real difference in types of dissatisfaction lay in the fact that outer dissatisfaction had greater predictive qualities than the other two types. However, when one recalls that the greater part of overall dissatisfaction is, on average, composed of outer dissatisfaction items, then one feels that on balance and in spite of verification of research hypotheses 2, 4 and 6, the treatment of dissatisfaction as an overall scale is as least as predictable, and in some cases more so, than a separate consideration of various types of dissatisfaction, only one of which appears to differ, and then only to a certain degree, from the rest. Moreover the abandoning of types of dissatisfaction and the retention of overall dissatisfaction, as one has noted previously, has the added merit for simplifying one's model when one comes to path analysis. However in order not to prejudice the issue too much (on grounds of convenience) one has decided to introduce types of dissatisfaction into one's factor analysis, after which others may feel free to accept types of dissatisfaction as well as overall dissatisfaction as they see fit.
Hypothesis Seven

a) The total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals will vary directly according to the type of motivation displayed. Those outwardly motivated will tend to be more in favour of such change than those inwardly motivated.
b) Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

So far one has seen the influence of (dis)satisfaction on change from a quantitative and qualitative viewpoint (hypotheses one to four).

One has also observed the influence of motivation on satisfaction and dissatisfaction (hypotheses five and six). In other words, change has been seen to be dependent on (dis)satisfaction, which in turn is dependent on type of motivation. Such a linkage of the three main research variables implies that the association between motivation and change is indirect.

Here, however, one wishes to investigate the direct influence of motivation on change, in order not only to complete one's research model, but also to determine the strength of the association involved. This hypothesis examines the direct influence of type of motivation on degree of change. Hypothesis eight completes the picture by investigating the direct influence of type of motivation on type of change.

Part (a)

Null hypothesis: differences in total change are independent of type of motivation

a) Correlation analysis

| TABLE 4.4V |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Inner Motivation     | Outer Motivation     |
| correlation          | $\gamma$ variance    | correlation          | $\gamma$ variance    |
| Total change         | 0.03                 | 0.04                 | 0.39                 | 8.41                 |

While both correlations are significant at the 0.05 level, it is
clear that the association between total change and outer motivation is more pronounced than that between total change and inner motivation. This can be seen not only from the fact that 7.77% more variance is explained by outer motivation but by its relatively high correlation coefficient and the fact that this is significant at the 0.001 level. The value of 'r' for inner motivation is not only low, but it barely meets the required 0.05 level of significance. The above phenomenon is highlighted in a province, such as France, where the correlation between inner motivation and change is -0.05 and that between outer motivation and change is 0.50. The overall figures for the congregation in table L.IV, however, suggest a rejection of the null hypothesis.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

Here one can directly compare the influence of inner and outer motivation by looking at the column and row percentages (in brackets) for each type of motivation when crosstabulated against total change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Change</th>
<th>0-7</th>
<th>8-10</th>
<th>11+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>62.8 (34.1)</td>
<td>37.7 (34.1)</td>
<td>62.9 (31.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>37.2 (31.6)</td>
<td>42.3 (39.2)</td>
<td>37.1 (29.1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Change</th>
<th>0-5</th>
<th>6-7</th>
<th>8+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-9</td>
<td>71.7 (33.7)</td>
<td>65.0 (35.6)</td>
<td>42.8 (20.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>28.3 (26.9)</td>
<td>35.0 (30.0)</td>
<td>57.2 (48.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the inner motivation table only yields a Chi-square of 2.81, with 2 df., and is not thereby significant at the 0.05 level, the crosstabulation of outer motivation and total change gives a Chi-square of 66.36, which, with 2 df., is significant at the 0.0000 level. This finding therefore confirms the association of outer motivation and total change, as established by the correlation matrix, and further clarifies the issue regarding the significance of the correlation coefficient of inner motivation and total change. Total change is thus very much dependent on which type of motivation is prevalent in a given respondent, a conclusion which one reaches by a clear rejection of the null hypothesis.

c) Partial correlation

When one has a situation of two independent variables influencing a third variable, then it is often advisable to take partial correlations, controlling for one of the intervening variables. (One may also employ multiple regression, as one has done elsewhere; however this seems as good an opportunity as any to remind oneself of what is happening with a simple example, before one embarks on path analysis.)

Such a situation is encountered here, where one has outer motivation influencing both dissatisfaction and total change, and total change itself dependent on dissatisfaction. What one wishes to determine is the size of the correlation between outer motivation and total change, controlling for dissatisfaction.

One has established the following correlations:

- Outer motivation and dissatisfaction : 0.36
- Outer motivation and total change : 0.29
- Dissatisfaction and total change : 0.34

It is thus possible to calculate the partial correlation between outer motivation and total change, as follows:

$$\text{partial } r = \frac{0.29 - (0.36) (0.34)}{\sqrt{1 - (0.36)^2} \cdot \sqrt{1 - (0.34)^2}} = 0.19$$

Similarly, the partial correlation between dissatisfaction and total change, controlling for outer motivation, is 0.27. Squaring the
two above partial correlations, one obtains partial percentages of variance of 3.61 and 7.29 respectively. Thus it would appear that dissatisfaction as a variable has greater predictive value than outer motivation with respect to total change. One should bear this in mind when one comes to analyse the overall research model. It may well be that this has prepared one for attaching more importance to paths from dissatisfaction to change than to those from motivation to change.

Part (b)

In this part one examines the influence of inner and outer motivation on freely offered suggestions for change. The null hypothesis is that scores for open format questions on change, like those for closed format questions on change will be independent of type of motivation in one's respondents.

a) Correlation analysis

TABLE LXVII

Correlations of type of motivation and first and second areas of freely offered suggestions for change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Inner Motivation</th>
<th>Outer Motivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correlation</td>
<td>% variance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st change</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd change</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only significant correlations are those belonging to outer motivation. Taking into account the $1/2$ coding, these show that there is a positive and significant (at the 0.001 level) association between open-ended questions on change and outer motivation, and suggest a rejection of the null hypothesis. Again of interest are the findings of the French province, where the two correlations between outer motivation and both first and second change reach -0.36 and -0.38 respectively. When one reflects that there are only 60 sisters in the French province, tending to produce high correlations and allied statistics when just examining that province, one can be well
satisfied with the results one obtains for the whole population (with an 'n' = 1,086) where thinking may not be so consistent and where absence of replies is greater.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The findings of (a) are consonant with the crosstabulations of inner and outer motivation with both areas of desired change. While the crosstabulation of inner motivation produces two insignificant Chi-squares of 0.107 and 4.66 with 2 degrees of freedom, the crosstabulation of outer motivation with first and second change yields two Chi-squares of 49.65 and 77.14 respectively, which, with two degrees of freedom, are both significant at the 0.0000 level. Thus one may safely reject the null hypothesis of no differences at the 0.05 level and conclude that there is a significant difference in first and second areas of desired change scores, and that these are dependent on the prevalence of outer motivation. In other words, there is a significant tendency for open format questions on change to follow the same pattern as closed format questions on change. In both cases degree of change is affected by predominance of outer motivation. One may therefore allow hypothesis seven to remain as originally stated.
Hypothesis Eight

a) The type of change advocated in closed format questions will depend upon the type of motivation displayed by an individual or group of individuals. Family and closed community belonging will vary with the degree of inner motivation displayed. Open network belonging will vary with the degree of outer motivation shown.

b) The type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

As in hypothesis seven, one is examining the direct association between motivation and change. However here one is investigating the association between type of motivation and type, as opposed to degree, of change.

Part (a)

Null hypothesis: type of change is independent of type of motivation

a) Correlation analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of change</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Closed Community</th>
<th>Open Network</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type of motivation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From this table it can be seen that there is a positive and significant association between inner motivation and both family and closed community belonging. There is also a positive and significant association between outer motivation and open network belonging. Inner motivation and open network belonging, by contrast, are significantly and negatively related. The indications are that the null hypothesis should be rejected at the 0.05 level.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

The following are the resulting Chi-squares when the above four significantly associated pairs of variables are crosstabulated:
Chi-squares resulting from crosstabulation of types of motivation and types of change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crosstabulation</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>df.</th>
<th>Significance level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation and family change</td>
<td>27.88</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation and closed community</td>
<td>29.44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation and open network change</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation and open network change</td>
<td>8.71</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.0128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these four crosstabulations the following significant associations are established:

/ a low inner motivation score leads to a low family change score
/ a high inner motivation score leads to a high family change score
/ a low inner motivation score leads to a low closed community change score
/ a high inner motivation score leads to a high closed community change score
/ a low inner motivation score leads to a high open network change score
/ a high inner motivation score leads to a low open network change score
/ a low outer motivation score leads to a low open network change score
/ a high outer motivation score leads to a high open network change score

These significant associations are sufficient to reject the null hypothesis of no differences at the 0.05 level.

c) Regression analysis

It was decided to compute three regression equations with the three types of change as dependent variables. The independent variables of satisfaction and dissatisfaction were introduced along with type of motivation in order to obtain a picture of the relative strength of the paths from type of motivation to types of change, once (dis)satisfaction had been taken into account. The following beta values were obtained:
Results of multiple regression between types of change, types of motivation, satisfaction and dissatisfaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent variable</th>
<th>Independent variables</th>
<th>Beta values</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed community change</td>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open network change</td>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>n.s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these values it can be seen that the paths from inner motivation to family and closed community change, though weakened on account of the introduction of satisfaction, are nevertheless significant. Similarly one can see a negative relationship between inner motivation and network change, significant at a lower level. The positive path from outer motivation to network change just fails to reach significance at the \(0.05\) level, due in part to the introduction of inner motivation and dissatisfaction. However, this latter finding should not cause too much surprise, particularly in the light of the partial correlations of hypothesis seven, with the accompanying suggestion that dissatisfaction might play a more significant role than outer motivation in the attainment of network change. Remembering that the path from outer motivation to dissatisfaction is 0.38 (cf. hypothesis five), one is now in a better position to see that significant paths from outer motivation to network change are indirect in nature. Indeed a multiplication of the paths from outer motivation to dissatisfaction and from dissatisfaction to network change, yields an indirect path from outer motivation to network change with a beta value of 0.069, significant at the required 0.05 level.

Thus this regression analysis has allowed one to see the direction of the association between type of motivation and type of change. The latter is dependent on the former, established by either direct or indirect paths.
Null hypothesis: types of change in open format questions, as with types of change in closed format questions, are independent of types of motivation

a) Correlation analysis

Here one examines types of change in the open-ended question on change (121-2), i.e. first and second community change.

TABLE LI.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of motivation</th>
<th>First community</th>
<th>Second community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>correlation</td>
<td>variance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above correlations suggest a direct relationship between outer motivation and both types of community change, and an inverse relationship between inner motivation and community change. It is worth recording that in the Vietnamese province the correlations between outer motivation and types of open-ended change were -0.47 and -0.71 respectively. The above, less spectacular, figures for the congregation, are nevertheless sufficient to suggest a rejection of the null hypothesis and acceptance of the finding that choice of community change in open-ended questions follows the same pattern as that established between open network change and outer motivation in closed format questions.

b) Crosstabulation analysis

However, when the above variables were crosstabulated the only significant Chi-square was that yielded by the crosstabulation of outer motivation with first community change (11.08, with 2 df., significant at the 0.0039 level). In other words, while this, and other crosstabulations produced findings consonant with the correlation
analysis, i.e., prevalence of outer motivation tend to produce community change, this finding was only upheld in the first instance at the 0.05 level. Thus, as with hypothesis three, one may not reject the null hypothesis of part (b) 'in toto'. Instead one's research hypothesis should be amended to read: the first type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions.

Thus from one's examination of these eight hypotheses one can see that hypotheses 5, 6 and 7 may be accepted in their entirety, and that the remaining hypotheses may be allowed to stand with minor adjustments and the occasional rewording. Part (b) of hypothesis one should now be amended to read: "Freely offered suggestions for areas of desired change will by and large vary in like manner to the total amount of change desired by an individual or group of individuals." The reason for this amendment was that religious experience did not correlate in the predicted direction in part (b). Hypothesis two can be simplified in part (a) to read: "More change will be advocated by those displaying outer dissatisfaction." In hypothesis three one amended part (b) to read: "The first type of change in open format questions will vary in like manner to the type of change in closed format questions." The same correction was made to hypothesis eight. Hypothesis four should be simplified to read: "Netwrok change will vary with the degree of outer dissatisfaction displayed as also the degree of overall dissatisfaction."

Thus, if one leaves aside the independent variables of age, qualifications, cultural background, and size of community, for the moment, one can see that the following has been established:

1. Total change depends on the degree of dissatisfaction in both closed and open format questions.
2. Degree of change is influenced by type of dissatisfaction, where outer dissatisfaction predominates.
3. Type of change varies with degree of (dis)satisfaction in closed and first open-ended choice of change.

4. Type of change (ie. network change) varies with type of dissatisfaction (ie. outer dissatisfaction) as also with overall dissatisfaction.

5. Degree of (dis)satisfaction depends upon type of motivation. Satisfaction depends on inner motivation, dissatisfaction on outer motivation.

6. Type of dissatisfaction depends on type of motivation, ie. outer dissatisfaction depends on outer motivation.

7. Total change depends on type of motivation. More change in open and closed format questions will be evidenced by outer motivation.

8. Type of change depends on type of motivation. Family and closed community change depend on inner motivation and open network change on outer motivation. The same can be said for open format questions as regards the first choice of change.

However, technical validation of one's hypotheses does not mean that they are all equally important with regard to one's overall model, or indeed that they should all be included when one comes to discuss it in the next chapter. Hypotheses 3, 5 and 8 are the key hypotheses for one's model and greatest attention will be focussed on them. Hypotheses 2, 4 and 6, investigating the importance of types of dissatisfaction, while highlighting the significance of outer dissatisfaction, did not strike one as contributing very much more to the general notion of overall dissatisfaction. For this reason one intends excluding types of dissatisfaction from path analysis applied to one's model as a whole. Nevertheless one intends examining types of dissatisfaction in factor analysis. Hypotheses 1, 2 and 7, concentrating on degree of change, similarly do not assume the same importance as types of change, the object of one's inquiry. Similarly the distinction between degree and type of change in closed and open format questions, while tending to confirm each other, and in that sense possibly useful for others in their phrasing of questions, is not crucial to one's argument, and for that reason will be placed either in minor key (in the factor analysis) or omitted (in one's path analysis). What this chapter has shown, however, is that there are sufficient empirical grounds for proceeding with a more global analysis.
CHAPTER FIVE

The overall research model

We saw from the conclusion to the last chapter that the majority of the research hypotheses were upheld. The only areas of doubt centered on those hypotheses that treated of type of dissatisfaction, (ie, hypotheses 2, 4 and 6). The remaining hypotheses could be accepted either as they stood or with very minor modifications. One thus finds oneself in the third of one's alternatives, where the majority of hypotheses 1–8 are verified, and where, as a result, it is suggested the research model may be modified and allowed to stand. In practical terms, this means a choice between a research model that includes or excludes types of dissatisfaction. One has argued that on grounds of simplicity it might be more advantageous merely to consider the degree of dissatisfaction and to omit a discussion of types of dissatisfaction from further analysis. However, a solution based on simplicity is a value judgement based on an argument "ex convenientia." It does not take into account the importance of types of dissatisfaction as factors, or the amount of information that might be lost by failing to so distinguish overall dissatisfaction.

For retention or rejection of types of dissatisfaction, another criterion must be applied. One such criterion is that of factor analysis. The application of factor analysis to one's data, therefore, marks the first stage of the argument of this chapter. Supplementary to the factor analysis, awaits the second stage of the current discussion, the employment of path analysis. Stage two awaits the outcome of stage one in order to ascertain which variables are to be utilised in overall multiple regression analysis. Finally, one looks at the 'terminus ad quem' of the research model, types of religious belonging. However, this time the technique employed is qualitative, that of content analysis. Briefly one looks at what the respondents themselves are saying, with a view to drawing similar conclusions to those reached by quantitative analysis, and thus, hopefully, the
content analysis will be confirmatory in nature.

1. Factor Analysis (1)

This multivariate technique was applied to the population as a whole and to each of the subfiles (the provinces), thereby permitting cross-cultural comparison of principal factors. In each case a matrix of principal factors was computed with the iterative procedure ceasing once eigen values of less than unity were attained. The population correlation matrix (24 x 24) produced nine factors in this fashion, explaining 65.5% of the overall variance in the model. A varimax rotated factor matrix (with Kaiser normalisation) was then computed, where by definition the nine factors accounted for 100% of the variance (2). It is the rotated factor matrix that one examines here. The computer printout is included to permit identification of the nine factors, together with their eigen values and respective percentage variances:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTOR</th>
<th>IDENTITY OF FACTOR</th>
<th>EIGEN VALUE</th>
<th>% VAR</th>
<th>CUM. % VAR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Degree of change</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Network change</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Outer dissatisfaction</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>64.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Motivation (inner)</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>71.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Individual dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Congregational dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>90.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Closed community change</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Background</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table illustrates how these nine factors were identified. Table LXXIV completes the picture by supplying the value of the communality for each of the 24 variables of the matrix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissat.</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cong.dissat</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiv.dissat</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer dissat</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motiv.</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.00</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motiv</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>-0.73</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change</td>
<td>-0.61</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st change</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd change</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st com.change</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd com.change</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed change</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>-0.47</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netwk. change</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.experience</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.exp typeone</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel.exp typetwo</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued for factors 6-9)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Factor 6</th>
<th>Factor 7</th>
<th>Factor 8</th>
<th>Factor 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>0.60</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cong. dissat.</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiv. dissat.</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer dissat.</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.57</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First change</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second change</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st comma. change</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd comma. change</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed comma. change</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open netwk. change</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious experience</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. exp. type one</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel. exp. type two</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and:
## TABLE LXXIV

**Variables and communalities from the varimax rotated factor matrix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Communality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First change</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second change</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First community change</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second community change</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed community change</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open network change</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious experience</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type one religious experience</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type two religious experience</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is important from the above factor analysis, is that all nine factors are those underpinning the research model. (The same nine factors emerged from the principal component analysis, with dissatisfaction appearing as the first factor). Returning to table LXXXII, one sees that
one has degree and type of change (factors 1, 2, 5 and 8). One notes both dissatisfaction (and its inverse satisfaction) together with its types (factors 3, 6 and 7). Motivation, both inner and outer, is present too (factor 4). The last factor, factor 9, groups some of the independent background variables, notably Western and house, to form a background factor, though these variables appear to have less influence on the overall research model than the major research variables of change, (dis)satisfaction and motivation. This can be seen from the respective total percentage variances associated with the major research variables: 64.3% - change, 23.8% - (dis)satisfaction, 7.6% - motivation, with only 4.3% of the variance explained by the background factor. Of practically no importance are the variables of types of open-ended change, religious experience and its two types, thus inclining one to drop them from the path model in part 2. With types of open-ended change excluded, one is also inclined to omit degree of open-ended change from later analysis.

The nine factors, thus established, enables one to re-examine hypotheses 1–8 afresh, with a view to deciding on the advantages and disadvantages of retaining or excluding the three types of dissatisfaction.

However, before looking at the research hypotheses in the light of the nine factors, it is worthwhile recording the placement of the factors in the subfiles (i.e., the provinces).

<p>| TABLE LXXV |
| Factors by subfiles (provinces) |
| Identity of factor | Position of factor | Province |
| Degree of change | 1 | Aus, Can, Fra, Ind, NZ.S |
| | 2 | Eng, NZ.N |
| | 4 | Bangl, Viet. |
| Network change | 2 | Bangl |
| | 4 | Aus, Can, Ind |
| | 6 | Viet |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity of factor</th>
<th>Position of factor</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outer dissat.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>NZ.N, Bangl, Viet, Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aus, Fra, Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Can, NZ.S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aus, Fra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Eng, NZ.S, NZ.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ind, Bangl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>NZ.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bangl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual dissat.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>NZ.S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregational dissat.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NZ.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>NZ.S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed community change</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Eng</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Aus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Fra, Eng, NZ.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Aus, Ind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above listing of the nine factors in the subfiles, one can see that, while there are expected differences of emphasis, nevertheless the basic overall pattern remains. In fact only four additional factors are to be found in the subfiles (cf. table LXXVb which follows). However, more to the point is that no single province produces all nine factors necessary for the re-examination of hypotheses 1-8. For that reason one restricts one's analysis to the results obtained for the population as a whole.
TABLE LXXV b

Additional factors created in the subfiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity of factor</th>
<th>Position of factor</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious experience</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bangl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fra, NZ.S, NZ.N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifications</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>NZ.S, Fra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of open-ended change</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Viet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Fra, NZ.N</td>
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<td>NZ.S</td>
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<td>7</td>
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Re-examination of research hypotheses

Hypotheses 1-2 ( figs. X - XII )

The first two hypotheses of the research treat of the influence of degree and type of dissatisfaction on total amount of change. In factor terms, this signifies an examination of factor 1 plotted against factors 3, 6 and 7. The output is provided in figures X - XII. ( For greater clarity, the computer output has been reproduced with both axes scaled to the ratio of 1 unit = 0.4 cms ). The following relevant conclusions may be drawn:

a) In all three diagrams, dissatisfaction is in the same quadrant as total change. The degree of association is slightly less pronounced when factor 1 is plotted against factor 6 ( individual dissatisfaction ). Similarly in all three diagrams there is an observable inverse relationship between total change and
### Key to Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>24</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

### Figure X

**Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor three**

- □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ (outer dissatisfaction)

---

**Figure X Key to variables**

- **Horizontal factor one**: change
- **Vertical factor three**: outer dissatisfaction
Figure XI
Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor six (inner dissatisfaction)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat.
10 = indiv. dissat.
11 = outer dissat.
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat.
10 = indiv. dissat.
11 = outer dissat.
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open Netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
satisfaction. First and Second change are closely associated with total change and directly related to degree of dissatisfaction. Only in the case of factor 1 versus factor 6 (figure XI) does second change fall below the x-axis. In other words, research hypothesis 1 is reconfirmed: total change varies directly with degree of dissatisfaction.

b) Verification of hypothesis 1 with regard to the independent background variables of age, qualifications, etc., is also partly borne out by the factor analysis. Total change in all three diagrams is directly associated with Western respondents, and those possessing teaching qualifications. In figures XI - XII a relationship is also established between total change and university qualifications. Age is inversely related to degree of change in all three diagrams. Religious experience fluctuates. Size of house is only associated with degree of change in figure X, where outer dissatisfaction is plotted against degree of change.

c) The distinction between types of dissatisfaction, as influencing total change, is only very slight. While individual and congregational dissatisfaction share the same degree of association, there is only a three point difference on the y-axis between outer dissatisfaction and overall dissatisfaction. Such a difference between types of dissatisfaction hardly merits separate treatment of them, particularly when there is more overwhelming evidence in support of the influence of overall dissatisfaction on degree of change. This finding, which concerns hypothesis 2, inclines one to abandon the distinction in types of dissatisfaction in the next stage of the analysis.

**Hypotheses 3 and 4 (figs. XIII - XXI)**

Hypotheses 3 and 4 seek to determine the influence of degree and type of dissatisfaction on type of change. Nine factor diagrams are thus involved: network change versus three types of dissatisfaction.
**Figure XIII**

Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor three (outer dissatisfaction)

**Key to Variables**

1 = age  
2 = native  
3 = western  
4 = house  
5 = university  
6 = teacher  
7 = satisfaction  
8 = dissatisfaction  
9 = cong. dissat.  
10 = indiv. dissat  
11 = outer dissat  
12 = inner motivation  
13 = outer motivation  
14 = total change  
15 = first change  
16 = second change  
17 = 1st comm. change  
18 = 2nd comm. change  
19 = family change  
20 = closed comm. change  
21 = open netwk. change  
22 = rel. experience  
23 = rel.exp.type one  
24 = rel.exp.type two
Figure XIV
Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat.
10 = indiv. dissat.
11 = outer dissat.
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XV

Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)

Key to variables

1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XVI

Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor five (family change)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XVII
Horizontal factor five (family change) versus vertical factor six (inner dissatisfaction)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed com. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XVIII
Horizontal factor five (family change) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)

Key to variables:
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = religious experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
Figure XIX
Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
Horizontal factor six (individual dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XXI

Horizontal factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change)

Key to variables

1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
One can observe the following:

a) In all three figures XIII - XV, network change is directly related to dissatisfaction and inversely associated with satisfaction.

b) In all three figures XVI - XVIII, if one re-aligns the axes, family change is directly related to satisfaction and inversely related to dissatisfaction.

c) In all three figures XIX - XXI, closed community change is directly related to satisfaction and indirectly associated with dissatisfaction. Taking this in conjunction with observations (a) and (b), one can see that hypothesis 3 is upheld. Type of change is dependent on predominance of (dis)satisfaction.

d) The variables of first and second community change fluctuate from diagram to diagram, displaying an inconsistent trend, again suggesting that they should not be included in further analysis. The difference that open-ended questions make to closed format questions on change would appear to be slight from these factor diagrams in any case.

e) Hypothesis 4 only deals with the first three diagrams (figures XIII - XV), those linking network change with types of dissatisfaction. From these diagrams it would appear that there is little difference between the three types of dissatisfaction. All are positively associated with network change. The only difference occurs in fig. XIII, where outer dissatisfaction is plotted against network change; here individual dissatisfaction is not included in the diagram. However, with it occurring in its own right in figure XIV and again in figure XV (where it practically overlaps outer dissatisfaction), one
feels that the distinction between types of dissatisfaction is of little importance. Similarly, there is only a marginal difference on the y-axis in the position of variable 8 (overall dissatisfaction) in the case of individual dissatisfaction versus network change (figure XIV), prompting one not to attach too much importance to hypothesis 4, particularly in the light of the findings related to hypothesis 2. What is more central to the research is not type of dissatisfaction, but the predominance of dissatisfaction over satisfaction (and vice-versa) and consequent type of change. As with hypothesis 2, one is inclined to omit type of dissatisfaction from further analysis.

Hypotheses 5 and 6 (figs. XXII - XXIV)

Motivation is now introduced as a factor influencing degree and type of dissatisfaction (factor 4 versus factors 3, 6 and 7). One may make the following observations:

a) In all three diagrams (figs. XXII - XXIV), inner motivation is associated with satisfaction and outer motivation with dissatisfaction. These associations occur in quadrants diagonally opposite each other, indicating three additional inverse relationships:

- outer motivation with satisfaction
- outer motivation with inner motivation, and
- inner motivation with dissatisfaction.

These findings are consonant with, and confirm, hypothesis 5.

b) One also finds older respondents associated with inner motivation and the more qualified with outer motivation, as hypothesised. The variable of Western cultural background does not appear in any diagram. This is not very surprising when one recalls the low correlations between Western background and inner motivation (r = 0.09) and between Western background and outer motivation (r = -0.06).
Figure XXII
Horizontal factor three (outer dissatisfaction) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation).

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor six (individual dissatisfaction)

Key to variables:
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = individ. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Figure XXIV

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor seven (congregational dissatisfaction)

Key to variables

1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
c) In all three diagrams (figures XXII - XXIV), outer motivation is associated with each type of dissatisfaction. However, while outer dissatisfaction is to be found in all three diagrams, individual dissatisfaction is missing where congregational dissatisfaction is plotted against motivation (figure XXIV), and congregational dissatisfaction only occurs when it is directly plotted against motivation (figure XXIV). One can thus make out a case for the closest association occurring between outer dissatisfaction and outer motivation. However, this finding is minimised when one considers the position of variable 8 (that of overall dissatisfaction) in all three diagrams. With it there is only slightly greater identification of outer dissatisfaction, as opposed to the other two types of dissatisfaction. This again suggests that the distinction between types of dissatisfaction, though significant, is insufficient to warrant a separate treatment by path analysis of types of dissatisfaction in one's overall research model.

Hypothesis 7 (fig. XXV)

Factor 4 versus factor 1 displays the relationship between type of motivation and degree of change. The bottom left-hand quadrant establishes the connection not only between outer motivation and degree of change (in closed and open format), but also includes overall dissatisfaction (and its types) together with the variables of Western, teacher and university. (These latter 1/2 coded variables have been transposed in the factor analysis to take care of the negative sign). Inner motivation, on the other hand, is only connected with satisfaction, elderly respondents, house, native, and type two religious experience. Had variable 19 been present on this diagram, the plot of factors 1 versus 4 would have been sufficient to validate the whole of one's research model.
Figure XXV
Horizontal factor one (change) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel. exp. type one
24 = rel. exp. type two
Hypothesis 8 (figs. XXVI - XXVIII)

Hypothesis 8 states that type of motivation will influence type of change. Thus factor 4 is plotted against factors 2, 5 and 8. One can note the following:

a) In all three diagrams (figs. XXVI - XXVIII), inner motivation is associated with closed community and family change. However, the association between inner motivation and closed community change appears stronger than that between the same type of motivation and family change.

b) In all three diagrams there is an inverse relationship between inner motivation and open network change.

c) The direct relationship between outer motivation and open network change is established in the first diagram (fig. XXVI) and reflected in the other two (figs. XXVII - XXVIII).

d) In all three diagrams outer motivation is further associated with degree of total change (variable 14), although the association is more marked with respect to closed format, as opposed to open format, questions. First community change predominates over second community change, in the hypothesised direction of the research model.

The above factor analysis thus tends to support all hypotheses, with the exception of those treating of type of dissatisfaction (2, 4 and 6).

