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INSTITUTION AND IDENTITY
THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC PRIEST

by

Gerard F. Waldorf

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partial fulfillment of the require-
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 10 1973 *[Signature]*
date Chairman of Examining Committee

May 11, 1973 Benjamin B. Reagin
date Executive Officer

[Signature]
[Signature]
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The City University Of New York

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Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita
mi ritrovai per una selva oscura,
che la diritta via era smarrita.

Midway in the journey of life
I came to myself in a dark wood
where the path out was lost.

Dante's Inferno Ist Canto

INTRODUCTION

In the study of man's social behavior there is perhaps no sphere which illustrates man's immense capacity for variety and individuality and inner depth as does religion. At once intensely personal and part of man's root self-identity, it is also a sociological kaleidoscope of changing social forms, institutions, beliefs, feelings and practices. It is a fascinating field for the social scientist.¹

Historical, anthropological and sociological studies have made us aware of the rich diversity, and we can find bizarre phenomena and the sober and respectable side by side. Black Messias like Father Divine, Mormon preachers, Hassidim with their cultural dress, all move in a symbolic world foreign to most, and rub shoulders with the more traditional churchgoer, and if we move from the setting of today into the past the variety becomes even more complex and colorful.

Within this context, the Roman Catholic Church has always been a study of fascination to friends and enemies, scholars and polemicists. Not only has it been the setting for a vast variety of human behavior from the sublime to the silly, but it has gained a popular image as the one institution which managed to move from medieval feudal structures to the

twentieth century with a relatively smooth transition. While enormous differences of culture and values were embraced under her canopy, a strongly centralized governmental mechanism projected an image of unshakable unity. The "rock of Peter" was its own self-description which provided a psychological anchor for its adherents, and hostility in its enemies and it seemed to act remote and impermeable in eras of great social upheaval.

Only once in modern times was the Church threatened in its very existence and almost totally fragmented. This was the era of the Protestant Reformation. Pressures for change and reform built up, internal tensions erupted into bitter antagonisms, sectarian groups and even actual warfare. Internally it was marked by a re-evaluation of traditional ideas, the polarization of members and by a large scale exodus of priests and committed religious men and women from the monasteries and convents. There was a shattering and splintering of medieval Christendom by the Reformation.²

The similarity and the parallels of these two eras of reform suggest the intriguing sociological question of the nature of ecclesial renewal. While it is a question of the sociology of religion, more specifically it deals with the processes and dilemmas of institutional change. How do

large institutions effect a change in goals and values? What are the dynamics of internal reform and some of the paradoxes? How do values, power, and institutional lag enter into this dynamic process? These are some of the questions which lie at the heart of this study.³

The basic assumption here is that the contemporary, widespread exodus from Church service is a very sensitive index of the process of institutional change. While the focus of many studies have been concerned with the personalities and the psychology of those who leave, ours is sociological. Our concern here is with the meaning this social fact has for the institution, suddenly beset by a sudden and significantly large loss of key personnel.⁴ To some extent, it is caught in the sociological idea of anomie - the slipping of old boundaries, the sense of losing old norms and values, the break-up of former community ties and the consequent state of being disoriented. But it is the dimensions and the dynamics of this anomic state as found in priests leaving active church service which interests us here.

What makes this focus sociologically fascinating is the paradox of events. The normal expectation of renewal and reform as expressed in the Vatican Council would be a new renaissance of Christianity, a "purification of the temple", and a return to the exalted values of Christ and the primitive Church.

Instead we find signs of a general anomic state: the widespread exodus of men and women dedicated to church service and the decline of recruitment, sharp complaints of a dissolving church within Catholicism, and strong polarization of Catholics, both lay and clerical. Even more paradoxical, the strongest criticism comes from within. Priests can speak of the Church as the "Grave of God" and the "corrupt church", and using the Church as a base speak out against its smugness and irrelevance.⁵

In more secular, sociological terms we are dealing with a value-based institution. The Church does not hold its members by coercion (as the prison or army), nor for motives of financial remuneration (as does industry and corporations), but by value-motivation. Given this value-structured institution, there are a whole host of questions here. What happens when such an institution tries to reshape its goals and self-definition, and when norms and values are sharply and massively reoriented? In other words, what are the dynamics of institutional reform?⁶

The immense effort of the Council to give a reformed vision of the Church and a new look at its mission was the central focus of this dynamic process. There emerged from the debates in the Council chambers a new self-awareness and

a new self-consciousness in the Church which is still in the process of shaping itself.

But the most visible and paradoxical aftermath of this Church reform movement was the emergence of a state of anomie and polarization in the Catholic world, and many would see it as destructive of the unity of the church as smashing an expensive vase. We are concerned with this anomic state here, and with the aspect which has so far received mainly popular coverage only: the widespread exodus of religious personnel from church service.⁷

Those who stay often work but with mixed reactions to the Church. Many stay to criticize. Others challenge previously accepted positions of morality (birth control, abortion, social commitment) of authority (infallibility, the role of bishop, pastor, superiors) and of management. And then there are the critics of the critics, reactionaries and conservatives. The result is a strong polarization within the Church and within groups of priests to the point where literally the house is divided against itself.

But to say that the exodus of religious personnel is due to the anomic state we have just described is too much of a truism and we only explain one unknown through another. Rather we want to explore the experiential dimensions of this anomie

and show its theoretical validity. The empirical and theoretical content of this anomic Church can best be caught in a study of a part of the institutional change process, namely in an analysis of the contemporary Catholic priesthood. More specifically, we shall concentrate on the parochial clergy, although the phenomena touch the religious women and religious orders of men in basically similar ways. Such a focus will provide a small scale model of the forces and dimensions of this large scale institutional change.

As a study in an institutional role, we have called this work "Institution and Identity". It is a sociological study of a professional role. For the crisis of the priest is a crisis of the Church, and the anomic state of his role is symptomatic of the anomic status of the Church. It has been a "shaking of the foundations".

These changes have profoundly questioned the self-identity of the priest: not only in terms of the actual operation of the church (the familiar dilemma of spirit-structure) but in one's religious (theological) self-definition, and even one's religious experience. For, as we shall show, religious experience is greatly structured by the institutional form in which it occurs. This role identity then depends very much on the institution, and our study will constantly move back and

forth between institution and person.

Our basic theoretic assumption is that anomie creates a psychological alternation, or a state of mind which questions what was previously "taken-for-granted". This reflection on taken-for-granted assumptions is seen in a deep questioning of both the institution and a person's role in the institution. Our major concern will be to depict a typology which reflects the varying dimensions of commitment and alternation within a normative institution.⁸

Hopefully then, this work will form a sociological piece of the much larger theoretical analysis of all large institutions. Much of the same social dynamics which produced the "blooming of a thousand flowers" in Chinese revisionism recently and the aftermath, or the present anomic status of America's "War on Poverty" can be seen in the church reform here. The church crisis presents a fascinating sociological study as a paradigm and a living case study of value change and the reformation of a normative or ideological institution. Just what happens when a large-scale organization tries to reorient its basic premises? What is the process of institutional lag? How does power (and politics) shape the new ideology? And how does a reaction affect the change? Why do groups polarize and how does this effect the change process?

All these, and other questions of institutional change will be raised here.

And while many sociological issues will be raised, we can only explore a few dimensions of an enormous problem, and do so in a tentative way. Like many intellectual journeys it will open up many paths of exploration and discovery, and the ultimate satisfaction of such a theoretical quest will be simply one of having discovered new territory.

Footnotes: Introduction

1. We see the sociology of religion as basically a study of value-based communities with a specific social order, all rooted in a socio-religious context. It is also a subject which is deeply rooted in the traditions of sociology, both classical and modern since the time of Comte and Marx. Our own work here leans heavily on three men, all this author's teachers: Thomas O'Dea, Werner Stark and Peter Berger (cf: bibliography). More specifically what we are attempting here is not a sociology of religion, but a sociology of Catholicism or the study of a large-scale, historically rooted church and the impact of internal reform on roles and social structures; a similar attempt for Protestantism is Roger Mehl, The Sociology of Protestantism (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970).
2. Historically there has been an important revisionism and re-evaluation of the Reformation recently, especially in Catholic scholarship. cf John M. Todd, Reformation (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971), and John P. Dolan, History of the Reformation (New York: Desclee Co., 1965). An older view can be found in works like H. Belloc and especially Jacques Maritain, Three Reformers, Luther, Descartes, Rousseau (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons, 1942). We are suggesting that many of the same sociological dynamics are present in the Vatican Reform as in the Reformation, and we shall explore this in our thesis in some detail.
3. Weber's study of institutionalization and of religion remains theoretically separate strands in his work, and modern sociology has not given much attention to their integration. David O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962) touches on this theme, but remains basically a text, not a work of mature theory. Samuel N. Eisenstadt shows one linkage in terms of leadership in his Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968). The most helpful theory to explain the Catholic reform movement has been Thomas O'Dea's notion of the five institutional dilemmas of religion. This is a dynamic analysis of the phenomenon of sectarianism and we stress these dilemmas as a dialectic, or constant interaction of values and institutional forms which historically have produced a variety of different syntheses within Christianity but are never totally resolved. cf O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966) c.5. Another emphasis in explaining the social change in Catholicism is the idea of the emergence of American Catholicism from the cultural Catholicism

of the European migrations which largely shaped it; we do not stress this here.

4. We are reminded of C. Wright Mills criteria of a social problem; such a marked increase in the exodus of priests points to structural changes behind it. This is particularly significant in a Church as clerical as the Catholic Church. The key roles of power and church administration, theologians or interpreters of the Christian message, and sacramental administrators are all in the hands of priests. Any reform movement then will touch this group of religious specialists most deeply, and in turn, a study of this focal role will reveal the dynamics of modernization and change in Catholicism's recent self-appraisal. To some extent this reflects Don Martindale's study of social change in different societies by the study of their leadership (the Chinese Mandarin, Priests and Prophets in Palestine, the Indian Guru, etc.) cf. Social Life and Cultural Change (Princeton, N.J.: VanNostrand Publ., 1962).
5. The work referred to is Rev. Robert Adolphs, The Grave of God (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). It represents a whole genre of Church critique, usually written by clergymen (Kavanagh, DuBay, Davis, Baum, etc.). Most move on a descriptive and moralistic level, but contain a good deal of data for sociological analysis. The latter is found in Thomas O'Dea, The Catholic Crisis (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).
6. Implicit here is the theoretical analysis of institutions (remunerative, coercive and value institutions) of Amitai Etzioni in A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: Free Press, 1961) Part I.
7. This theoretical premise links together the classical conception of Durkheim with the idea of alternation developed by Alfred Schütz, The Social Construction of Reality (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962-5) 3 vols. and Peter Berger's work, The Precarious Vision (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1961). "Alternation" is a sense of cultural shock or even vertigo when our "taken-for-granted" world is seen as relative and not absolute. Schütz especially stresses the many worlds of reality in which men live and the social-psychological mechanisms they use to keep these worlds intact. Berger has recently become more concerned with the social productions of these worlds in his The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1967).
8. Inevitably this has caught the eye of Time Magazine "The

Catholic Exodus: Why Priests and Nuns are Quitting", the cover story in the February 28, 1970 edition. Perhaps most major publications in the U.S. and Europe have given some coverage to this as a modern religious phenomenon. cf. also Newsweek's survey "Has the Church Lost Its Soul?" Oct. 4, 1971.

CHAPTER I

THE VATICAN COUNCIL, A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

There are many periods in the long history of Catholicism when the Church was swept by movements of reform. Some struck only a glancing blow, others were condemned as heretical while others hit with an impact felt for generations later. The Gregorian Reform, the monastic renewal of Cluny and later Citeaux, the Franciscan movement towards poverty and gospel simplicity, the Protestant Reform and the Catholic "Counter-Reformation" of the sixteenth century all tried to set a massive institution on a new, revitalized course. They all illustrate the perennial ideal of reform and reformation of life that marks all Christian groups and is at the heart of the prophetic message of Judaic-Christian traditions. Each movement had its own style, its own lifespan and its own impact.¹

The Vatican Council has been a reform movement which touched a deep nerve in Catholicism. Its impact is still so contemporary that we cannot easily gain a historical perspective or accurately measure its effect. Some see this Council as the ultimate fragmentation of Catholicism in analogy with post-Reformation Protestantism while others

rejoice in the fact that the sleeping giant is now awakening. There is no doubt that it left a great deal of anomie and polarization in its wake within the Catholic community.² Like the American educational reform movement of the sixties it pointed to the mediocrity of institutional forms and the need for creative, new vision. In both cases, the aftermath has been the history of a conflict of ideas and the difficult task of translating ideas into working models. The consequence has been a struggle for the dominance of ideas, a polarization of attitudes and the formation of political factions. And in both cases there has been consequent unrest and protest from local communities over programs for change.³

This analogy is rich but in need of several qualifications. In these two roughly contemporary movements we see a fragmentation over ideas and ideals, the resistance of institutional investments, the politicization of various interest groups and a transitional period of tension and creativity. We would like to trace the impact of this reform movement on the contemporary priesthood and try to measure some of its dimensions. We see "the crisis of the priesthood" as rooted in the Vatican Council Reform movement because we see the role identity of the priest as

rooted in the institutional church.

Our first step then in a study of Institution and Identity will be an overview of the Council. First we shall describe the historical highlights of this Council (Chapter One), some of the major issues which emerged (Chapter Two) and a sociological model for analysis (Chapter Three). This first part of the thesis therefore simply tries to locate the priesthood in the socio-historic context which makes it intelligible.⁴

The Vatican Council - A Historical Overview

The history of the Vatican Council has yet to be written and if achieved, it will certainly prove to be a massive work of scholarship since the drama that emerged in the Council sessions gave insight into the enormous cultural, historical and ideological diversity that claims identity with Roman Catholicism. We see this in the ante-preparatory stage, the preparatory commissions, and the four sessions of the actual council.

Origins and Ante-Preparatory Commission

While reform is more or less a perennial church enterprise, Councils are another matter. Historically they were

called to solve pressing, large-scale issues of the institution, issues of belief (the theology of Christ at Nicea, Chalcedon and Ephesus), issues of schism (Constantinople and Florence) or large administrative problems (the Lateran Councils) or massive internal schism in the Protestant Reformation (Trent).⁵ But Vatican II was a Council of reform with no clear enemy to attack or even clear goals on what was to be reformed. In many ways it reflected the simple genius of Angelo Roncalli, recently elected Pope. He was not the "geopolitical genius" created by Time magazine's correspondent, Robert Kaiser, but a Catholic of traditional pietistic leanings.⁶ This was coupled with a deep concern for Church unity and world peace. Elected as a papa di passaggio he proved to be anything but an interim Pope as he put the enormous weight of his office behind the idea of a Council. The story was first told in the French newspaper La Croix, February 27, 1959, how John discussed the problem of Church unity in late January with his Secretary of State, and the solution in a Church Council. He received enthusiastic support from Cardinal Tardini and announced it to a group of stunned Cardinals the next week. No one had any idea at the time of the immense structural problems in mobilizing such a Council nor of the Catholic revolution

which would result from all of this.

At first the idea and the purpose of this Council were unfocused. Who would attend? What would be discussed? How would this parliament of bishops be organized? What power did they actually have? (the historical question of conciliarism). In this vacuum John developed some of his vision more in various speeches, but the Vatican curial staff moved in, a predictable take-over by the professional Church bureaucracy, which was to have explosive repercussions in the Council. On May 17, 1959, four months after the announcement of the Council, the Papal Secretary of State formed the Antepreparatory Commission.⁷

This preparatory commission began with a task of "scissors and paste". Faced with the problem "what was the Council to discuss?", they adopted a simple expedient. They polled all the bishops of the world to send in their suggestions and recommendations for the Council, and these were collated over the next year into four volumes of Acta or agenda.

Building on this work, a second stage of preparation took place on Pentecost, June 5, 1969, when Pope John announced the formation of ten preparatory commissions. Their task was to give theological shape to the Acta which

would then be the working papers for the actual Council. These were ready by June, 1962 as 73 schemata for the Council to discuss. And so in three years an enormous amount of material, more than produced by all previous Church Councils, was assembled and ready for discussion. Theology and heresy, liturgy and sacraments, seminaries and priests, the Eastern Churches and missions, Bishops and ecclesiastic discipline were some of the areas proposed.

The Opening of the Council: First Session

On October 11, 1962 the Second Vatican Council opened with over three thousand in attendance and over 2540 bishops, (the rest were non-Catholic observers and theological experts or peritii). It opened with a solemn procession, a Roman Mass with an added collection of litanies, a profession of faith and an enthronement of the Scriptures - all this followed by an exhortation by John. The anomalies of this liturgy became significant when liturgy was the first schema for discussion.⁸

The second day was intended to determine parliamentary procedures and the election of the members for the ten commissions. It was a breaking point since this raised the issue of curial control of the whole Council. A simple

solution, apparently desired by the curia and by Cardinal Ottaviani (who emerged as almost the archetype of the old Church), would have been to simply renominate the membership of the preparatory commissions. This would have been effectively to place control of conciliar proceedings in the hands of the papal bureaucracy. On the other hand, among the bishops there were no political parties or factions and few alignments such as we find in all parliamentary government. This exposed the fact that the world-wide Church government had been largely centralized in the Papacy and its staff, and there was a consequent lack of horizontal alignment of bishops. This was the first Conciliar highpoint.

The crisis was met when Cardinal Lienart of Belgium demanded and received a postponement of the elections so that the bishops would have more time to become acquainted. This marked the first political victory for the episcopacy and the emergence of certain power blocks in the Council: the curial staff, the Western European bishops and then later other national or regional groups as the American and Latin American.⁹

The second significant highpoint in this first session was the choice to discuss the liturgy. Here was a text

which was innovative and positive. It had come out of several decades of a scholarly liturgical movement within Catholicism and was informed by an implicit theory of the Church which was later to emerge in the sessions and challenge the existing theory in a dramatic way. More sociologically significant, liturgy raises the issue of cultural diversity (in the debate on vernacular vs. latin) and gave strong affirmation to the plurality of ethnic cultures in Catholicism, and rejected the homogenized model of unity which so dominated nineteenth century Church theory and practice.¹⁰ It also struck at the sensitive, symbolic heart of Catholicism, since ideas which take symbolic, concrete form are always tenaciously held by a religious people and they are most sensitive to ritual changes. This document was approved in final draft and its passage was assured in the next session. It was a victory for the progressive forces at the Council.