It was thought that type of dissatisfaction did not produce sufficiently strong relationships with other variables to warrant separate treatment. In order to finally abandon once and for all the distinction between types of dissatisfaction, one decided to compute another series of factors that omitted consideration of them. What emerged was a much simpler picture where dissatisfaction, outer motivation and open network change were all inversely related to
Figure XXXVI

Horizontal factor two (network change) versus vertical factor four (inner motivation)

Key to variables

1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
Figure XXVII

Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor five (family change)

Key to variables

1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat.
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st comm. change
18 = 2nd comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed com. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. Experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
Figure XXVIII
Horizontal factor four (inner motivation) versus vertical factor eight (closed community change)

Key to variables
1 = age
2 = native
3 = western
4 = house
5 = university
6 = teacher
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = cong. dissat
10 = indiv. dissat
11 = outer dissat
12 = inner motivation
13 = outer motivation
14 = total change
15 = first change
16 = second change
17 = 1st. comm. change
18 = 2nd. comm. change
19 = family change
20 = closed comm. change
21 = open netwk. change
22 = rel. experience
23 = rel.exp. type one
24 = rel.exp. type two
inner motivation, satisfaction and the other two types of change, which had the merit of highlighting the basic variables of one's research model without confusing the issue by introducing types of dissatisfaction. For reasons of brevity one does not present here the factor matrix with its accompanying statistics. However, one produces the resultant diagram from the plotting of type of change against type of motivation (cf. figure XXIX). Here it can be plainly seen that dissatisfaction, outer motivation and network change fall into the bottom left hand quadrant, while in the top right hand quadrant (diametrically opposite) one finds the variables of satisfaction, inner motivation, family and closed community change, consonant with one's research model.

Now if one looks back at figures X-XXVIII, on no diagram does one obtain the association of the corresponding variables (numbers 8, 13, 21) and (numbers 7, 12, 19 and 20). One may thus claim not only simplicity for figure XXIX, discriminating between type of change in terms of overall (dis)satisfaction and type of motivation, but also accuracy in the predicted direction. One can only conclude that the reason why the hypothesised results are so clearly obtained in figure XXIX is that in this latter factor analysis type of dissatisfaction has been omitted from consideration. Noting these findings, one thus abandons, with a certain amount of confidence, type of dissatisfaction from further analysis.

Similarly this latter factor analysis omitted first and second change, by degree and type, from consideration. One noted that in the first factor run these variables were producing results of little significance. The latter factor analysis, however, showed that degree of total change, upon which first and second change depended, had a more marked association with the other variables, as did family, closed community and open network, change in comparison with first and second community changes. One was also able to remove religious experience from further consideration as a result of secondary factor analysis.
Figure XXIX

Horizontal factor (type of change) versus vertical factor (type of motivation)

Key to variables
7 = satisfaction
8 = dissatisfaction
9 = inner motivation
10 = outer motivation
11 = family change
12 = closed com.change
13 = open netwk.change
Thus for the next stage of the analysis only the following variables have been retained:

- inner motivation
- outer motivation
- satisfaction
- dissatisfaction
- total change
- family change
- closed community change
- open network change
- plus the independent background variables of age, etc.

2. Path Analysis

Underlying the hypotheses of this research has lain a unifying model. Indeed, the main point of one's inquiry has been a theoretical and empirical investigation of an alternative model of belonging in the Catholic Church. However, one feels, in common with one's colleagues, that it is desirable to have a model that is not only descriptive of the phenomena one is investigating, but which is also capable of establishing intercausal connections. With this end in view, one has attempted not only to demonstrate that there is an association between background variables (age, qualifications etc.,) motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, encompassed by a pluriform model of religious belonging, but that there is a 'causal' connection between these research variables. In other words, one has not only measured strength of variables; one has also examined their interrelatedness in terms of direction. Until now, however, the examination of the direction of the association between the research variables has only been piecemeal, dictated by the very nature of the hypotheses (which examine two variables at a time). The time has now come to inspect the research model as a whole. In so doing one treats only those variables suggested by factor analysis, in the previous subsection.

Ten years ago, statistical techniques for such an investigation were not readily available to the social scientist. Now, thanks to the pioneer work of Wright (3) and others (4), it is a relatively
simple task to carry out path analysis upon one's data, provided certain assumptions and requirements are met (5). The calculation of path coefficients has also been greatly facilitated by computer programs designed for that purpose (6), and, as mentioned earlier, one such program has been utilised in this research (7).

This subsection on path analysis will fall into four parts. First, questions of procedure will be discussed. Second, a path model, linking the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change will be considered. Third, a more comprehensive model will be examined and certain conclusions drawn for the population as a whole. Finally, the latter model, linking all the research variables will be presented by province, to allow for cross-cultural comparison.

i. Questions of procedure

Regression equations were calculated from the following ordered variables:

- age
- native
- Western house
- university teacher
- satisfaction
- dissatisfaction
- inner motivation
- outer motivation
- total change
- family change
- closed community change
- and open network change.

Five regression equations were computed linking the variables:

- inner motivation
- outer motivation
- satisfaction
- dissatisfaction
- family change
- closed community change
- and open network change (part ii).

and a further eight were calculated linking all the research variables (part iii). The same analysis was carried out on the subfiles (the provinces).
In both sets of multiple regression the yielded beta values indicated the strength of the paths between variables. Residuals were calculated from the multiple \( R^2 \). Following Labovitz (1970), interval measurement for the data was assumed. The requirement of an "hierarchical model," (8) or of "undeniable rankings of the chosen variables in terms of their causal priorities," (9), one feels has been met by one's :

a) explanation of causality (cf. chapter six, section one)

b) understanding of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change (cf. also chapter six, section one)

c) logical and possibly temporal ordering of one's variables, which, on account of their operational definitions, render alternative sequencing unlikely (chapter six, uti)

d) establishment of model prior to the testing of one's hypotheses (section one before section two)

e) way of establishing and testing hypotheses, step-by-step, from right to left of one's model (i.e. from effect to cause) (cf. chapter four, this section).

The decision whether or not to delete beta coefficients was based on two criteria. Not only did each beta value have to be greater than twice its standard error to be considered significant (10), but in addition the \( F \)-value, associated with each beta coefficient, had to register significance at the \( 0.05 \) level with given degrees of freedom. The use of these two criteria had the effect of making one err in a conservative direction, particularly when one considered the subfiles, some of which had 'n's well below 100. Once beta coefficients had been deleted, it was further decided not to "run over" the regressions again, even though by so doing the beta coefficients, associated with the remaining variables, would have increased in numerical value. Thus the residuals, and hence the percentage variance explained by the path models, err once more on the conservative side.

In practice, one discovered that beta coefficients greater than \( \pm 0.07 \) met one's criteria in path models for the population (\( n = 1,086 \)), but that this figure rose to \( \pm 0.15 \) in some of the smaller subfiles (e.g. France, India and Vietnam).

The purpose of running two sets of regression equations (part ii
and part iii), was to compare the overall variance explained between the model that employed the central research variables (motivation, (dis)satisfaction, and types of religious belonging) and the model which introduced background variables (necessary for distinguishing two of the types of religious belonging) and degree of change, i.e. the full research model, as envisaged by one's eight hypotheses.

ii. The path model linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of religious belonging

The problem underlying the research is how does one arrive at specific types of change, inherent in the application of a pluriform model of belonging to the Catholic Church? In other words, what are the paths linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction with family change, closed community change and open network change? The validated hypotheses indicate that the path to network change is via dissatisfaction and outer motivation, and the paths to family change and closed community change are via satisfaction and inner motivation. If hypotheses 3, 5 and 8 are correct in their assumptions, then the overall path model linking these variables should reconfirm these hypotheses. In addition, however, it should allow one to see the strength and direction of the paths between the above variables.

The overall path model that emerges as a result of multiple regression follows in figure XXX, page 549. However, in order to ascertain the derivation of the beta values, their significance, and the residuals, one must look at the results of the following multiple regression analysis (tables LXXVI - LXXX) in closer detail:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>St. Error</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>R²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>32.86</td>
<td>3/1082</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In effect table LXXVI indicates that outer motivation should be deleted, as although its standard error when doubled is not greater than the value of beta, the associated F value with 3/1082 df. is not significant at the 0.05 level. By similar reasoning, the beta for dissatisfaction is significant at the 0.001 level, and that for inner motivation significant at the 0.01 level. The value of $R^2$ is, of course, cumulative. The residual is thus 1-0.06 or 0.94.

When one comes to table LXXVII, page 550, one can calculate that both beta's are significant at the 0.001 level. Here there is a direct path from inner motivation to closed community change. The value of the residual is 0.90.
Table LXXVII

Closed community change as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
<th>St.err</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>72.06</td>
<td>2/1083</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>18.94</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table LXXVIII

Family change as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
<th>St.err</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>8.31</td>
<td>2/1083</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Again both beta's are significant at the 0.001 level, that of inner motivation by just 0.03. There is also a direct path from inner motivation to family change. The value of the residual is only 0.98, indicating that a mere 2% of the variance in family change has been explained in terms of satisfaction and inner motivation.

Table LXXIX

Satisfaction as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
<th>St.err</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>81.94</td>
<td>2/1083</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here the beta associated with outer motivation is not significant both with respect to its standard error and F-value. The beta coefficient for inner motivation, on the other hand, is significant at the 0.001 level. The value of the residual is 0.92.

Table LXXX

Dissatisfaction as dependent variable in multiple regression analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
<th>St.err</th>
<th>F value</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>2/1083</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>131.70</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Only the beta value of 0.38 is significant here at the 0.001 level.
A value of 0.87 is obtained for the residual.

Thus, from figure XXX, the following direct and indirect paths between variables are established:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Path</th>
<th>(In)direct</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction to family change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction to closed community change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction to open network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to family change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to closed community change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to open network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to family change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to closed community change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation to open network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to satisfaction</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation to dissatisfaction</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first three paths in table LXXI confirm hypothesis 3, the next three paths corroborate the findings of hypothesis 8, while the last two paths bear out hypothesis 5. The only indirect path of any importance is that linking outer motivation with network change via dissatisfaction, as that is the only significant path linking the two variables.

Key residuals in the model are those associated with closed community change and dissatisfaction. In the case of the former one notes that 10% of the variance has been explained, greater than the sum of the variances associated with the other two types of religious belonging. As regards dissatisfaction, one observes that 13% of the variance has been explained in terms of outer motivation, as opposed to only 8% of the variance in satisfaction due to inner motivation.

Path analysis of the subfiles gives the following maximum values encountered for beta:
Table LXXXII

Maximum beta values obtained in subfiles from multiple regression involving the variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Path</th>
<th>Beta value</th>
<th>Province</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction to open network change</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation to open network change</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer motivation to dissatisfaction</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>NZ.South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to open network change</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction to closed community change</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to closed community change</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to satisfaction</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction to family change</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to family change</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indeed France's paths to network change account for 47% of the variance, as can be seen from the following lower half of its model:

Figure XXXI
Simplified paths to network change in the French province

OUTER MOTIVATION 0.39 DISSATISFACTION 0.38 NETWORK CHANGE
0.87 0.40

The paths to closed community change reach their maximum in the case of Australia, where almost 20% of the variance is explained, as follows:

Figure XXXII
Simplified paths to closed community change in the Australian province

INNER MOTIVATION 0.46 SATISFACTION 0.39 CLOSED COMMUNITY CHANGE
0.84 0.11 0.802
No single province has three significant paths linking inner motivation, satisfaction and family change. France's strong path from satisfaction to family change, does, however account for 13% of the variance in the latter variable. Naturally one expects individual subfiles to yield beta values higher than those for the congregation as a whole, when the size of their populations is considerably less than that for the congregation. What is of interest, though, is that no single province shows significant values for beta on all paths of the overall model. It is only when the congregation is considered as a whole that the paths, though sometimes weak, are significant at the 0.05 level.

iii. The path model adding background variables and degree of change to motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change, thereby producing the full research model, as envisaged by the eight hypotheses

One has presented the paths linking motivation, (dis)satisfaction and types of change, for reasons of simplicity and in order to highlight the central research variables. However, in so doing one has only considered hypotheses 3, 5 and 8. With the removal of hypotheses 2, 4 and 6 (due to their reliance on types of dissatisfaction), as a result of the factor analysis, it only remains to introduce hypotheses 1 and 7 into the argument, thereby completing one's overall research model. In so doing, one is introducing the background variables of age, qualifications, etc., as also the degree of change desired by an individual or group of individuals.

One should remember that the variable — degree of change — is independent of type of change, in that it sums, rather than distinguishes type of change, as also by reason of its being composed of the variables of first and second change, now omitted from separate consideration. Hypothesis one further demonstrated that there was greater association between dissatisfaction and total change than between satisfaction and total change. Thus by introducing the variable of total change one expects the model being considered here to add
greater explanatory power to types of change than the simplified model of part ii. The reason for this is that total change intervenes between (dis)satisfaction and types of change. Similarly, total change intervenes between motivation and type of change (cf. hypothesis 7). Hypotheses 1 and 7 also examine the influence of independent background variables on (dis)satisfaction and motivation. One thus expects variables, such as age, qualifications, etc., to influence not only (dis)satisfaction and motivation, but also total change and types of change in the overall research model. Thus the final percentage variance explained in types of change should be greater in this overall path model than that discussed in part ii.

In presenting one's overall path model (fig.XXXIII), as derived from eight regression equations, involving 55 variables (some clearly more than once), one does not propose to list all beta values, standard errors, F values, etc., as in part ii. Instead it should be taken as read that the same criteria for deletion of beta values are being employed, and that residuals have been calculated from the multiple $R^2$ in an identical fashion. Moreover, only significant paths have been included. Paths failing to attain significance have been omitted completely from the model and no "running over" of the regression analysis has taken place. One therefore limits oneself to a presentation of the overall path model, together with a few relevant comments.

The 'terminus ad quem' of this model (fig.XXXIII) are the three types of religious belonging. One may compare the percentage variance explained in the overall research model here with that of the simplified model of part ii, with respect to the three types of change, as follows (table LXXXIII).

(continued p.556)
Table LXXXIII

Comparison of percentages of variance explained in types of change in path model of part ii (Fig. XXX) and in path model of part iii (Fig. XXXIII)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% variance explained</th>
<th>part ii model</th>
<th>part iii model</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family change</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network change</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed community change</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, as expected, the part iii model has greater explanatory power vis-à-vis the ' terminus ad quem ' than the part ii model. In each case of type of change the percentage variance has more than doubled, reaching a respectable figure of 26% in the case of closed community belonging. The main virtue of the latter model, however, is that it is able to distinguish between closed community change and family change. Prior to this, both types were seen as dependent on inner motivation and satisfaction. Now one can see that family change is more the prerogative of the elderly, and closed community change tends to be chosen by those from non-Western backgrounds and from some of those possessing university qualifications.

Before further conclusions are drawn, however, one can list the direct and indirect paths to types of change, together with their associated beta values:

Table LXXXIV

Comprehensive list of direct and indirect paths to types of change

a) Paths to Family change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Path</th>
<th>(In)direct</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age to family change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change to family change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to total change to family change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native to total change to family change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table LXXXIV (continued)

#### b) Paths to Closed Community change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Path</th>
<th>(In)direct</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Western to closed com. change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University to closed com. change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner motivation to closed com. change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction to closed com. change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change to closed com. change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to immotiv. to satis. to closed com. change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to satis. to closed com. change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immotiv to satis. to closed com. change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to total change to closed com. change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native to total change to closed com. change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### c) Paths to Network change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Path</th>
<th>(In)direct</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University to network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction to network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total change to network change</td>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to dissatisfaction to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to outmot. to dissat. to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to outmot. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age to dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to dissatisfaction to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to outmot. to dissat. to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western to outmot. to dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House to outmot. to dissat. to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House to outmot. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University to outmot. to dissat. to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University to outmot. to dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University to outmot. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outmot. to dissat. to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outmot. to dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outmot. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissat. to total change to network change</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One is now in the position to summarise the information linking types of change with independent variables.

a) Family belonging

From table LXXXIV the paths of 0.04 between satisfaction and family change and of 0.06 between inner motivation and family change were deleted, even though they were in the same predicted direction as those paths in the model of part ii. Thus one relies almost entirely on the variables of total change and age to account for this type of religious belonging. There is also a slight tendency for non-Western and non-native sisters to favour family belonging (cf. indirect paths), though these findings do not attain the required level of significance.

b) Closed community belonging

Here the paths between inner motivation and satisfaction to closed community belonging are significant. One also notes the tendency of non-Western respondents and those with university qualifications to favour such belonging (again both significant findings). The latter, presumably, while advocating a relatively high degree of total change, are prone to the dangers of routinisation of charisma. While initially they may be more outer motivated than those without qualifications, which in turn brings with it a certain amount of dissatisfaction, only a small number channel their dissatisfaction towards open network belonging (cf. indirect paths from university to network change). One may also seek an explanation for the qualified selecting closed community belonging in preference to open network belonging in terms of type of dissatisfaction, where those possessing university degrees show a high measure of congregational dissatisfaction, itself conducive to closed community belonging, although such an explanation has been omitted from the path model.
The indirect paths to closed community belonging further highlight the non-Western tendency to select this type of religious belonging. Such a tendency may also contribute to the explanation why a number of those with academic qualifications opt for closed community belonging. One should remember that a large proportion of respondents from India and Bangladesh stated that they had university degrees. In India 51.56% stated they had degrees, and the overall percentage for those from India, Bangladesh & Burma and Vietnam was 28.33%, considerably higher than the mean for Western provinces (21.8%), and for that of the congregation as a whole (19.7%). It is thus quite likely that Eastern cultural background's choice for closed community belonging may be due to its overlapping with the variable of university qualifications. Similarly, the fact that university qualifications are associated with closed community belonging may be due in some measure to the high proportion of qualifications in Eastern provinces. However, the importance of this overlapping effect should not be exaggerated. Nor should one forget that the variable of cultural background is treated as a dichotomy between Western and non-Western membership. This is not the same as a distinction between Western and Eastern, as a further 412 respondents from Australia and New Zealand join the sisters from Eastern provinces to form the category referred to as non-Western. If one also remembers that the proportion of those with academic qualifications in Australia and New Zealand is much lower than any of the above figures (varying from 4.35% to 15%), then of course this has the effect of reducing the proportion of those with university qualifications in non-Western provinces. In other words, one is not prepared to place very much emphasis on the overlapping of university qualifications with cultural background. Rather one is of the opinion that university qualifications and closed community change are associated in their own right. This interpretation is also likely when one recalls that multiple regression has the same effect as partial correlation, in that it controls for the effect of other variables.
c) Open network belonging

While the path from dissatisfaction to network belonging is direct, that between outer motivation and network belonging is only indirect, via the independent variables of age, western, university and house, plus the major research variables of dissatisfaction and total change. The highest indirect beta value linking outer motivation with network belonging is only 0.04.

A consideration of the direct and indirect paths linking the independent background variables to network belonging reveals that there is a tendency for this form of religious belonging to be advocated by younger respondents, those from Western provinces, those with teaching qualifications, those without degrees, and those working in smaller communities. The last mentioned variable, that of house, however, should be treated with caution. The indirect paths established between it and network belonging are slight and insignificant, indicating probable fluctuation within provinces. One cannot, therefore, predict from size of house to type of religious belonging, without at least taking province into account.

Taking the overall path model once more, it is possible to see the further validation of hypotheses 1, 3, 5, 7, and 8. There is a 'causal' link between degree of dissatisfaction and total change, and dissatisfaction itself is found more among the young and those from Western provinces (hypothesis 1). Type of change, too, is dependent on degree of (dis)satisfaction. Certainly it allows one to make the distinction between closed community change and open network change, and, in the part ii model, family change as well (hypothesis 3). Hypothesis 5 is upheld by the paths linking outer motivation with dissatisfaction and inner motivation with satisfaction. One also notes younger and more qualified members opting for outer motivation, as also those from Western cultural backgrounds. Hypothesis 7 is
confirmed by a positive and significant path between outer motivation and total change. Finally, direct and indirect links are established between inner motivation and both closed community and family belonging on the one hand, and between outer motivation and network belonging, on the other, providing one combines the findings from the model of part ii with that of part iii. In other words, hypothesis 8 is upheld. One thus feels confident in claiming a modicum of success for one's 'a priori' model that has been empirically verified, though perhaps not to a spectacular degree.

iv : Path models of the overall research model in the subfiles

One may, however, claim more 'dramatic' findings from the path analysis of the subfiles. In France (fig.XXXVII), for example, the overall research model accounts for 27% of the variance in family belonging, 43% of the variance in closed community belonging, and 61% of the variance in open network belonging! In that province the residuals pertaining to dissatisfaction and outer motivation are 0.74 and 0.47 respectively, thereby marking a substantial improvement compared to the simplified model of figure XXXI. The model for France also shows a considerably higher percentage variance explanation in the research variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change, than that yielded for the congregation as a whole. Indeed, had all respondents thought along the same lines as the French, one's findings would have been quite spectacular. However, such results, if obtained, would also have been rather suspect too, and one would have begun to feel that one's international inquiry had been clouded by one's own way of thinking, formulation of hypotheses, construction of questionnaire, etc. It is precisely because the research is cross-cultural that one does encounter certain 'illogicalities' and 'inconsistencies.' One would further argue that had such 'illogicalities' been absent from one's results, then one could begin to call into doubt the findings of the research. Western members of the Catholic Church, of which the
present writer is but just one, do not think and act in the same way as their non-Western counterparts. It is hoped, therefore, that the presentation of the path models for each of the subfiles will highlight divergence of attitude. For example, one notes that while English respondents (fig. XXXVI) from small houses opt for open network belonging, in Vietnam (fig. XLII) the position is reverse; in that province those from small houses choose closed community belonging; respondents from large houses select open network belonging. Again, in France (fig. XXXVII) younger sisters tend towards open network belonging; in New Zealand, South, on the other hand, it is the older sisters who are of this frame of mind (cf. fig. XXXIX).

A suitable way of highlighting cultural differences is to present the path model for each province, completing the picture with a few additional comments.

In Australia (fig. XXXIV), one notes that the greatest percentage variance is explained in closed community change. Unlike the congregational findings, however, such change is the indirect product of elderly sisters without university qualifications. Those who do possess degrees tend to opt for family change, even while displaying above average dissatisfaction. One may possibly conclude that their dissatisfaction is with the present state of affairs, and the solution they see is one lying in the past, a nostalgic yearning for community as it once was. That the above attitude is not shared by the younger sisters in the province can be seen from the high beta value, linking age with outer motivation (-0.51), contributing towards 29% explained variance in the latter variable. The variables of house, teacher and native play no part in the proceedings, and there is no significant link between satisfaction and family change or between dissatisfaction and open network change. For this reason the above insignificant paths have been omitted, and this is a procedure that has been followed in the presentation of path models for the remaining provinces.
In Canada (fig. XXXV), percentage variance in types of change is ranked in the following descending order: network change (23%), family change (18%) and closed community change (15%), unlike the closed community - open network - family, order, of the findings for the congregation as a whole. One notes too the greater influence of outer motivation on network change than that evidenced by dissatisfaction. The former variable in turn is strongly influenced by age (younger respondents) and to a lesser extent by those with university degrees. While those from smaller houses appear more satisfied, satisfaction itself has no significant predictive value with regard to change or types of change. The variable native comes into play, suggesting that many of the non-native sisters are open to a greater degree of change than their native confrères. However with three paths from total change to types of change, one is unable to specify the type of religious belonging preferred by non-native sisters. Nor is one able from the path model to draw conclusions relating to the differences in attitude between English and French speaking sisters in this province.

England (fig. XXXVI), is a province beset by the problem of large houses, as we saw earlier. From the path model it would appear that those from larger houses tend towards closed community change, while those working in smaller units display a preference for open network change. While the former group is joined by those possessing university qualifications, the latter tends to be formed by those without such qualifications, and represented more by younger respondents and those with teaching qualifications. These last findings are consonant with those for the congregation as a whole. The linkage between the central research variables is weak (cf. absence of path from satisfaction to types of change), or else only indirect (cf. path from outer motivation to open network change via dissatisfaction and total change).
Figure XXXVIII

PATH MODEL FOR INDIA (n=70)
The lower half of the French path model (fig. XXXVII), offers more percentage variance in the research variables of outer motivation, dissatisfaction, total change and network change, than any other province. As in Canada, outer motivation is a better predictor of network change than dissatisfaction. However, in France size of house and teaching qualifications are major determinants of outer motivation. There is also a sharp division between the teachers and those with university qualifications with respect to types of change advocated. While the former opt for network change, the latter desire closed community change. The top half of the model is weak, all the variance in types of change being explained predominantly by background variables, with the exception of the 0.29 path between inner motivation and closed community change. Age distinguishes those advocating family belonging from those opting for closed community belonging, as is the case for the overall path model for the congregation.

The Indian model (fig. XXXVIII) is really quite unsatisfactory from the point of view of one's research hypotheses. There are no significant paths linking variables to types of change in the top half of the model. Paths are only indirect via total change. The only direct path to network change is that established by the variable house (i.e., those in smaller communities desire such change). University qualifications, accounting for over half the respondents, lead to outer motivation and dissatisfaction, the former of which in turn leads to greater request for total change.

New Zealand South (fig. XXXIX), while providing explanation for closed community and open network change in terms of motivation and satisfaction, does not offer the same explanation for family change (its only significant path being that leading from total change). The distinction between closed community change and open network change cannot be derived from the variable of age, as both types of belonging appear to be advocated by older respondents. Instead it must be sought in terms of university qualifications. Those opting for
Figure XXXIX
open network change, as is the case for the congregation as a whole, are to be found among those not possessing university qualifications.

In New Zealand North (Fig. XL), inner motivation and satisfaction account for variance in family and closed community change, but the link between outer motivation, dissatisfaction and open network change is only indirect via total change. The difference in the three types of belonging can be seen in terms of the variable house. While closed community change is advocated by those from larger houses, those in smaller communities opt for either family or open network change. The slight indirect distinction between the latter two types of belonging lies in the fact that younger respondents and those possessing teaching qualifications appear to favour more open network belonging than their older less qualified colleagues.

The model for Bangladesh and Burma (Fig. XLI) shows 25% of the variance explained in both closed community and open network change. The variable house plays an important part with regard to predominance of satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and in turn a predilection for type of change. Those from smaller communities appear to be more satisfied and in favour of closed community change, while those from larger communities demonstrate greater dissatisfaction and a liking for open network change. Those from larger houses are also more outer motivated, although this latter variable only has an indirect path to open network change via total change. The variance in family change is derived from a series of non significant paths.

In Vietnam too (Fig. XLII), the variable house is of some significance. The pattern is similar to Bangladesh and Burma, but opposite to that of India. One notes the association between dissatisfaction and open network change, inner motivation and satisfaction, and the rather extraordinary negative path from inner motivation to family change. This latter finding implies that Vietnam, unlike all other provinces, depends for family change on its outer motivated respondents! This is an unusual finding in comparison with
the rest of the congregation. Also out of the ordinary is the finding that greater satisfaction appears to be displayed by the younger sisters from Vietnam. In most other subfiles, significant paths were to be found linking younger respondents with outer motivation, dissatisfaction and open network change, i.e. they were located in the bottom half of the models.

This brief analysis by province shows that no single province validates all the research hypotheses. Indeed in some cases, as in Vietnam, above, quite the opposite seems to be the state of affairs. Nevertheless, in spite of fluctuations within provinces, one can find hypotheses 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8 upheld for the population as a whole. Perhaps a point is being made that one has attempted to voice elsewhere, namely that while one's findings demonstrate a certain amount of unity, they cannot be said to display an equal degree of uniformity. It is in the context of this last remark that the cultural variable assumes a great deal of importance. There is a substantial variety of background formation and attitudes within the different provinces which combines in several ways to yield one's types of religious belonging. It is precisely this variety, one maintains, that renders more viable one's overall thesis of pluriform belonging in the Catholic Church, a case that is heightened by a cross-cultural comparison within the context of an international congregation of missionary sisters.
3. Content Analysis

In this subsection one hopes to complement the previous quantitative analysis with a brief qualitative treatment of some typical replies to the open-ended question on change (question 121/2). In this way one will be focussing on the ideas expressed with regard to religious belonging, the 'terminus ad quem' of the research. The content analysis will be of a simple nature and prescind from psychological indices, such as Garraty's emotional instability (active ideas/qualitative ideas) or discomfort relief (discomfort ideas/discomfort + relief ideas), quotients. In concentrating on ideas, rather than style (use of adjectives, verbs, length of conceptual explanation, etc.), one is following Duverger's categories of matter and form, i.e., one is examining the substantive content of ideas. However, one omits stricter quantitative treatment of qualitative data and further hypothesis testing, as this step has already been carried out at the coding stage of one's research (e.g., in the coding of replies into the variables of first and second community change, and in hypotheses 3 and 8 where these two variables are tested). Instead, examples will be given of the three types of religious belonging: those of family change, closed community change and open network change. By highlighting the use of certain words and expressions, it should then become clear how the coding of the open-ended question was carried out. It should also make available to others the qualitative criteria for categorising responses into one of the three types of religious belonging.

a) Family Belonging

Here one considers two examples:

1. "I want the family spirit to grow stronger and all members to work together most harmoniously for the greater glory of God and the salvation of souls. Too much criticism of changes on the part of mostly older members is surely doing more harm than good. Vive la communauté. I wish I could appreciate the older members and vice-versa. (I am in the middle)."
and

2. "There is need for a new and strong emphasis on community. If each sister seeks her own 'fulfillment' (so called) in her own manner, we shall fail to live a life of sharing and will in no sense be a religious family. Where each goes her own way and uses the convent as a mere boarding house, religious unity cannot long survive. True fulfillment comes from giving ourselves to others as Christ did, and surely those 'others' should include our own sisters!" (Underlining mine)

At first sight it would appear that both these statements are rather open in their approaches. They speak of "salvation of souls" and of "giving ourselves to others." However, closer scrutiny of these expressions in their fuller context reveals that they are being used to support a traditional family concept of community. The underlined words should illustrate this last point.

Family spirit is often used by the sisters in connection with the expression "homely atmosphere," and has a definite 'Gemeinschaft' ring about it. Physical family relationships are not implied, but rather the socio-psychological face-to-face situations, engendered by the roles of mother and dependent children. Clearly a religious community, as described above, employs the term "family" in an analogous sense. The relationship between superior and sister is seen as being similar to that between mother and child; hence the title "Mother" is reserved for the superior. There is too a notion of sibling interdependence (and rivalry?), evidenced by the fact that there is absolute equality and democracy. Often the opposite is implied, and a hierarchy of status and role established, with subtle class grades appearing along with ascribed roles.