The third highlight of this first session was the discussion on the nature of revelation. Behind the technical theological language and the dispute over the "two sources of faith" was the very serious religious issue of the nature of tradition and belief. It is the issue which has divided many religious or ideological groups into heretics, revision-

ists, reformers or traditionalists. Briefly, the dispute was theological integrism vs. a personalistic and anthropological theology or between a rather doctrinaire belief that the Church possessed all the truth and its task was to enlighten men vs. the idea that truth is revealed in a process of discovery. The issue, like most ideological issues, had its political side. Progressives fought again to break the political dominance of the Italian curia.¹¹

The confrontation issued in a stalemate and in a voting process, which was confused even in its statements of the issues, the schema was rejected but not sufficiently to send it back for revision. At this point Pope John intervened and sent the schema for revision to a new joint commission which he formed especially for this purpose. Cardinal Ottaviani, an integrist, and Cardinal Bea, a progressive were to rewrite the document for the next session nine months later.

Many other themes were raised in this session (communication, Church unity, the nature of the Church , etc.). Five schemas were discussed, twenty more would be discussed in the next sessions. And so this session came to an end on December 8th, having exposed much of the pluralism and division of the Church. Already, however, a strong new direction

was emerging out of this polarization. Some have attributed the significance of this session as the historic end of the Counter-Reformation or the defensive hostility of Catholicism which had reached almost a strident peak in the first Vatican Council. There is no doubt that we see a redirection of church belief forming, and a power shift in control over church decisions which emerge more clearly in the subsequent sessions.

The Second Session

In the interim of nine months, Rome was busy with the work of revision of the schemata and managed to reduce them to about twenty. Also in this period of inter-session the bishops had an opportunity to group themselves, formulate alliances, and the opportunity to get in touch with their constituencies (this did not happen to any great extent, perhaps because unlike his congressional counterpart in America, the bishop is not elected and the idea of searching out popular feeling is not characteristic of the non-representative episcopacy; nor had the groundswell of popular reaction to the Council yet emerged).¹²

But the great event which dominated this inter-Council period was the death of Pope John. The whole world waited with suspense while the media chronicled the passing

of this enormously popular world figure and many churchmen held their breath watching the consistory electing his successor. It could mean the indefinite termination of the Council and it would certainly be a barometer of its future direction and shape. Thus the election of Cardinal Montini gave renewed hope to the reformed faction.

This hope seemed confirmed not only in his firm determination to reconvene the second session on schedule but in two subsequent actions, his famous speech on the Roman curia and his revision of the conciliar parliamentary format.

In a speech marked by Italian diplomacy he praised the curial staff but also noted its need to be internationalized in membership and vision. He asked the Council to help by its suggestions for reform and thereby legitimated much of the criticism of this bureaucracy made in the first session. Finally, he proposed an international body of the episcopacy to represent the world bishops and directly advisory to him. This was a consequence of the idea of episcopal collegial government which emerged as a theological issue in the Council, and he began to give this idea institutional form. Effectively this group would not depend on the papal administration and its bureaucratic offices to reach the Pope, but would be in a position of direct advise. This decree was the basis for post-conciliar Roman synods, the latest

of which dealt with the issue of the priesthood as we shall see.¹³

The second action of the Pope touched on the practical mechanisms of politics and control within the Council. The commissions were meant to be executory of the Council's thinking but in fact were still dominated and controlled by the curial bureaucracy. The first papal step was to curtail their sweeping powers and to provide safeguards for minorities. For example, a new rule allowed any fifty bishops to present a proposal for a Council hearing. A directing praesidium was also named and the choice of three Cardinals, Dofner, Suenens and Lecaro put a liberal theological group very much in control of the proceedings. Although this structural reshuffling helped, it did not solve the complex parliamentary problems of the Council.¹⁴

The second session opened with almost the same dramatic tension as the first and it listened closely for clues and hints in the Pope's opening speech. It took a line of strong continuity with John's thinking and the reform movement, and so encouraged, the debate opened on what was probably the basic document of the Council, the Constitution on the Church (De Ecclesia)¹⁵.

Traditionally the theology of the Church took its cue

from an anti-Reformation polemic and defined the Church in terms of its organizational visibility and vertical hierarchy. In subsequent centuries stress was placed on the Church as possessing the pure doctrine of Christ totally and without distortion, on the Church being the community of the saved and redeemed while those outside became problematic in terms of redemption, and the Church being the successor of the early Church with the Pope in direct line of descent from Peter. These tendencies were especially accented in the nineteenth century integrist movement which at times reached bizarre forms. The importance for our study is that it largely shaped the preConciliar theology and that it was an enormously powerful control on the theological education of priests in seminaries.¹⁶ The document submitted for consideration in this session was largely a product of European theologians under Cardinal Suenens, and was a rejection of this juridical-hierarchic model of the Church. It stressed the model of the Church as "the people of God" and moved toward a model which was rooted in biblical data and in more democratic sentiments. There was a radical shift of perspective, which we detail below, and this new perspective permeated all further issues in the Council, ecumenism, the problem of Church and State, the Papal primacy and episcopal

collegiality and the Church in the modern world.

It was especially the issue of episcopal collegiality which became the focus of this session. Briefly, Catholic theologians had stressed a vertical order of power and teaching (autoritas) which was possessed totally by the Pope. Bishops, priests and laity were all recipients of this authority. The sudden termination of the First Vatican Council with the definition of papal infallibility left an image of the Church which was distorted, giving the papacy almost magical powers of direct communication with God in the popular imagination. There was lacking a theory of how the bishops were related to the apostles, and a theory of conciliarism (what did it mean when the apostolic college or its successors meet?), which are two aspects of the general problem: how does the Church speak as a continuation of Christ and in guaranteed fidelity to his message?¹⁷

Nor is this lacking in political considerations since it demands a model of horizontal authority. Thus collegiality would also be discussed in terms of bishop with his priests, and laity with the priests as well as on this episcopal level. Collegiality is the sensitive issue of church polity and we need only remember that many Christian Churches divided on their theoretical answer to this problem opting for an episcopalian, presbyteral or democratic solu-

tion. Raising the issue raises the possibility of such theoretical disputes emerging; it also means questioning the working political structures of Catholicism. The Council did affirm that the apostolic college comprised all the bishops with the Pope as its head, and that the Pope teaches as head of this college and not as a detached, isolated Ruler. This was seen as a necessary complement to Vatican I which so stressed primacy as to almost remove the Papacy from the community of the Church and from the college of bishops.

The theory leads to all sorts of practical consequences. As we have seen, the bishop normally found himself under rule from Rome, or the Pope working through many administrative agencies. This created the anomaly of a curial priest ruling a bishop. The new model which revised this vertical control was implicit in Pope Paul's establishment of a representative synod of bishops to aid him in governing the Church.¹⁸ This model also implied a thorough process of democratization which shook the Church. There arose a need for collegiality on each level of the Church, between bishops and the Pope (the episcopal synods), between national groups of bishops (Bishops' Conferences), between bishops and their priests (Priests' Senates) and coalitions of priests (National

Federation of Priests' Senates) and between priests and their parishioners (Parish Councils). A whole reorganization of set expectancies and relationships was demanded which produced shock waves and bruised sensitivities in every corner of Catholicism as this complex process of democratization began.

The second session then can be noted for a strong re-orientation of the theory of the Church in continuation with the movement of the first session. The impact of these debates on the Church was to prove this redefinition as pivotal in later discussion of ecumenism, the church and war and peace, the church and development, etc. The Council was now strongly committed to redirecting Catholicism, much as other post Reformation Churches did when they defined themselves and set their polity. It became a large scale verification of Kurt Lewin's dictum: "there is nothing so practical as good theory".

The Third Session

If the second session can be characterized, it was marked by a new self awareness of the Church, an awareness which developed in the debates and issues before the Council and emerged in all the topics discussed: liturgy, lay apostolate,

priesthood, church in the modern world and collegiality. It was the idea of collegiality and corresponsibility which was to be one important highlight and achievement of this third session. Episcopal collegiality was the stress we find in the keynote speech of Pope Paul as he opened the session and it occupied the first meetings. Its passage on September 23rd not only had theoretical consequences in Church theology but opened many practical questions of church management. This became later obvious when the Pope removed the discussion of the sensitive issue of Birth Control from conciliar discussion; besides the problem of the issue itself, there was the direct problem of collegiality vs. papal intervention.²⁰

The second major highlight of this session was the continued discussion of the issue of religious liberty left over from the last session. In general, what was to emerge as Schema XIII, The Church in the Modern World, now became the preoccupation of this session and the fourth session. The issue of religious liberty, part of Schema XIII, raised the post-Reformation question of religious tolerance. In general, the integrist position of Roman theology held that "error had no rights". This was opposed by a more personalistic belief that saw man as a searcher for truth and

entitled to respect in his search. There was an explosion of interventions by the Council fathers who saw this as religious indifferentism and a dilution of belief. The strongest opposition came from Catholic countries like Spain which saw their whole fabric of Church-State political relations threatened.²¹ This debate on Schema XIII also raised issues of nuclear arms, marriage and birth control (until the Pope stopped this discussion), justice, poverty and war and peace, but its final shaping took place in the last session.

The Revelation schema was another highlight of this session. It dealt with an issue of theology which was disputed since the Reformation, the notion of sola Scriptura raised by Luther, namely that all Christian truth was found in the Scriptures. This was a direct attack on the teaching Church but surprisingly Trent did not resolve the issue but only claimed that revelation was found partially in Scripture and partly in tradition. While theological issues still remain in this document of Vatican II, it was discussed in a more ecumenical atmosphere and the nature of the teaching Church was put in a less hostile context, and Catholicism's strong identification with Scripture was clarified and reaffirmed.²²

The Fourth Session

All during the Third Session there was questioned whether a fourth session would be required. Schema XIII, the need for an intensive discussion of the Church in the Modern World determined this. Here the Church turned from internal problems to the whole issue of how it relates to the world. The first major change, now incorporated as a preamble in the approved text, sets the tone. The Church declared its role to be of service to the world and therefore it had to identify with the needs and suffering of men rather than be a stern judge of the world and pointing out its errors. This change of stance was significant as it turned again to the (seventh) draft of this schema and discussed religious liberty, the theology of the world, and social problems of human development.

We have already seen the dispute on religious liberty and its political consequences. The passage of this section was a definite rejection of the Papal stance since the nineteenth century towards the modern secular state. The idea of a confessional state was buried forever (although it is still the political arrangement of the Vatican with Spain) and the theological ideas which made a confessional

state the ideal were rejected.²³

Briefly, the new theology rejected the theology of world-fleeing which characterized much of Christian thinking and institutions (such as monasticism) and saw in the development of the world and in human development a Godward thrust. Marx had criticised the Church and religion as a narcotic which dulled the awareness of men to the human social condition. Now the Church itself affirms its concern, largely moving in the direction of the recent thinking of Pope John in his social doctrine (Mater et Magistra) and Paul's letter Pacem in Terris. What came out of this was the dialogue which shocked the Catholic world, the Christian-Marxist dialogue and the subsequent theology of hope.²⁴ It also provided the basic philosophy for a Christian radicalism which we explore below in our section on "the priests of the Third World".

This led into contemporary social problems of human development. Here there was a continuation of the Papal concern since the time of Leo XIII and his ideas on work and the just wage, but a significant step beyond. This document was to speak about war and peace, reform of social structures and even detailed issues such as psychoanalysis.²⁵ As can be imagined, a document treating such detail in a

multi-cultured and theologically diverse group of over two thousand was bound to provoke controversy. But on November 19th, Schema XIII was finally passed and this effectively was the end of the Council.

The schema on the priesthood was voted on and passed on December 2nd, but it was anticlimatic and a weak document. Paul had urged that celibacy not be discussed in the sessions on October 12th, and many felt that this sensitive issue would have been the spark necessary to make the Council take a deep look at the emerging revolution in the priesthood. But the Council was exhausted, and the priesthood had to wait for a special synod of bishops convoked in 1971 which is another story.

The End of a Council

And so the Council ended in a solemn ceremony held in the great square of St. Peter's on December 8, 1965. Other Church Councils had set as their task the clarification of the unity of the divine and human nature in Christ, or the trinitarian nature of God; some had dealt with specific heresies such as errors concerning the eucharist or the teaching power of the papacy. Here, however, we find a council whose basic question was about the nature and role of the Church. It was an ecclesial council in its subject matter, and its agenda was

almost unlimited. It took into consideration the inner dimensions of revelation and faith, the fundamental self-understanding of the nature of "church", the liturgical self-expression of a community at prayer, the teaching role, the relationship of the Church with other churches, its message of concern and involvement in the social crises of today's world, and the internal structuring of roles and inner mechanisms of authority.

The picture that emerges in the aftermath is that of an enormous religious institution moving through the conflict and stress of widespread reform. The basic question, both theological and sociological, is whether this Church can preserve a normative (value) and institutional continuity with the Roman Catholic experience while at the same time reshaping itself to communicate more effectively and operate more effectively. It is the basic question of all institutional reform. Since the reform touched so many areas, both the internal structures and values as well as the external relationships of the Church in the world, it is no wonder that the post-Conciliar years have been a time of ferment and conflict. Such a massive reform program was inevitably on a collision course with many institutional structures and the religious sensibilities and emotions of many believers. It is a time of institutional transition when both values and

roles embodying those values are upset, and the priesthood was a role caught in this turmoil of change.

The Roots of Reform

As we look at the enormous reappraisal of the Church which took place in this Council we realize that it had historical roots, both proximate and remote, in the pre-Vatican Church. They came to a convergence at the Council and while the conclusions were largely a product of the dynamics of the Council itself, obviously, the Council did not just happen; the groundwork had already been laid in the one hundred years since Vatican I. If we take this event as a point of departure and accept the fact that the strongest shaping force of the second Vatican Council was European theology, we can sketch some of the historical antecedents.

It is interesting that the second Council opened with an agenda which picked up where Vatican I had left off and was following the technical theological style of condemning "modern errors" and preserving the integrity of the Church. The rejection of the preparatory schema on November 20, 1962 was a historic moment; it was a rejection of the nineteenth century model of the Church and an indication of a new theology in the Church.²⁶

The older theology, as we shall see more in detail in the next chapter, reflected a period of Catholic reaction. It was a Church which took a strong ecclesial position on its exclusive "chosen" nature and saw as its central problem maintaining its own integrity against the forces of evil which challenged it. Its ecclesiology of its self-understanding was polemic and anti-ecumenical (some churchmen took an extreme and secretive position in their zeal for purity of doctrine and their undercover tactics have earned them the title of "integrists").²⁷ In general, we find the Church taking a sectarian position with both a militant emphasis on its own sense of righteousness in condemning others (Pius IX's Syllabus of Errors becomes the model of such a stance),²⁸ and a strong insistence on internal solidarity. This was the positive side of this sectarian pose: it gave the Catholic believer a strong sense of belonging to the "right" Church (and hence assurance of salvation if faithful to it). What also emerged in popular Catholic belief was a sense of security with a homogeneous and stable Church which had weathered all the crises of the modern age and which gave a sense of historical immutability with its unchanging liturgy, a sense of strong internal unity under a centralized papacy. When this papacy was declared infallible, it even created a type of institutional fundamentalism which

believed that any particular application of Christianity to modern problem (birth control, war, etc.) would have a swift and decisive answer. Hence the great Catholic virtues were solidarity and loyalty.²⁹

Forces for Change

And yet during this sectarian isolation of the Church there were strong forces for reform at work; a liturgical reform was already underway, there were new emphases in ecclesiology, especially stimulated by the question of infallibility, and a new personalistic style in theology which was deeply touched by "Christian existentialism". This was re-inforced by historical exegesis in the study of Scripture. And outside the Church the world was moving from the period of Enlightenment and the French Revolution to the post-World War II era.

Scriptural scholarship, long under a cloud because of its suspected connection with modernism went on in scholarly quiet and lived under an atmosphere of surveillance and suspicion until Pius XII's encyclical officially liberated this scholarship with his encyclical "Under the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit" in 1943. Although this new approach was still suspect, by the time of the Council, it quickly became the base for all the theological documents of that Council. This

meant negatively the decline of neo-scholasticism and a more historical and personalistic theology.

This was reinforced by a similar, radical shift in theology which had been going on mainly in northern European circles, a theology deeply influenced by Heidegger, Karl Barth and Bultmann and which found a magisterial assimilation in Karl Rahner, the theologian of the Council. This stress on personalism and historicity shattered the immutable and infallible model of the Church and replaced it with the idea of a pilgrim church, searching for God's will and not possessing it.

The liturgical renewal in the Church would not have been possible at the time of Vatican I. There was only beginning then a liturgical romanticism under Dom Gueranger and his attempt to recapture medieval monasticism and pure Gregorian Chant. Pius X gave an impetus to the liturgy, and especially the eucharist, as the base of popular piety and in the post-World War II years this movement gained momentum.³⁰

Scriptural studies, theological ideas and liturgical reform all came into focus in this Council and its key document On the Church. Here a new model of church emerged which was more optimistic and less sectarian than the nineteenth century model. It was also a Church affected by the changes in the

world around it. No longer was it living in the aftermath of the French Revolution desperately trying to regain the medieval fusion of church-state known as Christendom. This ideal model of church was explicitly rejected by the Council. Rather it was a confident Church who felt that it had a message of value and insight and concern for the modern world, as was reflected in the sweeping document of *The Church in the Modern World*. It also had a long tradition of "social encyclicals" beginning with Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum on the workingman, issued 21 years after Vatican I. There was also the enormous change in the world itself over those 100 years; we need only mention the total wars or World War I and II and the emergence of the third world nations.

And so, while many events at the Council owe a great deal to the dynamics of the meeting itself, historical roots go deep and gave nature to this Council. We can only trace the major outlines of one hundred years of religious-historical experience here which helped shape the new consciousness that emerged in the Council; Vatican I and Vatican II are two poles which mark off a considerable gap of time and mentality from one model of Church to another. It is the present crisis of the Church that now its membership is polarized and living at different points along this continuum. It is precisely this

polarization that we wish to look at now in the aftermath of the Council.