Members of the religious family are thus viewed in the same way as in the theological concept of the "Mystical Body"); or its functionalist counterpart in sociology. All work together for the good of the whole. What is good or bad for one member is good or bad for the entire organism. Sanctions are thus more subtle in the family
community than in the closed community. A member will, it is hoped, somehow feel uneasy because she is not pulling her weight, and if her conscience does not produce such feelings of guilt, then they can be suggested by the mother figure, who has the good of the family at heart.

Harmony is a word that often occurs in the family context, just as its counterpart of "conflict" is very rarely used. It is thus assumed, incorrectly at times, that lack of harmony is bad and to be avoided. These sisters feel that equilibrium can be disturbed by the introduction of new ideas that depend on professional role achievement. Balance is restored by emphasis on ascription and traditional values. Hence the family community can be seen to be resistant to change.

Appreciation of others is often considered necessary if polarisation between age groups, or sibling rivalry, is to be avoided. One corrective measure sometimes taken is the establishment of smaller communities (based on a common goal rather than individual interests), in the hope that closer face-to-face contact will decrease lack of appreciation among members. This is the companionship model of a religious family. The other stance, that based on the extended family, maintains that family spirit can be maintained regardless of size of community, as members will be united for the common good. Both points of view, however, share the quality of affectivity.

Sharing is not a new idea for religious communities. It is generally based on a return to the New Testament ideal, as expressed in the early Christian communities in the Acts of the Apostles. Thus nostalgia is theologically rationalised. It is also important to note that sharing is usually seen in terms of gifts and salaries (ascriptive items), and not so much in terms of talents and interests (achievement items).

A religious family and religious unity have already been discussed in terms of family spirit and harmony. The word "religions" is added, though, in order to emphasise a certain permanence in the relationship, just as commitment in the three religious vows is
perpetual. Analogous to permanence in vows is the concept of "indissolubility of marriage," the norm for Catholic families.

Finally, there is aversion to the idea that family members may come and go as they please, as in a boarding house. Many activities should take place in common, such as eating, praying and recreating together. These sisters further argue that time should not go unaccounted for, and external activities should not be greatly encouraged. Thus one can see that where extreme family solidarity exists, then it may often lead to exaggerated in-group attitudes, a situation not far removed from closed community belonging.

b) Closed Community Belonging

One noted earlier that closed community belonging often operated in two stages, those of pre-routinisation and post-routinisation of charisma. The former stage resembles open network belonging in that specific goals are emphasised; it differs, however, in that these goals are perceived as necessary for a permanent organisation. From this assumption it is but one step to the inner-directedness of the routinised closed community, the group that turns in on itself because of its specific differences. One's content analysis will cover both these two stages.

i. Pre-routinisation of charisma

One may consider the following two examples, concerned with change in the congregation (as opposed to change in society), with a view to making it operate more efficiently and smoothly in pursuit of its aims:

1. "I would like to see a definite mission and place in Church renewal established for our congregation, not in structures and rules, but through united common and urging goals. Our vision lacks long-sightedness and we seem to patch from day to day."

   and,

2. "I feel that government is one of our biggest problems. Our general administration handles things that could be better handled at the provincial level. And also our provincial
"administration handles matters that should be dealt with at the local level. I know that much of this is referred to in the constitutions, but we are not allowed to practise it in our communities." (underlining mine)

The word our is not used in the "we" sense of family solidarity, but is extended to include all the sisters in the congregation. It is thus not so much indicative of a close knit in-group solidarity at this stage. However, there is still an in-group connotation, the only difference being that the group is now larger and includes the organisation — the congregation. Other specialist congregations are viewed as out-groups, and the suggestion of mergers or amalgamation is not generally welcomed. The coupling of our to congregation implies such specificity of purpose.

Rules may be written in terms of constitutions, similar to laws based on the Napoleonic code, or else based on the experience of past experience (the Common Law approach). Both types of rule, though, focus on common goals. (In this sense, the first sister's objection to rules becomes almost meaningless.) The congregation has a specific aim, without which it ceases to have a 'raison d'être.' It is further assumed that all members share this aim together, in common. Individual idiosyncracies are only tolerated if they do not detract from the common goal. A characteristic of the congregation-orientated approach is the frequent aping of the bureaucratic framework of the economic institution in society. However, even this approach tends to inner-directedness, as it views other congregations as competitors or rivals.

Long-sightedness is an aspect of the overall planning considered necessary for an efficient organisation. Other economic terms included in this religious package include recruiting, training, formation programmes, planning, investment, etc. Trends have to be continually observed, processed and assessed, and different strategies employed to keep pace with the public sector, for example in the field of education. Such planning requires careful administration and government. One thus notes the importance attached to achievement of role. However, such an
approach falls quickly prone to the danger of alienation. While talents may be maximised, it is often at the expense of sisters' interests and relationships with each other and with other members of society. With the fear that lives are being dominated in a machine like manner, the stage is set for routinisation.

In the above context the word level should be considered. An efficient congregation requires a decision making procedure and communication system. It needs a hierarchy based on professional competence. In the religious life the important principle of 'subsidiarity' comes into play in this context. It states that decisions should be taken at the lowest possible competent level. In other words, lower decisions reserved for subordinate superiors should not be presented to higher superiors, as this defeats efficiency. One has noted that the clearest example of organisational principles in the religious life is to be seen in the Jesuit Order, where commands are filtered through a hierarchy of generals, councillors, provincial and local, superiors, to the ordinary members. The Jesuits have not infrequently been compared to an army, and thus by implication the analogy may be extended to congregations that model themselves on the Ignatian approach. However, relationships between armies are not noted for their openness of approach and shared interests. Their own (national) interests and goals take priority. They are inner-directed, and in such an institutional framework charisma cannot long survive. What may be considered an efficient organisation can also bear the hallmarks of a closed community.

ii. Post-routinisisation of charisma

This is the stage where initial achievement (and sometimes a prophetic element) has been minimised and sacrificed to total dedication to goals as a requirement of membership. The consequent inner-directedness often replaces the notion of an efficient organisation with an exaggerated authoritarianism. Here are three examples of this latter approach:
1. "It seems to me the present use of cars is not beneficial to our congregation. Some superiors are rarely in the house, but in the car. Sisters are out practically every evening and come back late at night. Mass is omitted the next morning for these. Seems to me that sisters are now too free. Some are out visiting all weekend and not seen in community exercises. Free to eat what they like, go where they like, attend spiritual exercises when they like, etc. I fail to consider this a type of religious life."

and

2. "I would like to see worldliness eradicated."

and

3. "We are too worldly. In those secular dresses it seems to me there is too much vanity and want of spirit of poverty. Some sisters wear them short above the knees, some without sleeves. There are no restrictions. No wonder we have no vocations. The novitiate is empty. The girls tell their teachers, 'Why should we enter your institute? You live just as we do. We can do just as well at home.' (underlining mine)

All of the underlined expressions bear the hallmarks of routinised charisma and approach the model of the closed community.

In the first place, superiors are distinguished from sisters, a situation where roles and expectations, in terms of duties, are assigned, not achieved.

Second, an attack on freedom is launched, which implies that members should be subject to patterned behaviour in regard to what they do in time and space. Choice is not so much restricted; it is virtually non-existent.

Mass is looked upon as a duty, an item on the timetable, part of an overall plan, in the same way as community exercises bear the same negative Ignatian overtones. The pleasure principle has been removed from acts that should be spontaneous and spiritually satisfying.

The word life has been underlined, as it highlights the full commitment required in the closed community. Accompanied, as it is, by the adjective religious; it implies complete mono-role conformity, and serves to enhance the norm whereby thoughts, words and behaviour, are to be judged.
The distinction is also made (at least implicitly) between religious and worldly. Such a distinction dates back to the Manichean controversy, where it was assumed that human nature must be either totally spiritual (for the pneumatikoi, or those with special gnosis), or else totally materialistic and reducible to some form of hedonism. In theological literature the same distinction is to be found in the Logos-Sarx dichotomy and in the Monophysite/Nestorian debate over the divinity versus the humanity of Christ. In sociological circles one encounters the same argument in the sacred/profane distinction, giving rise to controversial secularisation theories. However, in both theology and sociology, only the naive accept readily a total either/or solution, which fails to realise the possible addition of a tertium quid, thereby reducing to absurdity the notion of total underlying such dichotomies. Nevertheless, absurd as total adherence to one pole of an apparently unreal dichotomy may seem, it is clear that under a closed community mentality such a dichotomy is very real.

The word vanity has been underlined, as it is indicative of the sort of accusation that is levelled at the non-conformist member, who seeks to disrupt the overall quest for affectivity in the closed community.

The notion of restriction complements lack of freedom in the closed community. The main difference in concept is that restrictions spell out the minutiae of the letter of the law in negative form. Commands are expressed in terms of "Thou shalt not...", and sanctions, such as loss of petty privileges, are similarly negative.

The novitiate is not simply an old term for the period of a sister's formation. It implies full induction into the closed community, where the past is erased, a new name and uniform are given, contact with the outside world is drastically reduced, and where behaviour is watched, monitored and corrected. The expression eradication of worldliness is closely linked to the concept of novitiate, because it is in the novitiate that one pole of the Manichean dichotomy (that of materialism) is severed.
Consider the four following examples:

1. "Houses where the true spirit of the gospel could be lived without being tied up in such non-essentials as dress, daily timetables which have nothing to do with the apostolate, where a group of sisters could devote themselves freely to the very real needs of the People of God and accept responsibility for the work."

and

2. "We seem to be afraid of making mistakes. Couldn't we give more credit to the Spirit as to what structures are developed or retained? In my opinion we have no right to be wasting so much of our energy and love on ourselves while Christ is in such dire need in our world today."

and

3. "Greater stress on making ourselves available for the service of others within and without the community, because some of us tend to be comfortable selfish 'bachelor ladies'."

and

4. "Greater openness to the Spirit of God as expressed in the charisms of the different sisters." (underlining mine)

The Gospel is not being referred to in any nostalgic sense, but rather there is a yearning for the purity of Christian ideals, unblurred by the excesses of ecclesiastical political and economic involvement. It is the prophetic role of the committed Christian to proclaim the words of Christ in a way that modern man can understand. This outer motivation is contrasted with the inner-directedness of the sacro-magical official and cult man. An approach based on the Gospel is radical in that it examines the roots of Christianity and its message. Other matters are less pressing and are regarded as non-essentials.

The apostolate refers to a sense of being sent on a mission to preach the word of the Gospel, not just to Catholics, but to the People of God (i.e. all men, as Christ is believed to have died for all). As we have seen, the expression 'qahal Yahweh' originates in the
Old Testament, and was revived in the Catholic Church during the Second Vatican Council.

Freedom is stressed in opposition to written or unwritten rules that are considered as hindering an outer-directed apostolate. Much more responsibility is placed on the individual, whose interests and talents are now developed to the full, rather than an emphasis on assigned or prescribed tasks carried out by people with assigned roles. However, such talents and interests are recognised as being God given, and the necessary inspiration is derived from the Spirit, who bestows and builds upon the charisms of any individual. (Here one notes the influence of Pentecostalism). To Catholics this means that renewal in the Church can only succeed if it is accompanied by spiritual awakening, taking the form of a deepening awareness of the gifts received at baptism, with the accompanying duty of giving witness. Charisms are gifts freely given, to be passed on to others in a free way. The term does not imply that charismatic leadership necessarily follows from the bestowal of charisma, although there is a tendency to identify the two in the cases of persons such as John XXIII.

Service is a characteristic of one who is carrying out the Gospel ideals and spreading them to the needy. Here again leadership assumes a different connotation from that associated with family or closed community belonging. The leader's commands under the open network system are carried out if they are seen to be of service to others, and if the leader himself does not use his position for power, but rather sees in it the duty to help those weaker than himself. Thus commands as such rarely exist, but are more often pastoral in nature, with apostolic decisions being arrived at jointly. A person who abuses charismatic gifts, inspiration or leadership, is considered selfish, in that he fails to transmit a living message, destined for all.

Religious communities continue to exist under the open network system, but they are based on interest rather than on command, ascription or common goals. Lessons are experienced together in co-community, but
they do not begin and end there. No group is considered an out-group. Propinquity is replaced by interest, so that it is quite conceivable for an individual to be more in touch with another group thousands of miles away than with the people with whom he shares accommodation. However, groups are usually created on the basis of interest, so that an individual can function successfully both within and without the community. In this sense openness characterizes his relationships. Not only is he sincere, frank and sensitive, to the needs of others in his immediate sphere, but he is capable of extending these qualities to others outside the base community, to those outside the congregation and those outside the Church.

Considerations of space have made it necessary for this subsection on content analysis to be extremely brief in nature. For instance, one could have examined the answers to all the open-ended questions in the questionnaire from a qualitative point of view. Content analysis could also have been extended to include the attached comments of the respondents. These could have been further placed in context by a qualitative examination of the constitutions, biographies and writings of the foundress, the reading material of the sisters, and the various articles and books they had written. Similar analysis could have been applied to the interviews conducted among a certain number of sisters.

From content analysis carried out on the open-ended question on change (not reported here), it is also interesting and worthwhile to note that not only are the three major types of religious belonging in evidence, but also it is possible to discern types of respondents associated with respective types of belonging. Indeed, results obtained so far are consonant with the conclusions of one's quantitative analysis. Sisters who advocate family belonging, are, by and large, elderly
respondents displaying both inner motivation and satisfaction. Those who opt for open network belonging are generally outer motivated and more dissatisfied than satisfied; they are also younger and come in the main from Western provinces. Closed community belonging in the pre-routinisation stage is often selected by those with university degrees in the middle age range. Fully routinised closed community belonging is, by and large, the prerogative of those respondents from non-Western provinces.

It would have been quite possible to have limited one's research simply to a qualitative consideration of the replies. Indeed the data still exists for this possibility to become a reality. However, the main reason why one has preferred to place greater emphasis on quantitative analysis (apart from obvious statistical considerations), is that, with the inquiry being cross-cultural in nature, one is not prepared to draw socio-anthropological conclusions from cultures with which one is not very familiar. This is not so much a limitation of the inquiry, but rather a lack of necessary formation in Social Anthropology on the part of the researcher.

Thus, while this third subsection of the present chapter may not appear to be strikingly corroborative of earlier factor and path analysis, one nevertheless feels that the material at one's disposal, if placed in the right hands, could well substantiate hypotheses 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8 underlying the overall research model. The qualitative treatment of data, has really only served to illustrate a possible starting point for further socio-linguistic analysis, aided by socio-anthropological insights. It has, however, been included as evidence of a likely substantiation of one's research model, in which different types of sister display desires for different types of religious belonging. As such, one maintains, it is consistent with one's contention of pluriform belonging in a changing Catholic Church.
CHAPTER SIX
Conclusions and suggested areas for further research

In this final chapter one intends highlighting the principal conclusions of this work, firstly by summarising the main arguments step-by-step, and secondly by drawing attention to those areas not covered, but possibly anticipated, by the research. In this way one hopes to place one's own contribution in the wider context of the Sociology of Religion.

1. Conclusions

In the introduction to the theoretical section, one saw the need for supplying a working definition of the three major elements comprising the title of the inquiry. In so doing, one declared that apparent impasse could be overcome by the following of a method that was socio-theological in nature. By religious belonging one intended:

"those specific, yet all embracing, attitudinal and behavioral bonds that unite a believer with an organised system of beliefs and practices, considered to be of ultimate value."

One such set of organised beliefs and practices was the Catholic Church, which was defined as:

"a group of individuals who state that they belong to an institution known as the Catholic Church, whether they are clear or not as to its nature, and who display grades and types of commitment consequent upon such stated affiliation."

However, it was argued that the principal difficulty of studying religious belonging in the Catholic Church was that the Catholic Church itself was subject to rapid social change, with change being defined as:

"a significant variation in the structures of the Catholic Church, manifested by an alteration in its norms, values, cultural products and symbols."

The fact of such change in the Catholic Church, particularly since the Second Vatican Council, thus focussed one's attention on the following socio-religious (and socio-theological) problem:

WHAT IS THE MOST APPROPRIATE SOCIOLOGICAL MODEL CAPABLE OF ENCOMPASSING THE PHENOMENON OF BELONGING TO A CHANGING CATHOLIC CHURCH?
In Section One, chapter two investigated the opinions of those who answered the previous question by saying that an organisational model was that paradigm most suited for encompassing the Catholic Church. They argued that the Catholic Church was of its nature resistant to change for a variety of reasons, ranging from its fixed concept of human nature, its monopoly of the sacred, its catering for the primitively motivated, its institutionalism, its vested interests in centralised power, its self-binding legislation, its emphasis on tradition, and its anti-intellectual stance to disciplines (such as sociology) that studied change. For these reasons, it was suggested, the Catholic Church was most aptly described by a uniform, static, organisational, model, one envisaged by Weber in his description of the archetype Church as a rational and compulsory association.

However, it was argued in chapter three that the above case rested on a notion of an unchanging Catholic Church, one that plainly did not correspond with fundamental change observed when one compared the Church before and after Pope John XXIII and Vatican II. That such change was fundamental could be seen from change in content and form in such areas as religious belief, practice, experience and ethics. In addition, change had occurred in the very meaning of the word "Church." Proponents of this latter point of view pointed out that an organisational model of religious belonging no longer aptly described the Catholic Church. The presence of change in all dimensions of religiosity required change in the subsuming dimension of religious belonging. Hence an alternative model of religious belonging to the Catholic Church was required.

Chapter four sought to give preference to one of these two points of view (organisational or alternative pluriform belonging), by introducing fresh criteria against which to measure the two models. It was argued that a pluriform model of religious belonging was to be preferred to that based on an organisation, due to the emergence of decentralisation, extended membership, interest groups, parties and
conflict in the Catholic Church. It was further pointed out that these phenomena were to be found at other stages in the Church's history, broken only by the period extending from the Reformation to the First Vatican Council. It was, moreover, during this latter period that sociology emerged as a discipline, and only natural, therefore, that it should see the Catholic Church in organisational terms. However, by considering ecclesiastical renewal not only as Vatican II reform, but also in terms of returning to well-established tradition, it could be seen that the Catholic Church's tradition of pluriformity was much greater than that based on a uniform organisational 'modus operandi.'

In chapter five the investigation became more sociological. Having argued in favour of an alternative pluriform model of religious belonging, one wished to examine the workings of such a model. To this end a pluriform model was constructed from Parsonian pattern variables. It was seen that there were basically four types of religious belonging envisaged:

1. The total institution mentality, bound by the variables of ascription/diffuseness: universalism/neutrality, and including such groups as the Roman Curia and Una Voce Society.
2. Family belonging, encompassed by the qualities of ascription/diffuseness: particularism/affectivity, and well illustrated by the current situation in Ulster.
3. Closed community belonging, having for co-ordinates - particularism/affectivity: achievement/specificity, an example of which were The Children of God in the Jesus People movement.
4. Open network belonging, bound by the variables of achievement/specificity: universalism/neutrality, an example of which was the Conference of Latin American bishops.

These four types of belonging could thus be plotted graphically and be considered as occupying the four quadrants of the pluriform model. Degree of commitment (within each quadrant) was also envisaged, dependent on the approximation of a type of belonging to the extremes of each of its two axes. It was further noted that the variables of motivation and satisfaction could be assimilated by the model, although no explanation for the introduction of these variables was given at this stage.
Each quadrant was then treated sociologically with examples for each type of belonging being given. The analysis of the total institution mentality followed, with certain differences, that of Goffman, and suggested areas for this type of belonging in the Catholic Church were those of a convent, a presbytery, a seminary and an independent preparatory school. It was further added that the total institution mentality was tending to disappear as form of belonging to the Catholic Church, and that for purposes of one's study such belonging would not be investigated from an empirical standpoint.

Family belonging was examined from the works of Durkheim and Tönnies, with Burgess being introduced for consideration of the companionship model of family. However, the conclusion was that both extended and nuclear types of family were to be considered as forms of familial belonging.

Closed community belonging was treated from insights offered by Nisbet and Nuij. Implicit in the analysis was the distinction of this type of belonging into two stages, those of pre-routinisation and post-routinisation of charisma, although this distinction did not become fully clear until later. However, when examining the example of the Jesus People, one noted how groups within the movement tended to begin with initial fervour and charismatic protest (often in an academic environment, cf. the number of those with university qualifications among one's own respondents favouring such a type of religious belonging), only to become routinised and authoritarian at a later stage.

Open network belonging, like the initial stage of closed community belonging, began with an anti-institutional stance, based on achievement and specificity of purpose. This time, however, its tendency towards universalism/neutrality avoided the territorial inner-directedness of the closed community, and instead opened out to more universal causes based on common interest. In analysing
open network belonging one was able to place it on a sociological footing by comparing the views of Hillery and Winter with those of Burns and Stalker and Scherer. One could also contrast the Underground Church (open network belonging) with the Jesus People (closed community belonging), examples which tend to become confused in the minds of many.

The final chapter of the theoretical section aimed to go beyond the level of description and look for causal explanation of the pluriform model. In asking the question "why?" it was seen necessary to introduce the variables of motivation and (dis)satisfaction, in order to explain consequent change in terms of religious belonging. The chapter examined various typologies of motivation and concluded that the distinction of inner and outer motivation was that most suited to the present research. One then applied motivation to types of religious belonging, and it was seen that while outer motivation offered the better explanation for open network belonging, the other types of religious belonging were characterised by a predominance of inner motivation.

In the same chapter (six), a similar analysis was extended to satisfaction, where a case was made out for concentrating on dissatisfaction rather than its positive counterpart. This enabled one to speak of types of dissatisfaction. Individual dissatisfaction was considered as being predominantly concerned with questions of identity. Communal, later to be termed "outer," dissatisfaction, dealt with the problem of relationships with others, the question of status. Dissatisfaction at the specific group level, task orientated dissatisfaction, later to be termed "congregational dissatisfaction," centered on questions of role. Taking all types of dissatisfaction together, it was possible to speak of overall dissatisfaction, and to contrast this with overall satisfaction. It was further suggested that predominance of satisfaction over dissatisfaction led to routinised closed community belonging and to family belonging, while the
predominance of dissatisfaction over satisfaction was more clearly associated with open network belonging and possibly the total institution mentality (although this latter type of belonging, because of its decreasing significance and lack of data to support it from one's own survey, would not be examined empirically in terms of motivation and dissatisfaction).

Thus the theoretical section led one to reject organisational belonging and accept the alternative pluriform model of belonging to the Catholic Church. This latter type was described and a causal explanation for the existence of the various types of belonging within the overall pluriform model was suggested in terms of motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

The empirical section, section two, aimed at testing the model proposed in the first half of the research. In other words, one intended to demonstrate sociologically what hitherto had remained at the level of assertion.

Chapter one examined the methodological problem of testing a pluriform model of religious belonging, applicable to the Catholic Church. With the ruling out of population, sample and case, studies, an alternative procedure was suggested. This involved the investigation of an international missionary congregation of sisters, which, it was claimed, was sufficiently representative to permit tentative generalisation to sisters in general, and also to other forms of membership in the Catholic Church. Explanation was also given as to why such a solution had been proposed in terms of overall background to the research.

Chapter two continued the previous discussion by examining in closer detail the subject of the research — an international missionary congregation of sisters. A case for the representativeness of the congregation studied was made out in terms of the congregation sharing the same socio-historical characteristics of other congregations, and also sharing in the same or similar attitudes, attributes and activities.
In this one was greatly aided by ongoing research in the United States into 400 congregations of female religious, thus allowing a direct comparison of data to be made. With the C.M.S.W. survey covering almost 20% of sisters in the Catholic Church, and by showing one's own congregation was not atypical of C.M.S.W. survey responses, one had grounds for generalising from one's own inquiry to sisters in general. Moreover, with the Catholic sisterhood standing half way between the laity and the priesthood, one felt that it was possible to extend one's findings to other areas of Church membership, also giving evidence of a pluraliform model of religious belonging.

In chapter three scaled variables and hypotheses were constructed from a series of recent and analogous socio-religious inquiries conducted among the laity and members of Church personnel. This marked one's secondary analysis (primary analysis being the preparation of a policy document for the congregation), or the transition from a 104 x 104 to a 24 x 24 variable matrix.

The actual testing of the research hypotheses, linking each causal step in the research model (hypotheses 1-8), was left to chapter four. An abbreviated version of the model to be tested was as follows:

```
Inner motivation     Satisfaction     Total Change
                       Type of Change

Outer motivation     Dissatisfaction  Total Change
                       Type of dissatisfaction
```

Starting with the right end of the model, and working backwards step-by-step, one sought to establish the following connections:

1. Degree of change was dependent on degree of dissatisfaction
2. Degree of change was dependent on type of dissatisfaction
3. Type of change was dependent on degree of dissatisfaction
4. Type of change was dependent on type of dissatisfaction
5. Degree of dissatisfaction was dependent on type of motivation
6. Type of dissatisfaction was dependent on type of motivation
7. Degree of change was dependent on type of motivation
8. Type of change was dependent on type of motivation.

In addition, background variables were introduced, such as age, qualifications, etc., of respondents, thought to influence the major research variables, above. Tests employed were the standard statistical techniques of correlation, crosstabulation and regression, analysis, and rejection of the null hypotheses was set at the 0.05 level of significance.

From the testing of the hypotheses it emerged that hypotheses 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8, could be accepted in their entirety, with occasional minor modification. Doubt remained with regard to hypotheses 2, 4 and 6, those hypotheses treating of type of dissatisfaction.

Chapter five attempted to investigate the model as a whole, in contrast to the piecemeal approach of the preceding chapter. To this end, one employed factor, path and content, analysis. The main outcome of this latter threefold analysis was the upholding of the overall research model. However, after the outcome of the factor analysis, it was seen that it was more appropriate, and a good deal simpler, to speak of predominance of dissatisfaction rather than to insist on its constituent types. For this reason types of dissatisfaction were deleted from further analysis. In the path analysis that followed one also omitted open-ended questions on change and religious experience from consideration. This latter variable, while associated with individual dissatisfaction, had not been associated with any of the other research variables to any marked degree. One may draw one of two conclusions from this: either the scales for religious experience were not sufficiently well designed, or religious experience itself, as a variable, played little part in explaining types of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and religious belonging. Whatever the outcome of this choice, it does suggest that further research into the variable of religious experience is required by colleagues in the field, who, until now, have tended to give it insufficient attention. This last suggestion leads one to the topic of suggested areas of further
research, as does the importance attached to cross-cultural findings, as gleaned from the analysis by province, carried out in this chapter, (5). However, before turning to the second half of the current chapter, dealing with areas of further research, one may make a few concluding observations, with regard to the research as a whole and to the empirical section in particular.

The results of one's research, though not spectacular, are nevertheless significant. They do show that type of religious belonging, as stated in one's model, follows type of motivation and the predominance of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Moreover, by considering other independent variables, such as age, cultural background, etc., one should be able to predict, with a certain degree of reliability, the type of religious belonging desired by an individual or group. Such conclusions, one maintains, are not of mere academic interest to those intent on studying female religious or other members of the Catholic Church. They also contain policy implications as well. One may illustrate this last point, by way of summary, by taking each of the types of religious belonging in turn.

One has suggested that there is a certain amount of external evidence indicating that the total institution mentality in the Catholic Church is on the decline. Little attention is now paid to the Roman Curia, the Holy Roman Rota, the one-time Holy Office and its memories of the Inquisition, and the heavy-handed authoritarianism associated with such institutions. It has been suggested that Vatican II has been largely responsible for this decline (even though, like the Reformation itself, there are conflicting opinions regarding the cause of the Council), and that reaction to the bureaucratic image of the Church has taken place. However, this does not mean that the total institution mentality has disappeared for ever, nor that it cannot be found in certain areas of the Catholic Church. One can, however,
be prepared to recognise the symptoms of the total institution mentality, and in this way avoid the mistakes of certain inglorious periods of Church history. The total institution mentality is noted for its extreme inner motivation and self-interest orientation. It seeks to perpetuate the status quo by appeals to authority, rational or otherwise. Its directedness towards ascription further suggests that such a mentality begins, and is to be found, in men who tend to abuse leadership and power for the furtherance of their own ends. If Pin and Houtart are right, the total institution mentality also thrives where motivation is deliberately kept at a low level, certainly the case at one time in Latin America. It may be just wishful thinking to hope that Goffmanque convents, boarding schools, presbyteries and seminaries, will automatically die out, or that motivation in such institutions can be altered. However, one's research should have taught one to be more optimistic. Coercive and anomic compliance structures can only last or emerge anew where it is assumed that the Catholic Church is an unchanging organisation. Refusal to make this assumption on part of Church membership defeats the total institution mentality. Thus while the total institution mentality may exist at present for a variety of vested interests (and as such is included in one's model), it is questionable that it will continue to endure to the same extent in the future. Alternative forms of membership encouraged by Vatican II should tend to diminish the force of the total institutional mentality in the context of pluriform religious belonging.

Familial belonging still remains in many areas of the Catholic Church, where inner motivation and satisfaction (sometimes apathy) prevail. One has also suggested that this form of belonging may be more evident in non-Western countries, relying as they do, on their distinct, yet Catholic, traditions. However, one also finds familial belonging in the West, particularly where Catholics see their religion as one of comfort. The challenge of change is too much for them
and they escape responsibility by either directly relying on others
("Father says so"), or by creating a situation of nostalgia. One's inquiry has revealed that such a mentality is more prevalent among the elderly than the young. It is strange, therefore, that little is done in the Catholic Church for the elderly (unless they are sick), or that few attempts are made to help them assimilate change to which they have not been accustomed. The resulting feelings of alienation and anomie are felt to be only dispelled by belonging to a group where the individual(s) is wanted. However, by belonging to such a group he becomes joined to others similarly craving for care and affection. The effect, unfortunately, is that the group itself becomes isolated from other groups in the Church and in society. The main focus of concern is the members themselves; their only interest is common self-interest. Where such a situation becomes exaggerated the group can become extremely parochial in outlook, and, at times, view other groups of Catholics as rival out-groups. Satisfaction with one's own group may indeed be quite high, with the engendered sense of identity and belonging supplied, and security bestowed by reference to a traditional leader. However, the policy and practical implications for this type of religious belonging in the Catholic Church can on occasions be quite unacceptable to others. One only has to think of the current situation in Northern Ireland. A similar ghetto mentality may be detected in the approach many Catholics have towards education.