Footnotes: Chapter I

1. "Reform" is a topic which is socio-theological. It has gained some attention theologically, but there is little sociological literature on church reform. The sociological study of religion has had its eyes more set on sectarianism, while paradoxically it has had a long interest in organizations and organizational change. This essay is interested in highlighting this theme of church reform from a sociological perspective. One essay which gives a good, theological introduction (although surprisingly lacking any sociological perspective) is John W. O'Malley, S.J. "Reform, Historical Consciousness, and Vatican II's Aggiornamento", Theological Studies, xxxii, 4 (Dec., 1971) 573-601. The magisterial work on reform still in writing is Gerhart B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959) see also Jeffrey B. Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Middle Ages (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1965).
2. This fragmentation and polarization will be documented in our interview data. It might best be seen in the post-Vatican Catholic press. The National Catholic Reporter represents a broad liberal view (cf. the compilation Special to the N.C.R. The First Five Years of the National Catholic Reporter (Kansas City, Mo., N.C.R., 1969). In depth reportorial documentation is found in Herder Correspondence (now merged with the English Jesuit Magazine, The Month). Traditionalists and reactionary positions can be found in the American Catholic paper The Wanderer and in the magazine Triumph. A general survey of Catholicism from this viewpoint is Charles E. Rice, Authority and Rebellion, The Case for Orthodoxy in the Catholic Church (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1971). This simple typology or polarization of liberal-conservative became the current usage of all reporters of the Council.
3. This comparison with education is the leit-motif of the work of Ivan Illich, a former priest and the director of the controversial center at Cuernavaca, Mexico. It emerges in his Celebration of Awareness, a Call for Institutional Revolution (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970) and The Church, Change and Development (New York: Herder & Herder, 1970) and Deschooling Society (New York: Harper & Row, 1971). In fact the critiques of Kozol, Silberman and Holt about schools stifling the human spirit set up a basic dialectic between educational institutions and the process of education. A similar contrast of belief and institutional forms is basic to a study of Church reform and to the nature of sectarianism.

4. A general survey of the Council can be found in Henri Fesquet, The Drama of Vatican II (New York: Random House, 1967) which captures the highlights or in Xavier Rynne (pseudo) Letters From Vatican City and The Vatican Council, Sessions II, III, IV (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Cudhay, 1963-6). The Bibliography offers a selection of the enormous volume of materials now in print on the Council.
5. An excellent historical account of the twenty Councils recognized by Catholicism can be found in Philip Hughes, The Church in Crisis, A History of the General Councils 325-1870 (New York: Doubleday, 1964). The First Vatican Council fled Rome with the onset of the Franco-Prussian War and was only officially closed with the opening of Vatican II. The incomplete nature of this Council caused many problems for the II Vatican, as we shall see.
6. Robert Kaiser's famous Time coverage later was published as Pope, Council and World (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963). His comment on John is on p. 49. A good appreciation of John is done by the historian of nineteenth century Catholicism E.E.Y. Hales, Pope John and His Revolution (London: Cox & Wyman, 1965). It is only in this context of nineteenth century Catholic reactionism that the contemporary scene can be understood.
7. The Curia became one of the major sub-issues of the Council. With its secretariat of State, nine congregations, six offices of administration and three tribunals of church law, it forms the "executive branch" with the Pope. Their attempt at interlocking control of the Council especially through the Congregation of the Holy Office (the Old Inquisition) and Cardinal Ottaviani produced a reaction in the bishops, and occasional glimpses into ecclesiastical politics for the world press. Attempts have been made to internationalize it and reorganize it, cf John A. O'Brien, "Reform of the Roman Curia" The Christian Century (June 25, 1969) pp. 868-71.
8. What makes this liturgy strange is that all these elements are found in the rite of the Mass itself. What seems to have happened is that the Mass became a fixed ritual along the lines of court ceremonial while Catholic prayer developed outside the liturgy, even for the bishops who were spectators here. The contrast with the closing liturgy of this session is dramatic commentary on the enormous change that happened within the Council. cf: Cyrille Vogel, "An Alienated Liturgy" in Herman Schmidt, Liturgy, Self-Expression of the Church (New York: Herder & Herder, 1972, pp. 11-25).

9. The Central European liberal slate were all elected to some commission. The passing around of various lists and possible alignments perhaps resembles a senate cloakroom scene. Details are in Fesquet and Rynne, op.cit.
10. We discuss the details and the issues of the liturgy below. The debate on the vernacular exposed these cultural divisions. Maximus Saigh IV of Antioch told the Council in excellent Latin that he would only speak French as protest to this Latin dominance of the Church-and did.
11. We discuss the issue more fully in the next chapter s.v. "creed". There seems to be a wide consensus among the commentators on these landmarks of the Council. Much of our analysis follows Joseph Ratzinger, Theological Highlights of Vatican II (New York: Paulist Press, 1966) and Fesquet and Xavier Rynne. op.cit. Eduard Schillebeeck, The Real Achievement of Vatican II (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967).
12. The secular press made the Council international news and there was the beginning of a discussion of issues- especially liturgy-in the Catholic press. The National Catholic Reporter began in 1963, and many Catholic magazines began to raise issues implicit in this session. Despite this massive coverage many Catholics seem never to have heard of the Council. The Worcester, Massachusetts study indicates as many as 45% could not identify the Council.
13. The papal speech is discussed in Fesquet, op.cit. part II and summarized in The Council Daybook, 1963-5 (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1965) pp. 137. A fuller commentary is found in Michael Novak, The Open Church (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963).
14. The complexity of these rules and the flavor of Vatican politics in the council were first exposed by Xavier Rynne's famous letters to the New Yorker magazine; a full history of the Council will take into account the complex of interest groups, national-cultural forms of Catholicism, and the power exchange. Sociologically we see the Church in Council as a reflection of the Church as a 'conflict-management system' negotiating various compromises. Both the final documents and the reform movement itself are products of compromise.
15. The final approved drafts of all documents can be found in Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (ed.) The Documents of Vatican II (New York: Guild Press, 1966).

16. Cardinal Bellarmine's famous counter-reform definition stressed the Church as a visible hierarchy, juridically structured and established so by Christ, and this became the definition of the catechisms in succeeding centuries. It was juridical, ahistorical and sociologically a definition built on model of Italian national-state. The "modernist movement" in Catholicism we discuss in the next chapter. This intellectual stifling of the seminary is documented in John Tracy Ellis, "The Formation of the American Priest, An Historical Perspective", and Michael V. Gannon, "Before and After Modernism: The Intellectual Isolation of the American Priest"; both essays in John T. Ellis (ed) The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's Univ. Press, 1971).
17. The First Vatican Council had intended to take up this wider issue but was interrupted by the war in Italy and never finished. Actually there are two problems here: 1) the idea of infallibility which has been questioned recently by a Catholic Bishop Francis Simons, Infallibility and the Evidence (Springfield, Illinois: Templegate Publ., 1968) and two priests Wilhelm Bertrams, The Papacy, the Episcopacy and Collegiality (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1964) and more recently the controversial book by Hans Küng, Infallibility? An Inquiry (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971). The second issue is the theological-political issue of collegiality. Just what is the relationship of bishops with the Papacy. For the historical background of this in the medieval dispute cf. Brian Tierney, Foundations of Conciliar Theory (Cambridge: University Press, 1955). On the contemporary scene, Cardinal Suenens has become the key bishop in a call for collegiality. Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens, Corresponsibility in the Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968).
18. It is important to keep this problem of polity in historical perspective. It was a serious factor in the denominational division of Protestantism. The synod of bishops mentioned have already met three times, their last meeting in 1971 was most significant for us in this study since their topics were world justice and peace, and the priesthood.
19. In all discussions and guidelines for parish councils, the relationships between pastor and people are sensitive issues. The major question here is whether the council has advisory or deliberative power. In our field study a whole gamut of attitudes towards parish councils has been expressed. We have noted that they do not succeed in poverty neighborhoods; that in some suburban areas

they tend to represent the more conservative church voices, perhaps suggesting a repetition of the Protestant experience with vestries and presbyteries, etc. To our knowledge no one has done a study of this fascinating area of human relations in church government.

20. In other words, the Council felt itself an open discussion on issues of the Church and many resented the "papal paternalism" in deciding what was fitting for discussion. This attempt of the papacy met with little success and the later statement on birth control came as a shock to the Catholic world, as we point out in the next chapter.
21. The Spanish Church is very much structured on the idea of an "established church" or state Church. This is affirmed by the Concordat (which Rome is asking Franco to discard) and by the many day to day workings of the Church (eg: priests' salaries come from the State through the bishops). This whole structure is de-legitimated by the new theology. (See chapter six). This affects social action priests in Spain as we have seen in our interviews, in a way similar to the Third World Priesthood (cf. below). The only study of Spanish priests we know is Jose I. Ruis-Olabuenaga, Dropouts from the Priesthood and Theology in Spain (Fordham University, unpublished PH.D. thesis, 1969). An overall survey appeared as "la iglesia de los pobres en Espana" in Vida Nueva, June 13, 1970.
22. The history of this re-orientation based on the Catholic biblical movement can be found in Jean Levie, The Bible, The Word of God in Words of Men (New York: P.J. Kennedy Publ., 1961).
23. The key study here is the work of John C. Murray, We Hold These Truths (N.Y.: Sheed & Ward, 1960) in which he presents the American model of separation of Church and State as the new ideal. The nineteenth century Catholic ideal was the medieval model of Church-State or establishment in our country. This means sociologically that Catholicism is an American denomination and a part of our denominational religious society. cf: Andrew Greeley, The Denominational Society, A Sociological Approach to Religion in America (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1972).
24. The major themes of the Christian-Marxist dialogue can be found in Quentin Lauer and Roger Garaudy, A Christian-Marxist Dialogue (New York: Doubleday, 1960) and the theology of hope can be found in Ruben Alves, A Theology of Human Hope (New York: Corpus Books, 1971) where it links revolutionary themes to the gospel.

25. The Catholic peace movement has perhaps been the most notable event in the Church thus far in the 1970s and the Berrigan Brothers its most public proponents. It seems to have replaced the movement or Catholic war against poverty both among laity and clergy. It does point out how movements interpenetrate and the Vatican reform movement has sparked interest first in poverty and now in peace.
26. Vatican I was a solidification of the post-Reformation era and even more reactionary than the Council of Trent. The sociologist Thomas O'Dea has discussed these themes in his Catholic Crisis (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968).
27. This theology has been characterized by Michael Novak in his work The Open Church (loc.cit.) as "non-historical orthodoxy". It was implicitly hostile to John Henry Newman's ideas that doctrine "developed", a general perspective which dominates both contemporary Scriptural studies and modern theology.
28. The integrists and the Syllabus are mentioned in the next chapter under modernism. Basically a secret, rightist society which called themselves the Soldatium Piarum which resorted to bizarre tactics to keep the "purity of doctrine", their antics make a fascinating study of the underground movements that grow within institutional religious bodies.
29. Institutional fundamentalism like biblical fundamentalism takes the organization in a literal, non-historical and non-human way. It denies the human element (or the sociological) in all human enterprises, even the religious. In his field work, the author found this fundamentalism common among Catholic laity who were convinced that birth control was permissible but would only be sure "when the Pope decides". In a more serious way, we can only point to an important field for study in religious conservatism, prejudice, etc. Glock and Stark have explored some of this relationship between prejudice and religious belief, but they do not give sufficient weight to the psychological factor. (In other words, perhaps prejudice is more linked to the "authoritarian personality" who also happens to use religion to legitimate his attitudes.) Many questions such as the attraction of certain religious groups for certain psychological types, the stages of psychological attachment to religious beliefs, etc. are open for exploration here. cf. Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965).
30. We discuss this liturgical movement below.

CHAPTER II

THE CHANGING CHURCH: A SEARCH FOR REFORM AND RELEVANCY

We live in a time of sustained and radical criticism of human institutions, the university, the "military-industrial complex", the complex of institutions which is a city, the family and marriage, and finally the church. The critique is radical in that it does not merely raise the issue of efficiency and management but basic value questions of identity and purpose.¹

There is a parallel phenomenon in religious groups which raise similar questions concerning institutional forms of Christianity. "What to do with the Church" or "Do we need the Church" is the implicit question of many new religious movements and the explicit question of theologians and churchmen. The theology of the Church or ecclesiology has become the central theological concern, and as with secular institutions, it is not an issue of better management or use of resources but a more basic self-reflection on the definition and function of the Church.

Perhaps nowhere else is ecclesiology so much the central religious question than in contemporary Catholicism. It is our contention that the Vatican Council crystalized and

mobilized a socio-religious reform movement, a movement far more extensive than the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and far more intensive (since it has remained within Catholicism).² Here scattered strands of new theological thinking, a new approach to Scriptures and to liturgy, ecumenical trends and church experiments all came to focus in a vast reform movement. Gradually a mode of rising expectations of renewal and orderly reform grew stronger and took inspiration from the Council. At last, many felt, the Church would put itself in touch with the aspirations and needs of contemporary man, and once the direction had been set, it would move with characteristic unanimity and peacefully toward an extensive program of reform. Pope Paul closed the Council with the traditional blessing of peace "Go in peace and the Lord be with you", a blessing which was a strong hope and even a conviction of the future shape of things. The blessing is invoked at the daily liturgy of the church. The Catholic world prays for this peace. But the stark fact is that the petition has not been granted.

Even a superficial glance at the events in the Catholic world in the aftermath of the Council show a tension and polarization of values and ideas within Catholicism on all levels of its life. A Pope speaks in great personal anguish

to the world-wide press of the dissention breaking up the unity of the Church; the Catholic press and the Catholic world itself becomes polarized into liberal and conservative camps, each with its own adherents, and a vocabulary of tension builds up. Those who speak of the erosion of the true faith, disloyalty and disobedience, and a quest for novelty and the sensational are met with words protesting clericalism, a monarchical church, institutional irrelevance and paternalism. And so the tension grows.

If anything is clear in the history of the Council and its aftermath, it is the fact that the Catholic world is not tranquil and that the uniform, even univocal and monolithic image of unity which was once the proud possession of the pre-Vatican Church is now shattered. The Church, which for many was the one anchor of stability in an age of rapid and even permanent change, has now slipped into the malestrom and is being swept along by the same processes which have caught modern man. It appears to some as if we were witnessing a vast ice-pack moments before it splinters, breaks apart and flows out to sea.³

In this aftermath, tensions have been shaped into attitudes and even theologies, and groups have polarized on the left and right. Roughly speaking we can see three positions.

Those on the right seek to return to tradition and restore the strong unity and loyalty which marked the pre-Vatican church, while admitting the need of some adaptation and minor repairs. Those on the left feel that the church needs a major overhaul of its attitudes and institutions to make it reflect the gospel of Christ. The radical would reject the "church problem" entirely and be concerned only with a return to the pure gospel of Jesus.⁴

What this tentative typology reveals is the emergence of the typical pattern of reform within Christendom. A study of sect-church development in the Christian tradition shows just this type of polarization, and most heresy whether that of Hus or Luther or Calvin or Fox, began as movements of reform within a Christian church, only to be rejected by the parent body.⁵

But the paradox here is double. First, that a reform Council, dedicated to revitalizing the church, should leave in its wake such massive confusion and dissention. In its quest for reform, the Council seems to have only succeeded in dividing the church just as did religious disputes of old. Old sores, tensions and basic divergences have been uncovered, and Catholics are asked to take positions on a restatement of theology and values.

The second paradox is that this polarization is still

contained within Catholicism, and there have been no massive schisms such as those of the sixteenth century. While perhaps attitudes and values today are even more polarized than they were in the time of Luther, thus far the polarization has remained within the Church. And polarization now takes the form of pluralism of values within the same institution.⁶

It is the presence of this polarization and pluralism which makes the contemporary Church a fascinating sociological study of a social institution. There are many who evaluate this phenomenon as the dissolution of Catholicism; others see it as a healthy but painful stage of growth. While the sociologist abstains from such value-laden prophecies, he can point to the fact of "a house divided" by his structural analysis of the facts, and at least wonder about "a gathering storm in the churches".⁷

It is hard to evaluate such a paradox, especially since it is part of a large and complex reality called historical Catholicism. And like the crises of state after the French Revolution or the fall of the Romanovs, we are dealing with a reality which can be analyzed from various perspectives: the historical, the psychological, the theological and others.

Even limiting our analysis basically to American Catholicism we find we are dealing with a specific modality of

Church reform, one shaped by the American experience. The basic context of this Catholicism has been the immigrant experience and the slow transformation of clusters of ethnic churches and ethnic piety into an American church. Historians of American Church history point out that the Church was just beginning to emerge from the ethnic ghetto into the mainstream of American life when the Council came.⁸ We shall be making constant reference to this social context of American church reform.

In addition to church reform, the Church had to face not only the institutional problem of church facilities left behind to flicker on in abandoned neighborhoods and weighed down with the ponderous task of institutional survival, but the issues which divided America - and the Church - itself: poverty and race. Just as the Church seemed finally to "have arrived" in the postwar period of boom and prosperity, of expanding vocations and extensive building and general acceptance in the American culture, it was struck by the two waves of Vatican reform and the ideology of the poverty movement. Some critics feel that the Vatican Reform only disturbed a prospering Church; but this is to underestimate the impact of social forces for change and reform. Certainly the social and religious movements re-inforced one another (and now in

the last few years have been augmented by the peace movement within Catholicism). The Church thus found itself in a sociological dilemma as ideological camps became more sharp and more sensitive. It is a mediating church trying to walk the middle ground, and the priests are very much men in the middle.

"Religion in America is caught in a sociological trap. One jaw represents the fixed expectations of the parishioners who want a solid church organization with all the trimmings, church-as-usual on Sundays, the same old rules by which they've always lived. 'I've had ten children' an angry woman told her priest, 'If they change the rules on birth control I'm quitting the church'. The other jaw is the pressure of a society whose slackening interest in religion brings great pressure on the churches to modernize, to arouse public interest, to get 'where the action is', to be vital, to prove they do have a useful and honest social function. To change in this direction risks alienating the great bulk of church members, while not to change risks becoming ever more isolated from the secular society. Leadership and laity, then, have different ideas about church...The man in the middle, a principal victim of the church trap...is the minister. As a profession the clergy is at a gravely low ebb... 'Many ministers' he (Rev. Edward S. Golden) says, 'when they face the reality of church life, rankle at it and may lose their faith, although they go on mechanically, that is as part of the church machine.'"⁹

Our fundamental hypothesis here is that this movement of Church reform is best seen in the conflicts and turmoil of the

Catholic priest and that behind the sensational news stories of a bishop leaving, or priests defying the Pope on Birth Control, or the priests involved in the peace movement and the spectacle of the Berrigan brothers, there is a movement of organizational restructuring and religious reformation which should fascinate the social scientist. The priest then is a barometer of the organization, and the diversity and divisions found among priests reflect the division and problems of the whole body of Christendom.

To detail this insight we have spent a period of four years of participant observation with American priests, attending their meetings, sharing their meals, living in an inner-city area with priests, teaching in a seminary both older priests and students for the priesthood, discussing theology, sociology and change with them. More specifically this researcher interviewed over three hundred nuns and priests (over 200 priests) in a period of two years who came to an organization which gave help to those leaving the ministry. Hours were spent with priests and former priests in the process of making a decision as they reflected on their problems and their struggles. Several conferences of former priests were also attended including a sensitivity weekend and several sessions of group therapy with these men.

Finally, a whole literature on Church reform which has grown to immense proportions was sampled in large amounts.¹⁰

What we hope to arrive at is an accurate picture of an institutional role. More specifically this is a role within a normative institution and a role which follows the pattern of commitment-alienation. From our case studies we hope to detail the dimensions of this role and the impact of a reform movement within the institution on this role, both in its conception and in its function.

For this reason we try to provide an analytic framework here of the two realities:

- I. The dimensions and issues of Church Reform
- II. The dimensions of the priest's role

We realize the limitations of a sociological approach. We have not delved deeply into the psychology of personality types,¹¹ nor into the history of the problems of the priesthood,¹² nor into the many theologies of priesthood.¹³ For many reasons, it has not even been possible to resort to statistical findings that normally are liberally sprinkled throughout most sociological studies.¹⁴ Rather we have tried to move on a level of phenomenological sociology or a description of structures of the priesthood.¹⁵ Hence our title Institution and

Identity. Our basic interest is how a religious organization defines this role, how it socializes men into this role and leads them to form a priestly identity within certain parameters, and finally, what happens to this role when the institution itself goes through a process of self-definition and institutional restructuring. Structures of authority and power, patterns of life-styles, means of socialization and role maintenance, status and rewards and forms of community organization are some of the dimensions implied in such an approach, in a word, we are interested in the Church as a social system.

From a sociological point of view the basic fact is that we are dealing with change in a normative institution (not a coercive nor remunerative one).¹⁶ As a value based institution it shares much in common with all institutions such as business enterprises, schools and governments, but it also has its own distinctive configurations. We are particularly concerned with the role identity of a priest within this normative institution. Our basic premise is that the role is shaped and its basic parameters are set by the Church. It is the church which not only tells the priest what to do but who he is.¹⁷ We see in this notion of role identity the fusion of two theoretical strands of sociological theory.

One would be the stress on institutional role or the role seen very much in terms of its institutional context. This objective or structural theory is a Weberian emphasis and can be found developed today in the Sociology of Institutions, system theories and in a good deal of the scientific literature on management. For us it raises the questions of institutional definition and reformation of a role, institutional control and sanctions, status position, the Weberian problem of institution and charisma, the structuration of role hierarchy, governmental models of 'bureaucratic patrimonialism', etc. We shall stress the institutional ambiguity of the priest's role today both in its theology (normative shape) and specific performance and requirements (function).¹⁸

The second theoretical approach lays stress on the issue of role identity. This has a long tradition in the sociology of G.H. Mead, C. Cooley and now is regaining popularity again in symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology.¹⁹ This raises questions of reference and supportive groups, cognitive definition of the role, the methods of socialization into the role and role identity. It will be specifically important in dealing with the psychological problem of the identity of the priest.

We shall try to show how this "identity crisis" is

partially a factor of institutional changes and an identity crisis of the Church itself, and partially a product of problems on a level of symbolic interaction: polarization of supportive groups, problems of socialization and re-socialization and breakdown of symbolic referents.

The "existential" or de facto link between these two strands of theory will be in our interviews with priests on their perception of the reason why they left. Both institutional and personal elements will emerge. Hopefully, this emergence will at least point towards the beginnings of some consistent and coherent theory - obviously a task which must remain here as open-ended, directional and with several loose threads.

As every science has its particular angle of vision or its "selective focus" along with the discipline of consistency of vision and method, so too we try here to approach a complex problem of change. Our goal here is an analysis of the dimensions of normative institutional change especially as it effects the position and role of the fulltime church servant: the priest. While there is clear evidence of confusion and a crisis of identity in the entire church membership, it is our hypothesis that this is most completely found in priests and religious. This study will provide some insight then into the very human

drama of tensions and concerns which are shaping the present-day Church. Hopefully too it will provide a model for similar studies into the crisis produced by reform in a normative institution. Such a spotlight on one contemporary religious experience has the advantage of depth and insightful analysis in some dimensions while others are neglected because of the perspective or angle of vision. In a sense, any attempt at analysis is partial and tears at the total fabric of human experience, and all our subsequent attempts at synthesis will undoubtedly be patchwork and fragmentary. It is with full awareness of the potentialities and the limitations that we develop our "thesis" here.

Part II: A New Reformation

An enormous upheaval happened within Catholicism in the decade of the Council: the explosion over birth control, an ecclesial civil war over the issue of poverty and civil rights in America, a new wave of ideas from the death of God to Christian Revolution, and finally a significant exodus of priests and nuns from their religious commitment. These and other events must be seen in the context of the Council where the issue either emerged in microcosm or was implicit in the Council's decision and became an issue of the worldwide community of Catholics. What we shall see is 1) a process of re-orientation of values and 2) a differential acceptance of these new orientations by the Catholic world in matters pertaining to cult, creed, code and the community life of the Church in the world.²⁰

Cult or the Church's Liturgy

The best starting point for a discussion of change in the post Vatican Church is the liturgy. Ritual is usually a fairly accurate index of church conflict and the battleground on which are fought out deeper theological and ecclesial issues.²¹ Historically, liturgy has always been a major focus for church disputes and the various divisions of historical Christianity

usually found expression in competing liturgical forms. For it is here in the daily action of the church that men find a reaffirmation of their belief (with the Church as mediator between them and God), and a reaffirmation of the stability of their world and the unity of their Church.

The Roman liturgy was a routine, highly ritualized form of prayer, and the Mass was the central, weekly experience of the Catholic with its attendance mandated under pain of serious sin and its style predictably consistent. It was seen as unvarying, stable in language as well as in its basic meaning and hence a sign of unity with Rome and uniting with the entire Catholic world.²² Historically one can trace the sociological process of routinization in the emerging shape of the Roman liturgy (the same process of evolution developed in the Oriental rites) which became fixed in language and structure from the time of the Council of Trent, where its importance as a symbol of unity and stability became primary and even polemic.²³

This was the first topic on the agenda in the Council, as we have seen, and the focus of the debate was on changing a sacred ritual especially in its language. Arguments for retaining latin as a universal language were basically in terms of its symbolic value as a sign of worldwide unity and stability

while supporters of the vernacular argued in terms of communication and intelligibility.²⁴

Beneath this debate were several issues which came out in the various interventions in the Council; the first was an attitudinal polarization of conservatives and liberals. The first group appealed to historical traditions and Roman centralization (Parente, Ottaviani, Bacci of the Roman curia were joined by Cardinal McIntyre of the United States) as well as to the sacred and unchangeable nature of the liturgy; the liberals (Alfrink, Frings, Feltin and the Americans Ritter and Meyer) were in favor of the vernacular, were preoccupied by the problem of outreach of Catholicism to non-Catholics, and in favor of decentralization (taking control from the Roman Congregation of Rites and placing liturgical change in the hands of national conferences of bishops).

The conservative position seems to take sociological arguments as theological here, and certainly stress both the symbol and the real control of Roman centralization. This post-Tridentine ideal of Church unity was challenged by the idea of de-centralization and cultural pluralism now emerging in debate.

The issue of power and control is deeply intertwined with the historical-cultural dimensions of the liturgy, and the use

of the vernacular brings this into focus. Both historically and in present society Catholicism tries to unite an enormously diverse world of cultural differences. The historical analysis of the Catholic faith shows its layer structure, its successive and successful absorption of different cultures, and its liturgy reflects this layer structure; it has elements of early liturgy, the Roman-Frankish reform, monasticism, baroque style down to the final solidification of ritual and language at the time of the Reformation. Along with this and surrounding the liturgy of the Mass it has also managed to absorb cultic beliefs and elements of popular piety and culture, and even superstitions. A discerning eye can still find ethnic differences in statuary and church design from one church to another not only from one country to another, but in ethnic churches within the United States.²⁵ Thus the liturgy was and is a small microcosm of the Church itself in its socio-cultural variety and so it became a focal point of conflict over various ideas of church and reform. It was not accidental that the emerging divisions within the Council and within the Church at large should polarize here.

The American Catholic experience of "the new liturgy" was at first less than enthusiastic and generally polemic.²⁶ Liturgical changes in language, Mass facing the people and many

small details perhaps had more impact on the average Catholic than any other action of the Council. Since liturgy and ritual symbols are concrete expressions of faith as well as expressions of more abstract theology, liturgy touches all Catholics with an immediacy which theology alone lacks. Theological issues such as the debate on the Sources of Revelation or on The Church did not filter down to the level of the populace so quickly, while liturgical change did. It produced a reaction and polarization of the Catholic community which is still sharp and strong. Since liturgy synthesise a theory of church and hierarchic roles, the worldview of a religious community and its moral beliefs, and since it is a symbolic reaffirmation of a sacred order and stability, touching it and changing it raises issues of religious community life and interaction and questions of personal faith.²⁷ Thus liturgy became the first sensitive issue of the Council to touch the Catholic world at large and raise the question of reform of the Church both among priests and laity.

The laity were the recipients of a change mandated from above, a clerical coup d'etat, and there is no evidence for any widespread movement for liturgical reform before this. While the average worshiper was described often as a passive spectator, it seemed to have been a role to which he had been

habituated and accepted and he was content to leave the performance of the liturgy to its specialists, the priests.²⁸

The history of this decade of the liturgical movement has yet to be written, but in our four years of research, talking with Catholics both for and against the new liturgy and after a careful survey of the Catholic press (especially the debates in the "Letters to the Editor" column) certain tensions appeared.

First, many Catholics simply resented being moved from a spectator role to a role of involvement (for some it disturbed the prayers and devotions they said while the Mass was going on).²⁹ In general, the changes came by edict and often there was little explanation (some priests even, grumbling over their annoyance with the changes, let the parishioners know that they were acting under duress). Soon an atmosphere of tension grew up in the parishes between reformers who tended to patronize the ignorance of those who resisted changes (and who in turn were accused of bizarre liturgy and even called "litniks") and those who looked to the Mass as unchangeable or at least perfectly adequate in its existing form. The debate on latin vs. the vernacular quickly shows that non-linguistic factors were deeply involved.

Developing this hunch that non-linguistic factors were

primary in the debate, the author undertook to interview several groups of laymen who had reacted to the liturgical changes in the four years of research involved in this work. It would be too tangential to describe this interview-study here; it can be best summarized in one discussion with an articulate layman who resented the "new liturgy". When it was pointed out that most of the changes (the altar facing the people, the use of the vernacular, etc.) were done in the interest of communication and participation in the liturgy he agreed, but insisted that "continuity" was the most important value. His explanation stressed both the elements of constant uniformity and stability in religious worship and the security that this gave a person.

It is important to stress these non-liturgical values since much of the Catholic reform has proceeded on the assumption that it is an ideological issue of theological ideas. The result is that often the liberal and the conservative in the church are talking past one another - and this not only in the issue of the liturgy. (We will return to this theme later as the "failure of Catholic reform" precisely because the Council has not penetrated to the level of popular Catholicism).

This has happened in the past in the liturgy and the

result has been a whole development of extra-liturgical forms of prayer and devotion. This gave rise to a rich development of sacred drama especially the passion plays in the Middle Ages, as well as processions such as Corpus Christi, or fiestas of saints and carnivals before Lent. It gave rise in American ethnic Catholicism to a whole host of devotions to various saints, novenas, rosaries, etc.

While we are touching on a very delicate question of personal prayer styles and treading on the fringe of theological ideas, our purpose is to illustrate only the socio-psychological dimensions here such as the non-linguistic needs of man to reaffirm the sacred, a basic conservatism about symbols and ritual as a consequence, and the theological assumptions - all of which underlie ritual.³⁰

But liturgy touches even more directly the identity of the priest. Raised in a belief that the celebration of Mass was his central function and that his commitment to this liturgy was to be so total that he should "live the Mass", he was in a sensitive, pivotal position when changes came.

A new style of performance was asked of him and many found this a hardship. Priests interviewed spoke of how they would say a private latin Mass by preference whenever they could, how difficult they found turning the altar around

facing the people - a big issue of 1965-6. They also questioned the style of their fellow priests (saying Mass without vestments, hippie Mass vs. comments on the mechanical men, against "private Masses", etc.). The polarization was (and is still) often bitter and highly emotionally charged. Rumors abounded about "experimental liturgies" done with small groups using ordinary bread and non-sacramental wine, without liturgical vestments, etc. Several priests were suspended for such "underground liturgies".³¹

The debate also began to raise theological issues as it did at the Council. A gradual shift in the catechetical literature which stressed the Mass as more a Christian meal than a ritual of sacrifice produced volatile reactions among priests, so too did the question of concelebration (which raised again the Reformation question on the validity of private Masses). The symbolic theology of the eucharist and the idea of "transignification" vs. transubstantiation raised a brief furor and caused many to re-examine their theological premises.³²

The issues became not only inter-clerical but involved the laity and religious of most parishes and tensions between pastors-curates and between priests and laity or priests and nuns are still a common part of the parish scene where preferences and theologies and emotions can run high.³³

Thus the symbol of the eucharist, a symbol which Christ spoke of in terms of unity and brotherhood, again has become a sign of division in Christianity but this time not a sectarian division, but a division within the fraternity of priests.

One illustration of the many cases in our files is of a community of priests who tried to decide on a form of common prayer. A group in the community thought it scandalous that the only time the community came together was for meals and "this was hardly Christian sharing". But to find a common form of prayer was another matter. The litanies which this community said together were rejected by some as meaningless recital and "mob devotion", many no longer said the Breviary which the Church obliges its priests to say and did not find a solution there; Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was questioned by some as too superstitious and a mis-emphasis of the meaning of the eucharist; and so finally the Mass itself was not an answer, since some of the older priests did not believe in the new rite of concelebration. The conclusion was that there was no form of common prayer which they could share as a community of priests.

This not only illustrated the problems of the liturgy but it brings out the tensions within a religious community.

It is this polarization which illustrates our hypothesis about institution and identity. It should be clear that we are not talking on a remote level of theological ideas, but of values and symbols which deeply touch the existential lives of priests in their day to day functioning. On this level, values become involved in power struggles whether this be the strong debates and political intrigues that went on in the Council, or whether it is found in a rectory where a pastor and his priests discuss changing functions and their role.

A full discussion of the Catholic liturgical renewal would need a much larger sociological study than these few comments; here we are merely trying to outline the basic shape dimensions of the changing church. For this reason, we would like to speculate that it illustrates and develops Bronislaw Malinowski's theory of ritual. For in this theory, ritual does not concern itself with the known and the routine (as the Trobrianders fishing in their own lagoon), but with the area of the unknown, the unstable and even the dangerous. Thus ritual gives a psychological security and reaffirmation of the protection of the gods.

It seems reasonable then to consider the strong reaction to liturgical changes in socio-psychological terms. For liturgy in all religions has a strong conservative bent and

it usually becomes solidified in archaic cultural gestures and forms and language. There is a certain atemporal quality to every ritual expression of the sacred, and man enters liturgical action to reaffirm his solidarity with his group and his belief in a stable, sacred, atemporal order of things. He is not anxious to see his sphere of ritual thrown into the mainstream of everyday life and into the flux of rapid change.

This application of Malinowski's theory takes contemporary shape if we further theorize that the Catholic populace often looks to its Church as a stable anchor - the rock of Peter - in a world of rapid and continual change. The present cultural and social upheaval of America and the European world in the past decades have produced a sense of anomie and cultural uprooting which many social analysts never tire of studying. Then, suddenly, the Church seemed to be thrown into the same whirl of confusion and uncertainty.³⁴

We shall return to liturgical issues in our case studies of commitment and alienation, since it illustrates very concretely the problem of the contemporary polarization of the priesthood. It is not just a division of theological ideas but a division of deep personal identification with specific forms of prayer and of one's strong convictions of what the Church should be. This involves cultural differences but

especially it involves one's experiential background and training. This strongly shapes a priest's role and his own identification with that role. It also involves questions of politics and power or of the actual inter-relationship of priests in their work and choice of priorities. History has shown us the sensitivity of liturgical issues and how it can even lead to schism; here we have a contemporary exemplification of this in the daily, flesh and blood role performance of priests, and an exemplification of some of the institutional stresses in a transitional church.

Creed: Crisis of Faith

Roman Catholicism has always been noted for its strong unity and clarity of belief. From centuries of theological debate, discussion and controversy it has hammered out precisely articulated creeds and catechisms to detail all the items in this belief system. It has also invested vast efforts of time, personnel and expense in socializing new generations into a close knowledge of this belief. Catechetical programs and especially the huge Catholic school system in this country are witness to this concern.

We cannot write a history of Christian education here much less a history of Catholic theology, but a sense of the directions of the Vatican Reform comes clearer if we consider theological method and the theological issues prevalent before and after the Council.³⁵

The period before the Council was dominated by the theology of Trent and Vatican I, and it was encapsulated for millions of American Catholics in the Baltimore Catechism. The focal issues of this theology were the teaching nature of the Church and the clarity of dogma, the reality of the eucharist and of all seven sacraments, the infallibility of the Pope

and the sacramental, indelible nature of the priesthood and the importance of membership in the Church by some form of baptism. It also included a strong sexual ethic against birth control and divorce.

More interesting was the theological style or method. It stressed the clarity of the church's dogma and the identity of heretics (sharp normative boundaries), it was polemic in tone (and stressed membership and loyalty as a mark of salvation), it was systematic and scholastic (using Thomistic-Aristotelian metaphysics - often in diluted forms - as its basic intellectual method and rationale) and finally it was univocal (allowing for very little plurality of theologies).³⁶

This theology was strongly solidified in the nineteenth century Catholic reaction against "Modernism". As we have said, Catholic theology takes on many styles through the centuries and this period was marked by a sharp concern for "the purity of the faith" which issued in a period of strong institutional control over Catholic thought. Its spirit is caught in the polemic tone in Pius IX Syllabus of Errors, the emphasis on a scholastic system to explain doctrine, and the restrictions on Catholic education. For the layman this filtered the content of every book published by the censorship system of "imprimatur" (permission to publish) and took flesh in the

Baltimore Catechism; for the priest it was embodied in the close watch over the seminaries: extremists or heresy hunters formed a secret society known as the integrists or more accurately the Sodalitium Pianum.³⁷

It is likely that such a system might have survived since it developed its own apologetic to handle its mistakes such as the Inquisition or Galileo or its extreme critics like a Paul Blanchard; and it fostered an attitude of non-criticism, submissive obedience on all levels of Christian life (the weight of which was brought against any isolated reformer). It even developed its own theology or ideology of legitimation in the long historical debates on church-state and conciliarism, or on a group level by identifying every word of the superior with God's will.³⁸

Although the preparatory session of the Council proposed a reinforcement of this theological style, and the Acta sent to the Council for consideration were shaped in this thought mold, it was decisively rejected by the Council fathers, as we have seen. This marked a shift of emphasis in style and raised new issues in the Church.