According to the precepts of familial belonging, Catholic children are to be taught a series of subjects from a Catholic standpoint, they are to be kept apart from other members of society during their school years, and they in turn when they marry and have children of their own, are intended to continue the policy of isolation for their offspring. That such an attitude is condoned and encouraged can be seen from the excessive expenditure on Catholic schools in diocesan and national budgets. That such a system is desirable is not for the sociologist to say. He may only point to the effects of such a mentality -
the lack of numbers of Catholics who participate in public life and who undertake positions of social responsibility, etc. In so doing, he may use as evidence Catholic journals that headline the utterances of Catholic M.P.'s or record those goals scored by Catholic feet. The theologians too might add that familial belonging in the Catholic Church obstructs the very mission of the Church itself to teach all nations. Winter puts the problem very well with the title of his book: Mission or Maintenance?

One should not, however, underestimate the importance of familial belonging, both for the Church and for society as a whole. For the former, Catholics who display familial belonging can be counted on for their loyalty and orthodoxy. Consequently Church leadership will tend to rely on such Catholics in times of doctrinal unrest or political upheaval. The visible strength of the official Church is thus highly dependent on those Catholics who express preference for familial belonging. For society this may or may not have an adverse effect. Catholics of the above persuasion also have votes. That being the case, they may often act as pressure groups, affecting matters of social or economic policy. One thinks of the contraception and abortion issues in this context. While only a naive politician would ignore the "Catholic vote," the more astute might consider it necessary to champion specifically Catholic causes in a marginal constituency, which in turn could affect the outcome of later political debates. For this reason one suggests that appraisal be taken as to the extent of familial belonging in the Catholic Church.

Closed community belonging relies more on non-Western membership and less on the elderly than was the case for familial belonging. It also numbers among its ranks a fairly high proportion of those possessing university qualifications. One saw that this characterised the initial charismatic and anti-institutional stance taken by these groups before eventual routinisation.

It is further quite likely that such a form of religious belonging
is less evident in the Catholic Church than family or open network belonging, confined, as it is, to more bizarre anti-institutional, though authoritarian, behaviour. In this sense it is less of a force to be reckoned with by Church and State authorities. However, one should remember the impact made by student protest groups of the late '60's, particularly in the sphere of civil rights. Many such groups, while initiating their campaigns in a euphoria of charismatic protest, carried their ideas to the extreme of becoming closed communities. Again one thinks of the Jesus people as the obvious example in a religious context. However, in the present climate of opinion, it appears that such groups are having little effect both in the Church and in society as a whole. Don Franzoni and Isolotto might make headlines for a day, but as forces they do not give much cause for concern. One feels that this is largely attributable to their overriding inner motivation. Had such groups been less self-seeking, then their appeals might have won more universal acceptance. When inner-directedness is so clearly in evidence, it is relatively easy for other members of the Catholic Church to consider them as eccentric or deviant, and not contributing either to the good of the Church or mankind. The important thing is to identify closed community belonging, and once having done that, to allow it to follow its own course of routinisation and other corollaries associated with such autozoic groups.

In open network belonging lies both a hope and a danger for the Catholic Church. The outer motivation of these members gives clear witness to the carrying out of the Gospel ideals and a sense of hope, in that these ideals may form the basis, not only for Christian unity, but also for that of mankind. One is also encouraged by the fact that so many young people appear to share views based on universal interest, issues that range from the combating of poverty to world peace. In them, one can argue, lies our hope for tomorrow. Their critique of the abuses connected with the institutionalisation of the Church and society, too,
as shown by their predominant dissatisfaction, bodes well for man's amelioration. A more responsible attitude is shown towards theology. Faith is seen as a commitment to a Christ living in one's fellow man. Grace is understood as being merited, rather than being passively received. Religion is seen as a bond that can unite man in a brotherhood, based on notions of Christian Humanism and immanence.

However, the danger of such "prophetic" membership is that it is unstable. It takes up a variety of causes, based on fluctuating interests, aims and goals, which may lack any permanence. How is this to be reconciled with the more perennial elements of the Church and State? How can change orientated membership thrive when peace and tranquillity are desired...? Is there not the danger too that those who offer a constructive critique of the Church and society may become intolerant in their demands and fail to communicate with those associated with other types of religious belonging?

It is true that such dangers exist where one may have up to as much as 30% of open network belonging in the Catholic Church. However, one holds that such a concept of danger is only voiced by those who either will not admit change or else who are intent on preserving the status quo. In other words, danger of change in the Catholic Church is only feared by those who find it unthinkable. Such people, one maintains, propose an organisational model of the Church, a model that is not only unreal in the light of the aftermath of Vatican II, but one that is nullified and invalidated by the very presence of those who advocate open network belonging. It is this last group that suggests the need for an alternative pluriform model of belonging in the Catholic Church, while permitting remaining members of the Church to follow their own persuasions. Thus one feels that by identifying outer motivation and dissatisfaction (with consequent open network belonging) in certain areas in the Catholic Church, one has made a point that answers the question of the title:—there is a need for an alternative model of religious belonging in a changing Catholic Church, precisely because
it is the nature of the Church to change. One suspects that it is only in the hereafter that there will be no change, for then, presumably, all will be subject to the laws of eternity, in which context time and matter have no meaning. Only then will it be absurd to speak of alternative models of religious belonging. Until that time, however, one feels it is a worthwhile exercise for the sociologist to try and discern the degree and extent of open network belonging under varying conditions and circumstances, not only in the Catholic Church, but also in all comprised by the general heading of "religion." In this way one will be able to assess not only the present state of a church or churches, but be able to widen the Sociology of Religion into a predictive instrument for discerning the future.

2. Suggested areas for further research

Suggested areas for further research often spring from the deficiencies and 'lacunae' of a piece of research that has been written up, presented and criticised. In this sense no research can ever be described as 'complete' or 'definitive.' It commences with a certain number of hypotheses, derived from prior research, and seeks to develop them in the light of original data. However, its own conclusions are subject to scrutiny and further testing by colleagues. Many conclusions may be found wanting; others may be rejected; others may be limited by additional conditions. Probably very few general conclusions will survive the test of time. Indeed it is difficult to pinpoint any sociological theory that has remained unmodified in its original format. The transitory nature of empirical investigation does not mean however that it is a useless exercise. Such a pessimistic interpretation of sociological investigation, to one's own way of thinking, is based upon an absolutist view of knowledge that fails to allow for evolution in scientific thought. If the conclusions of a piece of research are to be of any value, then, in one's own opinion, they should be capable of refutation and even complete invalidation.
In Hegelian terms, one would say that the value of a thesis lies in the possibility of an antithesis and eventual synthesis.

One's own research is to be viewed in the above light. It is certainly not the last word on religious belonging in the Catholic Church. In some ways it is only the beginning. Moreover, it would be gratifying to feel that one's model and hypotheses were capable of criticism and refutation by others. In that way one would feel that one had contributed something to the evolution of theory in the Sociology of Religion. By pointing to deficiencies in one's own research, it is thus hoped that this will pave the way to the formulation of an alternative set of hypotheses that will serve as an antithesis to the present thesis.

One has mentioned in passing some areas where one feels improvements could be made. This subsection attempts to bring these points together. They will be treated under the following headings:

a) Technique
b) Motivation
c) Satisfaction
d) Religious belonging
e) Background variables
f) Prediction
g) Theory: the need for a socio-theology

a) Technique

One mentioned earlier the relative lack of qualitative treatment of data and the reasons why quantitative techniques were preferred. One of the explanations offered was one's lack of expertise in tackling multi-cultural data without sufficient socio-anthropological training. The relative lack of qualitative treatment of data is nevertheless a deficiency and one that can hopefully be remedied by others more qualified.

Here one shall briefly outline areas where one feels that content analysis could be applied. First, a more thorough investigation could be carried out on the freely offered suggestions for 'community change.' So far one has grouped these suggestions for the whole
congregation according to type of religious belonging in the following way:

**Open Network Belonging**

Smaller communities are advocated for apostolic reasons, such as working and living among the people one intends to serve. This in turn brings about a change in life-style, in particular forfeiting large country properties when one's work is directed to the poor in urban or slum areas. Greater freedom for the use of individual talents is advocated, so that sisters can become united with the people they serve, on the basis, not of duty, but of interest. This implies greater relaxation of convent rules, with their emphasis on locality. It also implies a greater relationship of trust between superior (animator or team leader) and sister. The relationship is seen as one between equals, not one based on status or ascription, where decisions for the external apostolate are reached jointly. The local superior is thus not a 'yes man' constantly referring to higher authority, but rather one who risks herself as a member of a local group dedicated to a particular, though possibly changing, course of action.

The underlined words were those highlighted in the overall replies. The following illustrates the frequency of the above ideas by province:

**TABLE LXXXV**

Content of replies concerning network change by province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Aus</th>
<th>Can</th>
<th>Eng</th>
<th>Fra</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>NZS</th>
<th>NZN</th>
<th>Bang</th>
<th>Viet</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>20</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>37</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>26</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>130</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Family Belonging

Here the emphasis is on affectivity and harmony. Greater charity is advocated and less polarisation between young and old. Houses are to be smaller so that a greater family spirit and homelier atmosphere may reign. All should pull their weight both in work and in relaxation together, and an atmosphere of welcome should be in evidence. All should be performed for the good of the whole, where the virtue of loyalty to one's superior and family is of utmost importance. Again one notes the frequency of the above ideas by province:

**TABLE LXVI**

Content of replies concerning family change, by province

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Aus</th>
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<th>Eng</th>
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<th>Ind</th>
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<th>NZN</th>
<th>Bang</th>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Smaller coms.</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>87</td>
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</table>

Closed Community Belonging

Again the size of houses was brought up, but this time for the reason that it would facilitate congregational administration procedure, and be in line with the principle of subsidiarity and a policy of decentralisation. Here there was more emphasis on authority and the rule of the superior, seen by one individual as a type of manageress. Individualism was to be eradicated, as were people who could be classed as misfits either through lack of conformity or for health or psychological
reasons. Movements should be accounted for so that all know what an individual is doing. Silence is advocated. The distribution by province was as follows:

**TABLE LXIII**

Content of replies concerning closed community change, by province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Aus</th>
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As with the few examples given of types of religious belonging (in the subsection of chapter V on content analysis), the above analysis is far from sophisticated. One thus feels that there is room for looking at more subtle nuances and indicators of types of religious belonging. Nevertheless the above brief breakdown by province marks a beginning for further elaboration by statistical tests based on one's research hypotheses. One can examine also the age, qualifications, etc., of the individuals, categorising types of remark by these independent variables. More elaborate forms of content analysis can also be applied, based on the use of words, adjectives, verbs, style, etc., as too the designing of TAT tests for the respondents. While admitting a certain lack of familiarity with such a line of inquiry, one nevertheless feels that it would be most suitable for one's data, and present a fruitful complement to the testing of one's hypotheses.
Content analysis could also be extended to a closer examination of in-depth interviews (some 89 of which have already been carried out) and a cross-cultural comparison be made on the basis of such interviews. Alternatively, a single province could be interviewed in depth, as a follow up to the questionnaire of 1971, and a content analysis of the responses could form the basis of a longitudinal study. This last tactic has been employed among the sisters of the Canadian province. However, with the responses still being analysed, one cannot report the findings here. Finally, one has suggested the application of qualitative analysis to written and more formalised material, such as the Constitutions, the life of the foundress, rules, timetables, etc. By conducting such an investigation one would be able to see the interplay between responses and the environment in which they were given. This line of approach is suggested by some recent work of Mary Douglas in a community of English nuns.

Another technique which could have been applied to one's data is that of sociometric analysis. Related to religious belonging, this could have been a most useful analytical instrument. Indeed, up until the fourth and penultimate redaction of the questionnaire, two questions, capable of being treated by sociometric analysis, were included in the inquiry. However, after consultation with the major superiors of the congregation, it was decided to omit these two questions from the final version for fear that their personal nature might tend to reduce the otherwise high return rate. One also attempted to discover which respondents were local or provincial superiors (once the questionnaires had been returned), with a view to comparing replies of actual and potential leaders within local communities. However, this latter attempt was frustrated by the guarantee of anonymity which had been given to the respondents. Detection of superiors would have entailed recourse to the files of the congregation and matching position in a community by given date of birth. In a few cases sisters mentioned the fact that they were superiors and in these cases one attempted a
post-factum sociometric analysis of the replies. It emerged, for example, that in one New Zealand community, the sisters, sensing that the actual superior was dissatisfied with her job, had aligned their replies with those of another sister in the community, who could thus be described as the potential leader. Had it been possible to match potential with actual leaders in each community of the congregation, then, one feels that the policy report presented to the sisters in 1972 would have had added interest for the major superiors. One also might have had something to contribute with regard to the paucity of research into leadership qualities in the Catholic Church. One final benefit of sociometric techniques would have been in the designing of religious communities by compatibility factors. Suggestions could have been made as to the grouping of individuals by motivation, interest, satisfaction, age, qualifications, etc., an important contribution in the formation of policy for any congregation. The fact that sociometric techniques were not employed in the survey, is itself a deficiency, one that one has attempted to remedy in the recent interviews conducted in the Canadian province. Here one was looking at religious belonging at three levels: that of the congregation, of province and of local community. The sociometric questions were:

1. If you had the opportunity of transferring to another province, which one would be your first/last selection? Why?
2. In the Canadian province, is your present community/fraternity the one to which you would choose to belong?
   FILTER
   Which of the other Canadian communities/fraternities do you feel that you could most easily settle into? Why?
3. Could you tell me the name of the sister in your own community/another Canadian community/another community in the congregation:
   a) with whom you would most like to work?
   b) with whom you would most like to go on vacation?
   c) from whom you would most readily accept advice (and could trust)?
   d) whom you consider to be the most spiritual?

At present the data from these questions is being analysed. Hopefully, however, one will be able to draw up the standard designs, indicating
the 'stars' and 'isolates' at all three levels, and thereby measure not only degree of belonging (in terms of motivation and (dis)satisfaction evidenced by the replies from other questions) but also comptability and leadership qualities (cf. question 3). These results can further be matched to type of belonging, and it is hoped that the sociometric analysis will thereby deepen one's understanding of types of religious belonging. At present interim results look promising.

b) Motivation

One has already explained one's preference for adopting the dichotomy of inner and outer motivation. However, this preference should not be taken to imply that other motivational typologies are less worthwhile. With regard to one's own data, for instance, it might be useful and interesting to recategorise the responses according to the typologies of Neal and Pin.

With regard to Neal's classification of motivation according to pre-Vatican and post-Vatican categories, it would be possible to examine in more detail her hypothesis that the former type of motivation led to interest change, while the latter tended towards value change. Such a line of inquiry would have the merit of distinguishing closed community and family belonging from open network belonging.

Pin's continuum of motivation, extending from the cosmobiological to the prophetic, could also be looked at more closely, particularly with regard to prophetic motivation, that type which Buralassi and Stryckman & Gaudet suggest is on the increase in the Catholic Church. One could also examine the hypothesis that the prophetically motivated were more satisfied with their jobs, because they were acting according to their own model of the Church (J. Ford). A study of prophetic motivation could also find support in Weber. One feels that a study of prophetic motivation in the Catholic Church would be more than enough to provide sufficient material for a thesis or research project.
(Dis)satisfaction

One noted in one's own inquiry that hypotheses 2, 4 and 6, treating of type of dissatisfaction were not sufficiently compelling to warrant inclusion in one's path analysis. Instead one found that it was a simpler and more viable exercise to speak of overall dissatisfaction. In other words, it appeared that respondents did not distinguish clearly in their own minds between dissatisfaction due to problems of identity (individual dissatisfaction), status (outer dissatisfaction and role (congregational dissatisfaction)). In many cases they were seen to overlap and often the presence of one was accompanied by the presence of the other two types.

However, an alternative explanation for lack of predictive power of type of dissatisfaction is also possible, namely that the indicators for categorising these types did not possess sufficient discriminatory power. If that was the case, and one has no means of deciding on the basis of one's available data, then it would suggest the construction of alternative sets of indicators for the above variables. Moreover, such a piece of research, if carried out, would be breaking fresh ground in the field of the Sociology of Religion, as to the best of one's knowledge no socio-religious survey has dealt with all three types of dissatisfaction simultaneously. This form of inquiry could also substantiate or invalidate one's own conclusion that dissatisfied individuals do not distinguish type of dissatisfaction in their own minds. Further analysis might also reveal that satisfaction, rather than dissatisfaction, should be examined according to predominant type, or indeed that a new typology should be devised for categorising satisfaction. Again this latter inquiry would be original in socio-religious research.
d) Religious belonging

In one's own inquiry one omitted an empirical investigation of the total institution mentality. However, it is quite likely, in an area other than a congregation of female religious that the total institution mentality may be more in evidence. One thus feels that one's own study could be well complemented by an examination of a group more traditional than an international congregation of missionary sisters. One closely allied group that suggests itself is that of a closed order of contemplative nuns. Were one to investigate an order, such as the Poor Clares, for example, then it would be possible to combine both sets of results (thereby obtaining all four types of religious belonging), while still subjecting them to hypotheses linking motivation and (dis)satisfaction to the four types of belonging.

One would also like to see a clearer distinction made between family and closed community belonging, other than the criteria of age, western cultural background and qualifications. If the previously suggested analysis into types of satisfaction were to be carried out, then, one feels, one would have a method of distinguishing the two types of belonging by using one of the major research variables.

The instability associated with open network belonging suggests that careful monitoring of such affiliation to the Catholic Church is required. In this way a potential problem for Church leaders could at least be partially solved, and hopefully the excesses of certain nationalistic tendencies in the Catholic Church could be avoided.

e) Background variables

One explained in the treatment of the independent research variables, that no variable concerning respondents' family and childhood background had been included, due to the inconclusive nature of those surveys that had employed such variables. A further reason is, of course, that the introduction of a variable such as 'tense family background' (actually used by Greeley in the survey of the priesthood in the United
States), requires a certain amount of psychological treatment and understanding. Perhaps the explanation for confused results in the employment of psychological variables by sociologists can be sought in the fact that sociologists sometimes overstep the bounds of their discipline into a territory with which they are not readily familiar.

One therefore suggests that the area of respondents' backgrounds is one in which sociologists and psychologists could mutually cooperate for common benefit. This suggestion gains strength when one examines socio-religious surveys conducted by those trained in both disciplines (eg. Carrier), or where teams of psychologists and sociologists offer complementary reports after surveying the same group of respondents (cf. Greeley and Kennedy in their investigations of the priesthood in the United States).

As regards one's own survey, one consulted a psychologist and a Jungian psychiatrist, particularly when one came to an investigation of motivation. From their remarks it would appear that what was still lacking in one's own investigation was an examination of the respondents' childhood experiences and period of religious formation. One therefore suggests that where possible socio-religious research of a similar nature should at least be alerted to the need for interdisciplinary consultation. Where this is forthcoming and sociologically viable indicators can be constructed, then, one feels that a greater percentage of variance can possibly be explained in types of religious belonging.

f) Prediction

It is the nature of sociological inquiry not only to seek causal explanations between sets of observed phenomena, but where possible to be able to predict from the existence of one or more variables under one set of conditions to the likelihood of an observable outcome under the same or a similar set of conditions.

From one's own inquiry one predicts the likelihood of increased open
network belonging where outer motivation and dissatisfaction predominate. One has noted, for example, that the congregation one studied was not unlike 400 congregations of sisters in the United States, and indeed could be described as representative. Ongoing analysis from the United States further suggests that those congregations displaying post-Vatican (outer) motivation, and hence predominant orientation towards value change (open network belonging), are surviving, whereas those that are more inner-directed towards interest or non change are experiencing difficulties in maintaining their existence. From these unpublished reports (sent by Sr. Neal to oneself), it would appear that one has grounds for predicting at least the short term survival of one's own congregation.

Similarly, one may generalise from one's own analogous findings to those of the C.I.S.W. survey and predict from the presence of type of motivation and type of religious belonging to life expectancy for congregations in general. It is further suggested that sisters, representative as they are in many ways of other members of the Catholic Church, may allow one to predict durability, or otherwise, for other groups in the Catholic Church, dependent on the same variables of motivation, (dis)satisfaction and change. However, before such an overall conclusion can be reached, it is necessary to examine various groups in the Catholic Church according to type of belonging. This last area of possible and necessary study suggests itself as another area of further research.

If one takes the various groups claiming affiliation with the Catholic Church just in England and Wales alone, for example, then it would be more than interesting to classify them according to the types suggested by one's own research. As one writes, one has a list of 144 groups and associations of the Catholic Church in this country. Moreover, these groups only account for institutions at the diocesan, national or international, level. Should one investigate local groups, then one suspects that the above figure would be increased many times.
A preliminary inspection of this list of 144 associations suggests a
division of groups according to whether they cater for profession,
interest, status, ethnic position, needs (physical and psychological),
and inner or outer directed forms of apostolic activity. Further
investigation of the above list shows that it is also possible to
categorise the various groups and associations according to types of
belonging. Instances of family belonging can be found, for instance,
in groups such as: The Association for Latin Liturgy, The London
Caledonian Catholic Association, The Chinese Catholic Centre, The Little
Club, The Society of St. Augustine of Canterbury, etc. Examples of
closed community belonging may be found in: The Bedfordshire Catholic
Police Guild, The Catholic Film Institute, The Catholic Truth Society,
The Civil Aviation Guild, The Catholic Pharmaceutical Guild, etc. Open
network belonging may be more apparent in groups such as: Pax Christi,
The Newman Association, Ad Lucem, Catholic Overseas Appointments, etc.

One feels that it would be most rewarding to undertake a study
of these and other groups of Catholics from the perspective of
religious belonging. One would also be able to examine the various
influences they had on the same or similar groups in other countries,
and on current thinking in the Catholic Church as a whole. It is
hypothesised that those groups that are of an open network variety
and international in membership will tend to bring more pressure to
bear on the Catholic Church as a whole (not the same as the official
Church, as one has previously observed) than more local groups which
are more inner-directed. The Young Christian Workers, for instance,
will probably have more influence than the Pueri Cantores or the
St. Francis of Assisi Catholic Ramblers' Club, and may well affect
future social teaching of the Church to no inconsiderable extent, as
was the case with Cardinal Cardijn, the founder of the movement.

At present, research is being conducted in England into Catholic
Middle Class attitudes and behaviour by Hornsby-Smith. He has seen
the value in interviewing those directing the major commissions
dealing with the Catholic Church in this country. He also hopes to extend his analysis to that of an investigation of various Catholic groups, many of which are composed of largely middle class members. One eagerly awaits the results of his inquiry. Hopefully they will cover that area of research which one has suggested would tend to complement and further test one's own. In that sense they may add to the predictive quality of one's own research model.

g) Theory: the need for a socio-theology

In the introduction to the theoretical section of this work, one argued that an interdisciplinary approach (between sociology and theology) was required for a viable discussion into the nature of the Catholic Church and with regard to degree and types of commitment in it. In concluding one's study one should state that one is now, more than ever, of the same opinion. In thus stating one's position one realises that one may not be fully in agreement with one's colleagues, many of whom have not seen it necessary, or have not had the opportunity, to pursue a theological as well as a sociological training. Nevertheless one maintains this point of view for the following reasons:

First, socio-religious research borders, in many cases, on what may be broadly termed "the supernatural." Questions of belief, practice, religious experience, etc., are treated, all of which have a theological as well as a sociological content. To treat these areas simply from the perspective of one discipline strikes one as being too one-sided an approach. In so doing one further runs the risk of either treating dimensions of religiosity as wholly mysterious and unobservable (exaggerated theologising), or else of considering them to be entirely human and natural phenomena (exaggerated positivism). Both single stances are heretical from each disciplinary standpoint; one faces the apparently unresolvable dichotomy of Monophysitism or Nestorianism, of Gnosis or Materialism. However, by combining both disciplines together, one is in the position firstly
to isolate the Catholicity of any religious dimension (by application of theology), and then to treat it from an attitudinal and behavioural perspective (by sociological application). In so doing, one resolves the dichotomy by adding a 'tertium quid.'

Second, an appreciation of religious change requires a theological understanding of previously held positions, both as regards content and form. Without such insight it is possible to confuse both non-change and evolution with change, particularly in the field of dogma. Put in theological terms, appreciation of doctrinal change requires an understanding of the 'theological note' associated with a point of doctrine. One maintains that a sociologist cannot derive such an understanding from his own discipline. On the other hand, the theologian is less well equipped compared to the sociologist in deciding exactly what marks a significant change in norms and values, with consequent repercussions on institutionalised behaviour. The combination of both disciplines, however, makes an understanding of religious change both viable and possible.

Third, as one has seen when discussing religious belonging, either approach taken in isolation can produce quite bizarre results. The theologian, arguing from a sacramental position, may come to the conclusion that 20% of the world's population belongs to the Catholic Church. The sociologist, on the other hand, using strict criteria of Guttman scaling, may find that only one million or so people in the world can be called Catholics. In all likelihood both figures are inaccurate, as they do not permit the study of the enactment of roles by those who state affiliation to the Catholic Church, i.e. those who belong to the Church 'de facto.'

The debate could continue. The theologian could argue that the sociologist fails to appreciate the distinction between 'gratia ex opere operantis' and 'gratia ex opere operato.' The sociologist might retort that he is not interested in such a distinction, as he is more concerned with monitoring the effects of grace. Both approaches,
of course are incomplete. The theologian while making a valid distinction then makes the mistake of overlooking their separate effects. The sociologist, on the other hand, can never be sure that what he is observing is the object of his inquiry, as he has no criteria for discerning grace, let alone the effects of something he cannot detect. Placed together, both disciplines can examine the conditions and effects necessary for two distinct theological outlooks: one based on merit, the other on free will.

The discussion could extend to the nature of the act of faith, with the sociologist seemingly oblivious of the distinction between what is rational and what is reasonable, and the theologian assuming in an orthodox, but utterly unrealistic, manner, that a baby without the use of reason is capable of making such an act of faith.

The possibilities for one-sided approaches leading to misunderstanding and half truth, to one’s own way of thinking, are as many as the possibilities of mutual interdisciplinary collaboration. It would, however, require a further thesis to substantiate the points one is so briefly making at this point. Suffice to say that the method one has employed in the present research has been socio-theological. One’s treatment of change and non-change in the Catholic Church has followed a socio-theological argument, as has one’s examination of the dimensions of religiosity, decentralisation, interest groups, transcendence, immanence, motivation in prayer, etc. Each topic selected for analysis has, either directly or indirectly, been dealt with from a socio-theological perspective. In this way, and only in this way, one maintains, has it been possible to examine as wide a topic as types of belonging in the Catholic Church. The subject has been limited by value judgements, and these value judgements in turn have been dictated by an inchoate understanding of socio-theology.

Therefore one suggests finally as a major area of further research the undertaking of formal and empirical studies, which can gradually
build up socio-theology as a discipline in its own right. If this is the only insight offered by this piece of research, then one feels that the effort has been worthwhile.

Hence to conclude on a thoroughly controversial note one leaves the reader with the following thought upon which to meditate: Is it possible that the reason why the Sociology of Religion has appeared to lag behind other branches of Sociology is because Religion rejects Sociology as a science, and Sociology attempts to examine the effects of religion, a reality it cannot define and in whose nature it has not the operational terms to even display interest? One thinks so. One also feels that many successful marriages are formed from apparently incompatible personalities.
Since completing section one of the main text certain recent findings have come to light which tend to support one's theoretical claims.

Advances in what has been termed 'Christian Humanism' can be seen particularly in Latin America. Gheerbrant's *The Rebel Church in Latin America* has recently been translated and is now available in Penguin. Of particular interest is the highlighting of the important contribution of the C.E.L.A.M. Medellin statement. In the same Penguin series reference should also be made to Gerassi's *Camilo Torres, Revolutionary Priest*. The well documented *Anno Domini* programmes (BBC 1: 13 and 27 October, 1974) have argued that the pro-Marxist stance of priests in Nicaragua and Chile is not only compatible with Christianity but that it is often the norm for priests and bishops working in those and other Latin American countries.

In Britain, Adrian Hastings has recently published his allegations of Portuguese atrocities in Mozambique (*Wiriyamu*, Search Press, 1974) and his findings have been supported by an independent investigating body of the United Nations (December 1974). One can argue that the above examples are instances of change in the Catholic Church consonant with one's description of a movement towards open network belonging. In all cases the media were involved and support came from bodies outside the Catholic Church, united out of common concern and interest.

On the liturgical front, one notes an increased interest and involvement in Charismatic Renewal among Catholics in Britain (cf. BBC 2 of 24 November 1974, showing a group of Catholic Pentecostals under the leadership of Dom. David Bird at the Cenacle in Burnham). A simpler and more radical approach to liturgical renewal in Holland was documented by *The Universe* (18 October 1974). The Moses and Aaron Church in Amsterdam, to which the article referred, one was able to see for oneself a fortnight later. Again, such 'experimentation'
can only be encompassed by a pluriform model of religious belonging.

Progress in the sphere of oecumenism can be seen from the recent establishment of a Secretariat for Islam by the Vatican, (cf. Catholic Herald, 25 October, 1974). Trevor Beeson's well researched Discretion and Valour (Fontana, 1974) also gives evidence of the transition from oecumenism to oecumenicity by pointing to the relative success of the Vatican's 'ostpolitik' in Warsaw Pact countries. Such trends, one maintains, would not only have been unobservable but also unthinkable in the Catholic Church thirty years ago.

However, if the total institution mentality within the Church appears to be decreasing and being replaced by open network belonging, one cannot see the same diminishing trends in family belonging. This latter suggestion is highlighted by the current situation in Ulster and the recent tendency for the Catholic community in Britain to become polarised into two hostile camps: one pro, the other anti-Irish. Perhaps the recent condemnation of the I.R.A. by Archbishop Dwyer (17, November 1974, cf. The Telegraph, 19 Nov 1974, The Universe 22 November, 1974) and a similar, though more ambivalent, statement made by the hierarchy of England and Wales (cf. Outlook, BBC Radio 4, 27 November 1974, and interview with Bishop Mc Guiness, Radio 4, 28 November – Today Programme) have, if anything, helped reinforce the in-group religious behaviour patterns of Irish and English Catholics.