Briefly, the basic issue raised at the Council was the nature of the Church and its relationship to the modern world. This came out in the question of the theology of the primacy

(infallibility and collegiality), in the idea of the teaching Church (Protestant critics often pointed to an institutional fundamentalism on the part of Catholicism which substituted the Church for God's Word in Scripture) and in a more personalistic attitude toward the dogma of God and Christ.³⁹

The best illustration of the dilemma can be found in the birth control debate and its aftermath. Although this was an issue removed from conciliar discussion, it illustrates both the issue of the teaching Church and the question of theological style or method.

Briefly the traditional position took its inspiration from an objective order of Natural Law. A rational analysis of human sexual functions should show that the primary goal of the sex act was procreation and all other uses of the act were subordinate and dependent on this (Catholic theology spoke of an expression of mutual love and "a remedy for lust"). Hence no act of sexual intercourse could be blocked by man-made, artificial means. This moral syllogism was socialized into Catholics as the Church's teaching and was demanded of Catholics under pain of serious sin and exclusion from the sacraments. Meanwhile, sociological ideas on population and biological information on means of birth control gave shape to a whole movement of family planning in the secular world.⁴⁰

Catholicism only made a concession towards family planning using new knowledge on the female cycle but stood adamant on any other form of birth control. However in the Catholic world of theology the very premises of the argument were challenged and theologians argued that the state of matrimony and not every marital act was ordained 'by nature' for procreation; they also argued for fine distinctions in other methods, or for the right of individual conscience. The papacy in the encyclical Humanae Vitae did not meet this new theory head-on, but appealed to tradition and papal authority to settle the issue. This led to an outburst in the Catholic world.

This handling of the birth control issue illustrates many of the substantive issues in the Church today. Other similar issues are: What is the Church's teaching authority? What is its relationship to Scripture? and to bishop and theologians? what is infallibility? For the priest who was very much "the man in the middle" in this dispute, he had to face the problem of what to say in confession to a penitent and how to justify this position.⁴¹

We shall return to the crisis within the priesthood caused by Humanae Vitae; it does however mark a shift of theological style (which also took place, of course, in the

discussions in the Council, but here touched the Catholic world most directly). In terms of a phenomenology of idea systems we can see a shift from a style which was systematic, ahistorical, definitional and polemic to a style which was personalistic-existential, scriptural and historic-evolutionary and probing, not polemic. In the Council itself there was a massive re-education process taking place day after day. Here the new style emerged in the Catholic world at large.

First the style was personalistic-existential. The sexual act was seen primarily in terms of a sign of commitment and affection which was enduring, not in the objective terms of procreating a family as one's social and natural obligation. This shift also was seen in a change of attitude toward dogma. Faith was stressed more as a personal encounter with God or Christ rather than adherence to a body of beliefs.⁴²

This re-emphasis on a theology of experience came up in eucharist theology, in the theology of the Church as a pilgrim people and in a whole shift away from systematic, scholastic theology.

The second difference, again in sketch, is the stress on different theological tools. We have called this scriptural vs. systematic. The developments in scriptural studies, which were only legitimated in 1943 by Pius XII, began to reverse a

theology which stressed metaphysics with its master expositor, St. Thomas. This not only raised questions about literary forms and the veracity of the Scriptures, but it restored an emphasis on Scripture as the source of faith. Germane to our example, birth control finds no Scriptural source.⁴³

This raises the third issue of a whole theory of changing ideas. The dominant theological idea of the pre-Vatican period, especially in the grip of anti-modernism, was that belief was a depositum or was contained by the teaching Church, and that the Pope could clarify any problem infallibly as it arose. This fostered an attitude of institutional fundamentalism in the popular understanding of Catholicism, and to a large extent it focused around the papal definition and power of infallibility. Like biblical fundamentalism it ignored the human dimension. In a theory of the development of dogma developing out of the ideas of John H. Newman, dogmatic definitions are seen as a stage of development or as points of departure. Thus infallibility was developed by the Council into the theory of episcopal collegiality. In the case of birth control, theologians would stress that a new moral question was being asked the Church and that it is in a transition of transposing intellectual horizons.⁴⁴

Finally this new theology is neither univocal nor polemic

and a plurality of theologies is developing within the Church. On the nature of the Church itself, there are several different theologies present in Catholicism, just as Scriptural studies have shown that the gospels themselves are different theologies of Christ. In the issue of birth control there is still no official legitimation of different theologies, and in our research we find some priests insisting on the official position until told otherwise, others will explain the new shift of premise, others will "leave it up to the individual consciences".⁴⁵

As a consequence we have a situation filled with potential controversy and polarization. This was frequently discovered in our visits to rectories (where an age stratification of three or four generations is frequent) and clerical conversation often begins with gentle probing to avoid disturbing a man's sensitivities. We shall show how this touches the lives of priests directly and frequently in our discussion of normative alienation.

This is an attempt at a phenomenological analysis of beliefs, not just in content but also in style. Probably such an exercise could be performed on ideological revision in Marxism, such as "the blooming of a thousand flowers" in Chinese Marxism, or in Black Power and other revolutionary

movements. This shift to personalism, scriptural-historical thought and pluralism is characteristic of today's Catholicism, and its differential acceptance is at the base of much controversy in this value-based institution. What concerns us here however is not a detailed history of this value change but its social consequences in the phenomenon of alternation.

The Social Consequences of Alternation

Such a radical change gives a sense of instability, the breakup of unity and a sense of vertigo (as in any ideologically based society). There is a breaking-up of this mass, cultural belief. The world in which a man found a psycho-noetic anchor as he faced problems of life mystery, problems of death, suffering and human relations no longer gives this anchor. Thus anomie is seen not only in the lack of clear noetic boundaries but also in the loss of religious security.

Religious belief seems to have the quality of a total fabric, a seamless robe and many feel that it is all coming apart when pieces are pulled. This is the basis for Durkheim's idea of symbolic representations, and it is the sociological fact that makes the Church conservatives instinctive sociologists.

The first social consequence then is a loss of ideology

unity in the Church, a loss which threatens the very belief of its adherents. For this state of anomie creates a sense of psychological vertigo or alternation. It creates the process for both conversion or loss of faith depending on whether a person makes the decision to drop out or to find new relevance in the belief. It can also provoke extreme reactions of either cynicism or reactionary defensiveness. In a word, it forces the shaken believer to re-examine his commitment and to re-integrate it into his personal meaning system.⁴⁶

We shall see this alternation in our study of priests who face "the normative crisis" below. It is best expressed in the common Catholic complaint "I don't know what to believe anymore" or "The Church is becoming more and more Protestant". Or some simply define Christianity in terms which seem to have little connection with Catholic belief.

This is a social phenomenon we find in areas such as patriotism (it is hard for many to admit that their country is aggressive or working out of a position of political expediency) and popular prejudice (there is a need for praising one's group to the detriment of other ethnic groups), but religion tends to resist the fact of alternation. It gives a cast of absoluteness to its beliefs so that peripheral and

central doctrines are often confused in the minds of people. Religions which move towards liberalism generally enter a process of constant reformulation where the end product winds up as theologically far removed from the original creed (such as universalist-unitarianism) or in a form of fundamental pietism which refuses intellectual reflection as dangerous pride (Baptist fundamentalism).

There is the second social consequence here which is the pluralization and the polarization of the Catholic community. There are conflicting perceptions of the Church now as before within the Catholic community. The difference now is that the new consciousness rather than slowly gaining through informal social processes has been officially legitimated.⁴⁷ This has created the interesting situation of a variety of controversy within Roman Catholicism which might rival the variety found in the segmented Reform groups of the sixteenth century. Thus we find pentecostalism, sectarianism and a host of different Christian options. What is interesting is the ecclesiological emphasis. The question they raise is again what is the true nature of Christ's Church? and the polarization is basically in terms of this central issue.

Important to consider here is the process of differential socialization. We can talk about theoretical or ideological

shifts in any organization, but the real question is how the old believers have been resocialized into the new thinking. Thus it is not just a question of plurality of theologies but of the differential socialization of the new. This is an abstract way to describe a very tangled, emotional and a very human crisis within contemporary Catholicism.

In this connection we did a brief study of pastoral attitudes of older priests in terms of what might be called noetic openness and noetic rigidity. There emerges a clear pattern of uncertainty (an inadequacy because they lack the tools for the new emphasis - perhaps the analogous inadequacy most parents feel with the new math). There is also a strong pattern of intellectual rigidity and hostility to this "new theology". Much of it is considered heresy, and it goes so far as some who feel the Vatican Council has taken heretical positions.

Such conflict is important for us to consider here because a priest's task, as we shall see, is defined by theological values. Hence the third social consequence of alternation is the need to redefine roles. Very much of what a priest does is defined for him according to what theology says he is. Thus in sermons, in conversation, in ways of performing services, etc., there is often the bitterness of

debate which led to schism in the historical church, and this within most communities of priests and most rectories. A conflict which we shall explore later can come when the one in power (the pastor) over practical policy is opposed to the new official values of Vatican II, and the younger priests want them. While this conflict always existed, the element of official legitimation of the new makes the conflict severe. Simply put, "does the priest follow his pastor or the Council?". We shall see the practical dimensions of this conflict below; here we wanted only to outline a phenomenology of reorientation within the belief system.⁴⁸

The official assumption beneath all this thus far is that there will be unity and one rite; this seems to be in danger from the de facto pluralism existing in church members.

In other words, the Church of the past stressed very much the need of what Durkheim calls "symbolic integration". It is the loss of this both on the theoretical level of theological thinkers and on the level of actual belief that is historical and we can see cultural and social forces influencing the contemporary problem of Catholic belief.⁴⁹

We have described how this "sacred canopy" of a stable belief system under which most Catholics have grown up and most priests were formed has 1) lost its symbolic unity and

is now moving towards pluralism, 2) has been differentially accepted and understood and hence has led to polarization in that plurality and to the politicization of ideological positions, and 3) finally how this has threatened the priest's role not only in his function as a teacher of Catholic faith (he finds himself often too confused to be an authority on belief today) but in the very theological definition of the role (the question of the theory or theology of who is a priest).

Any attempt of the Church to profess a strong centralized unity not only of faith but also of theology was shattered in the Council. There these three trends emerged and the Council became a paradigm of the McLuhan world of instant communication. In such a world intellectual isolation and centralized dogmatism seems impossible, and the unity of Catholic doctrine seems irrevocably changed.

Beneath these trends is a massive effort at a reformulation of Christian thinking perhaps only equalled by the period of 300-500 A.D. when the Church tried to rethink its Scriptural beliefs in terms of neo-platonism; or by the medieval period when this neo-platonism went through a scholastic reformulation.⁵⁰ Now we see existential and social man as the center of this shift in a reformulation process which is just emerging and too immediate to describe from any historical vantagepoint.

If this is so, then the Church is really undergoing a reformation of enormous proportions and the surface phenomena of plurality and polarization are clues of a vast intellectual process within.

In any event, we do find all the characteristics of alternation, pluralization, differential acceptance, a "loss of faith" and a polarization of the community. On the concrete level of individual belief, the Catholic layman finds himself taking a variety of positions in a patchwork quilt model of Catholicism. The priest finds himself trying to rethink and mediate this variety in his function as teacher, and trying to discover a theory or a theology of his own identity. It is within this changing cultural-ideological system that the 'crisis of the priesthood' must be seen.

Code or Church Polity

We turn now to church authority. It is a complex issue, one which historically was the shoals on which many churches broke up and splintered into sects, and one which presently all efforts at reform and renewal have to confront. For the Catholic Church has prided itself on its strong authoritarian system of order and control, those holding authority are put into a sphere beyond criticism and surrounded with a religious

aura. Obedience and submission to authority both in action and even in thought was a virtue which at times seemed to have a primacy over Christian love.⁵¹

The power of the church, as of all religious bodies, is paradoxically. It can touch a man's life in great detail (telling him what he may eat and what he must abstain from, telling the priest how to dress, etc.) and in great intimacy (excommunication for example enters into the "internal forum" or a man's conscience). But it is also a voluntary organization and it only has as much power over a man as the individual chooses to submit to.

This authority is expressed in two major forms: in the Church Canon Law of over 2500 canons covering topics such as the eucharist and other sacraments, penalties for deviants, rules on marriage, or on religious consecration. Its second form of expression is found in the day to day church management of a pastor or a bishop or the Pope, making decisions which affect ordinary Christian life. All of these posts, especially that of bishop and Pope, exercise a type of authority caught in the traditional sense of the term autoritas, an authority which blends teaching with the power over the internal order of the Christian community. Thus if a bishop forbids the sale of a book on religion in his diocese or

silences a priest on an issue, he is invoking his teaching power as well as his power over the Christian community, and church order.

The Catholic virtue of obedience taught the believer that even in merely administrative decisions the superior enjoyed a particular position in the divinely established order of things and God's will was communicated through him. An attitude of institutional fundamentalism was fostered in the American Catholic Church on these premises, which was perhaps a halo effect arising from the doctrine of papal infallibility and close doctrinal orthodoxy within the Church between bishop and Pope. Thus when the Pope or bishop spoke, the believer had his answer.⁵²

Just as biblical fundamentalism is an attempt to reduce the human dimension and is intolerant of discussions of the historical context and literary forms, so too institutional fundamentalism. It cannot accept an authority with feet of clay. That papal authority is a complex web of curial and episcopal politics and even intrigue, or even the mild proposal that the Pope does not write his encyclicals himself seems blasphemous.

We find in this attitude a confusion of faith with loyalty, of what one must believe as part of the Christian

message and what one accepts from the mouth of the Christian leader. Criticism of the papacy or bishop or one's superior is judged as a veiled attack on the faith, a potential rejection of Christ, or a lack of love for the Church.⁵³

It was within this context that the Birth Control debate exploded. Here the Church is not defending an explicit dogma like the divine nature of Christ, but a moral precept taught by its "ordinary magisterium". It is to this ordinary teaching power that the Pope appeals in his encyclical Humanae Vitae, and to the validity of this authority that Bishop O'Boyle in this country turned to base his censuring action of priests in Washington, D.C. Apparently acting on the commonly accepted Catholic premise that the issue now was closed and the moral strictures against birth control had a quasi-infallibility about them, the Cardinal moved in that grey area between faith and loyalty to authority in a decisive way. Briefly, in June 1968 he issued a set of guidelines for teaching religion in his diocese which provoked a letter from the Association of Washington Priests protesting the position in the Guidelines on birth control. This happened on July 19, 1968 and ten days later the Pope's encyclical Humanae Vitae was published. A statement of conscience was issued by the Priests' Association the next day (as well as another statement from the American

Catholic Theological Society). Fifty-two priests signed this statement and the fight was on.

The month of August was a hot one in Washington and priests and bishop contended until at the end of the month fifty signers were told to remove their signature or be canonically punished. They appealed to the National Conference of Bishops to appoint a mediator of the dispute but Cardinal O'Boyle would not accept mediation.⁵⁴

As the dispute dragged on the Pope commended Cardinal O'Boyle for his immediate acceptance of the encyclical. Meanwhile the original signers were reduced. At the time of the Pope's letter, three had left and married, and "at least a dozen others have indicated their intention to function as laymen". Three set up a Center for Christian Renewal in inner-city Washington and began to get involved in a protest movement against the "racist policies" of the diocese and in a peace protest in front of the National Cathedral in 1970.

The issue thus moved from a theological question on the morality of contraception to a political question of Church authority. It illustrates well the dual nature of authority in Catholicism (religious and political, or focused on church order) and it also illustrates the practical consequences of the pluralization of the normative order in Catholicism (cf. above).

A sociological analysis of the crisis of authority in the Church and the serious loss of credibility in the Papacy and the episcopacy points to two related problems: the emergence of a new model of authority and the development of a new rationale.

1. The emergence of a new model - The controversy on authority in the Church puts the contestants into two camps. One feels that criticism of the bishop or the papacy or one's superior is not just irreverent but a rejection of the Church, an attack on the faith and a serious lack of the proper religious reverence for authority. The other feels that authority is invoked as a cloak for absolute power or that it is simply non-functional. We are not referring to the perennial gripe sessions which are as much a part of the church's personnel as in any other institution, but with the questioning of the principles of authority which has always occurred in time of reform. Cases such as this dispute on birth control, Fr. DuBay's arguments for a priests' union or discussions of 'due-process' for the clergy, Fr. McKenzie's conflict with the Bishop of Texas and other contemporary cases appeal to principle.⁵⁵

The first dimension of this reform dispute then can be found in the idea of models of authority. Briefly, the Church

is in a process of institutional transitions, and in terms of authority, is moving from a monarchical model to a democratic one. We have already seen how the Council was revolutionary in that it legitimated the notion of collegiality or responsibility. This implies changing much of the actual structures of church government and struggle comes from those who see no need for changing structures and work from the older model, from the confusion of what democracy means in the concrete, from institutional lag or from the very concrete problem of building new structures. Whether it is the formation of a senate of priests, a parish council or synods of bishops, national or international, concrete questions of voting procedure, by-laws and representation mingled with the theory of shared authority and conflicting political theories on government and sensitive attitudes on obedience in this gray area of transition. What most states achieve generally by revolution the Church is trying to construct by a careful rearticulation from within.

The model of vertical authority developed by the Church, especially in its post-Reformation form, took centuries of formation and involves the loyalty of millions. Papacy was not just a theological theory defined at the First Vatican Council, but it was a model of government. It bears close

parallel to the feudal model of "bureaucratic patrimonialism" (Weber) and while medieval Europe saw this die out in the Latin American Spanish empire, it did continue on in the Church.⁵⁶

The Church, building on the governmental patterns of the Roman Empire, followed its model of kings and princes closely. It was a vertical authority centralized in a monarch or king working downward. It reached out to local rulers, bishops or princes (sometimes there was no distinction) through nuncios and viceroys and depended deeply on linkages of fealty. At the top an elaborate civil service or curial staff developed.