1. However, commentators point to Vatican intransigence on issues such as abortion and euthanasia, cf. Sunday, BBC Radio 4, 1 December 1974 with reference to the Le Monde article criticising the Vatican statement on abortion and its alleged interference with recent French legislation. Similarly, Pope Paul VI is considered to have adopted a too authoritarian approach in his recent criticism of the Jesuits (cf. his address to Fr Pedro Arrupe and the General Congregation of Jesuits, Rome December, 1974). It can be argued, however, that the Jesuits themselves give evidence of increased open network belonging despite their drop in numbers over the last decade from 36,000 to 29,400.
Finally, one should emphasise the fact that although recent sources tend to confirm the existence of different types of belonging to the Catholic Church (and hence one's suggested pluriform model), the picture thus obtained is far from bearing the hallmarks of stability once associated with the Catholic Church and the organisational framework that attempted to encompass it. One has explained already the instability associated with open network belonging, as also with that brought about by the movement within and between various types of religious belonging. Perhaps the most unstable quadrant in one's model is that of the total institution mentality, which paradoxically one would have thought to be the most firmly based. One recalls that this is the area where the official leadership of the Catholic Church resides. Yet now this leadership faces several serious problems. If it refuses to acknowledge the existence of pluriform religious belonging (a possible interpretation of Pope Paul VI's recent Apostolic Letter as reported in The Universe, 20 December 1974) then it risks losing its influence over Catholics to the left of one's model. If, on the other hand, Church leaders accept wholeheartedly pluriformity of belonging then they must realise that the way is open to the following consequences:

1. a likely factioning of Catholic interests along national lines; in some cases this could amount to open schism
2. the possible alienation of 60 million Catholics living behind The Iron Curtain due to differences of policy and interest between men such as Wyszinski and Casaroli and the two opposed types of belonging they represent - family and open network (cf. P. Hebblethwaite, The Vatican Power Game, in The Observer, 22 December 1974).
3. a possible return to externalisation of conflict within types of religious belonging, particularly family belonging.

It would appear that Church leaders are attempting a middle course action. While acknowledging pluriformity, they are doing little to encourage it. In some cases the quest for stability has meant the reintroduction of events such as The Holy Year of 1975,
which hopefully may unite Catholics of a more traditional outlook. However, this latter ploy has not gone uncriticised. Catholics of a post-Vatican II mentality find the commercialism and the Jubilee Indulgence associated with The Holy Year not only distasteful, but also alien to the spirit of oecumenicity underlying their open network belonging. In other words, the diplomatically chosen theme of The Holy Year — that of reconciliation — may only succeed in bringing about even greater division among Catholics.

The middle course action adopted by Church leaders attempts to walk a tightrope offering benefits to the Left and comfort to the Right. To many observers of the Catholic Church such a policy may strike them as a form of religious schizophrenia. Triumphalism appears to exist alongside simplicity; vast investment programmes exist for their own sake while millions of dollars are spent by various Catholic relief organisations and agencies; peace is preached alongside the teaching of a Just War. The examples could continue, but more to the point is the question of how long such schizophrenic action can endure? To ask this question is really to pose another: just how accurate is the unstable model of pluriform religious belonging in the Catholic Church that one has presented? For many a sociologist this would be a pseudo problem; he is concerned with an explanation of the past and present, not the future. Personally one would hazard the guess that sooner or later the total institution mentality and the closed community will disappear by and large, leaving only open network and family belonging. Whether the removal of two quadrants will make for greater stability is again a subject of guesswork, however inspired. One somehow feels, however, that stability will no longer be a hallmark of the Catholic Church. Perhaps the pluriform model that one has presented marks the beginning of analysing the Catholic Church by means of elastic and dynamic models, ones that reflect a process of instability.
REFERENCES to SECTION ONE
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE


2. For example:

3. cf. Dr. Elizabeth Farians telling a conference of sisters at the Synod house of St. John the Divine that "If Jesus was not a feminist then he did not come from God.", quoted by M. Martin, Three Popes and a Cardinal, Hart-Davis, Mac Gibbon, London, 1973, p.273.


5. cf. section on religious experience, c.3 n.6 of present work.

6. Such figures can be attained by projecting two large surveys conducted among the Catholic laity, that of Rome 1969 C.I.R.I.S. and that among West German Catholics by Prof. Dr. Schmidtchen of the Allensberg Institut ( Herder Verlag, Freiburg, 1972 ).


10. cf. Lumen Gentium of Vatican II drawing on the Augustinian distinction between those who are baptised and those who belong with their heart.


12. Jn. 14. 2


15. Glock & Stark, op. cit. c. 2.


16. Ibid. c. 2

18. Ibid, pp. 34-39

19. J. Wach, Sociology of Religion, Chicago, 1944, c. 2


21. Carrier, op. cit. p. 38


23. His personal reflections on a sociological definition of religion can be examined in the first of his six introductory talks on The Sociology of Religion, Mercier Communications, Cork, 1973.


25. cf. definition of the situation by Thomas, Merton, etc.


27. cf. Glock and Stark, op. cit.


One has already noted the need for interdisciplinary collaboration as far as theology and sociology are concerned. In addition the fields of psychology and social anthropology should be taken into account in a cross-cultural study linking, motivation, satisfaction, and change, with a model of Church belonging. Here the writer,
29. while acknowledging the interplay of these last mentioned disciplines and his catechumenate appreciation of them, nevertheless prefers to emphasise where possible their sociological aspects. Thus many assumptions will be made with regard to motivation, satisfaction and change, which, though justifiable from a socio-theological angle, may seem highly questionable from a psychological or socio-anthropological point of view. Where assumptions of this nature are made they will be stated. The alternative to a step by step justification of psychological hypotheses that are taken as sociological lemmas, is silence, which, while being proverbially golden, has only limited value in the market of sociological research.

30. T. Newcomb, Social Psychology, pp.219 ss.
31. Carrier, op.cit. p.294
32. Ibid., pp.39-43
33. cf. Cohen, Modern Social Theory, c.7
34. Using Moore's definition of social change
36. By model one intends an interpretative schema of reality which seeks to answer a defined problem by providing a causal explanation of variables dependent on each other and linked by a series of hypotheses. Variables are made operational through indicators.
37. See, for example, the works of Weber, Troeltsch, von Wiese, Becker.
38. This oversimplification of organisation theory does not mean that all such theory can only tackle static institutions. However the limitations of organisational theory, faced with the dynamics of a changing Catholic Church, will be treated presently, cf.cc.3 & 4.
40. cf. Vatican Yearbook, 1973
43. Codex Iuris Canonici, op.cit.
45. Here one is accepting the popular Hegelian model of thesis-antithesis - synthesis. Justification for such acceptance can be found in the arrival at the christological, trinitarian, dogmatic formulations
of the 4th centuries of the Church. Evolution of dogma, according to the Hegelian dialectic, is to be found in Newman's Grammar of Assent and Lonergan's Insight, Longmans, London, 1958.

cf. Troeltsch, Die Soziallehren der Christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen, Mohr, Tubingen, 1912.

cf. M. Hill in Social Compass

cf. Gallup Poll of July 1 1969 in USA, Detroit and NORC surveys, West German laity survey, op.cit. See also Pro Mundi Vita, Western Youth and the Future of the Church, no.33, 1970

cf. Courrier Communautaire International for full bibliography.


J. Capo Bosch, Hacia una renovación de los cursos de cristianidad, Euramerica, Madrid, 1971

Based on The Grail, Pinner, Middlesex

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

2. B. Lonergan, Insight, op.cit. cf. also Existenz and Aggiornamento, Focus : A Theological Journal
3. Davis, op.cit.p.213
4. Ibid.p.217
7. Davis, op.cit.pp.206-7
8. Ibid.p.106
9. Ibid.p.107
10. Ibid.p.116
12. Davis, op.cit. pp.185 ss.
13. Ibid.pp.203-9
14. This argument is developed more fully in God's Grace in History by the same author
16. Ibid.p.16
17. Sheed & Ward, 1965
18. Estimated to have 50% of Catholic Church membership by the year 2000
19. Houtart and Pin, op.cit.pp.69-70
20. Ibid.p.78
21. Ibid.p.99
22. Ibid.p.134
23. cf. C.E.L.A.M., Conference of Latin American Bishops ( Catholic )
24. Pin and Houtart, op.cit, p.101
25. This term will be explained when one deals with motivation in chapter six of this first section
26. Houtart and Pin, op.cit.p.163
27. Ibid.pp.175 ss.
28. Ibid.p.229
29. Ibid.pp.230-1, 163 ss.
30. E. Pin, Hypothèses Relatives à la Désaffection Religieuse dans les Classes Inférieures, in Social Compass, IX, pp.515-37
31. E. Pin, Advantages and Disadvantages of the Professionalisation of the Priesthood, IDOC 68.2, l.21.68; 68.3, l.14.68
33. Houtart, Challenge to Change, op.cit, pp.23-43
34. Ibid.pp.56-68
35. Ibid.pp.92 to end
36. He is now lecturing in the United States
37. Still the director of F.E.R.E.S. in Louvain, in 1973 his main project was a study of popular forms of religiosity in Latin America, linked with the F.E.R.E.S. branch in Rio de Janeiro
40. Illich, Celebration of Awareness, op.cit, p.71
41. Ibid, p.79
42. Ibid, pp.10, 17
43. Ibid.p.75
44. Ibid.p.82
45. Article by Illich in America, 1961, quoted by Reimer, op.cit. note 1 to introduction.
46. Illich, op.cit.p.71
47. Ibid.p.129
48. 11 and 18 March, 1973
49. 11 March article, last paragraph
50. For a fuller treatment see J. Diez-Alegria, Teoria Generale del Diritto e dello Stato, Gregorian University Press, Rome, private notes.
51. As reported by M. Walsh in The Month, January 1971
53. Codex Iuris Canonicis, op.cit, canons 2257-2267.
54. Humanae Vitae and Sacerdotalis Coelibatus
55. See G. Schmidtchen, Zwischen Kirche und Gesellschaft, Herder,Freiburg 1972, as also surveys undertaken by Greeley, Fichter, and others, to which one later refers in chapter six of first section and chapter three of second section.
58. As has been argued in the editorial to Towards the Whole Truth : The Contribution of Sociology to the Catholic Church, G. Dann & M. Hornsby-Smith, eds. to be published by Mercier Press by end of this year, 1974.
61. Ibid. p.4
62. Ibid. pp.1-11
63. Ibid, pp.24-5
64. Ibid. pp.40-1
65. Ibid. pp.241-4
66. Ibid. pp.245-54
67. Ibid. pp.241-2
68. Ibid. p.41
70. Ibid. pp.12-14
71. Ibid. pp.71 ss
72. Ibid. pp.90 ss
73. Ibid. pp.128 ss
74. Ibid. p.138
75. Ibid. pp.151 ss
76. Ibid. pp.161 ss
77. Ibid. pp.175 ss
78. Ibid. pp.202 ss
79. Ibid. pp.286 ss
80. Ibid. pp.266 ss
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. cf. A. Alvarez Bolado, Reflections on Ambiguities in the Use of the Word "Church," in Concilium, vol.6, no.7, June 1971, pp.61-70
2. pp.226-9
3. Of 10 February 1967, as follows: "And so one could go on to show that Fr. Mc Cabe is not in good faith; or to say the least is utterly immature and not enlightened in his judgement. In either case he is irresponsible and undeserving of credit."
4. H. Mc Cabe in New Blackfriars, op.cit.p.229
5. Ibid.pp.227-8
7. Whose pontificate lasted from November 1958 to June 1963
8. Martin, op.cit.pp.177 ss
9. Ibid.pp.200-1
10. Ibid.p.202
11. Ibid. c.22
12. Ibid.p.196
13. Ibid.p.xix
14. "Veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus...pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit et veneratur." in Denzinger, op.cit.no.783
15. "Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia catholica legi consueverunt et in veteri vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit, et tradiciones praedictas sciens et prudens contemptserit : Anathema Sit."; Ibid.no.784
16. "Haec porro supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem a sancta TRIDENTINA Synodo declaratam continetur ' in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quae ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptae, aut (ab) ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante quasi per manus traditae, as nos usque pervenerunt.'". Ibid. no.1784
18. The same cardinal had a tract explaining his position privately circulated among the bishops attending the Second Vatican Council.
19. His work, De revelatione, Gregorian University Press, Rome, 1961, was the first systematic treatment of Revelation in biblical terms, and it was known to his colleagues that Vatican II's non-condemnation of the one-source theory was considered by him to be a personal triumph. The writer was one of Latourelle's students at the time.
20. See for example the following of B. Lonergan's course, De Verbo Incarnato at the Gregorian University, Rome.
21. This is roughly from the time of K. Adam's, The Christ of Faith, first published by Pantheon, New York, 1957, in which it is cleverly argued that while Christ could potentially know the contents of the Beatific Vision, this potency was not activated.


25. A treatment of the Blessed Virgin in Council documents was decided by a vote on 29 October 1963 to be attached to the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (c.8) rather than to receive separate treatment. The Last Things were treated in a more positive fashion in Gaudium et Spes, the document on The Church in the Modern World. Since the time of Vatican II theologians have followed the above pattern.

26. Hence the need for Francis Clark S.J. to try and clarify the issues in an unpublished paper given at a Press Conference for English speaking bishops during Vatican II.

27. cf. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, c. 2 in Abbott, op.cit, nos.47-8, p.154


30. Leo XIII in Apostolicae Curae, AAS.29 (1896/7), pp.198 ss

31. The use of these terms has been borrowed from Martin Buber.


34. Denzinger, op.cit.pp.334-5

35. Ibid. no. 948

36. Ibid. no. 949

37. Ibid. no. 950

38. Ibid. no. 955

39. Ibid. no. 956

40. Ibid. nn. 940, 944, 946, referring to chapters 2, 6, 8.

41. cf. Constitution on Sacred Liturgy, op.cit, in Abbott,op.cit, nn. 54, **55, p.156

43. The Rome survey of 1969-70 shows that the 15-20 age group were among the second highest in practice to the 50+ bracket. Among teenagers 42.6% attended Mass each week, cf. E. Pin & C. Cavallin, La Religiosité dei Romani, C.I.R.I.S., Rome, 1971, p.7. The table on p.70 also demonstrates the highest affiliation to organised and spontaneous Catholic groups amongst the youngest interviewees.

44. cf. Apostolic Constitution, Missale Romanum, 3 April 1969, which gave the new norms for the Mass, to take effect by 30 Nov.1969.

45. His Mass of Consecration as Pope was held in the open air with full participation of the faithful, rather than in St. Peter's to the accompaniment of the Sistine Choir. Subsequent public celebrations have stressed simplicity and have been multi-lingual in character. The format has been in the new rite and ' versus populum '.

46. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, section 37, in Abbott,op.cit. p.151

47. "The unity of the Church does not demand uniformity, as we learn from the experience of Eastern Catholics. However, the principle of diversity is now widened in its application to the faithful of the Roman rite. This is one of the most revolutionary articles of the Constitution and is likely to have important effects both in missionary countries and at home."; Ibid. footnote. 35.

48. Informations Catholiques Internationales, no.381, 1 April, 1971, trans

49. Ibid. no. 409, 1 June, 1972

50. cf. editorial to the first number of the Catonsville Roadrunner, April 1969, quoted by Leech in Youthquake, pp.179-80


55. Address given at Domus Mariae, Rome, Nov. 1965. Ibid.


58. Conference at Princeton University, 10 Feb, 1967. Ibid.

59. Lecture at PIME Missionary Centre, Milan, 27 May 1967, Ibid.

60. Lecture given in Paris, 25 April, 1968, Ibid.
61. Address to 10th General Assembly of CELAM, Mar del Plata, October 1966, Ibid.


63. Thematised text and commentary in Informations Catholiques Internationales, no. 321, 1 Oct, 1968


65. Ibid. p.55

66. Ibid. p.55


69. Martin, op.cit.p.270


72. Glock & Stark, op.cit. c. 3

73. One has argued this recently in an unpublished article, Religious Experience : A Comparative Study, Rome, 1970

74. Glock & Stark, op.cit.p.42

75. Ibid. pp.157, 159

76. As in the Rome Survey, op.cit. The same difficulties were experienced by two other C.I.R.I.S. surveys conducted in Naples and Potenza.

77. From the bibliography which follows one can make an estimate of about one million membership. In 1971 the Directory of Charismatic Prayer Groups listed 305 groups of Catholic Pentecostals accepted by the American bishops. Then there were an estimated 50,000 Pentecostals in the United States alone.

78. eg. one given by Francis Sullivan S.J. at the Gregorian University, Rome

79. cf. I Cursilhos de Cristiandade verso l'Impegno nelle Realtà Latinoamericana, in Monde e Missione, Nov. 1972, p. 556; a report of the Third International Congress of Latin American Cursillistas in The Church in Central America and Panama, in Pro Mundi Vita, 46, 1973, pp. 31, 40. These sources show that the Cursillos are now used in 42 countries and have influenced more than 1.5 million Catholics. It has been estimated that between 2 – 3 % have since left the movement.


82. Christianity Today, 16 July, 1971, p. 32

83. Enroth et al. op. cit. p. 204


89. Besnard, op. cit. p. 92

90. Ibid. p. 93

91. L'Osservatore Romano, English edition, 21 Dec 1972


94. Informations Catholiques Internationales, no. 396

95. Ibid. no. 406

96. Ibid. nos. 413–4


99. The Italian 'focolare' corresponds to the French 'foyer', which can only be approximately translated into English as 'hearth'. The word is intended to conjure up the idea of a family of people united in common purpose. Members are called 'focolarini'.

100. The account that follows is taken from Informations Catholiques Internationales, no.380, 15 March 1971, pp.3-6. One may also consult an earlier account presented by A. Sosson, Un mouvement remarquable d' apostolat laïc. Les Focolarini, in Le Christ au Monde, vol.13 no.1, 1968, pp.17-26. The BBC's Religious Department also has film of the work of the Focolarini.

101. The word 'L'Abri', meaning 'shelter', should not imply that the Alpine chaléchet complex initiated by the Schaeffer's is intended as a refuge or a flight from the world for its members. Rather, it is open to members from all parts of the world seeking answers to the deeper problems of life. The development of the movement is outlined by Edith Schaeffer in L'Abri, Norfolk Press, London, 1972, while an optimistic theological appraisal is given by her husband in works such as The Church at the End of the Twentieth Century.

102. A summary of the case is given in The Tablet, 24 July 1971, p.727:

"The Isolotto parish has been the centre of controversy since Don Mazzi was removed by Cardinal Florit, Archbishop of Florence, in December, 1968. Don Mazzi's differences with the cardinal began when he publicly declared that he favoured the cause of a group of young Catholics who had occupied the cathedral of Parma in protest against the Church's alleged neglect of the poor. Cardinal Florit wrote to him asking him to withdraw his declaration. Instead Don Mazzi read out the cardinal's letter from the pulpit and asked his parishioners to support him in the dispute (The Tablet, 16 November, 1968). He was then removed from office by the cardinal, together with two fellow priests who supported him. The cardinal also forbade the use of the anti-authoritarian and socially-orientated catechism produced by Don Mazzi, called Encounter with Christ, five thousand copies of which were sold within a few hours of its appearance (The Tablet, 14 December 1968). The whole affair had wide repercussions throughout Italy. In January 1969 a number of spontaneous groups from towns in northern Italy gathered in Florence to express their support for Don Mazzi and his pastoral experiments in Isolotto."

(continued)
Placards highly critical of Cardinal Florit were carried during this demonstration (The Tablet, 18 January 1969). The first court case was the result: six followers of Don Mazzi were charged with defaming the Catholic religion and staging unauthorised demonstrations. They were acquitted of these charges in May 1969. It was on the first Sunday of January 1969 that incidents connected with a second court case arose. On that Sunday 800 people barred Mgr. Alba of the Florence chancery office from offering Mass in the Isolotto church (The Tablet 18 January 1969). Mgr. Alba was the priest appointed by Cardinal Florit to replace Don Mazzi as parish priest...Over the months, the Isolotto case had become the symbol of Catholic dissent in Italy, and applause broke out in the packed courtroom when the verdict (of not guilty in the second case brought against the followers of Don Mazzi) was announced."
2. J. Lynch, Co-responsibility in the first five centuries: presbyteral colleges and the election of bishops, paper presented at the Symposium on Co-responsibility in the Church, sponsored by the Canon Law Society of America, 1972, p.2
5. cf. text of Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea in his Historia Ecclesiastica IV, 22, 1-3; Patres Graeci 20, 378 ss.
6. Adversus Haer. III, 3, 1-3; PG. 7, 848 ss.
7. Warwick, op. cit.pp.113-4
8. Which have been expounded elsewhere in one's private notes for English speaking students at the Gregorian University, Rome, 1963. The notes received the approval of Bernard Lonergan S.J. The controversy is implicit in the Council decree, as can be seen from the formulation of the Symbolum Nicaenum, in Denzinger, op.cit.n.54
9. "In this regard there is an interesting story told by Socrates, a Church historian (Hist.Eccles. 1.1.c.11 : PG. LXVII, 101). He notes that at the beginning of the fourth century there was already a move to demand clerical celibacy. The Spanish bishop to the Council of Nicaea (AD.325), attempted to introduce the idea of obligatory celibacy by Church law. An Egyptian bishop — himself a celibate — St. Paphnuncius, protested this action since he thought it would be imprudent and difficult to maintain. Celibacy, he said, was a personal vocation and subject to a free choice. This ecumenical council continued to permit marriage to bishops, priests and other ministers of the Church...", P. Riga, Pope Paul VI and Celibacy, in Married Priests and Married Nuns, J. Colaianni, ed, Michael Joseph, London, 1969, pp.77-8.
14. Reg.VIII 21, Caspar 561
15. See his letter to Roger of Sicily over Gregory's refusal to consecrate a bishop for Miletus, Reg.IX 2, 25, Caspar 608
16. Reg.II, 61, Caspar 216
17. Reg.VII, 2, Caspar 461
18. See his advice to Anno of Cologne, Reg.II, 67, Caspar 224
19. Reg. I, 60, Caspar 88
20. Diversorum Sententiae Patrum, 73, 84, 99; Hinschius, 201, 131, 473.
22. Warwick, op.cit.p.115
23. Franzen, A Concise History of the Church, New York, 1969, p.244
27. cf. Council of Florence's Decretum pro Gracis, Ibid. no.694; Vatican I's De Vi et Ratione Primatus Romani Pontificis, Ibid.n.1826
28. Warwick, op.cit, pp.115-8
29. Denzinger, op.cit. nos. 1322 ss, 1598 ss, 1500, 1503.
32. Quoted by H. Küng, Infallible? An Enquiry, Garden City, New York, 1971, p.128
33. Ibid, p.117
34. cf. note 27
40. In the United States, for instance, one observes such dialogue between the United States National Committee of the World Association of Lutherans and the American Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical and Interdenominational Affairs (begun 1965) as also the workings of the International Study Commission on the Gospel and the Church (begun 1967).


42. E. Benz, in Zeitschr.f. Religions u. Geistesgesch., 1951, p.58


47. G. Thils, op. cit., p.136

48. cf. Hebrews 2.5


50. Lumen Gentium, section 1, in Abbott, op. cit.


52. Lumen Gentium, sections 33-4, Ibid.


56. Informations Catholiques Internationales, no.347, 1 Nov. 1969, p.22


63. Martin, op.cit. c.19
64. This term of address was first used by a pope in John XXIII's Pacem in Terris.
66. Decree on Ecumenism, section 3, in Abbott, op.cit. cf. footnote 12
67. cf. Glock and Stark, op.cit. p.117
68. cf. Concilium, vol.18 no.9, p.74; Glock and Stark, op.cit.pp.95, 98.
69. Martin, op.cit. p.272
70. Ibid.p.275
72. Ibid.p.85
73. E. Pin, The Church as a way of being together, in IDOC no.68-27, reprinted from Christus no 58, July 1968.
74. Ibid. p.3
75. Ibid.pp.6-7
76. Ibid.p.7
77. Ibid.p.8
78. Ibid.p.10
79. Concilium, vol.8, no.9, October 1973
80. Ibid.p.134
81. Ibid.p.134
82. Ibid.p.28
83. Ibid.p.34
84. Ibid.p.75; cf. Galatians c.2
86. R. Pesch, in Concilium, vol.8 no 9, pp.30-1; Modras, ibid.p.75 with reference to I. Cor.12.3.
89. Modras, op.cit.p.75
91. In a conference given to theology students of the English College, Rome, 1963. These ideas are expanded in his many contributions to The Bible Today.
92. Concilium, vol.8 no.9, p.37
93. One has dealt with these controversies elsewhere in one's notes for English speaking students following the course De Verbo, op.cit.
94. cf. Canones adversus Originem, in Denzinger, op.cit.pp.95-7, and no.88, directed against the Montanists, to which heresy Tertullian subscribed.
96. cf. M. Chenu, Confrontation without Schism in the Medieval Church, in Concilium, vol.8 no.9, op.cit; O. Kéramé, Pluralism in the One Church : The Apostolic Churches of the East, Ibid.
98. Benedict XV, Spiritus Paraclitus, AAS, 12, 1920, 393 ss; Pius XII, Divino Afflante Spiritu, AAS, 35, 1943, 309 ss.
99. cf. Y. Congar, Report from Rome II, Chapman, trans. 1964, c.10
100. "Religious bodies are a requirement of the social nature both of man and of religion itself." cf. Decree on Religious Freedom, section 4, in Abbott, op.cit. The practical consequences of this and other principles of pluriformity can be found in the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, esp.end of section 2, Abbott op.cit.p.652 and footnote 11; The Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches, section 1, Abbott, p.373; Decree on Ecumenism, section 16 and footnote 65 in Abbott, op.cit.pp.359-60.
102. Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, sections 2-5, and footnote 7, in Abbott, pp.112-4
103. Decree on Ecumenism, section 3 in Abbott pp.345-6; Lumen Gentium, sections 14-16, which utilises the Augustinian distinction of membership of the body and membership of the heart (Bapt.c.Donat. V, 28, 39, PL. 43, 197 ), in Abbott, pp.32-5.
104. R. Modras, The Elimination of Pluralism between Churches through Pluralism within Churches, in Concilium, op.cit.
106. Ibid.p.110
107. Ibid.pp.110-11
108. Ibid.p.111
109. Ibid.p.112
110. Ibid.p.112
112. Mt. 10. 34
113. Lk. 12. 51-3; Mt. 10. 35-7.
114. Rudge, uti supra 111, p.104
115. Ibid. p.105
117. Rudge, uti supra 111, p.106
119. Lumen Gentium, section 7 and footnote 14, in Abbott, op.cit.p.20
120. Mystici Corporis, op.cit. sections 16, 33, et passim.


128. Rudge, uti 125, p.9 col.1

129. Delooz, op.cit. pp.12-14

130. Ibid. p.13

131. Ibid. p.13

132. Ibid. p.13
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


4. Ibid.


7. Parsons (1960), op.cit. p.471

8. E. Goffman, Asylums, Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Pelican, London, 1973. An explanation of what is intended by a 'total institution mentality' is given in the text. However, as the argument extends over several pages various points have been gathered together here to alert the reader as to the distinction made between 'total institution' and 'total institution mentality'. While both expressions derive from Goffman, it can be seen that the latter differs from the former by a consideration of the two following statements:
   a) not all inmates of a total institution have a total institution mentality.
   b) some people, not inmates of a total institution, have a total institution mentality.

These two statements can be represented in the following set diagram:

```
  A
 \ /  \C
  B
```

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{A} represents total institution
  \item \textbf{B} represents total institution mentality
  \item \textbf{C} represents people
\end{itemize}
A represents a total institution without a total institution mentality
B represents a total institution with a total institution mentality
C represents a total institution mentality without a total institution.

From one's own later examples, convents and seminaries tend to fit set A, private boarding schools tend to fit set B, and English Catholic presbytery tend to fit set C. All are discussed to highlight the existence of A, B and C. However, while Goffman emphasises sets A and B, one's own stress lies with sets B and C. In other words, in this section one is more concerned with groups whose attitudes are total institutional, whether they actually live in a total institution or not.

The purpose of extending Goffman's analysis in this way is to highlight one's own perspective of a total institution mentality, leading to total institution belonging, as encompassed by the pattern variables of universalism/diffuseness — ascription/neutrality (cf. observations under number 13 following one's model of religious belonging). Upon reflection it can be seen that while those with a total institution mentality (sets B & C) are encompassed by the above pattern variables, the same cannot be said of those who physically inhabit a total institution without such a mentality (set A). Indeed it is quite possible that this latter group may bear the characteristics of what one has termed 'closed community belonging'.

If the distinction between a total institution and a total institution mentality is borne in mind, then no further confusion in terminology should arise. It can also be seen that the reason for including Goffman under total institutional belonging is clearly due to his coining of the expression 'total institution'.

However, should the reader still feel confused over the above distinction and terminology, then it is suggested that he think of one's total institution mentality in terms of a total cultural package of religious beliefs, symbols and rites, which a Catholic inherits or absorbs from his parents, peers and environment, and which encompasses all life situations from womb to tomb. As such, he may prefer to consider one's total institution mentality, leading to total institution belonging, in terms of a total cultural world view leading to total cultural belonging, (cf. previous discussion of Luckmann). One's own non-acceptance of this latter terminology is due to its possible confusion with the family treated in Durkheimian terms, for which another set of pattern variables exists (cf. next sub-section).
However, whether one calls quadrant one in the model 'total institution belonging' or 'total cultural belonging', there are clearly important differences between it and closed community belonging. These are as follows:

a. The ascription associated with total institution belonging indicates that this form of belonging is not brought about or achieved (as in the case of closed community belonging). It is inherited as a result of vested interests in the status quo. This is reflected in the type of authority (bureaucratic, as opposed to charismatic).

b. There is no room for prophecy or anti-institutional protest in total institution belonging (as is the case for closed community belonging). It thus appears on the right of one's model, as ascription does not allow for prophecy (cf. earlier discussion of Pin and Houtart vis-à-vis primitive motivation of Latin American Catholics, as also later elaboration in c.6).

c. The closed community is usually a recognisable group of largely compatible people, without a predominance of internal conflict (i.e. affectivity is in evidence), whereas under total institution belonging compatibility is not to be found as a predominant value; instead one finds neutrality in relationships.

d. The closed community stresses particularism, and hence becomes closed to other groups not sharing its own aims and goals (cf. Parson's A action space), whereas the latent-receptivity of the total institution mentality, founded on diffuseness, lacks definite goals, and as such becomes more prone to anomie.

e. Finally, the universalism of the total institution mentality reflects the totality of its religious cultural assimilation of values. Under closed community belonging, on the other hand, where a totality of outlook exists it only relates to a particular aspect of religiosity, e.g. fundamentalism of beliefs of the Children of God tends to diminish other dimensions of religiosity. The Catholic under a total institution mentality, on the other hand, should accept all dimensions of religiosity as of equal value.