We would stress one aspect of the model which emerged clearly in the Spanish colonial pattern and which was generally true of the Church. This was its clear lack of horizontal lines of communication-authority (i.e. collegiality). At the expense of cooperation between bishops (or princes or viceroys) and often with strong efforts to block precisely this type of coalition, strong vertical authority was emphasized. It was the model of the pre-Vatican Church both in theory and in practice.

The significance of the new collegiality is that it is precisely an attempt to structure lines of horizontal authority between Pope and bishops (synod), priests and their bishop

(senates of priests) or parishioners and their pastors (parish councils). There is an enormous practical task here of the realignment of authority, made more complex because it involves a process of resocialization of many Christians whose attitudes towards authority, moral values of loyalty and unquestioning obedience now seem to be under attack. That this is complex is a lesson easily seen from the Protestant experience.

Practically, we find in all formal models the existence of an institutional "underlife" or the informal working of power in terms of personalities, groups and a functional attitude towards rules and regulations. For example, in one diocese the Bishop is faced with a pressure group of pastors organized by a very talented political priest to slow down the pace of change. They hold the threat of non-compliance of 'church managers' if he does not listen. Obviously this does not surface in the diocesan press and rarely are the Catholic laity aware of it, but these are some of the elements which go into the shaping of policy and are in the problem of institutional transitions. It is obvious how bureaucrats or pressure groups can obstruct policy; it becomes most significant when a basic reorganization process is underway.⁵⁷

2. Development of a new rationale - The institutional crisis in the contemporary Church however is not just one of institutional transitions and the need for new forms of government, there is also the whole issue of rational legitimation of authority, or a theory to justify the new model.

Papal infallibility was defined within the context of the strict vertical model; the problem then is how to mediate this doctrine and make it part of a wider theology of collegiality. It is the problem of the transition of legitimation. Thus the issue of the theory of Church government has become a central dispute in Catholic life.

Almost every controversy with authority in the Church today whether it is a transfer of a priest, a major decision of a pastor to close a school or to change the liturgy, a conflict between a priest and his pastor and his bishop - all sometime raise this issue of the legitimacy of authority. But besides being a practical issue, it is an issue of theoretical discussion. It can be the recent Catholic debate on a key dimension of papal authority, the issue of infallibility. It can also be the debate on the theology of authority. John McKenzie speaks of this in his Authority in the Church and develops a scriptural idea of obedience as service (diakonia) and an "anti-authoritarianism" in early Catholicism; the whole

base of authority is built on the Church's mission to proclaim the Gospel. The more sociological base of Church order which has been the crisis of authority in post-Reformation Christianity is not treated so much by McKenzie, but given full treatment by Drane.

Besides this fundamental dispute on the nature of authority, we find the discussion of collegiality as central, a discussion which very much builds on a prior theory of democracy, and hence which builds on political philosophy.⁵⁸

These are the two elements of the crisis of authority now faced by Roman Catholicism, a transition of institutional models and a transition of theoretical legitimation or theology of authority. It is important to note however that this crisis is being worked out in the context of flesh and blood Christians over a deeply emotional issue. Laments on the decay of leadership, or on inquisitorial style are often made in anger by men breaking out of patterns of a strong vertical authority, an authority which most intimately and most forcefully touches the priest. Most priests today were socialized into older values or at least have elements of pre-Vatican II assumptions of authority, and the fraternity of priesthood is a spectrum of attitudes from institutional fundamentalism to almost anarchy. This conflict of freedom-authority then is one that has deep

personal roots in the personnel of the Church, and deep historical roots in the Church itself.⁵⁹ This immense effort of institutional transitions, of changing both model and theory, is normally revolutionary. That it has become a center of controversy in Catholicism therefore should hardly cause surprise.

The Christian Community - Reorientation and Fragmentation

This period of the aftermath of the Council is hard to appraise since no clear patterns have yet emerged. Some see in the decision of Paul on the priesthood and birth control a serious conservative backlash, others would see the bishops gradually regaining control over a laity confused and annoyed with all the changes; others see the Church radically reshaping itself. The only safe appraisal at the moment is to see the Church in the aftermath of a reform movement and to try to identify some of the directions visible in that movement. We posit three: 1) the issue of the Church in the world; 2) the polarization of values and 3) the differential acceptance of change and identification with it. These are major pressures on the contemporary priesthood.

1) Church in the World

We shall return to this theme again and again in our study. Basically the issues raised by the Church in the

Modern World schema were ones of involvement in the socio-technological humanism of our time. The Church directly identified itself with all the struggles of men especially against the evils of poverty and war. This concern for human development of all men, repeated again and again in the social encyclicals of John and Paul, raised the question of a Catholic ghetto.⁶⁰

It struck a resonant note in American ears. The concern was that the preVatican thrust of American Catholicism was to set up para-institutions to deal with these problems, and so Catholic hospitals, schools, orphanages, and welfare agencies sprung up especially in the early part of this century. Into these were channeled Catholic monies and Catholic personnel and the enormous record of social achievement accomplished by these institutions depended deeply on the services of men and women of religious commitment, nuns, brothers and priests. In fact, some groups could be totally identified with a hospital, or with hospital or school work. The services of a committed Christian then gravitated toward consecrated religious life and this meant doing the specific works of the order. A girl who 'gave up her life for Christ' would enter the religious order and her consecration would involve fidelity to the life style of that order and involvement in one of the works of the

group. This historically reached its high point in the post war era in the United States.

But there was already another trend developing of secularization. It questioned both the idea that a committed Christian had to live a religious life and that real committed service could only be found within some form of Church institution. Teachers, especially at the University level, began taking positions outside of Catholic institutions and a gradual secularization of hospitals and social services and schools took legal form. This is a familiar pattern in American life and we have seen it in the growth of American universities from seminaries such as Harvard and Yale; in the legal secularization of Protestant and Jewish hospitals, but it is an emerging phenomenon of the 1960s for Catholic institutions.

This of course raises questions about religious commitment. In a two month period of informal interviews and discussion with one teaching order at a large metropolitan university, some of these tensions were expressed. Many resented the trend as 'apologizing that we really believe in anything', or as 'a sell-out', 'a betrayal of what this place has stood for all these years' and 'the end of the (religious) order'. Others traced 'a real confusion of where we're at', a 'complete lack of perspective', 'superiors are really messing this up',

etc.

Beneath this sense of confusion or conflict over priorities was a real identity threat. Some men felt that they had given their lives to the school and that now the institution was discarding them. A general sense of malaise was found especially in many older members of the group which took the form of anger, resentment or a more passive solution in retirement. It is important to stress that this phenomenon is more than the usual institutional problem of gripping or discontent with management; it is a product of the re-orientation of the institution itself.

In this process of institutional re-orientation religious commitment has suffered. We shall see that this secularization led some priests to re-evaluate their position and leave while others work outside the institution entirely. It also probably has some impact on the significant decline of vocations to religious groups; the novice realizes that commitment does not have to take the institutional form of religious life, or that the work of the religious institution is gradually passing to the hands of others.

This has implications in the whole Catholic world since all Catholic institutions are going through a period of re-evaluation and de-institutionalization. Laymen and priests

are questioning "do we need the Catholic school?", "the Catholic hospital?", "what is a Catholic university?" and pointing out the need for Catholic commitment in secular education, social services and politics. At the moment then the whole taken-for-granted institutional context of commitment is being re-evaluated in Catholicism and commitment and identity are in transition. This has happened after the Council and seems to have been reinforced by the Council.

But perhaps an even more significant shift is found not in institutional re-orientation, but in the re-orientation of theological and Church thinking, as we have seen. The Church has committed its theology to being relational or "relevant" to the concerns of human development and to a theology of the world. This was the second basic re-emphasis of the Council. Not only did it reformulate its thinking on the Church, but also its thinking on the Church in the Modern World.⁶¹

2,3. Polarization of values and differential acceptance of change - We have already discussed the problem of a pluralization of values and hence the polarization of the Catholic community. Much of this is due to a differential acceptance of values and of change. In other words, some totally resist change, others accept part of it, others identify with specific elements, etc., and the Church is a patchwork of these believers in various stages of transition. This crisis of

Catholicism suggests then a sociological model.

Summary: A Sociological Model

In the various tensions and movements within the Church, in its belief system, its authority structures and in its symbolic order (creed, code, cult) we find a community which is value based moving from one stage to another, a move of rapidity accelerated by the Council. We can summarize by saying that the Council legitimated a new normative-structural order. Visually we can see this in a diagram:



The dynamics of complex change can only partially be caught by this diagram, but it does reveal a basic structural dilemma. The system of values₂ has been legitimated but it still lacks new structures₂ in which to place these values and work them out. There is a serious institutional lag in this transition in which structures have not yet been developed to express new values-belief (collegiality still hasn't found its political mechanisms whether on the order of Pope-bishops, bishops-priests, pastor-lay congregation, while collegiality is the theory "in possession", etc.). There are many examples of this.

Like all social movements we find that the church has a

dual movement: 1) an ideological movement of the development of awareness in believers in new ideas and 2) institutional-structural change.⁶²

1) Ideology: Emergence of a New Self-Consciousness

Like many movements, the Church is going through a crisis of consciousness. Like the temperance movement, freedom movements in modern nation states, Black and ethnic movements in America and many others, the task of the Church is to develop an awareness of its new value emphases in the believer. It is the need to resocialize (or the more revolutionary idea of conscientizar)⁶³ its members. This is a process of creating a new awareness and a new identity. It has already "written its constitution" in the Council documents, the problem now is to communicate a whole set of new attitudes and reorientations to the average believer. The dimensions of this new emphasis we have already seen; we are now in a period of re-socialization.

We have already seen how difficult it is to reorient the Catholic world and the politization of theology. It is precisely because the issues become political that we refer to ideology or ideas with consequences for group action. So far too, the process of reform has not taken place on this noetic level, for many the normative parameters of Catholicism are

not reshaped, but only in need of protection from change. There is differential acceptance and resistance to the new ideas, and even a lack of clarity in formulating them. One might refer to a period of Church Reconstruction, and much like the American era of reconstruction there is need for new values, resocialization and new structures. This has not yet happened in Catholicism. The crisis of Catholicism is precisely whether it can succeed in formulating a new normative order and if it can succeed in a general acceptance of this order. The Church must re-integrate into its consciousness a new self-identity and a new self-definition.⁶⁴

2) Institutional transitions

The second dilemma for the church is to find meaningful structures for this new consciousness. We have seen this in collegiality, in the reshaping of the liturgy, in a new form of education. It is important to realize that this is not just the dialectic of values-structures which was Luther's dilemma. As Pelikan observes:

Luther did not renounce only the massive structures that stood as authorities over him (such as the councils of the Church). Luther's reformation was a crisis in the very structures in which he himself, as a man and a Christian and a priest, was fundamentally and personally involved: the ordained priesthood, monasticism, the practice of infant baptism, the canon law,

and the sacramental system. Underlying the crisis of these five structures in Luther's Reformation is his understanding of the tension between spirit and structure...Having leveled these attacks at the very structures of the church upon which his own religious life had been founded, Luther had to address himself to each of them again in specific situations and with specific recommendations. That is to say he had to come to terms with the necessity of either renewing the given structure or of creating new structures, which would, of course, inevitably be in need of eventual renewal. No trial oppressed Luther's spirit more often in his later years than this recognition that structure was inevitable, combined as the recognition was with a candid awareness that the institutions now being erected were not necessarily superior to those which had (often against Luther's advice) been swept away. In this institutional crisis the complexity of Luther's character became evident.⁶⁵

Luther's solution to the dialectic of value-institution was to eliminate one part of the problem (the dissolution of monasticism, denial of sacramental priesthood, etc.) only to find that institutions persisted and returned with a vengeance to haunt his idealism. The Church reform movement today does not deny a need for institution, rather it is faced with institutional transitions. How, for example, to restructure authority models built on a vertical monarchic principle towards a more collegial, horizontal model. This is not only a search for a new form, but a search done by and to men who

have been steeped in the old, and even believe that this was God-given. It is, in other words, a socio-structural problem and a human problem of personal feelings and belief.

The Church then is in a moment of radical change. We find in many a clash over new and old values as the new order is gradually diffused and gains legitimacy. We find also a conflict of new values and older institutional forms. There is thus both the structural dialectic and the real clash of personalities. A group which has been brought up indoctrinated into one set of values and which identifies with certain institutional forms is not easily changed. The dilemma is deepened when we consider that many members of the Church still do not see a new normative direction as having been legitimated in the Church, and regard changes with surprised ignorance or with a sense that soon things will be back to normal.

This value-value and value-structure dialectic permeates the Church today. Historically it was the stuff out of which was fashioned sectarian divisions; presently, it has not yet produced schism and the reform remains within. It has produced passion and confusion and polarization. It has produced also a crisis of the priesthood. And it is the priest, who like an industrial foreman, who is the man in the middle and

is exposed to all the conflicts, divisions and the polarization. He must perform the liturgy even though his congregation is split over its acceptable form, he must preach amid all the conflicting voices of theology, and he must make decisions faced with the fact that not only his choice but even his right to choose is a subject of controversy. He stands very much as the man in the middle, with his own attitudes, training and preferences, and tries to work out a ministry while the issues that touch his work go unresolved or remain issues of dispute. It is a role which is deeply involved in Church transition and reform, a role which reflects much of the Church's own anomie about its function and its identity.

Footnotes: Chapter II

1. This critique of the "church" is not the perennial attack from outsiders like Voltaire (or his modern-day counterpart, Paul Blanchard), but a critique from within, provoked by the Council's central focus on the theology of the Church. This critical self-examination comes frequently from clerics like Adolphs, Baum, Davis, McBrien (cf. bibliography) which re-inforces our contention that the clergy are the pivotal pressure group for reform, and hence a barometer of institutional change. There is also a Protestant critique in works by Berton, Dittes, Hadden, etc.
2. This is the underlying theme of this chapter. Like social movements, we find the emergence of a new awareness (which we can characterize as ecclesial relevance) and the formation of pressure groups to effect change. There are also the familiar mechanisms of symbols and slogans, leaders and enemies, pressure tactics and publicity, etc. Our analysis here is deeply indebted to Joseph R. Gusfield, Protest, Reform and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971).
3. This model of harmony is probably the most serious socio-theological problem of the recent Catholic reform movement. Besides a tendency to theologize and legitimate the inherent conservative and static trend in all institutions (including the Church), it also creates a widely prevalent idealization of the pre-Vatican Church as one of law and order and mutual harmony and the evil of the Council can be measured by the loss of this order. An instructive parallel might be the post-Civil War South which lamented the tranquil past and created an ideology and a history to restore it. Not only does this socio-theological problem expose the dynamics of the Catholic traditionalist movements, but it raises fascinating questions about institutionalization, reform and restructuring of institutions, the nature of history, and even the theoretical assumptions (conflict vs. harmony) in sociological analysis. A perceptive application of these ideas is found in John P. Sisk, Person and Institution (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Press, 1970).
4. There is a clear extra-ecclesial movement within Catholicism which moves on the fringes of Catholicism called the "underground church" cf.: Malcolm Boyd (ed) The Underground Church (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1968) or which moves outside Church boundaries such as "Catholic Pentecostalism"

and "The Jesus People" in a typical pattern of radical sectarianism. With their stress on internal reform and anti-institutional religion, it is hard to assess their impact. Edward D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press, 1971) and John T. Nichol, Pentecostalism (New York: Harper and Row, 1966)

5. The traditional sociological approach to sect-church is basically the static one of typology. Here our emphasis is on sect as a reform movement which crystalizes a basic spiritual value of the time, such as poverty, the need for social concern, a liturgical renewal, etc., which challenges institutional performance and often resensitizes it to its deeper values and reorients its structures. Actual historical institutional dynamics determine whether it is defined as deviant or accepted. (cf. below on the typology of reform). Bryan R. Wilson, Patterns of Sectarianism (London: Heinemann, 1967) develops many of these themes.
6. The Dutch Church, under its primate, Cardinal Alfrink, talked of schism in the first years after the Council especially 1966 and 1967, and did take several controversial steps: issuing a "Dutch Catechism" which was considered close to heresy; allowing married priests to continue in the ministry, etc., but there seems to have been a 'normalization' of relations since. See National Catholic Reporter passim and Michael Vander Plas and Henk Suer, Those Dutch Catholics (New York: Macmillan, 1967). Franz J. van Buck, "The Dutch Church, Past, Present, Future", America, September 16, 1967.
7. The Gathering Storm in the Church, this is the title of Jeffrey K. Hadden's work (New York: Doubleday, 1969). Changes in the Catholic Church are an example of wide scale social change and here we try to provide a descriptive framework for understanding how a large religious institution is affected by forces outside itself and internal pressures; our purpose is to put things in perspective, not assign cause and effect and intervening variables with scientific precision.
8. This thesis was first popularized by Msgr. John T. Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) and is developed in a post-conciliar context by Andrew Greeley, The Hesitant Pilgrim: American Catholicism after the Council (New York: Doubleday, 1969).
9. Arthur Herzog, The Church Trap (New York: Macmillan, 1968) p. 9. We might point out that the American Catholic

experience has been shaped very much by 1) the defensive Catholicism which emerged in nineteenth century Europe especially in the Papacy of Pius IX, 2) the immigrant ethnic shaping of these churches and 3) the frontier mentality which touched all American religious groups of a new Eden, a new beginning and a liberation from the European experience (although Catholicism was probably least affected here). Now an important shaping force is the racial-poverty issue.