9. Goffman, op.cit. p.11
10. Ibid. p.16
11. Ibid. passim
12. cf. Sacramentum Mundi, An Encyclopaedia of Theology, K. Rahner et al. eds., vol.6, pp.64-70
14. Goffman, op.cit. preface
17. Gleason, op.cit.
23. eg. the closure of a major seminary in Brazil with 115 students run by the Vincentian Fathers. 90% of the students declared their opposition to the law of clerical celibacy – cited by T. Roberts in Smoke Screens and Sacred Cows, in Married Priests and Married Nuns, op.cit. p.107. See also the reference to a strike at Kandy seminary in Ceylon due to the students' objection to persistence of traditional teaching, in Informations Catholiques Internationales, no.417, 1 Oct.1972. All major seminaries in Holland have closed and this is the case for Northern France too where the students now attend the University of Lille.
25. cf. M. Hornsby-Smith and A. Thomas, Do Catholic Schools have a distinct atmosphere ?, in Towards the Whole Truth, op.cit.
27. cf. M. Hornsby-Smith & M. Mansfield, English Catholicism and Change, paper given to Woking Circle, Newman Association, 1 May, 1974, possibly to be published in the near future. (SSRC project)
28. Schmidtchen, op.cit.pp.19, 22, 36; G. Dann, German Catholics Interviewed, in Towards the Whole Truth, op.cit.


30. The view of Frs. Pin, Diez-Alegria and Tufari, all Jesuits lecturing in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the Gregorian University, Rome, was that divorce as such was a question of law, and therefore should be incorporated into the Italian Constitution, particularly as it touched on the rights of minorities not claiming affiliation to the Catholic Church. Divorce is a moral question too, and for this reason Catholics should turn to their Church for guidance in the matter. However, the legal and religious issues should not be confused. Still less had the Catholic Church any right to interfere in Italian politics on account of a misunderstanding of the distinction between the legal and religious institutions of society. When this view was made public, Archbishop Benelli sought to have the three Jesuits expelled from the Order. However the three Fathers, not only received support from their students and colleagues, but also from the Rector of the University, Hervé Carrier, and from the Jesuit General, Pedro Arrupe. Several Press Conferences were held, the outcome of which was that more Italians were persuaded to the Jesuits' way of thinking than if the Vatican had not intervened.


32. cf. This is the Church in the World Today, trans. M. Pollock and O. Levierge, Chapman, London, 1967, p.70 par.48

33. E. Durkheim, Règles de la Méthode Sociologique, c.1

34. E. Durkheim, Le Suicide, Alcan, Paris, 1897.

35. As 33

36. Luckmann, op.cit. c.4

37. E. Durkheim, De la Division du Travail Social


39. cf. J. Carroll, Storia della Sociologia, Gregorian University, Rome 1968, p.20

40. Durkheim (1968) op.cit. p.418


44. Van Gennep, Les Rites de Passage, cit. Douglas, p.96
46. Frazer, op.cit.pp.138-9
49. " Up to the time of St. Benedict, monks, though looked upon as bound whether by vows or without them, irrevocably to the practice of the monastic life, so that to abandon it was considered an apostasy, still were not tied to a particular monastery or community, but were allowed with little difficulty to pass from one house to another. St. Benedict's most special and tangible contribution to the development of monasticism was the introduction of the vow of stability... ( By this means ) he put a stop to such liberty of passage from monastery to monastery and incorporated the monk by his profession in the community of his own monastery. St. Benedict thus bound the monks of a monastery together into a permanent family, united by bonds that lasted for life," C. Butler, Benedictine Monasticism, 2nd edn, Longmans, London, 1924, pp.27-8.
50. J. Coriden points out that celibacy is no longer an implicit vow, as held by Bertrams, Bouscaren, Wernz and Vermeersch. The statement issued from the Council ( cf. H. Vorgrimler, Commentary on Documents of Vatican II, vol.4, pp.200, 282 ), made it quite clear that celibacy was obligatory by ecclesiastical law. He adds that some canonists now contend that sacred orders cannot be a diriment impediment to marriage, cf. Celibacy, Canon Law and Synod 1971, in Concilium, vol.8 no.8, p.110, footnote 4.
54. Loomis, op.cit.pp.103-12
55. Ibid.pp.122-40
56. Ibid.p.146
57. Ibid.pp.175 ss.
59. Cahnman & Heberle, op.cit.p.77
60. Ibid.p.69
61. Ibid.p.137
62. Loomis, op.cit.pp.42-4
63. St. Louis Exposition Paper, Ibid.p.77
64. Ibid.p.65
65. Ibid.pp. 76,98.
Ibid.p.175
67. Ibid.pp.178-82
68. Ibid.pp.106, 227, 255
69. Ibid.p.227
70. Ibid.p.189
71. Ibid.pp.47-8
72. Ibid.pp.50, 54
73. Ibid.p.224
74. Ibid.pp.203-4
75. Ibid.pp.178-9
76. Ibid.p.186
77. Ibid.p.208
78. Ibid.p.207
79. Ibid.p.223
80. Ibid.p.234
81. Ibid.p.232
82. Cahnman & Birkhoff, Sociology and History, p.110
84. Schmidtchen, op.cit.p.183
85. Ibid.p.7
86. Ibid.p.8
87. Ibid.p.8, cf. Dann, German Catholics, op.cit.
88. Ibid.p.8
89. cf. J. Emmanuel, How Catholic is Italy ?, in The Tablet, 18 May 1974, explaining Burgalassi's distinction between traditionalists who have:
"a fossilised faith, fear of the future, individualism and superstition," and prophets " who look to the future and try to bring the Church with them. They have a live, genuine and authentic faith." p.468.
91. Spencer (1972),op.cit.p.358
92. Ibid.p.361
94. cf. J. Majka, The Character of Polish Catholicism, in Social Compass vol.15, nos.3-4, 1968. The whole issue is dedicated to various aspects of religious life in Poland.


97. Ibid.p.167


100. R. Redfield, Tepotzlan, a Mexican Village, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1946.


102. Ibid.p.1

103. Ibid.p.22

104. Ibid.p.40


107. Ibid.p.8

108. Ibid.p.54

109. Ibid.pp.54, 70

110. Ibid.pp.55-6, 66, 71-2

111. Ibid.p.61

112. Ibid.p.66

113. Ibid.p.72

114. Ibid.p46


119. Nisbet (1967) op.cit. p.46
120. H. Maine, Ancient Law, 1861
121. N. Fustel de Coulanges, The Ancient City, 1864
122. O. von Gierke, German Law of Associations, 1868-1913
123. A. Tocqueville, Democracy in America, 1835-40
124. P. Le Play, The European Workers, 1855
125. G. Hegel, Philosophy of Right, 1821.
126. S. Coleridge, On the Constitutions of Church and State, 1830
127. H. Lammenais, Essay on Indifference, 1817
128. Nisbet (1967), op.cit. p.28
129. Ibid. p.227
130. Ibid. pp.229-31
131. Nisbet (1962), op.cit. pp.245-6
132. Uti supra 131
133. Ibid. p.271
134. Ibid. p.270
135. Ibid. p.83; Nisbet (1962), op.cit. p.35
137. Ibid. p.84, cf. Tawney, loc.cit.
141. Ibid. p.65
145. Nuij, op.cit. pp.64-5
147. One's own experience in St. Louis confirms this. The underground celebration of a Saturday Midnight Mass by twenty married priests, attracting a crowd of over two thousand, took place weekly on the campus of the Jesuit University.


152. Ibid. c. 2
153. Ibid. c. 3
154. Ibid. c. 4
155. Ibid. c. 6
156. Ibid. c. 7
157. Ibid. p. 16
158. Ibid. p. 22
160. Ibid, pp. 25-9
161. They have been in Bromley, Kent since 1971. Their Truth and New Nation News are published in the UK. Bible classes are held. They also took part in the Festival of Light with Peter Hill and Malcolm Muggeridge, and Operation Beacon, 1971. One's own contact with them is limited to attendance at their rally held at the Meadowbank stadium in Edinburgh, August, 1974.

162. Ibid. p. 30
163. Ibid. p. 21
164. Ibid. p. 34
165. Ibid. p.24
166. Ibid.pp.33-4
168. Enroth et al. op.cit.p.34
169. Ibid.p.32
170. Ibid.p.32
171. Signs such as "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the
nations that forget God!! Not much time left!!", "Friendly
visitors welcome! Noon to Dark only please! Honk and step
out to the gate!" and "No Trespassing", can be found on the
gates of the Texas Soul Clinic.
172. "An ex-Roman Catholic, Helah, had experimented with drugs, spent
eight months in a nudist colony, hitch-hiked all the way to New
York and back, trying to find something to give meaning to her
life. She had been with the Children of God for a year and
was soon to be married. She told us she would never have
chosen him for a husband if she made the choice by herself and
"in the flesh", but the elders had arranged the marriage
(The Children want children), and now she was eagerly
anticipating it," Enroth et al. op.cit.p.39
173. Ibid.p.35
174. Ibid.p.22
175. Ibid.p.32, cf.p.162 ss
176. Ibid.c.9
177. Ibid.p.34. Examples given are during the speech of Jerry Rubin
at the University of California, at a Texas-Arkansas football
game, at the opening of the Chicago Seven Trial, and when Senator
Everett Dirksen's body was lying in state in the Capitol Rotunda,
Washington D.C.
179. Ibid.p.175
180. Ibid.p.164
181. Ibid.p.183
182. Ibid, pp.24+26, 184
183. Ibid, pp.39, 95, 100, 125, 131.
184. The Calvary Chapel of Costa Mesa is actually located in Santa Ana,
California, with a congregation running into thousands. Five
hundred young people are converted and baptised every month by
the Rev. Chuck Smith at nearby Corona del Mar beach, cf. The Jesus
Revolution, in Time Magazine, 21 June, 1971, and a similar article
185. Also featured in the Look article. Of Breck Stevens, Enroth et al.
say: "The story of Steven's conversion and previous activities
follows a familiar Jesus People pattern. Coming from a Catholic
background, he rebelled against church, parents, and society. At
sixteen he left home to become a hippie. He used all kinds of
drugs (including heroin), experimented in witchcraft, pushed dope
for a year, and was finally jailed. One night while he was strung
out on drugs, a woman came up to him and said, 'Jesus loves you' and gave him a card directing him to Teen Challenge Center. Through the ministry of that organization, he was converted in a Huntington Beach coffee shop..." Ibid.pp.95-6. The Bethel Tabernacle is located in North Redondo Beach, California.

Ministered by Rev. J. Anderson since 1968. In the space of three years his congregation has swelled by 400%. Ibid.pp.98-101.


Ministered by Rev. J. Anderson since 1968. In the space of three years his congregation has swelled by 400%. Ibid.pp.98-101.


188. Ibid.pp.102-15

189. Ibid.pp.73-9. Circulation in 1971 was 425,000. The goal is to have a readership of one million.

190. Ibid.pp.79-83. The most well known of his songs is "I Love You", with People, which has sold over a million copies.

They are marginal in that, while accepting the anti-Church attitudes of the Jesus People, they do not stress charisma, the immanent apocalypse or adopt an anti-intellectual stance towards the bible. Their houses are more in the nature of study centres and one pays 125 dollars a month to stay there. J.C. Light and Power House is administered by Hal Lindsey and Bill Counts and can accommodate about forty. Ibid. pp.137-40.

192. Grace Haven Farm in Ohio is run by Gordon Walker and attracts a more varied clientele than the postgraduate orientated J.C. Light and Power House. It does not accept speaking in tongues, often associated with the Jesus People, and tries to instil more of a family spirit in its community than is to be found, for example, in the Alamo's Christian Foundation. Ibid. pp.141-2.

193. The Penninsula Bible Church is located in Palo Alto and caters for the Stanford University campus. Lambert Dolphin provides accommodation for members of the congregation and throws Jesus parties for numbers up to two hundred. Ibid.pp.145-6.

194. The J.P.A. was founded in 1969 by Linda Meissner, a prophetic evangelist who scored most of her successes in Seattle. She eventually joined The Children of God and most of the work of the J.P.A. was continued by Carl Parks in Spokane. Ibid.pp.116 ss.

195. The Voice of Elijah Inc. operates the I Am coffee house, claiming forty conversions each week and the Jesus Free Store, accepting donations in exchange for merchandise. As such it forms part of Parks's Spokane communes, including the House of Abraham for men, the House of David for the band, the House of Sarah for women, and three houses for married couples. Ibid.p.126.

196. The first Milwaukee commune was founded by Jim Palosaari in 1971 as a section of the J.P.A. There is now a 'Believers' Discipleship Training School' for the training of recruits. Ibid.pp.128-9.

197. Ibid.pp.54-65. Saugus was founded in 1970.
Daily life is governed by a very intricate system of overseers and their underlings, developed, handpicked, and headed by the Alamos." Ibid.p.63. Tony Alamo, né Bernie Lazar Hoffman, of Jewish parents, was a successful businessmen who became converted from his sinful ways and projected his new found hatred of luxury on to his followers. Ibid.pp.60-2.

The Koinonia House of Santa Cruz, California, became communal in 1968, under the direction of Mrs Margaret Novick. Ibid.pp.214-5.

Pasadena House is run by Paul Danchik and his wife Nina. Ibid.p.212.

"Each of the male residents is employed - some in structured situations, others as freelance gardeners - and contributes a share (sometimes more than ninety percent) of his income to maintaining the commune." Ibid.p.212.

The Shiloh houses are a communal chain of thirty-seven settlements stretching from Oregon to the Eastern seaboard. The first Shiloh house was established in the countryside near Eugene by John Higgins. Ibid.p.213.

"Virtually every act of membership involves a sacrifice of privacy and autonomy, at least in the sense that the member must accomplish some of his objectives as part of a group, rather than as an individual," H. Toch, The Social Psychology of Social Movements, Methuen, London, 1966, p.133.


Enroth et al.,op.cit.pp.240-6.

Ibid.p.242.

Ibid.pp.242-3.

Ibid.p.243.

Enroth et al., on the other hand, maintain that Plowman romanticises the Jesus People by referring to them as 'Street Christians.' However, Larry Norman points out that when street people become Christians they stop being street people. Ibid. pp.10-11.


Ibid.p.171


cf. R. Groves, Conrad Noel and the Thaxted Movement, 1967. Conrad Noel, the founder of the Catholic Crusade, was known as "The Red Vicar of Thaxted."


Ibid.p.183.

Ibid.p.208.


221. These remarks were made during the course of Miss Campbell Jones's seminar at the London School of Economics, 9 May 1974, and were challenged by the present writer.

222. R. Park, The City, AJS, 1915


227. Bell and Newby, op.cit.p.19

228. Ibid., pp.18-19

229. Ibid., p.19


231. Ibid., p.162


234. E. Banfield, op.cit., p.10.

235. Dann, Reflections on a visit to Lucania, op.cit., p.184


242. Bell and Newby, op.cit., p.53


244. cf. H. White, Troubles in Modelling Multiple Networks, paper presented to the BSA, April 3, 1974.

246. Ibid. pp. 3-4
247. Ibid. p. 65
248. Ibid., pp. 8, 65
249. Ibid. p. 39
250. Ibid. pp. 130 ss
251. Ibid. p. 116
252. Ibid. p. 65
253. Ibid. p. 197
255. Winter, op. cit
256. Ibid. pp. 34, 44, 61, 71, 78, 89, 110-111.
257. Ibid. pp. 53-4
258. Ibid. c. 4
262. S.U.D.E.N.E., or Centre for the Development of the North East Brazil, was the result of dialogue between the bishops of North East Brazil and government technicians. Through S.U.D.E.N.E. foreign capital was made available to alleviate the stress in highly depressed areas of the country.
263. In the case of Pax Christi in Britain this involves affiliation to the National Peace Council, which includes the British Communist Party, the British Peace Committee, the British Soviet Friendship Society, and the Society for Friendship with Bulgaria. That many Catholics are not ready for such Christian-Marxist dialogue can be detected from a heated correspondence in The Catholic Herald of 22 March, 3 May, 10 May and 17 May, 1974. Majka, op. cit., p. 208, cites two other Polish organisations for young intellectuals: Odrodzenie and Inventus Christiana.
265. Ibid. p. 40
266. Ibid. pp. 13-14
267. Ibid. p. 80
268. Ibid. p. 146
269. Ibid. p. 50
270. Ibid. p. 62
271. Ibid. p. 108
272. Ibid. p. 10
273. Ibid. p. 5
274. Ibid. p. 19
275. Ibid. pp. xi-xii.
276. Ibid. p.1
277. Ibid. p.11
278. Ibid. p.11
279. Ibid. p.44
280. Ibid. pp.116-7
281. Ibid. p.119
282. Ibid. p.90
284. Ibid. pp.43-4
285. Ibid. pp.28 ss
286. Ibid. p.111
289. The headquarters are in Grange Road, Ramsgate, Kent.
291. "The Community draws its inspiration and strength from the teachings of Christ. Its very name - that of the Cyrenian who helped Christ carry the cross - identifies its root philosophy. Simon was, and is, an attempt to live Christianity in action - not with mugs of tea in one hand and a tract in the other, but by example; living with, and alongside, the most needy and rejected...It is within the widest field of ecumenism, however, that the Community may take its pride, for in recent years Simon has been able to say "We are Catholic, Anglican, Free Church, Communist, Agnostic, Humanist, Buddhist and Jew"...Simon insists on rebutting the suggestion that the Community works for social misfits. Simon does not work for anyone - Simon works with people who are socially handicapped. As a community, Simon comprises the caring and cared-with - and the caring are drawn from within and without Skid Row...", taken from a Simon explanatory leaflet, 1973, entitled : Let us see Christ in each shattered body. Here work among drug addicts, meths drinkers, sexual deviants, alcoholics, derry dwellers and station skippers, is presented as examples of an apostolate among the socially handicapped.
292. It is interesting to note here that the Catholic Worker is the only Christian publication to be found in London's Freedom Bookshop; cf. Leech, op.cit.pp.176-7
293. Ibid. pp.179-80
294. cf. C. Gorman, Making Communes, 1970
Leech refers to the Selene community as the first actual commune, formed in November 1965! However, not until August 1968, he continues, did the Commune Movement, with its journal *Communes*, evolve from Selene. Op.cit.p.138.

In 1967 the British Diggers emerged under the leadership of Sid Rawle and soon there were a number of Digger groups, the Hyde Park Diggers being the largest with an inner group known as the Tribe of the Sun. Later a London Street Commune, a beat solidarity group centred on Piccadilly Circus, made national news in its occupation of various premises in central London (cf. Leech, *Keep the Faith Baby*, pp.63-72). Other Digger groups appeared, such as the Coventry Diggers in 1968, but the main group has now moved to an island off the East coast of Ireland.

Ibid.p.138


Gorman, op.cit.


Leech, op.cit.p.140

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. cf. R. Brown, Explanation in Social Science
2. One thinks immediately of works such as J. Wach's *Sociology of Religion*, University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1964
5. "Ac ratio quidem, fide illustrata, cum sedulo, pie et sobrie quaerit, aliquam Deo dante mysteriorum intelligientiam eamque fructuosissimam assequitur tum ex eorum, quae naturaliter cognoscit, analogia, tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo." Denzinger, op.cit, no.1796 (Vat.I)
6. This point has been argued in the editorial to *Towards the Whole Truth*, op.cit.
8. Ibid.p.11
9. Ibid.p.4
10. Ibid.pp.24-5
12. As in fn.3
13. Based on his Gifford Lectures, delivered at Edinburgh University between 1901 and 1902
15. James, op.cit.p.143
16. Ibid.pp.8-9, 153, 162, 193
18. cf. Deut.6.5, Lev.19.18 and Lk.10.27 ss. In the latter account of The Good Samaritan it is explained what Christ means by loving one's neighbour as oneself.
22. Leech, op.cit.p.208
23. Ibid.p.175
24. Ibid.c.7
26. According to the 1973 Vatican Yearbook, there are 1,004,304 Catholic sisters in the world. This would account for approximately two thirds of Church personnel.

27. Weber, Economy and Society, op.cit.p.439

28. Ibid.pp.439-40

29. Ibid.p.450

30. Ibid.pp.1112 ss

31. Ibid.pp.1121-67


33. Rev.20.1-5


35. cf. Worsley,op.cit.


38. Sundkler,op.cit.pp.112, 114


40. Ibid.p.222

41. Ibid.p.224

42. Ibid.p.141

43. Ibid.pp. 170, 178, 196, 224, 225

44. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit. pp.1-2

45. Ibid.pp.24-6


47. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit.p.69


49. T. Gannon, Priest / Minister : Profession or Non-Profession, in Rev. Rel.Res. vol.12 no.2 Winter 1971, pp.66-79

50. R. Wuthrow, New Forms of Religion in the Seminary, Ibid.pp.80-7

53. les Mouvements Messianiques Brésiliens, in Arch.Soc.Rel.,1958; 
Classifications des Messianismes Brésiliens, Ibid; Messiahs in 
Brazil, in Past and Present, July 1965; F. Henry, Social Stratification 
in an Afro-American Cult, in Anthop.Quart, 38.2, April, 1965; 
E. Huestis, Borovo Spiritism as Revitilization, in Pract.Anthr.10, 
pp.187-9; I. Kelly, Folk Practices in North Mexico: Birth Customs, 
Folk Medecine and Spiritualism in the Laguna Zone, 1965; 
V. Kloppenbeug, Dr Brasilianische Spiritismus als Religiöse Gefahr, 
in Social Compass, V, 1957-8, 5-6; S. Leacock, Fan Loving Deities in 
an Afro-Brazilian Cult, in Anthop,Quart, 1964, 37.3, July; W. Madsen, 
Anxiety and Witchcraft in Mexican American Acculturation, in Anth. 
Quart. 43, 2, April 1966; A. Metraux, Voodoo in Haiti, Ibid in Amer. 
Anthr.63.5.1, Oct.1961; P. Michel, African Powers in Trinidad, The 
Shango Cult, in Anthop.Quart, April,1957; K. Oberg, Afro-Brazilian 
Religious Cults, in Sociologia, 21 (2), May 1959, pp.134-41

52. Pieces of metal or silver, often in the form of a heart, are placed 
in front of the statue of a saint or madonna in thanks for a favour 
received. It is interesting to note that the Greek Orthodox have 
a similar practice, only their pieces of metal bear the imprint of 
a part of the body, a house, car, etc., for which favours are being 
asked.

54. Pin, The Church as a way of being together, op.cit.
55. Pin and Houtart, op.cit.p.189
56. Buntig, op.cit.
57. Pin and Cavallin, op.cit
58. Undertaken by C.I.R.I.S. a year before the Home Survey
59. Commissioned by the bishops in charge of the dioceses of Potenza, 
Muro Lucano, Melfi & Rapolla, Venosa, Acerenza and Tricarico, and 
carried out by C.I.R.I.S. under the direction of Emile Pin and 
Fabio Buratto, 1970.
60. D. Riesman et al, The Lonely Crowd, Yale University Press, New Haven 
61. Ibid.p.21
62. Ibid.p.14
63. Ibid.p.15
64. A. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States, op.cit.p.17
65. Ibid.p.15
67. "Correlations were computed between the two principle POI scales 
( time competence and inner-directedness ) and age, education of 
parents, occupation, ethnicity, religious devotion of parents, 
age at entering seminary, encouragement to become a priest, and 
own education after ordination. The only correlation above 0.2 
to emerge from these correlations was a - 0.34 relationship 
between age and inner-directedness. Since time competence did not
"relate with any subsequent variables in our model it was dropped from further analysis," Ibid. p.70

Riesman et al., op.cit.p.xviii.

"Cum actus fidei sit rationabilis requirit certam cognitionem credibilitatis doctrinae revelatae, obtentam de lege ordinaria per signa externa et quidem processu rationali," Alfaro, op.cit. pp.387 ss, cf. Denzinger, op.cit.nos. 1813, 1790. The reasonableness of the act of faith is a theological conclusion from a conciliar decree. As such it is 'theologically certain.'

Winter,op.cit.c.l, Alfaro,op.cit, Mouroux,op.cit.

Compare and contrast the intellectualistic stance of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas with the voluntarism of Schopenhauer, the humanism of Nietzsche, the intuitionism of Bergson, and the existentialism of Kierkegaard, Heidegger and Jaspers. For more complete treatment and bibliography one may consult F. Morandini, Critica, Gregorian University Press, Rome, 1959, esp.pp.80-1.

On universal concepts cf. Ibid.pp.103-41. This scholastic approach to the process of abstraction from reality is denied by Idealists, Sceptics, Nominalists, Stoics, Ontologists, Conceptualists and Existentialists. The scholastic debate on universals was initiated by Porphyry (cf. Boethius, Comm.in Porph, L.1, ML 64, col 82 A B), continued in the disputations of Abelard, in the tracts of Alexander of Hales and Albert the Great, and finally treated systematically by Thomas Aquinas from the time of his first opusculum, De Ente et Entia.

Krech et al, op.cit.pp.68-79


One has argued elsewhere that sexual relationships in many primitive societies are based upon the identification of men and women with totemic animals, cf. G. Dann, Aspects of Sexual Behaviour among Certain Primitive Societies, unpublished paper, Rome, 1971,pp.7-8. In the same paper an explanation for the incest taboo is offered in totemic terms, cf.also S. Freud, Totem and Taboo, trans. London, 1950, p.5; R. Fox, Totem and Taboo Reconsidered, in E. Leech, ed. The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, Tavistock, London, 1969, p.166. The point being made here is that sexual relationships, based as they are on totems, are generally considered in primitive societies to be affairs of the heart rather than the mind. This interpretation is borne out by the fact that many primitive societies do not even understand the process of conception, cf. E. Pritchard, Heredity and Gestation as the Azande see them, in Social Anthropology and Other Essays, Macmillan, Free Press, New York, 1966, pp.243 ss; see also Frazer, op.cit.p.347.

Cahnman and Heberle, op.cit.p.68

F. Tönnies, Einteilung der Soziologie, op.cit, pp.431-2
Born Agnes Bojaxhiu in Skopje in 1910, she joined the Loreto teaching order in 1928, and from 1929-48 taught in St. Mary's High School, Calcutta. She left the order, underwent nursing training with the sisters in Patna, and by 1949 had opened a slum school and founded her own congregation. In 1952 she opened a home for the dying in Calcutta. Seven years later the apostolate was extended to lepers. By 1968, Mother Theresa and her sisters were also caring for 191 abandoned children in the same city. Today in Calcutta she runs 9 schools (1450 pupils), 6 dispensaries (154,000 patients per annum), 2 adult classes, 25 Sunday schools (2,500 children). Her sisters work in 25 Indian cities, and in Ceylon, Tanzania, Venezuela, Rome, Saigon, London, Belfast and New York. Her simple, yet open, apostolate is summed up in her own words:

"We chose to be poor for love of God. In the service of the poorest of the poor, we are facing the hungry Christ, clothing the naked Christ, taking care of the sick Christ and giving shelter to the homeless Christ." (S. Hobden, Mother Theresa, SCM Press, London, 1973, p.21)

and again

"Be kind and merciful. Let no one ever come to you without coming away better and happier. Be the living expression of God's kindness: kindness in your face, kindness in your eyes, kindness in your smile, kindness in your warm greeting. In the slums we are the light of God's kindness to the poor. To children, to the poor, to all who suffer and are lonely, give always a happy smile - Give them not only your care, but also your heart." (Ibid., p.24, cf. also M. Muggeridge, Something Beautiful for God, Collins, London, 1971).

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79. Cox, op.cit. pp. 51 ss
80. Weber, Economy and Society, op.cit, p.1121
82. Weber, Economy and Society, op.cit, p.1121
83. Ibid. p.452
84. Ibid. pp.1123 ss
85. Ibid. p.1123
86. Ibid. p.1124
87. Ibid. pp.1124-5
88. Ibid. p.1127. Weber identifies this situation with the Catholic Church.
89. Ibid. pp.1139-65
90. Ibid. p.1141
91. Such is the experience encountered when one correlates a Bradburn happiness scale with a Mc Kinnell life satisfaction scale.
92. One tested this hypothesis with one's own data, and found that only 5% of the population was dissatisfied. Subsequent analysis not only showed this figure to be considerably higher, but even queried the identification of dissatisfaction with the original 5%.
cf. R. Carey, Correlates of Satisfaction in the Priesthood, in Admin.Sc.Quart.1972, pp.185 ss. Here Carey admits that measurements of low levels of satisfaction among priests in the United States were not sufficient to predict the high resignation rate of priests since 1965.

94. N. Greinacher, The Development of Applications to Leave the Church and the transfer from one Church to another, and its causes, in Social Compass VIII, pp.61-72

96. J. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op.cit.
97. P. Stryckman and R. Gaudet, op.cit.


101. Coliaanni, ed. op.cit.
102. Schallert and Kelley, op.cit.
104. J. Kinnane, Career Development for Priests and Religious, Center for applied research in the apostolate (CARA), Washington, 1969. Henceforward this will be referred to as the Cara Study.
105. J. Fichter, Religion as an Occupation, University of Notre Dame Press, 1966

III. This simplified model has an underlying notion of causality shortly to be explained. Such an explanation is of its mature philosophical, which may bring about certain difficulties of understanding, due to a change in tempo between this chapter and the previous one. The reader may also find himself disagreeing with the philosophical notions underlying the sociological model presented. In order to prepare himself for some possible difficulties, the following points may be observed:

a) one is suggesting that desire for change, not necessarily change itself, tends to be brought about by the variables of motivation and (dis)satisfaction.

b) the causal ordering of variables is logical rather than temporal. However this does not imply that the ordering cannot be temporal as well.

c) the ordering of the variables is presented in a linear fashion, and it is this linear model that is followed. This does not exclude the possibility of treating the variables in a circular model, eg. commencing the chain with desire for change and looking at its influence on motivation and (dis)satisfaction (not attempted here). The principal reason for excluding dissatisfaction as dependent on desire for change (rather than vice-versa, as in one's model) is both theoretical and empirical. First, it does not seem likely that a person in the position of achieving desired change would remain dissatisfied and still affiliated to the Church, whereas it is far more probable that a member is dissatisfied until he achieves desired change. Second, the unlikelihood of desired change concomitant with dissatisfaction is reflected in one's data. While there are many respondents who are dissatisfied and desirous of change, the converse does not obtain even among resignees (who, of course, are not members by definition). Even if one had extended one's inquiry to those who had resigned, then one feels the findings would be consonant with other independent findings that those who have resigned (ie, opted for desired change) display above average happiness ratings.

d) thus the linear model presented may be considered circular in the sense that the circle has been cut at two points, those of motivation and desired change.
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

3. Such as F.E.R.E.S. in Louvain, cited earlier
4. Reasons for not naming the congregation will be given in the next chapter.
6. cf. the responses to question 181 of the questionnaire. The findings of the C.M.S.W. survey are awaiting publication in monograph form at the time of writing. Figures available were kindly sent by Sr. Augusta Neal.
9. Schmidtchen, op. cit. p.262
10. C.M.S.W. survey, responses to question 194
11. Brech, op.cit. p.35
14. Sr. Neal communicated this finding to myself as a result of her preliminary analysis of the C.M.S.W. data.
15. Sr. G. Jean, Motivational Patterns in Religious Women, ibid. pp.79-93; L. Tomaino, The Sister as an Agent of Change, vol.29 no.3, pp.391-9; P. Boyle, Small Community Experiences, vol.30 no.3, pp.384-391. Other indicators of change among the Catholic sisterhood can be gauged from their widespread assimilation of the thinking of Vatican II, their reading material, the films they enjoy seeing, and their political voting patterns. These topics are treated in some detail by the C.M.S.W. survey in questions 244 – 281. Change in apostolic activities has been dealt with in one's own The Changing Sister, op.cit., the main conclusions of which are summarised in the following chapter.

16. This generalisation is based on the view that science is the knowledge of limits, and that such knowledge presupposes a choice of values.


18. This process is vulgarly known as ' data dredging ', the implication being that data is forced into such a form that an alternative problem or set of hypotheses can be demonstrated. While not subscribing to such methodology, one nevertheless argues that data may be capable of more than one form of treatment, just as one may look at the interplay of two or more variables from more than one sociological standpoint. This is one's own understanding of secondary analysis as used in this piece of research.

19. The term ' Generalate ' literally means the place of residence of the Mother General of a congregation. In practice, however, it incorporates counsellors and secretarial staff, who use the building as an organisational headquarters.


22. Lengthy discussion was held among twelve sisters both before and after two of their number had completed the first redaction of the questionnaire. The main benefit of this pilot inquiry was to enable one to rephrase questions and to discover the sisters' perception of emphasis and meaning of the various items in the questionnaire.

23. Columns two and three of each of the intial two IBM cards reserved for each sister were allocated to the number of the codifier.

25. This was the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences of N. Nie et al. McGraw Hill, 1970. The program was run on the Central London computer. Prior to this, the SALY program (University of Essex) had been utilised for the construction of the 104 x 104 correlation matrix and crosstabulation of items with the independent variables (found in columns 108-22 of the questionnaire, cf. Appendix I).

26. Tertianship is the re-examination of the commitment of one in vows, and takes the form of a course of spiritual and psychological renewal, lasting about six months. Sisters aged between thirty and forty either undergo tertianship in their own province or at the international level at the Generalate, where there is a sister known as the tertian mistress. It is interesting to note that the 30-40 age group are tertians, an age group that one has suggested manifests the highest degree of individual dissatisfaction.

27. cf. chapter three of this section.

28. Emile Pin, the director of C.I.R.I.S., studied under Gabriel Le Bras, reckoned to be the founder of 'Sociologie Religieuse.' François Houtart was educated in the same tradition. He is now the director (secretary) of F.E.R.E.S. to which C.I.R.I.S. is affiliated, and co-author with Pin (cf. The Church and the Latin American Revolution, op.cit.) Hervé Carrier, Rector of the Gregorian University, and prior to this lecturer in the sociology of religion in its Faculty of Social Sciences, can also be seen to sympathise with the 'French tradition' of Religious Sociology. The C.I.S.R. conferences organised and attended by these three sociologists also follow the same tradition.

29. cf. F. Buratto, Weekend e Pratica Religiosa, Edizioni Pastorali, Rome, 1969. Buratto's professed Communism does not appear to conflict with socio-religious investigation. In some senses his political stance, external to the Catholic Church, enhances his socio-religious studies, and this can be seen in the praise he receives from Bishop Maritano, auxiliary to Cardinal Pellegrino in Turin, cf. Buratto, op.cit., pp.6-10.


31. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit; I. Carvajal, La Revolucion de los Sacerdotes Contestatarios, in Indice, 1969, pp.35-40, 257-8

33. Greeley, op.cit., p.181


35. E. Pin and C. Cavallin, op.cit., p.7

36. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op.cit., p.79

37. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit., p.250


39. Only 37.62% of this group upheld the official teaching on birth control.


41. Greeley, op.cit., pp.70, 197.

42. Spanish survey, op.cit., pp.9-11, 13-4, 19

43. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit., p.11

44. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit., p.250

45. Fichter, uti 36, op.cit., pp.132, 208

46. The C.M.S.W. survey produces a mean age of 45. One's own results indicate a mean of 50. The five year discrepancy is reduced when one considers the dates of the two surveys. Since 1967, the time of the C.M.S.W. survey, lack of entrants and the rise in age of the remaining sisters would tend to increase the mean age of the respondents.

47. This is the case in all the socio-religious surveys listed in this piece of research.

48. Compare and contrast, 1.6% des 425, 000 prêtres du monde ont demandés à retourner à l'état laic, in Informations Catholiques Internationales, 1969, pp. 7 ss, nos.341-2; 7,137 Priests asked to quit in 6 years in National Catholic Reporter 5, 9 July, 1969, 3; More leave than are ordained, in The Tablet 223, 1969, 217, with : Accroissement des Vocations en Inde, in L'Osservatore Romano, 998, 1969, 6. More recent confirmation is given in L'Osservatore Romano, mid-Oct, 1974, countering the exaggerated allegations of the Italian magazine Epoca. The latest official figures show greater defection from North America and Europe and an increase in the number of vocations in Africa and Asia. The findings are presented in The Catholic Herald, 18 Oct.1974, p.2.
49. cf. Le Phénomène de la Contestation dans L’Eglise, Concilium 68, 1971


51. In Japan, for example, there is one native sister for every 55 lay people. If one adds members of secular institutes to the number of sisters, one finds that 1 in 25 Japanese adult Catholic women is a religious! There has also been an increase of 250% in the number of native sisters between 1946–66 in Japan! cf. Pro Mundi Vita, 34, 1970, p.37. In the Philippines between 1957 and 1967 there has been a 136.8% increase in the number of priests, 59.8% for seminarians, 86% for brothers, and 86.8% for sisters, cf. Pro Mundi Vita, 30, 1970, pp.22–3. In Indonesia there has been an increase of 150.6% in priests and brothers between 1959–68 and 118.6% increase in sisters over the same period, cf. Pro Mundi Vita 35, 1971, pp.22–3.

52. cf. Sister Vocations in Western Europe, Pro Mundi Vita, 18

53. Ibid. 34, 1970, p.38, 39, 1971, p.33

54. There are relatively no Eastern counterparts to such Western theologians as Karl Rahner, Hans Küng, Yves Congar, John Courtney Murray, Gregory Baum, etc. Similarly the men behind radical changes in outlook, mentioned in section one, have all come from the Americas and Europe.

55. Pro Mundi Vita, 39, 1971, pp. 33 col.1

56. Ibid.p.33 col.2

57. Ibid.p.33 col.2

58. Ibid.p.38 col.2

59. Pro Mundi Vita, 34, 1970, p.45 col.1


61. Pro Mundi Vita, 39, 1971, p.36 col.2

62. Ibid.p.34 col.1

63. Ibid.p.32 col.2

64. Ibid.p.34 col.2

65. Ibid.p.39, no.3

66. Ibid.p.33 col.2


69. In the English province, 30 sisters were native born, 171 were born in the Republic of Ireland, and 64 were from elsewhere.


This one proposes to do in the Canadian province of the congregation, the province in which fraternity experimentation has been conducted to the greatest degree since the completing of the questionnaires in 1971. Interviewing of 60% of the original respondents has already taken place (July-August 1974), and findings should be available by the beginning of 1975.

A fraternity is not intended in the Wachian sense to include Benedictine monks, the Oratory of Philip Neri, the Gnostics, the Beghins and Beghards, or pietistic groups, such as the Brethren of the Common Life, as all these groups register structured protest, dependent on the rule of a superior. In this sense the fraternity is an institutionalised 'collegium' see Wach, op. cit., pp.136, 157, 179-82. Rather the fraternity is a small superiorless community, working on a specific form of apostolate, while united by Wach's bonds of communal charity.

A fuller explanation of fraternity, with reference to the Canadian
province of the congregation studied may be found in one's Changing Sister, op.cit. which has been updated to include first impressions of the Canadian interviews.

94. cf. Blalock, op.cit.p. 91

95. This Cartesian description of method is supplied by P. Tufari in his lectures on sociological methodology, Facoltà di Scienze Sociali, Gregorian University, Rome. It is derived from the Greek 'meta' and 'odos', signifying literally the 'following of a way', or investigation.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. It is suggested that the guarantee of anonymity contributed towards the very high return rate and frankness in the replies. This conclusion was reached from the interspersed comments made by the sisters themselves, as also from the remarks of the major superiors. It is further suggested that for socio-religious surveys the advantages of a guarantee of anonymity outweigh the major disadvantage of not permitting ulterior research by one's colleagues in the same identifiable area.

2. Here one is following the life of the foundress, details of which cannot be supplied without breaking the aforementioned guarantee of anonymity.

3. These details are taken from a summary of the congregation's aims and activities.

4. cf. Pro Mundi Vita, 18, op.cit.

5. A Chapter, in this sense, is a meeting of the major superiors and elected delegates of an order or congregation, the purpose of which is to amend constitutions and elect a new superior general. Originally all members of the congregation attended such Chapters every ten years. Now, with expanding numbers, provinces are represented according to their proportional membership, and Chapters occur every six years as a rule.

6. Constitutions are principles and directives for the congregation. Prior to Vatican II, most constitutions of religious congregations were in a finalised format. Since the Council, however, several congregations have had interim constitutions. In drawing up one's questionnaire one followed the broad guidelines of the interim constitutions of the congregation in question.

7. cf. Perfectae Caritatis, op.cit., par. 7. This principle was further treated in the interim constitutions of the congregation, in the section dealing with government.


9. To this one can add the concept of 'free lance religious.' The implications of this form of commitment were treated at some length by the Canadian Religious Conference, dealing with New Ministries and the Sense of Belonging, Donum Dei 20, 1973.

10. Apparently this expression means a form of spiritual encounter between priests and sisters. It was explained to me by a Canadian superior at the General Chapter in Rome, 1972. She added that she was not against the idea, but that with these meetings going on until 3 am., she felt that she could not keep the hours!
11. This has recently been brought to a head with the controversial funeral of Michael Gaughan in a parish in Kilburn and its apparent condoning by Cardinal Heenan, Archbishop of Westminster. See the letters to The Catholic Herald and Universe of 7 and 14 June, 1974. It is also interesting to note the reversal of position in the editorials in the above numbers of the latter newspaper.


15. For a fuller treatment see Pro Mundi Vita, no.36, 1971.

16. In the absence of the results from A. Spencer's survey of priests and seminarians in New Zealand, one bases this remark on the reported cases of defection of priests trained for that country at the Propaganda Fide College in Rome.

17. cf. K. Rafferty, Bangladesh, in The Outlook, 1973, pp.17-19


19. cf. C. Tipton and B. Tipton, The Catholic Church in North Vietnam, in Towards the Whole Truth, op.cit. An excellent set of references, brought together for the first time, is also provided.

20. cf. Fichter, Religion as an Occupation, op.cit; Pin, The Advantages and Disadvantages of the Professionalisation of the Priesthood, op.cit; Gannon, op.cit.

21. It was pointed out by one respondent that the original Latin was "laborare et orare", where the word 'et' had replaced 'est', thus altering the whole sense. This view, however, does not appear to be commonly accepted.

22. cf. Pro Mundi Vita, nos.34, 35, 39, opera citata.

23. cf. Glock and Stark, op.cit. c.3

24. Question 357 in the Rome Survey read:

"Ci sono stati dei momenti, luoghi, occasioni nella Sua vita nei quali ha sentito la presenza di un Essere superiore, diciamo di Dio?"

Sondaggio di Opinione sulla Religione, C.I.R.I.S.,op.cit. 1969-71


26. cf. I Cor.14.34

27. cf. I Tim.2.12


35. Ibid.p.661
36. Ibid.p.661
37. Cain, Sept.1968, op.cit.p.918
38. There appears to be a certain amount of controversy about this. Cain is following F. Callahan, The Centralization of Government inPontifical Institutes of Women with Simple Vows, Rome 1948, p.44 n.1.
39. Codex Iuris Canonicis, op.cit. canons 487-88
40. Cain, op.cit. Sept,1968, p.918
41. cf. Vatican Yearbook for 1973, which lists 1,004, 304 sisters.
42. Francis, op.cit.p.244
43. Ibid.p.251
44. Ibid.p.254
45. Ibid,pp.256-8
47. T. Bowdern, op.cit. I., 112.
49. cf. data from C.M.S.W. survey in reply to question 206.
50. Bowdern, op.cit.I, pp.179-81
51. Ibid, loc. cit.uti supra
54. cf. C.M.S.W. survey data, replies to q.219
55. Bowdern, op.cit. I, p.187; Fichter, op.cit, uti inm 53, p.188
56. cf. C.M.S.W. survey data


60. cf. earlier C.M.S.W. survey figures to question 234


63. Calculated from replies to questions 230-4

64. cf. her coding slip for the C.M.S.W. data.
NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. J. Fichter, America’s Forgotten Priests, op.cit.p.79
2. Ibid.p.74
4. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit.p.3
5. Ibid.p.27
6. Ibid.p.28
7. A. Greeley, Study of Priestly Life and Ministry, p.39
9. Ibid.p.129
10. Ibid.p.79; cf. Study of Priestly Life and Ministry, op.cit.p.49
11. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit.p.250
12. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit. c.4
13. Problemas Institucionales y Repercusiones Personales, Sièntesis sociogràfica de los resultados nacionales de la Encuesta-Consulta al clero, op.cit.pp.48-49
14. Sr. Edna Mary, op.cit.p.188
15. Ibid.p.9
16. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit.p.43
17. Ibid.p.44
18. cf. P. Riga, Pope Paul VI and Celibacy, op.cit.pp.77-82
20. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit.p.372
21. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States, op.cit.c.10
22. Ibid.p.262
23. Ibid.p.366
24. Ibid.p.361 b.
25. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit. p.45
27. Pro Mundi Vita, 37, 1971, pp.13-17
28. Ibid.p.15
29. Spanish survey, uti 13, op. cit. pp. 43-6
30. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op. cit. p. 83
31. Ibid. p. 118
32. Ibid. p. 213
33. Ibid. pp. 174-6
34. Ibid. p. 77
35. Ibid. p. 79
36. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States, op. cit. p. 262
37. Ibid. c. 14
38. A. Mc Kennell, Attitude Measurement : Use of Coefficient Alpha with Cluster or Factor Analysis, in Sociology, vol. 4, no. 2; May 1970, pp. 227-245
39. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op. cit. p. 254
40. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op. cit. p. 49
41. Pro Mundi Vita, 37, 1971, pp. 9, 25
42. Ibid. pp. 19-28; Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op. cit. p. 152
43. Ibid. p. 203
44. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States, op. cit. c. 10
45. Ibid. Compare p. 70 with the conclusions to chapter 9.
46. Greinacher, in his Development of Applications to leave the Church, op. cit., deals with Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Spain and the United States, cf. Gallup Poll Survey in USA 1 June, 1969 and Schmidtchen, op. cit. pp. 166-7
47. Sr. Edna Mary, op. cit. pp. 115-9, 168
48. Sr. Jeanne D'Arc, op. cit. p. 78
49. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op. cit. pp. 133-48
50. Cara study, op. cit. pp. 42, 49
51. Ibid. p. 23
52. Stryckman and Gaudet, op. cit. c. 6
53. Sr. F. Vandermeersch, op. cit. pp. 51-7
54. Francis, op. cit. pp. 256-8
55. Sr. Jeanne D'Arc, op. cit. pp. 103 ss
56. Stryckman and Gaudet, op. cit. p. 60
57. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op. cit. pp. 53, 60, 64, 66, 97, 142.
58. P. Rudge, Communication - within the boundary, across the boundary of the Church, in Pro Mundi Vita, 45, 1973, pp. 8-9
59. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op. cit. pp. 116-8, 123
60. Ibid. pp. 128-33
61. Sr. Charles Borromeo, op. cit. p. 3
62. Ibid. p. 77
63. Ibid. pp. 164 ss, where she takes Taizé as her model for community
64. Ibid. pp. 192 ss
65. Ibid. p. 203
66. Sr. Edna Mary, op. cit. p. 183
67. Ibid. p. 188
68. Ibid.p.9
69. Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op.cit. pp.97 ss
70. Ibid.p.120
71. Ibid.p.142
72. Ibid.p.123
73. Ibid.pp.118-9
74. Ibid.p.132
75. Ibid.p.208
76. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States, op.cit. c.11
77. Ibid.p.370
78. Ibid.p.197
79. Gannon, Priest / Minister: Profession or Non-Profession, op.cit
80. Burgalassi, Preti in Crisi, op.cit.p.369
81. Ford, op.cit.p.130
82. Cara study, op.cit.p.10
83. Ibid.p.33
84. Ibid.pp.70-1
86. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit.p.11
87. Ibid.p.11
88. Ibid.p.7
89. Schallert & Kelley, L'Abandon du Sacerdoce, op.cit.pp.265 ss
90. Colaianni, Married Priests and Married Nuns, op.cit.p.xiv
91. R. Bogan has recently applied Seeman's categories ( On the Meaning of Alienation, in ASR XXIV, 1959, pp.783-91 ) to seminarians and newly ordained priests in his Seminary Polarities, in Towards the Whole Truth, op.cit.
93. Ibid.pp.15-6
95. Ibid.p.107
96. Interim Constitutions, par.7
97. Ibid.par.50
98. Ibid.par.50
99. Sr. Jeanne D'Arc, op.cit.p.120
100 Ibid.pp.141-3
101 Cara study, op.cit.pp.40, 51-3
102 Pro Mundi Vita 37, 1971, p.19
103 Ibid.p.11
104 Ibid.pp.13-14
105 Ibid.p.9
106 Ibid.pp.9-11
107 Fichter, America's Forgotten Priests, op.cit.p.88
108 Ibid.p.85 table 4.10
For example, A. Tanquerey, The Spiritual Life, Tournai, 1930; J. de Guibert, The Theology of the Spiritual Life, New York, 1953


"Quando nel Padre Nostro dice 'liberaci del male' a quali mali pensa anzitutto?" (questions 259-60) and "Quando alla Messa si dice 'Kyrie Eleison (Signore Pietà) per chi desidera (per primo) che il Signore abbia pietà?"
(question 243), in Sondaggio di Opinione sulla Religione, op.cit.

cf. Casti Conubii, par.56, 1930; Pius XII's address to Italian Association of Catholic Midwives (1951), Gaudium et Spes, op.cit. par.51; Populorum Progressio, par.37; Paul VI opposed to majority verdict on birth control commission in AAS LVI, p.558, LVIII, p.1168; Humanae Vitae, par.14

For example, 91% of English speaking Canadian priests said that they "would give confessional absolution to a penitent, who, with a responsibly formed conscience, is taking the pill," cf. Stryckman and Gaudet, op.cit.p.56.

cf. Life International Report on Birth Control, 1967, p.54


cf. Councils of Elvira, Carthage, Oranges, Toledo, Soissons, Augsburg and Poitiers. It should be noted that none of the above councils, dating from circa 300 AD was oecumenical.

The full legislation for clerical celibacy dates from 1123-1139, the time of the first and second Lateran Councils, although it was not brought into effect or observed until the Council of Trent (1545). Thence the rule of celibacy became embodied in The Code of Canon Law, and was reinforced by Paul VI's encyclical Sacerdotalis Coelibatus, 1967.

The Oecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325) and the council of Gangres upheld the marriage of priests, as did Clement of Alexandria and the Canons of the Apostles. Not a few bishops, later to be canonised, were married men. It is also highly likely that St. Peter, the first pope, was married, as may be deduced from Christ's healing Peter's mother-in-law, cf. Mk.1.29 ss; Mt. 8.14 ss.
120. cf. Denzinger, op.cit. nos. 365, 394, 403, 448, 479, 716, 739, 1081, 1475, 1609.

121. cf. Populorum Progressio, op.cit.

122. cf. Quadragesimo Anno of Leo XII; Mater et Magistra of John XXIII

123. This section is taken from my unpublished article, The Catholic Church's restraint to social change as a result of vested economic interests. There the sources for the argument are provided.


127. Ibid.nos. 876, 885, 1921.

128. cf. Paul VI's Mysterium Fidei

129. cf. the recent dialogue between Catholics and Anglicans in England.

130. cf. E. Pin, Religiosité et Appartenance à L'Eglise dans le XXe arrondissement de Paris, CIRIS, Rome, 1968, p.15, where one notes the highest percentage of communicants in the 15-19 age group.
1. Blalock suggests an $F$-test for analysis of variance in testing for linearity, based on the formula:

$$F_{k-2, N-k} = \frac{(E^2 - r^2)(N-k)}{(1 - E^2)(k-2)}$$

where $k$ represents the number of categories into which $x$ has been divided and where $E^2 = \text{between sum of squares}$ $\text{total sum of squares}$, cf. N. Blalock, Social Statistics, McGraw-Hill, 1960, pp. 315-7. However, one sees no need for such a test where 'face validity' obtains.

2. Here one applies the formula: $t = \frac{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{s_1^2}{N_1 - 1} + \frac{s_2^2}{N_2 - 1}}}$

where the denominator $= \sqrt{\frac{s_1^2}{N_1 - 1} + \frac{s_2^2}{N_2 - 1}}$

Such a test for difference of means is recommended where it cannot be assumed that the two variances are equal, as is the case here. cf. Blalock, op.cit.p.175

3. For independent samples, Blalock suggests the transformation of the correlation coefficients into $z$ scores, where

$$z = \frac{(z_1 - z_2)}{\sigma_{z_1 - z_2}}$$

and the denominator $= \sqrt{\frac{1}{N_1 - 3} + \frac{1}{N_2 - 3}}$

Ibid, p.309
NOTES TO CHAPTER V


2. Varimax is orthogonal rotation that attempts to simplify the columns of the factor matrix. In utilising the SPSS package, op.cit., one employed the following instructions for input:

\[
\text{PROCESS SBFILES (ALL).
\text{FACTOR VARIABLES = AGE TO TYPE/0/
\text{TYPE = PA2
\text{ROTATE = VARIAN.
\text{OPTIONS 2
\text{STATISTICS ALL.
\text{cf. Nie, et al. op.cit. pp.208-38}
\]


6. For example the IPA Program run on the Princeton-Rutgers IBM 360/67 TSS, cf. Nygreen, op.cit. p.42

7. cf. Nie et al. op.cit. pp.174-93


9. cf. Heise, op.cit. p.52

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( The list that follows is not intended to be completely representative of one's source material. For this one should consult the references (above). Rather one includes here a short list of those books and reviews which one has used to a greater extent than others. )

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Osservatore Romano, L'
Pro Mundi Vita
Review for Religious
Review of Religious Research
Social Compass
Tablet, The
Universe, The
APPENDICES

Appendix 1:  
   a) The questionnaire in English  
   b) The questionnaire in French  

Appendix 2:  Coding slip for semi and fully open-ended questions  

Appendix 3:  Statistics of Congregation from 1861 to 31 December 1970  

Appendix 4:  The return rates by province and by house.
APPENDIX I

a) The questionnaire in English

Key to Abbreviations:

IK = Don't Know
DW = Don't wish to reply
SA = Strongly agree
SD = Strongly disagree

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Place a (1) and a (2) opposite the descriptions that you think best fitted your motive for joining the Congregation X:

   a) the best use of my talents and potential / / 0
   b) the best way to personal sanctification and salvation / / 1
   c) in order to bring Christ to others / / 2 / / / / 123 124
   d) admiration for the work of the Congregation / / 3
   e) to be a fully dedicated teacher / / 4
   f) other reason(s) : please state...... / / 0-9 / /

2. If you had to begin all over again, would you yourself ? :

   yes no IK DW
   1 2 8 9

   a) enter the Congregation ? / / 126
   b) enter the religious life ? / / 127

3. Give your opinion on the following statements :

   SA-agree disagree SD IK DW
   1 2 3 4 8 9

   a) outside the Liturgy, a certain period of mental prayer a day is essential for a sister :
   / / 128

   b) our sisters should not beg for money :
   / / 129

   always sometimes never IK DW
   1 2 3 8 9

   c) I should wear the religious habit :
   / / 130
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SA agree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Local superiors in each province should meet at least once a year:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) In order to have a religious community it is necessary that all salaries be pooled in a common fund:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) In order to have a religious community it is necessary that all personal gifts be shared in common:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Apart from the superior, all sisters living in a house should be of equal status:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) All sisters living in a house should be of equal status:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) General Councillors should reside within their own province:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) Repetitious prayer has no great value today:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k) In the case of public disagreement in a given community, the matter should be settled with all the sisters present:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l) As a matter of principle, each sister of the Congregation should be allowed to vote in the election of the Mother General:</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
m) The superior of a house should give a regular budget and report to the other sisters:

n) The clothes a sister wears should be the personal decision of each sister:

4. Do the following encourage vocations to the Congregation?:

   a) your province?
   b) your community?
   c) you yourself?

5. When in the Our Father we say "Deliver us from evil," what evils do we think about especially? Give two:

   .......................... ..........................  
   .......................... ..........................

6. Do you make any ejaculatory prayer during the course of the day?

7. The following represents a list of various items connected with authority and obedience. Please indicate whether you think any of these should be preceded by discussion before obedience is required from the individual(s) concerned. (This could mean in certain cases the whole community):

   a) the appointment of a sister to another community:
   b) the amendment of an item on the daily timetable of the house:
   c) the changing of an article in the Constitutions:
8. It is said that nowadays it is becoming increasingly
difficult to interest and involve young people in religion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Do you agree?

9. If you answered no, DK, DW to question 8, then place a
cross in the following space............. / / 7

If you replied yes, which of the following two factors
do you think has been the most decisive in this?
Mark a 1 and a 2 in the spaces provided:

a) the jargon employed in the teaching of religion / / 0
b) the secularisation of society / / 1

/ / 153
c) the greater attraction of material gain / / 2

d) increased opportunities in skilled and
unskilled jobs / / 3

e) an unqualified teaching staff / / 4
f) an outdated catechetics / / 5

/ / 154
g) the general confusion in the Church since
Vatican II / / 6

h) Other reason(s) : please state .............. / / 0-9

/ / 155

10. When we say " Lord have mercy " at the beginning of Mass,
on whom do we want Our Lord to have mercy above all?

/ / 155

11. Which of the following expressions do you think best
describes religious chastity ? :

a) consecrated love / / 0
b) virginity / / 1

c) dedication to Christ's work / / 2

d) freedom to attain complete fulfilment as
a person / / 3

/ / 156
e) witness to Christ's union to the Church / / 4
f) imitation of the Blessed Virgin / / 5

g) freedom from the consumer society / / 6

/ / 157
h) freedom from human passion / / 7

i) celibacy / / 8

j) other ( please state ) :

/ / 0-9
12. In most areas of the Church today we are witnessing a fall-off in the number of vocations. With regard to your own Congregation to what do you think this may be due? Mark a 1, 2 and 3, in order of importance:

a) a general lack of dedication among certain sisters // 0
b) the feeling that things have been made too easy // 1 //
c) the apparent lack of freedom and responsibility as far as the individual sister is concerned // 2 //
d) overpreoccupation with easy living // 3 //
e) the desire to have a family // 4 //
f) the increasing opportunities in the employment of women // 5 //
g) the lack of generosity on the part of young girls // 6 //
h) Other reason(s): please state........... // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 161

13. Which one of the following expressions do you think best describes religious poverty?

a) detachment from material cares // 0 //
b) service of others // 1 //
c) helping the poor and needy // 2 //
d) giving up one's possessions // 3 //
e) using what is just necessary for one's work // 4 //
f) simple living // 5 //
g) Other expression, please state:.............. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 //
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 163

14. Do you think that there is a significant difference between a sister performing social work and a lay social worker?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. If you answered no, DK, or DW to question 14, then place a cross in the following space.............. // 7 //
If you answered yes, then in what do you think this difference consists?......................... // 0–9
.................................................................................................................. // 0–9 165
16. We often pray "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." What does this mean for you? .................................................................