10. cf. methodological appendix for further research details.
11. See our treatment of this under "Personal Alienation".
12. A history of the priesthood has never been written although there is a good deal of data in modern and medieval sources. The historical study commissioned by the American Bishops treats many issues such as seminary training, but it is not a full history, John T. Ellis (ed.) The Catholic Priest in the United States (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's University Press, 1971).
13. We shall try to show below that a lack of "theory" of the priesthood has been exposed by the many changes in the aftermath of Vatican II. Celibacy, authority, types of ministry all are rooted in this normative crisis. Once standard operational procedure-which was fairly rigid and definite-was changed about style of dress, expectations of priests' duties, or the base for celibacy, then the question arose about "the nature" and "functions" of the priesthood. We shall try to deal with this normative alienation in its sociological effects in this chapter and the next.
14. Statistical reports are still not available from official sources for the National Study of Priests. In private research, the author established a rate of almost 10% for one urban diocese and the same for one missionary group of men (10% in the last six years were lost). In the same diocese about 45 out of 78 actual names gathered came from the inner city. But statistical studies on changing age pyramid for priests, shifting number of applicants to seminaries, loss of personnel for certain types of work must be part of further studies once data is available.
15. It is essential to clarify this theoretical approach here; we are not engaged in a work of theology, nor history, nor psychology but in a structural analysis of Catholicism. This "structuralism", which has gained fame in the anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss is still undeveloped in sociology. It is not concerned to develop statistical consistencies so much as to offer a composite picture of

complex structures. This was the early effort of Durkheim but it was marred by a reductionist a priori which is even more clearly present in Auguste Comte. This raises the question of how closely a scientific construct reflects the actual social system. This is our basic problem of method here: to guarantee a close fit of model and actual phenomenon, of Michael Lane, (ed) An Introduction to Structuralism (New York: Basic Books, 1970). "Probably the most distinctive feature of the structuralist method is the emphasis it gives to wholes, to totalities. Traditionally, in Anglo-American social science, structure has been used as an analytic concept to break down into its constituent elements, an essentially atomistic enterprise ... The essential quality of the structural method, and its fundamental tenet, lies in its attempt to study not the elements of a whole, but the complex network of relationships that link and unite these elements." (p. 14)

16. Much of our analysis here is developed from Anatai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press, 1961) and his shorter Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964) and Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962). Also consulted was Peter M. Blau and Richard A. Schoenherr, The Structure of Organizations (New York: Basic Books, 1971), Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1967), Charles Perrow, Organizational Analysis, A Sociological View (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1970), and Bernard L. Hinton and H. J. Reitz, Groups and Organizations (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971).
17. The crisis of a theory or a theology of the priesthood is double since a theology of priesthood is a function of the theology of Church (as an institutional role its definition will shift if the institutional definition shifts). The "church" tells the priest who he is by theological statements about worship, social involvement, etc., and by forming his universe of social expectations. In other words, the daily interaction of priests-congregations shape patterns which are usually ethnic in emphasis or national; an American priest is not a cause of shock if he does manual tasks, a French priest would be, hence the significance of the French worker priest movement. On Church theology and theology of the priest see Ruud J. Bunnik, Priests for Tomorrow (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) c.2.
18. Charles Perrow op.cit., speaks in terms of person-center vs. organizational centered studies, and gives an even simpler definition. Here we are trying to touch on these

two aspects in the priesthood, the formal structural shaping of his role, and the personalities which can shape it. Roughly, this corresponds to chapters two and three.

19. A good survey of symbolic interactionism is found in Arnold Rose (ed.), Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1962). It is still an area which is theoretically vague. Its focus on the individual and the symbolic construction he puts on reality is our basic orientation here. But this overlaps with "ethnomethodology" or the study of "taken-for-granted" structures of a situation. cf.: Norman K. Denzin, "Symbolic Interactionism and Ethnomethodology: A Proposed Synthesis" ASR 34, 6 (Dec., 1969) 922-34. Both are synthesized in Alfred Schütz and his phenomenological sociology and we rely heavily on this theory.
20. Differential acceptance is a key concept in Church reform. Reform has been usually a concern of a small minority in historical societies, and here too. Among priests in one diocese, polarization into radical or liberal groups involved approximately 1/3 while 2/3 were not heard from on reform issues, did not answer a series of self-study questionnaires, etc. The Catholic laity perhaps reflect this same percentage of involvement with reform. One study of 100 lay Catholics shows some of the problems of this issue, John N. Kotre, The View from the Border, A Social-Psychological Study of Catholicism (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton Press, 1971). What we are developing here is the beginnings of a "sociology of Catholicism" similar to Roger Mehl's Sociology of Protestantism (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1970). These are some of the issues and problems necessarily painted with a broad stroke. This is also essential as background to our study below.
21. Sociologists might note the dilemma of objectification-alienation in the liturgy. cf.: Thomas O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion, op.cit., p. 90ff. There is the trend towards giving objective, symbolic expression to religious beliefs so that the liturgy becomes a form of self-expression of a group, but there is also a 'traditional' trend to liturgy which makes it very resistant to change. We have the example of the date of Easter, the ultraquist controversy over receiving the eucharist, etc., which became focal issues of schism. The historical development of the Roman liturgy was a rigidification process (Josef Jungmann, The Mass of the Roman Rite [New York: Benzinger Bros., 1950] 2 vol.). The result was that liturgy became an alienated ritual by the time of the Reformation and an extra-liturgical piety grew up to fit popular tastes. Cyrille Vogel points out that

- this alienation was 1) in a shift of eucharist as the major sacred meal to the private Mass offered for the benefit of an individual, 2) penance which became a private confession and not a community function and 3) Holy Orders which lost the sense of service and became clericalized in absolute form. cf.: "An Alienated Liturgy" in Herman Schmidt (ed.), Liturgy, Self-Expression of the Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1972) pp. 11-25. We might also point out the cultural-linguistic alienation of using latin instead of a vernacular. The functions of this liturgy seemed to have been 1) a reaffirmation of status-rank in the Catholic community, 2) a sense of community roots in the past, 3) a sense of solidarity in one act and 4) the emphasis on the mysterious dimension of religious existence.
22. This stability was frozen at the Council of Trent as a sign of the unity and stability of Roman Catholicism vs. the confusion of Protestantism and stayed basically static in theology and liturgical form until the modern liturgical movement of this century. cf.: Ernst B. Koenker, The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954) for a good historical survey of this movement.
 23. Xavier Rynne, Letters from Vatican City, pp. 97ff. Historically latin was introduced in the Roman liturgy about 360 A.D., about 100 years after it had replaced Greek as the lingua franca of the Roman Empire.
 24. It is difficult to enter here into the complex emotional, even primitive, depths of ritual and discuss the psychosocial issues of identity, fear, mysticism, etc. The very sensitivity and controversial nature of liturgy in Roman Catholicism cannot be easily described nor the sharp polarization caused by changes be caught in its strong emotional atmosphere except by the experience of actual Catholic dispute and reflected in our interviews. The literature on this subject is enormous as can be seen by a review of the Catholic Periodical Index or perusal of the Catholic press. Killian McDonnell offers a useful dichotomy between the totally objective style of pre-Vatican and the post-Vatican quest for experience. This is perennial polarity of ritual, symbolic stability and relevance, and the Roman liturgy experiences the tension now. cf.: "Liturgy and the Perils of Experience" America, August 16, 1969.
 25. The tenacity of ethnic culture makes popular saints even those of mythic origins like St. Christopher hard to depose. A sensitive point in the debate on the liturgy came up when Maximus Saigh raised the discussion of relics

embarrassing to Catholicism venerated in certain countries like Spain cf.: Xavier Rynne, op.cit. c.4. Ethnic Catholicism in America is proving very tenacious as a source of some division in the clergy, eg: 'the Polish league' is a term used of priests specializing in Polish work; inner-city priests working with Spanish populaces also sense this discrimination.

26. A concentrated reading of the Catholic press of 1963-6, especially the "Letters to the Editor" will substantiate this, as we found with the Brooklyn Tablet and America magazine.
27. Symbols and symbolic societies are topics pre-empted by anthropologists and psychologists today, but there is a need for sociological analysis too. Perhaps there is an implicit rationalism in sociology which misses the arational and tribal character of man. But this is to detach itself from its historic roots (Durkheim and his followers were precisely concerned with such phenomenon as organic society, anomie and symbol, cf.: Robert Nisbet, Community and Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962). The symbolic-organic society is an important social fact today, whether this be the study of National Socialism, Black Muslims, Young Lords or any of the new emerging organic groups. It is interesting to note that demagogues and dictators are intuitive sociologists. Much of the symbolic analysis here is developed by a modern follower of Durkheim, Clifford Geertz in "Religion as a Cultural System" in The Religious Situation, 1969 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). He points out that the "sacred symbol functions to synthesize a people's ethos - the tone, the character and the quality of their lives, its moral and aesthetic style and mood - and their world view, the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive idea of order...A religion is 1) a system of symbols which acts to 2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long lasting moods and motivations in men by 3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and 4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that 5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic." pp. 641-3.
28. cf. Vogel, op.cit.
29. The analogy with the theatre of participation might be instructive here. Also a study of Church architecture shows the spectator role in the design of American churches. The decision to "turn the altar around" facing the people produced a degree of rebellion in many pastors and annoyance in the people.

30. It was perhaps the spirituality which developed around the role of the priest as "the man who offered the sacrifice" that made the changes here in ritual so immediately personal and the issues so explosively emotional.
31. Father Hafner formed an "experimental parish" or a "floating parish" in October, 1967 (National Catholic Reporter, November 22, 1967) and provoked a controversy with the bishop of Trenton and was finally suspended. In the NCR April, 1968 there is a description of this parish.
32. Time Magazine popularized this in its July 2, 1965 issue. The best theological evaluation is in Eduard Schillebeeckx, "Transubstantiation, Transignification and Transfinalization" Worship June, 1966, pp. 324-38.
33. An interesting problem in alternation is found in the progress of the U.S. National Liturgical Week. cf.: C.J. McNaspy, "Liturgical Movement in Tension" America October 18, 1969 pp. 320-2. In a series of meetings which became more and more polarized each year, innovations in the liturgies performed were too radical for some, or as "multi-media lacking taste" (NCR September 3, 1969). Conflicts over shared symbols and shared understandings divided Catholic evaluations. It led to the decision to cancel further National Liturgical Weeks.
34. cf.: Bronislaw Malinowski, Magic, Science, and Religion (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1948.) It is almost an axiom among sociologists that cultural uprooting and change can produce (religious) anomie. The anomic man can often seek a traditional religious anchor as Renato Poblete and Thomas O'Dea show in "Puerto Rican Sectarianism, Anomie and the Quest for Community" Amer. Cath. Soc. Review, Vol. 13, (Spring, 1960) pp. 21ff.
35. Different historical surveys of Catholic theology are useful here, such as the Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, I and II (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, 1969) or the series Concilium (New York: Paulist Press and Herder & Herder) with over fifty volumes. For a general picture of the "new theology" in Christian thought there is Martin E. Marty and Dean G. Peerman (eds.) New Theology #1-7 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967-70).
36. Michael Novak in his work Open Church, op.cit., C.II calls this theology "nonhistorical orthodoxy" and gives a good phenomenological description of its premises, and its fate in the Council.
37. "Modernism" or "Americanism" is also called the phantom heresy. It was rather an intellectual reign of terror

originating in a group of clerics in Rome in the reign of Pius the Ninth. The best general history of this is Alec Vidler, The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church (Cambridge: University Press, 1934). Also see Roger Aubert "Recent Literature on the Modernist Movement" in Historical Investigations, Concilium #17 (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), Its application to seminary training is found in two essays, John Tracy Ellis "The Formation of the American Priest: An Historical Perspective" and Michael V. Gannon "Before and After Modernism: The Intellectual Isolation of the American Priest" in John T. Ellis (ed.), The Catholic Priest in the United States: Historical Investigations (Collegeville, Minn.: St. John's University Press, 1971) For the Soldatium cf.: Gerald J. O'Brien, "Anti-Modernism: The Integralist Campaign" Continuum III (Summer, 1965) pp. 187-200.

38. The model of operation for the American priest was formed in a post-Tridentine and post-modernism era in an immigrant context. Strict loyalty was the dominant virtue. The priest worked within a Catholic community, baptising new members, performing the liturgy, reclaiming "fallen" Catholics, managing a church, school and plant. He wore a distinctive dress, did not marry and in general performed within a defined set of expectations. There was a piety of the priesthood but no theory and it is this which is precisely exposed today in a period of rapid change. For a history of the apologetics built around this Catholic system see Avery Dulles, A History of Apologetics (New York: Corpus Books, 1971) cc. 5 & 6.
39. Signs of change were already in the Catholic liturgical movement and the Scriptural movement and in theology. Signs of this can be found in Charles Davis, Theology Today (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1962) or in James V. Schall, Current Trends in Theology (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1965). It is instructive to compare these texts with the manuals of theology most priests were formed on. One such manual is Ludwig Ott, A Manual of Dogma (New York: Herder and Herder, 1954). Also an excellent survey in T. M. Schoof, A Survey of Catholic Theology: 1800-1970 (New York: Paulist Newman Press, 1970).
40. The best statement of this argument can be found in John C. Ford and Gerald Kelly, Contemporary Moral Theology (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1958). For the modern view and the politicization of the issue see Charles E. Curran, Contraception, Authority and Dissent (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969).
41. cf.: Curran, op.cit., for a documentation of the dispute with Cardinal O'Boyle and especially his Dissent in and for the Church: Theologians and Humanae Vitae (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969).

42. Personalism was also true of the sacraments and christology. cf.: Charles Davis, Theology Today, passim. In the sacraments it became popularized in A. Roguet, Christ Acts through the Sacraments (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1953) and finally in the dispute of transubstantiation mentioned. Eucharist theology was traditionally presented in terms of a technical medieval issue of hylomorphism, and so the pre-Vatican catechisms taught a child about substance-accidents in the eucharist, or the eucharist as a source of grace. Such a theology tended to make the eucharist an object or thing. The new theology sees the eucharist as a sacramental event, an encounter with Christ. The focus is on the meaning of presence rather than the change in the bread, and the philosophical roots of this theory is in existential-phenomenology rather than in systematic metaphysics. This emphasis runs through the new theology.
43. Theology before this was dominated by systematic development of the medieval Sentences of Peter Lombard and their master expositor St. Thomas. It used Scripture as proof texts of scholastic themes such as sanctifying grace, the primacy of Peter and the papacy, etc., and tended to neglect its historical context cf.: Davis, Dulles, Schoof, opera citata.
44. Institutional fundamentalism is characteristic of the century preceding Vatican II. What kept this from becoming a rigid sectarian like dogmatism as we find conservative Lutherism developed is partially the 1) Catholic distinction of theology and dogma (theology is only the explanation of dogma: thus a Catholic believes in the real presence while substance and accidents is a theory to explain it;) 2) an intercultural sense: Catholicism always maintained its sense of cultural pluralism and relativity and could never identify with a culture the way some sects unconsciously do (it only tended to have a "western" bias); and 3) Catholicism had a teaching office which always managed to introduce another criterion for questions of faith; it was not forced to derive modern answers from traditional texts of Scripture.
45. If anything, modern theology has lost its polemic tone and can dialogue with atheists, Protestants and Jews. The polemic rather is internal and much of the theology is an attack on traditional Catholic theology of Tridentine vintage eg: transignification was such a dispute, also Hans Küng and others on the papal office, Hans Küng, Infallibility, An Inquiry (New York: Doubleday, 1971). The development of thinking on birth control is still a moral polemic not a theology of love and sexuality.

46. Sociologically this alternation confronts a man with his religious identity vis-a-vis the institution. The range of possible psychological reactions is wide and might move from a defensive intransigence through noetic insecurity through a re-evaluation and a re-socialization into a personal, selective synthesis of Catholicism through indifferent rejection and finally to cynicism. What we are talking about therefore is the sociological process of socialization. What is interesting to note is that the inevitable consequence of the Council is the need for a massive resynthesis and reidentification with Catholicism (since the Council was just this type of process and produced exactly this type of restatement). The interesting phenomenon is to see old habits of Church loyalty especially in clergymen trying to block and prevent this from happening (usually from the motives of "not shaking the faith of simple people"). This crisis of Catholic belief and its social shaping needs much deeper development than we can offer here. The tools of a sociology of knowledge help to make it the real issue of actual Catholic belief and not the history of ideas (which Catholic theology dwells upon). Thus we are not just dealing with the doctrine of the Incarnation but the statue of the Infant of Prague, the ethnic 'festa', devotional practices, etc. A tool for this analysis can be found in Karl Mannheim's Ideology and Utopia (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1936).
47. The politicization of theology is an important dimension of the post-Vatican Church. For example, Pope Paul issued a Credo of the People of God in 1968 to quiet "the disturbance and perplexity in many faithful souls" in a world "in which so many certainties are being disputed or dismissed". This only produced a strong reaction of liberal theologians and was found to be a heavy handed act of authority to stop religious discussion. NCR July 10, 1968 reprints the text. This was proceeded by the Roman Synod of 1967 which focused on the "ordinary teaching power" of the Church and problems of the disunity of faith. This set up an International Doctrinal Committee which immediately was seen as a challenge to the Roman Congregation of the Faith led by Cardinal Ottaviani (the direct descendant of the Holy Office of the Inquisition). Many examples exist of this political division over theology. Perhaps the one most immediate is that the "Theology Study" of the American Catholic priesthood first entrusted to Father Bernard Cooke (who resigned from the priesthood) and then to Carl Ambruster was bitterly attacked at the National Bishops meeting in 1971. Recently the decision was made to release the sociological and psychological studies in May, 1972 but to withhold this controversial document. It indicates a wide dissent on various theories of the priesthood.

48. Sociologically such a dialogue between bishops as authoritative teachers and theologians or theorists of Catholic belief is a healthy tension. Other religious groups have taken different alternatives: 1) some have refused theology in a fundamentalistic rigidity and formed fundamentalistic churches based on a strong affirmation of tradition as static; 2) others have allowed theology to become normative and have moved toward an ever shifting theology as the noetic base of their church (perhaps the Unitarian Church can be located here); 3) others ignore theological issues and move toward ethics (such as ethical culture) or towards social concern. 4) A fourth option seems to be schism and the splintering into two formally distinct groups such as Methodists and Anglicans. Some commentators such as Berger and Ellul insist on the Church maintaining a strong transcendental message as the base of its relevance.
49. This has been a constant theme in the sociology of Peter Berger and he points to the precariousness of belief in The Precarious Vision (New York: Doubleday, 1961) and the need to maintain cognitive supportive groups or cognitive minorities to reaffirm the normative parameters of the "sacred canopy", The Sacred Canopy (New York: Doubleday, 1967). We find this Durkheimian stress on collective consciousness also developed in some sociologies of deviance Kai Erikson, Wayward Puritans (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1967).
50. John C. Murray in The Problem of God, Yesterday and Today (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964) points out how the first massive reformulation of theology and faith was in the Church's transition from "the scriptural mode" to "the philosophical mode" of expressing the faith. Thus underneath the early Christological disputes was the issue of whether the Church should restate its belief in Christ in neo-platonic terms. Consubstantial was the focal term around which a whole dispute took place. We see the Church as having initiated another such period of transposition of thought which is anthropocentric in a social and personalistic way. If this insight is valid, it shows how deep and profound the present Church upheaval is, and perhaps how long lasting it will be - perhaps even centuries.
51. There is a constant strain of utopianism which comes into the fore at the moment of Church crises (this is probably true of Protestant churches as well as Catholic). It talks of Christ's love as a source of authority and power as a deviation. Much of the talk of diakonia or the servant Church tends this way. Far more explicit is John McKenzie, a former Jesuit priest and biblical scholar in Authority in the Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1966)

"Love is the only power the New Testament knows" (p. 85). His position logically leads to sectarianism. Our sociological thesis here is that any value institution must maintain this tension between its ideals (love, service, etc.) and control or institutional direction and maintenance of Ronald Knox, Enthusiasm (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950).