17. In the course of your work which point of view do you express on the following subjects? :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) the teaching of Humanae Vitae on birth control</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) The terminology of a 'Just War'</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) the present ruling on priestly celibacy</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) Economic Capitalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) the Real Presence</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) Racial discrimination</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

18. Would you be in favour of a joint religious syllabus worked out with other Christian denominations in your area as the only form of religious instruction in schools in your area? : yes no indifferent DK DW

19. Sometimes one hears criticism with regard to the Church's attitude to worldly riches. Do you think that there is sufficient witness to poverty? :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) in your province?</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) in your community?</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) in your own life?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
20. Do you think that religious obedience as practised in the Congregation increases or decreases the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>increases</th>
<th>decreases</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) responsibility</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) faith</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) frustrations</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d) community spirit</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) fear of the unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) laziness</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

21. Do you feel that the present system of formation during the novitiate is adequate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) for present day needs?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) for the next 10 years?</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

22. Do you feel that the present system of formation for those in temporary commitment is adequate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) for present day needs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>b) for the next 10 years?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

23. Considering the first five years of the religious life (excluding the novitiate), rank these forms of preparation in order of importance, i.e., 1 is the most important through 9 to the least important:

<p>| | | | | | | | | | |</p>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) a grounding in scripture</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>233</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the integration of prayer with apostolic activity</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>234</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>c) a theology course</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) missiology training</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) catechetics</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>f) teachers training</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>238</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>g) social theory</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>239</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>h) social work</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) another subject in which a sister shows interest</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
24. Do you think that religious chastity has a sign value for the people with whom you come into contact outside the community?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
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</table>

a) at the present time?

b) in 10 years time?

25. State your agreement or otherwise with the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SA agree</th>
<th>disagree</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>DK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) It would be better to go to a parish mass than to have a community mass in the convent:

- every day
- sometimes
- on Sundays

b) Recreation in common is desirable:

every day | sometimes | never |
<table>
<thead>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| / / 244 |
| / / 245 |
| / / 246 |

c) The religious habit is a necessary sign of a sister's consecration:

always | sometimes | never |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| / / 248 |
d) Temporary commitment is not necessary in a sister's formation:

SA | agree | disagree | SD | DK | DW |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| / / 249 |
e) Office in common is better than that said privately:

SA | agree | disagree | SD | DK | DW |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| / / 250 |
f) Chanted office is better than recited office:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>always</th>
<th>sometimes</th>
<th>never</th>
<th>IK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[\text{SA} \quad \text{agree} \quad \text{disagree} \quad \text{SD} \quad \text{DK} \quad \text{DW}\]

\[\text{1} \quad \text{2} \quad \text{3} \quad \text{4} \quad \text{8} \quad \text{9}\]

\[\text{251}\]

g) There should be special facilities for refresher courses of which any sister may avail herself:

\[\text{SA} \quad \text{agree} \quad \text{disagree} \quad \text{SD} \quad \text{DK} \quad \text{DW}\]

\[\text{1} \quad \text{2} \quad \text{3} \quad \text{4} \quad \text{8} \quad \text{9}\]

\[\text{252}\]

h) To work is to pray:

\[\text{253}\]

i) The way a sister practises poverty is determined by the religious community in which she lives:

\[\text{254}\]

j) A house of prayer should be established in each province:

\[\text{255}\]

26. Do you make any visits on your own to the Blessed Sacrament during the day?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no</th>
<th>once</th>
<th>twice</th>
<th>more often</th>
<th>IK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[\text{SA} \quad \text{agree} \quad \text{disagree} \quad \text{SD} \quad \text{DK} \quad \text{DW}\]

\[\text{1} \quad \text{2} \quad \text{3} \quad \text{4} \quad \text{8} \quad \text{9}\]

\[\text{256}\]

27. Are there any particular moments during the day when you experience the presence of God?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>IK</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

\[\text{1} \quad \text{2} \quad \text{8} \quad \text{9}\]

\[\text{257}\]

28. If you answered no, DK or DW to question 27, place a cross in the following space:............... 

\[\text{258}\]

If you answered yes to question 27, which moments in particular do you experience the presence of God? 

\[\text{259}\]
29. What do you think are the two main aims of the Congregation? Place a 1 and a 2 opposite the most important:

a) Christian education  

b) Contemplation and prayer  

c) Imitation of Our Lady  

d) The following of the inspiration of Mother Foundress  

e) The sharing in the mission of the Blessed Trinity  

f) Social work in deprived areas  

g) Other(s): please state..............................

In answering the following questions, it should be remembered, that as in the rest of the replies, strict anonymity will be preserved throughout.

30. Please give your full date of birth ...............  

31. Please give your country of birth....................

(If its name has changed then give the name of the country at that time)

32. To which house are you presently attached?..............

33. Have you been engaged to be married before?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>almost</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. Have you a university degree?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DW</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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35. Have you a teaching certificate

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<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
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36. Have you undergone nursing training?

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<th>yes</th>
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37. Apart from 34, 35, 36, have you some other diploma or degree?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>yes</th>
<th>no</th>
<th>DW</th>
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38. Briefly give your ideas on the changes that you would like to see in the Congregation giving your reasons for such changes.

..............................................................
..............................................................
..............................................................

39. Give the number and letter of the questions you did not understand.

..............................................................

40. If there are any comments you would like to make on any of the questions, then give them here (including the number and letter).

..............................................................

(If you need more space for questions 38, 39, 40, then add a page of your own and clip it on to the rest of the questionnaire.)
b) The questionnaire in French

Clé des Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NS</th>
<th>ND</th>
<th>FA</th>
<th>FD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Je ne sais pas</td>
<td>Je ne désir pas répondre</td>
<td>Fortement d'accord</td>
<td>Fortement en désaccord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

1. Placez un (1) et un (2) en face des expressions que vous trouvez les plus proches du motif qui vous a fait entrer la Congrégation X :

   a) la meilleure utilisation de mes talents et de mes possibilités
   b) le meilleur chemin vers ma sanctification et mon salut personnels
   c) aïn de porter le Christ aux autres
   d) admiration pour le travail de la Congrégation
   e) pour être une enseignante totalement donnée
   f) autre(s) raison(s); veuillez les dire......

2. Si vous deviez tout recommencer, personnellement,

   a) entreriez-vous dans la Congrégation ?
   b) entreriez-vous dans la vie religieuse ?

3. Donnez votre opinion sur les affirmations suivantes :

   a) en dehors de la liturgie une certaine période journalière de prière mentale est essentielle à chaque sœur :
   b) nos sœurs ne devraient pas faire la quête pour obtenir de l'argent :
c) je **m** devrais porter l'habit religieux :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Toujours</th>
<th>Parfois</th>
<th>Jamais</th>
<th>NS</th>
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**FA d'accord en désaccord**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>d)</strong> les supérieures locales dans chaque province devraient se rencontrer au moins une fois par an</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>e)</strong> pour qu'une communauté religieuse existe, il faut verser dans un fonds commun tous les salaires</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>f)</strong> pour qu'une communauté religieuse existe il faut que tous les cadeaux personnels soient mis en commun</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>g)</strong> sauf la supérieure, toutes les soeurs vivant dans une même maison devraient avoir le même rang</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>h)</strong> toutes les soeurs vivant dans une même maison devraient avoir le même rang</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>i)</strong> les conseillères générales devraient résider chacune dans sa province</td>
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<td><strong>j)</strong> des formes de prières qui comportent des répétitions n'ont guère de valeur aujourd'hui</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>k)</strong> quand dans une communauté un désaccord se produit en public, l'affaire devrait se régler avec la participation de toutes les soeurs présentes</td>
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1. par principe chaque soeur dans la Congrégation devrait pouvoir voter à l'élection de la M. Générale

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2. la supérieure d'une maison devrait présenter aux autres soeurs un budget et un rapport en règle

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3. chaque soeur devrait décider personnellement quels vêtements elle portera

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4. Les vocations à la congrégation sont-elles encouragées par :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oui</th>
<th>Non</th>
<th>NS</th>
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a) votre province ?

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b) votre communauté ?

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c) vous-même ?

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6. Au cours de la journée faites-vous des prières jaculatoires ?

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7. Voici une liste de questions en relation avec l'autorité et l'obéissance. Veuillez indiquer si, à votre sens, quelques-unes de ces questions devraient donner lieu à une discussion avant que les personnes concernées soient contraintes.
7. D'obéir (dans certains cas il pourrait s'agir de la communauté entière).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FA</th>
<th>d'accord</th>
<th>en désaccord</th>
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</table>

a) la désignation d'une sœur pour une autre communauté

b) la modification d'un détail de l'horaire quotidien de la maison

c) le changement d'un article des constitutions

8. On dit que de nos jours il devient de plus en plus difficile d'amener les jeunes à s'intéresser à la religion et à s'y engager. Etes-vous d'accord ?

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<th>NS</th>
<th>ND</th>
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9. Si à la question 8 vous avez répondu non, NS ou ND, mettez un croix dans cette case................. / / 7
Si vous avez répondu oui, quels sont, parmi les facteurs suivants, les deux que vous croyez les plus responsables de cette situation ? Marquez 1 et 2 dans les cases laissées pour cela :

a) le jargon utilisé pour l'enseignement de la religion / / 0
b) la sécularisation de la société / / 1

c) l'attrait accru du gain matériel / / 2 153
d) les occasions plus nombreuses de trouver des emplois avec ou sans formation préalable / / 3 / /
e) un personnel enseignant peu qualifié / / 4 154
f) une catéchétique périmée / / 5

g) la confusion générale qui existe dans l'Église depuis Vatican II
h) autre(s) raison(s) : veuillez les exposer...... / / 0-9

.............................. / / 0-9
10. Quand nous disons "Seigneur prends pitié" au commencement de la Messe, sur qui, sur tous, appelons-nous la pitié du Seigneur ?

................................. / /  155

11. A votre avis laquelle des expressions suivantes décrit le mieux la chasteté religieuse ? :-

   a) amour consacré / / 0
   b) virginité / / 1
   c) don total de soi pour l'oeuvre du Christ / / 2
   d) liberté d'atteindre le plein épanouissement de sa personnalité / / 3
   e) témoignage à l'union du Christ avec l'Eglise / / 4
   f) désengagement de la société de consommation / / 6
   g) imitation de la Sainte Vierge / / 5
   h) désengagement de la passion humaine / / 7
   i) célibat / / 8
   j) autre : veuillez la proposer / / 0-9

12. Dans la plupart des régions de l'Eglise aujourd'hui, on constate une diminution dans le nombre de vocations. Quant à votre congrégation, à quoi attribuez-vous cela ? Marquez 1, 2, 3 selon l'importance.

   a) un manque de don total de la part de certaines soeurs / / 0 158
   b) le sentiment que tout est devenu trop facile / / 1
   c) le manque apparent de liberté et de responsabilité au niveau de chaque soeur individuellement / / 2
   d) la préoccupation exagérée d'avoir une vie facile / / 3 160
   e) le désir d'avoir une famille / / 4
   f) les possibilités croissantes dans la sphère de l'emploi des femmes / / 5
   g) le manque de générosité de la part de jeunes filles / / 6
   h) autres raison(s) ; veuillez les indiquer...../ / 0-9

................................. / / 0-9

................................. / / 0-9
13. Parmi les phrases suivants, laquelle, à votre avis, exprime le mieux la pauvreté religieuse ?

- a) détachement de soucis matériels
- b) service des autres
- c) secours aux pauvres et aux nécessiteux
- d) renoncement aux biens personnels
- e) se contenter de ce qui est strictement nécessaire pour son travail
- f) vie modeste
- g) autre définition que vous donnerez...

14. Trouvez-vous qu'il y ait une différence importante entre une sœur qui fait du travail social et une laïque engagée dans ce domaine ?

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<th></th>
<th>oui</th>
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15. Si vous avez répondu non, NS, ou ND à la question 14, mettez un croix dans cette case

- Si vous avez répondu oui, en quoi faites-vous consister cette différence ?

16. Souvent nous demandons dans la prière "pardonne-nous nos offenses comme nous pardonnons aussi à ceux qui nous ont offensés." Pour vous, que signifie cela ?

17. Dans les contacts avec les autres occasionnés par votre travail quel point de vue exprimez-vous sur les sujets suivants ?

- officiel
- celui
- un autre
- les deux
- j'évite
- que vous
- aspects
- le
- jugez
- de la
- sujet
- officiel
- question

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) l'enseignement de Humanae Vitae sur le contrôle des naissances</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) l'usage de l'expression &quot;une guerre juste&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) la règlementation actuelle concernant le célibat du clergé</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) le capitalisme économique</td>
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<td>e) la Présence réelle</td>
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<td>f) la discrimination raciale</td>
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18. Seriez-vous partisan de l'adoption, comme la seule forme d'instucttion religieuse dans les écoles de votre région d'un programme unique rédigé en collaboration avec d'autres confessions chrétiennes présentes dans le secteur ?

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<tr>
<th>oui</th>
<th>non</th>
<th>indifférent</th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>ND</th>
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19. On entend parfois critiquer l'attitude de l'Eglise vis-à-vis des richesses de ce monde. Croyez-vous qu'il y ait témoignage suffisant à la pauvreté :

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</table>
20. À votre avis, l'obéissance religieuse telle qu'elle est pratiquée dans la congrégation augmente-t-elle ou diminue-t-elle :

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>augmente</th>
<th>diminue</th>
<th>NS</th>
<th>ND</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) la responsabilité</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) la foi</td>
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<tr>
<td>c) la frustration</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) l'esprit de communauté</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) la crainte de l'inconnu</td>
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<td>f) la paresse</td>
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21. Trouvez-vous que le système actuel de formation pendant le noviciat soit adéquat :

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) aux besoins d'aujourd'hui</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) à ceux des 10 années à venir</td>
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22. Trouvez-vous que le système actuel de formation au cours de l'engagement temporaire soit adéquat :

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) aux besoins d'aujourd'hui</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) à ceux des 10 années à venir</td>
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</table>
23. Au cours des 5 premières années de vie religieuse (le noviciat exclus) quelle est l'importance relative des matières suivantes ? Mettez à côté de la plus importante le chiffre 1, et ainsi jusqu'à 9, affecté à moins importante :

a) une formation de base en Sainte Ecriture  

b) l'intégration de la prière et de l'activité apostolique  

c) un cours de théologie  

d) une formation missiologique  

e) une formation catéchétique  

f) une formation pédagogique  

g) sociologie théorique  

h) travail social  

i) une autre branche pour laquelle la sœur manifeste de l'intérêt

24. Croyez-vous que la chasteté religieuse ait valeur de signe pour les gens que vous rencontrez en dehors de la communauté :

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</table>

a) actuellement  

b) d'ici 10 ans

25. Indiquer si vous êtes d'accord avec ces affirmations :

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</table>

a) plutôt que d'avoir une Messe de communauté au couvent il serait mieux d'assister à une Messe paroissiale :

- tous les jours  

- quelquefois  

- jamais
b) la récréation en commun est souhaitable :

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{tous les jours} & \text{quelquefois} & \text{jamais} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

c) l'habit religieux constitue un signe nécessaire de consécration à Dieu :

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{toujours} & \text{quelquefois} & \text{jamais} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

d) un engagement temporaire au cours de la formation d'une soeur n'est pas nécessaire :

\[
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\text{FA} & \text{d'accord} & \text{en désaccord} & \text{FD} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

e) l'office en commun vaut mieux que celui que l'on dit en privé :

\[
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\text{FA} & \text{d'accord} & \text{en désaccord} & \text{FD} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

f) il vaut mieux chanter l'office que de le réciter :

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{toujours} & \text{quelquefois} & \text{jamais} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

g) il devrait y avoir des facilités pour des cours de recyclage dont n'importe quelle soeur puisse profiter :

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{FA} & \text{d'accord} & \text{en désaccord} & \text{FD} & \text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]

h) travailler c'est prier

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{NS} & \text{ND} \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 8 & 9 \\
\end{array}
\]
### 26. Faites-vous des visites privées au Saint Sacrament au cours de la journée ? :

- non
- une fois par jour
- deux fois
- fréquemment
- ND

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<th>en désaccord</th>
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/ / 255

### 27. Y a-t-il des moments particuliers de la journée où vous expérimentez la présence de Dieu ?

- oui
- non
- NS
- ND

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/ / 256

### 28. Si vous avez répondu non, NS ou ND, à la question 27, mettez un croix dans cette case ................. / / 7
Si vous avez répondu oui, à quels moments éprouvez-vous plus particulièrement la présence de Dieu ? : ..............

/ / 258

### 29. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez être les deux buts principaux de la Congrégation ? Placez un 1 et un 2 en face des expressions les plus importantes :

- a) l'éducation chrétienne
- b) la contemplation et la prière
- c) l'imitation de la Sainte Vierge

/ / 0-9 / / 263
d) la poursuite de l'inspiration de Mère Fondatrice  
   / / 3  

e) la participation à la mission de la Sainte Trinité  
   / / 4  

f) le travail social dans les secteurs déshérités  
   / / 5  

g) d'autres que vous indiquerez..............  
   / / 0-9  

En répondant aux questions suivantes on se souviendra que comme pour les autres parties du questionnaire, l'anonymat strict sera sauvégarde.

30. Veuillez donner la date exacte de votre naissance  
   / / /  

31. Indiquer, s'il vous plaît, votre pays natal. Si le nom en a subi un changement, indiquez celui qu'il portait à l'époque de votre naissance  
   / / /  

32. A quelle maison êtes-vous attachée actuellement ?  
   / / /  

33. Avez-vous été fiancée ? :  
   
   oui preque non ND  
   1  2  3  9  

34. Possédez-vous des titres universitaires ?  
   / / 117  

35. Possédez-vous un diplôme pour l'enseignement ?  
   / / 118  

36. Avez-vous reçu une formation d'infirmière ?  
   / / 119
37. Avez-vous d'autres diplômes (exception faite pour ceux de 34, 35, 36) ?

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<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

38. Indiquez brièvement vos idées concernant les changements que vous désiriez voir s'effectuer dans la congrégation et ajoutez vos motifs pour ces changements :

................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................

39. Indiquez le numéro et la lettre des questions que vous n'avez pas comprises :

................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................

40. Si vous désirez commenter une question quelconque, faites-le ici indiquant le nombre et la lettre :

................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................
................................................................................................................................

( Si vous avez besoin de plus de place pour les questions 38, 39, 40, ajoutez une feuille que vous agraferez au reste du questionnaire.)
### APPENDIX II

**Coding Slip for semi and fully open-ended questions**

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<td>Sin, lack of morals 7</td>
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<td>--------</td>
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<td>Love of others</td>
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<td>Eschatological sign</td>
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<td>Freedom to dedicate oneself to others</td>
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<td>Evangelical service</td>
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<td>Sister adaptable; mobility; time</td>
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<td>For grace, increase in inner holiness, avoidance of Hell</td>
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<td>Prayer</td>
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<td>Child of God; forgiveness by enemies</td>
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<td>Forgive others so that God will forgive me</td>
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<td>Ask to be treated in the same way as God forgives others</td>
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<td>Beliefs are true, sacramental acts, major life events</td>
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<td>Information about God, future events, eternal events</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal commission destined for individual or those around him</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| 261/2          |        |
| Missionary work | 0 6 |
| Education | 1 6 |
| Following the rule | 2 6 |
| Christ to others | 3 7 |
| Self sanctification | 4 7 |
| Imitation of Christ | 5 7 |
| Travelling, languages | 6 8 |
| Security, money | 7 8 |

| 263            |        |
| Individual to others, eg. Mass, office, Benediction | 0 |
| Individual seeing God in others, eg. at school, in sisters, in sick, etc. | 1 |
| In times of need, stress, tension, sickness | 2 |
| In times of joy | 3 |
| Daily moments of work, at night, on a journey | 4 |
| In beauty of art, music, reading, bible, creation | 5 |
| Asking for personal things | 6 |
| Asking for things for others | 7 |
| Thanking / adoring God | 8 |
| Speaking / listening to God in prayer | 9 |

121 / 2 As in text
## APPENDIX III

**Statistics of the Congregation from 1861 to 31 December 1970**

### 1. Distribution of sisters by age groups and province

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Aus</th>
<th>Burma</th>
<th>Can</th>
<th>UK</th>
<th>FRA</th>
<th>IND</th>
<th>NZ.S</th>
<th>NZ.N</th>
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<th>Viet</th>
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**Total** 139 17 165 308 65 78 181 155 69 65 1242 100.0

**Median** 55 39 54 49 57 38 51 48 42 44 49

% of Tot 11.2 1.4 13.3 24.7 5.2 6.3 14.6 12.5 5.5 5.3

### 2. Entries by Province

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**Totals** 213 8 342 380 58 42 810 244 130 583 2810
3. Perpetual Vows by Province

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4. Sisters who have left after perpetual vows

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5. Deaths by Province

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APPENDIX IV

The Return Rates by Province and House

The questionnaire was administered to every province in the congregation. Generally the procedure was to send master copies to the provincial house in each province, and from there sufficient copies were reproduced, enabling each sister to receive her individual copy. It was then up to her to answer the questionnaire and return it to the Generalate. In some cases copies were made at the Generalate and sent directly to the individual houses of a province. In every case bar one the questionnaires were sent out at the end of May and the beginning of June, 1971. It was thought more advisable to hold back those destined for Bangladesh until mid-July on account of the internal troubles of that country. The Canadian province sent its questionnaires, complete with stamped addressed envelope from the provincial house. This had the effect of producing the quickest replies.

Actual Returns Received

The figures that follow represent the returns by the end of September, 1971:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Out of Possible</th>
<th>% Return</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>France</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>93.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>93.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh &amp; Burma</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>89.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
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<td>89.74</td>
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<td>87.36</td>
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<td>England</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>86.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Rome)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>66.67</td>
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</table>

Total return          | 1086   | 1227            | 88.51    |
Earlier it was stated that, given the high percentage return of almost 90%, it was possible to treat the replies as coming from the population. There are three reasons for this statistical assumption. First, one is dealing with all the returns that were received from the whole congregation, that is, the population. Second, one is dealing with large numbers and also a return rate of 88.51%, a high percentage return for a mailed questionnaire. Third, the actual proportions by province of the returned questionnaires were within a maximum of five decimal points of the actual proportions of the total number of sisters residing in a province, relative to the total number of sisters in the congregation. In other words, no single province was seriously over or under represented. The following table illustrates this goodness of fit:

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<th>PROPORTION OF ACTUAL RETURNS</th>
<th>PROPORTION OF POSSIBLE RETURNS</th>
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<td>5.53</td>
<td>5.22</td>
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<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>5.25</td>
<td>4.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh &amp; Burma</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>6.52</td>
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<td>India</td>
<td>6.45</td>
<td>6.36</td>
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<td>Australia</td>
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<td>(Rome)</td>
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<td>0.73</td>
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Difficulties encountered in return rates

It is reasonable to suppose that the return rates to the questionnaire could have been even higher, given that a letter of encouragement to reply was sent by the Mother General of the congregation. However, it is maintained that a return rate greater than almost 90% could not have been very much higher on account of four difficulties:
anonymity, cost, deadline dates, missing replies.

1. Anonymity

Some of the sisters felt that it was difficult to preserve anonymity in the questionnaire, given that they had to supply their date of birth, qualifications, house of residence, etc. This feeling was probably engendered by the fact that their replies had to be addressed to the Secretary General of the congregation, whom they knew had access to the personal files of individuals. Where sisters felt this way they often omitted these personal details from their replies. Fortunately, by reading postmarks, etc., it was possible to establish the house from which they came, even though other personal details had to be registered as blanks. It is not known how many sisters refused to answer the questionnaire on account of their fear that anonymity would not be respected. One can only guess that the figure would probably not exceed 5% in any one province, due to the high return rates. One would have to bear in mind that absence of replies in some cases would be due to old age or sickness. Again it is not possible to give an accurate estimate of this latter percentage, as returns came from both the sick and the aged. Perhaps the anonymity fear could have been partially overcome had the replies been addressed to the compiler of the questionnaire. This would seem to have been the case as far as Canada was concerned. However, the fear of anonymity not being respected would still have remained for those who disliked the idea of sending the replies to the address given, that of the Generalate. Unfortunately nothing else could be done about this, as by sending the replies to the Gregorian research centre (CIRIS), there would have been the additional danger that the survey could have been mixed up with other surveys being conducted there. Moreover, some of the postmarks, necessary for the identification of some respondents, might have become obliterated, as some of the statisticians working at CIRIS were also keen stamp collectors!
ii. Cost

The cost of sending a questionnaire to Italy by air mail in a very few cases may have prevented its return. Even though a few sisters from New Zealand objected to this expense, nevertheless the actual houses, and not they themselves, would have been paying the postage.

iii. Deadline dates

In some cases, a letter from the Sister Provincial accompanied the questionnaires, giving a deadline date for their completion. Where this step was taken, the deadline set was too early and may have resulted in the non-completion of questionnaires, where sisters were away on holiday at the time. In the case of the English province the deadline was extended.

iv. Missing questionnaires

It is possible that one or two questionnaires may have gone astray in the post. Cross-checking has confirmed this suspicion in at least one case. Two questionnaires were returned completely blank, and for this reason had to be discounted. In two other cases letters were sent privately to the compiler; in one of these cases a questionnaire was also received. Two more fully completed questionnaires from New Zealand were returned too late to be included in the analysis.

However, it is also quite likely that some sisters did not complete questionnaires for none of the above reasons. One has since interviewed respondents who did not return questionnaires and the main reason given for not participating in the survey appears to have been divided between lack of time or interest. As this is a fairly common reason for non-response to many surveys and one that is not overcome after the usual follow-up procedures (carried out by the compiler) one could not reasonably hope for a return rate
much higher than that obtained.

Returns by House

1. Australia

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<th>OUT OF</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
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</table>

| TOTAL        | 119               | 134    | 15      | 88.81             |

These replies were the second slowest to come in, but that could have been due to the distance involved. Houses 003 and 009 with full returns, were actually situated outside Australia, but were mission areas belonging to the province. The absence of replies of house 005 could have been due to its nature as a motor mission. The number of missing sisters is brought up from 12 to 15 because of three extra territorial sisters, partially accounted for under Rome returns. The provincial house (011) provided a 100% return. The median return rate was 93.33%. All respondents from the Australian province gave their house of residence, thus demonstrating no fear with regard to the anonymity guarantee.
The houses are numbered from 001 to 113 in continuous format for coding purposes. Unfortunately the names or areas of the houses cannot be supplied, as the anonymity guarantee both applies to, and is protective of, the congregation, which might otherwise be identifiable.

2. Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSE NUMBER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SISTERS</th>
<th>OUT OF</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
</tr>
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leave of absence 0 4 4 0
anonymous 18 0 +18

TOTALS 144 162 18 88.89

House 024 had two elderly sisters who did not reply. 83.33% return from the provincial house (032). Canada, with 18 out of 30 a congregational total of 23 anonymous replies, showed the maximum reservation towards the anonymity guarantee.
### England

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSE NUMBER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SISTERS</th>
<th>OUT OF</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
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</table>

**TOTALS** 265 305 40 86.89

One notes a very high response rate from all the houses and an excellent return from the two Irish and two Kenyan houses (038, 040, 043, 044). The thirty-four engaged in other work is a figure that is subject to change. At the time of the survey it was composed as follows:

- provincial administration 2
- on loan to Rome 4
- tertians 3
- nursing 9
- higher studies 19
- juniorate 3
- Maynooth 1
- exclaustrated 3

**TOTAL** 44

One then has to subtract 10 from the house lists, as 10 of the above 44 sisters must have replied via one of the houses. This is clearly
the case in house 042, for instance. The provincial house registered an 86.95% response. The median return rate was 96.87%

4. France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOUSE NUMBER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SISTERS</th>
<th>OUT OF</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
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</thead>
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This was the best provincial return rate, and one notes a median response of 100% as well. At first the returns from France were slow. Probably quite a deal of reflection went into the replies as it was the closest country to Italy for return by post. The Swiss house (049) was the one with the most absentees, possibly due to the fact that it was shortly to be closed. The provincial house (050) produced a 100% return. Some of the latter replies were in English. Every single sister gave her place of work, thus displaying no reservations over the anonymity guarantee. Although at present the French province has 62 sisters, due to the transfer of two sisters from 047 to Vietnam, at the time of answering these two sisters were treated as belonging to the French province, thus raising the provincial total to 64. Otherwise, of course, the overall percentage return for France would have been even higher than 93.75%
The three additional sisters were: 1 in Maynooth, 1 in England and 1 a tertian. It is possible that one of these attached herself to 059, the provincial house, showing one extra member. A late return from 056 also produced an additional member to that house.
This return rate was not as good as that of the other New Zealand province, yet it was close to the congregation mean return. Clearly those who wished to preserve anonymity could not be placed in those houses with 100% or more return. The extra sisters in 072 are probably students. The replies from the mission house (077) were low, and the provincial house (064) was below the mean for the province.

7. a. New Zealand North

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF HOUSE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SISTERS</th>
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<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
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</table>

The missing replies from 084 could possibly be in 085, but that still leaves three missing from the two houses. It is not possible to place the anonymous replies. The provincial house (082) had a return of 88.23%, just above the calculated median of 86.97% for the province.
The top six houses and the anonymous replies belonged to Bangladesh, which had a separate return rate of 88.89%. The provincial house (097) produced the highest return, but the rate as a whole was excellent for a province, one section of which was at war, and the other encountering government opposition. The mean return for Burma was an astonishing 94.12%, a very high rate given the difficulty of returning the questionnaires. It is possible that three late replies, coded under 102, may have come from either 103 or 105.

9. 8. Vietnam

The top six houses and the anonymous replies belonged to Bangladesh, which had a separate return rate of 88.89%. The provincial house (097) produced the highest return, but the rate as a whole was excellent for a province, one section of which was at war, and the other encountering government opposition. The mean return for Burma was an astonishing 94.12%, a very high rate given the difficulty of returning the questionnaires. It is possible that three late replies, coded under 102, may have come from either 103 or 105.
This was the second best provincial return rate for the whole congregation, with the provincial house registering a return of 96%. It is not clear why there was an additional sister from house 108. The positioning and mobility of the sisters during the war may have had something to do with it.

10. **Rome**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER OF HOUSE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SISTERS</th>
<th>OUT OF</th>
<th>MISSING</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE RETURN</th>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

These figures do not carry very much meaning, as some of the members of the Generalate (112) were away when the questionnaire was sent out and could have answered from another province. The replies from 113 were from students, and it was decided to place them in 113 rather than try and discover their actual houses of residence in their respective provinces. Of the nine Generalate members, the three replies were from one of the assistants, and from the General and Assistant Secretaries.