52. Authority is a complex issue and needs deeper study. A good analysis is James Drane, Authority and Institution (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1969). Briefly our main emphasis here is not so much that authority was overstressed from pastor to Pope, overloaded with symbols, and overambitious in its own rhetoric ("the wish of the superior was the will of God"). Perhaps the Church might have maintained this emphasis (as Hitler or Peron did). The Council and its aftermath de-legitimized this and created a new model; from this perspective Church claims seem over pretentious now even to its members. Whatever their understanding of the theory and the theology of "collegiality", today's priest is disenchanted with Church authority and chaffing under its restrictions.
53. In the large historical perspective we might say that the Christian churches have yet to evolve a large-scale polity and a theology for it. Many historical revolts from the Brethren of the Free Spirit to conciliarism to presbyterianism, congregationalism and many other governmental models show how this is the perennially unsolved issue of Christendom. A history of ecclesiology might be written from this aspect of a search for polity in Christianity from the very first days of the Church's existence, as portrayed in the New Testament.
54. Reports of this dispute and how it also involved Catholic University can be found in C. Curran, Dissent in and for the Church, op.cit. also in the press. New York Times, June 29, 1969; October 13, 1968, U.S. News and World Report September 30, 1968 pp. 66-7. Our data is from a collection of documents issued by the Center of Renewal and from interviews made over the course of a visit to the center in October, 1969.
55. cf.: DuBay, op.cit., John MacKenzie was accused of heresy by Bishop Lucey of San Antonio, NCR November 29, 1967 when selections from his Authority in the Church were used at a priest's conference. MacKenzie attacked with a threat of libel. Later the Catholic Theological Society studied the charge and found it unjustified, NCR June 26, 1968. There are many examples: a threatened strike of Detroit priests, NCR November, 1969; the Black Clergy Group calling church racist, NCR April 24, 1968, etc.

56. A good development of Weber's thinking can be found in Magali Sarfati, Spanish Bureaucratic Patrimonialism in America (Berkeley, California: Institute of Internal Studies of the University of California, 1966). Two elements stand out: 1) the deliberate preventing of horizontal or regional authority developing lest a power bloc develop. The chain of command in the Church is from pastor to bishop to pope. Both bishop and pope developed bureaucracies to deal with specific problems, but did not allow horizontal authority to emerge. The collegiality stressed by the Council is producing this on the level of bishops' conferences, area parish coalitions, and a sharing with the laity of parochial decisions—all in a very nascent state; 2) the second element is the role of patriarch. In terms of diffuse, undefined powers both bishop and even more pastor is a patriarch who rules on the premise of superior wisdom (shepherd - sheep imagery reinforces this) and not by any specific training or skills.
57. This is a basic dilemma of institutional change. Perhaps the real "crisis of authority" in the Church is that those in a position of power to effect reform are basically indifferent or antagonistic to reform. It is as if a university changed its policies but left in command executives who disapproved of its policy.
58. There is a considerable literature on collegiality. First, the historical work of Brian Tierney, Foundations of Conciliar Theory (Cambridge University Press, 1955) or the theory of conciliarism found in B. Oakley Pope over Council: Towards a Provisional Ecclesiology (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969). The modern church architect of collegiality is Cardinal Suenens, Corresponsibility in the Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968). Infallibility has become a debate again within Catholicism especially as raised by Hans Küng, Infallibility? An Inquiry, op.cit. This has set off a wave of theological essays and popular articles, and Küng himself has been called to Rome to explain his position (so far he refused to go). Alois Müller, (ed.) Democratization in the Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971) gives some ideas on the restructuring needed.
59. The lament over rebels in the Church has found print in Dietrich von Hilderbrand, Trojan Horse in the City of God (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1967) and in Charles E Rice, Authority and Rebellion, The Case for Orthodoxy in the Catholic Church (New York: Doubleday, 1970). It is a constant point of discussion among clergymen with obvious emotional overtones.
60. A synthesis of these encyclicals and the new direction of Catholic thought can be found in Johann Metz, A Theology

of the World (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969). In general they have all been influenced by the thinking of Teilhard de Chardin, a French Jesuit whose works became popular after his death and whose ideas on the inward Christic dimension of the evolving world form a new framework for theology. In general, a sharp distinction of a religious sphere from a secular sphere was denied in this thinking, and it forced theology to address itself to the theme of human development. Mater et Magistra, Pacem in Terris and the Council's Schema XIII all reveal the impact.

61. cf.: Metz, op.cit. We shall examine the impact of this emergence of the Church from being a kind of "gigantic sect" (Thomas O'Dea) into a world involved religion in "Priests of the Third World" below.
62. We cannot develop this sociology of social movements here nor the examples. This depends much on J. R. Gusfield (ed.), Protest, Reform and Revolt: A Reader In Social Movements (New York: John Wiley, 1970).
63. This word has become popularized in the countries of the Third World in works like Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970). For more details see our chapter below on Third World Priests.
64. A fundamental premise here is our theory that all church reform (as well as all revolution in the secular order) involves a "new consciousness". Marx saw this in his sociology of revolution (cf.: Richard Schacht, Alienation [New York: Doubleday and Company, 1970]). More recently it has become a popular theme in Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America (New York: Random House, 1970). Many of his comments sound like Marx updated, and his observations of the corporate state and rebellion might easily be transposed into an essay on "the institutional church". As Reich points out, we are not dealing with a person's set of ideas, or values on an issue but a total configuration of his perception of reality. There is a unity of consciousness in most people which resists change and patterns his ideas on war, taxes, religion, etc. It is the phenomenology of such religious consciousness that we deal with here.
65. Jaroslav Pelikan, Spirit vs. Structure, Luther and the Institutions of the Church (New York: Harper and Row, 1968) p. 3,31. This conflict of value and its institutional shaping is basic to the sociological studies of sect-church. The literature here is immense but well summarized by O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966). He develops further the work of Weber, Niebuhr, and Pope with his dilemmas of institutionalization.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIAL SHAPE OF THE ROLE OF THE PRIEST

The Catholic priesthood is a role which has been shaped by a gradual historical process within Catholicism. In general we see the emergence of a class of religious specialists very early in this history and the consequent specialization and stratification into a two class system in the local Catholic communities.¹ This reflects other such hierarchic status arrangements such as rabbi-disciples in Judaism or the general two class structure found wherever there is an institutional priestly class. Its contemporary form in Catholicism is usually the Catholic parish with one or more priests as directors of the religious enterprise both as spiritual experts and as administrators with the power of decision. The congregation of laity are very much in a client relationship to the priest and the church.²

Obviously this role took many different institutional-historical shapes in the twenty long centuries of Catholic history, but this parochial-patriarchal model has been the pattern of the American Church and it is what concerns us here. It is also obvious that this structure imposes a factual ideological shaping of the priest's role by its daily exigencies; it tells him what to do and tells him who he is.³

It is this role that has been deeply affected by the Church reform movement of the Vatican Council that we have just described. In one sense, the Council took the priesthood for granted and dedicated very little time to discussing it and reforming it. And yet it is paradoxically the focal point where many of the issues and tensions coming out of the Council have exploded.⁴ Here is a role shaped very much by the theology of the Church (which was revolutionized in the Council)⁵ and by the practical problems of living a Christian life (with all the consequent tensions and confusion in the Catholic world in the Council's aftermath). Not only was the clergy deeply concerned with the thinking of the Vatican Council, they were often the direct recipients of the implications of the Council's ideas and often a good barometer of all the problems of reforming a Church.

Troubled Servants of the Lord

It is an open secret that the Catholic priesthood is in trouble and surface eruptions have caught the attention of the press as signs of crisis in a normally discrete and even secretive organization. We find priests opposing their bishops (such as Father Dubay in California; priests in Newark calling their bishop "racist"; in Texas asking for his resignation; Washington priests reacting to the strict interpretation of

birth control of their bishop; and Brooklyn priests demanding abolition of mandatory celibacy); we have priests exploding against the Church like a modern day Voltaire (James Kavanaugh); and above all we find a large scale exodus from the priesthood. Recently even novelists have turned with interest to the theme of the troubled priest.⁶

There is every indication that not only do these surface eruptions reveal deep problems in the priesthood, but that this is not just the normal friction inevitable in every organization, but something new, a deep division and crisis in all aspects of the Church in the aftermath of the Council. We shall explore the dimensions of this institutional anomie and the problem of institutional reform in our case studies. This will provide an inside, accurate and concrete account of the revolution seething within; a sense of the loss of leadership, a polarization of priests over new ideas and over the distribution of power and responsibility, bizarre behavior on the part of some, a great deal of polarization and antagonism and even a sense of a loss of belief. All this is a sign of a new reformation in Catholicism, not the Protestant Reformation which split off into sectarianism and attacked from a position outside, but a deep internal restructuring of Catholicism now in process.

Besides this organizational crisis there is also the deep personal crisis of the identity of the priest. The priest's "identity crisis" has been a much discussed phenomenon almost to the point of becoming a cliché, but the effects of this crisis are profound and potentially shattering both for the Church and the individual. For the man who has lost his identity is in a precarious position since he is psychologically unstable and without roots and institutionally anomic. The situation is especially precarious when this person holds a role which gives him the task of church management and the guidance of others.

This role which is one of the oldest professions in human society is normally associated with stability and conservatism, and certainly in Catholicism the priest has been an image of the stability and unchanging nature of the Church itself. For this reason perhaps it has been neglected in sociological analysis; it seems well defined, stable and relatively easy of analysis. But beneath the surface we find it multi-layered with many competing theoretical or theological definitions of "priest" and a wide spectrum of self-understanding of this role among the priests themselves, and a multiple variety of functional requirements. The priest plays ritual roles, counseling roles, management roles, prophetic roles as well as

many subsidiary roles within the community.⁷

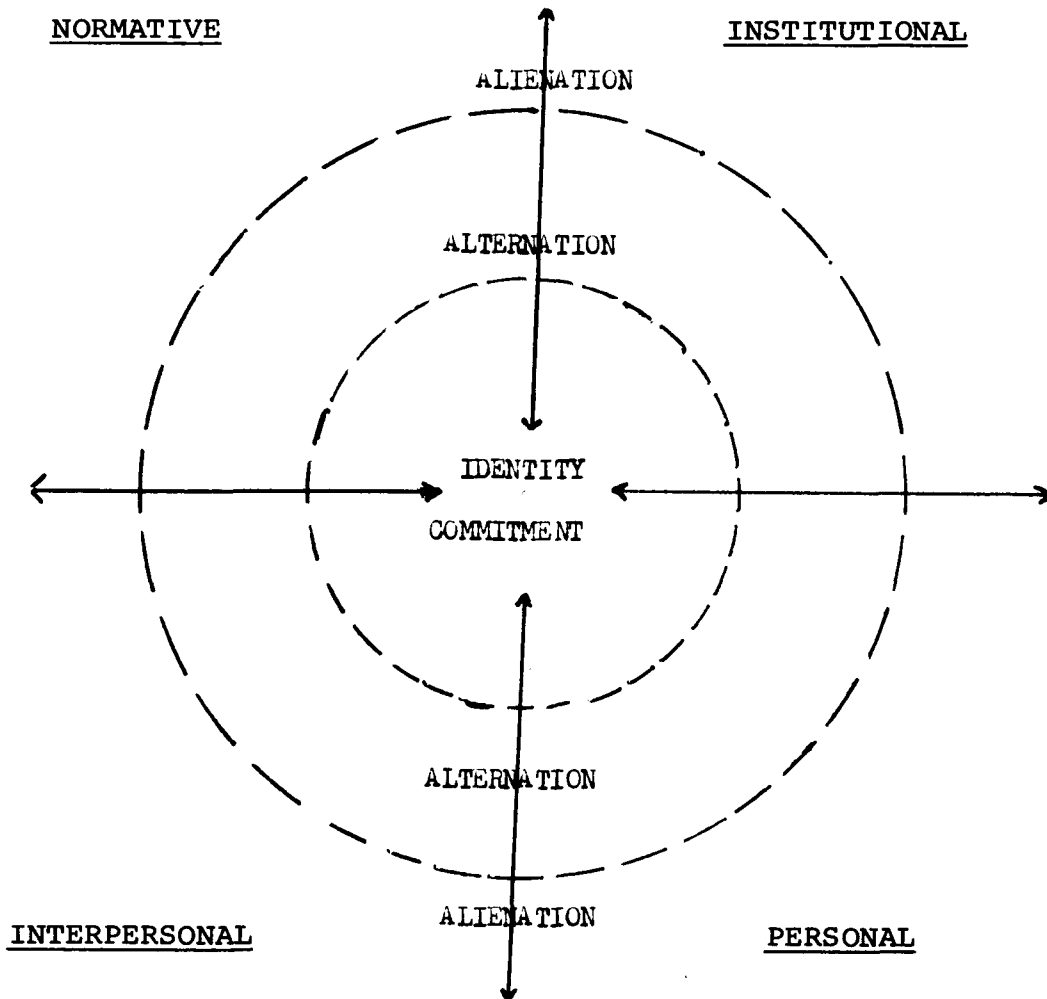
Fundamental to all these roles is a value commitment which is expected of all priests. The motivation for becoming a priest must be one of deep religious belief and this motivation is tested time and again in the training period. Consequently his rewards in the priesthood are not monetary nor political; he does not measure success by executive promotion as other institutional managers do, nor by the size of his paycheck.⁸ Ideally his motivation is moved by a religious reward system, and while we do not deny that these motives of a lesser nature are actually operative, the point is that they are not legitimated by the church as part of the nature of the priesthood. This motivation is presumed in our study as basic.

What we are interested in demonstrating are the parameters of commitment-alienation, or more concretely, how this personal religious consecration of the priest to "follow Christ" takes on institutional form.

Our concern is basically with the problem of alienation of commitment, and with priests who have left the ministry but our model works reciprocally for commitment. We find a close linkage of alienation-commitment in the intervening variable of alternation.⁹ This ability to see something within a new perspective is the key for most of the cases of alienation we

have found in our research, and provided the dynamic concept for our theoretical study of the psycho-social processes of a re-examination of one's commitment.

Let us clarify this with our model of institutional commitment-alienation. First we shall explain the major theoretical parameters of this model and then use the four dimensions of commitment-alienation to analyze our data.



THE COMMITMENT ALIENATION MODEL

This diagram forms the basic typology which identifies the major reasons why priests leave in our study: normative, institutional, supportive and personal. We shall develop each one of these dimensions in detail.

But first it is important to realize two central aspects of our model: 1) it is a model for all normative institutions, and 2) it is a reciprocal model for both commitment and alienation.

1. Model of normative commitment

All value based institutions demand a normative commitment to the role: a doctor ideally is expected to be deeply committed to his traditional service function of healing (and his ancient oath is a reminder of this tradition), a social worker is similarly expected to be deeply interested in the welfare of his or her client, and the priest is expected to be equally concerned with the religious development of his congregation. But an even higher type of idealistic commitment is found in the religious role of the priest in the sense that here we have a "total role", a role which tries to fuse identity and commitment. A priest must not only guide people religiously, but he must be himself very

religious; he must not only lead men to the Church but in many ways he becomes the Church for people. There is a close identity of role-personality and institution in all normative groups, but here most emphatically.¹⁰ Social expectations and training have led to the maxim "once a priest, always a priest" and "a priest is a priest twenty-four hours a day". The result is the attempt to achieve a total identification of the personality with the role. We might even speak of an absorption process or a halo effect. If the priest teaches a secular subject, somehow it is expected to be suffused with his priesthood and a good deal of discussion has come up about the hyphen priest (the priest-doctor, the priest-teacher, the priest-chemist, etc.)¹¹ The priest is not expected to have a private, family life and the rationale for celibacy is basically that it would take away this total commitment.

The notion of "vocation" in role theory is, or should be, closely linked with the concept of normative institution. It is here in the priesthood that this vocation demands a total commitment.¹² Hence in the central core of our model we find commitment and personal identity fused. In practical terms this means a man is expected to think and act and feel 'priest'. He not only performs as a priest but he is priest, and function and identity coalesce. This is a frequent theme in the many

devotional books which form the young seminarian and speak of "a man for others", "losing oneself for Christ" and "total commitment". This early socialization process of the seminary was an attempt at a total reidentification as pointed out in Goffmann's Asylums which lead to a fusion of role and person - a "total role".

The difference between performance and identification can perhaps best be captured in contrast in the second circle of the diagram. Here would be the priest who performs the role but without personal identification with it. It is the priest who hears confessions but doesn't believe in what he is doing, who leads prayers and devotions but doubts their validity, who directs a school but who thinks Catholic education is damaging or dead, or who preaches but doesn't believe. Basically we are describing both an ideal and the crisis of cynicism which can be found in all normative professions: the mercenary doctor, the law-breaking policeman or the sophist teacher. In our study we did find such cases (priests still functioning as priests but not believing in the Catholic faith) and innumerable examples of cynicism about certain aspects of the role (priests leading devotional services pro forma while considering them superstitious or directing church functions which they did because "people want them" or "because

I have to"). Our point here is not so much to illustrate the crisis of cynicism in the normative role of priest, but to clarify the core of our model and the problem of personal identification with the role.¹³

2. A reciprocal model of commitment-alienation

As we move to the third circle in our model, the circle of alternation we must stress that commitment and alternation are reciprocal, in other words, just as commitment can be normative, institutional, personal and group supported so too, these are factors in alienation and explain why men leave as well as why they join.

What we are working toward here is a sociology of role which specifies a sociology of commitment. This is curiously very undeveloped in sociological research and yet it is a basic phenomenon in all value-based institutions and social reform movements. We have seen that it is basically an acceptance of the meaning system or Weltanschauung of a group and a consequent striving to internalize the values of the group and to share a sense of membership or solidarity with the group. This is a distinguishing mark of the professions that they all involve a normative identification and an awareness of having a new identity.

In religious groups we find that an initiate is asked

to accept the ideals of a group and strongly identify, this is especially true of the priesthood and powerful mechanisms of socialization are brought to bear on the new candidate. Isolation, a sense of loyal solidarity with an institution, a sense of a special mission and a superior role in that mission and the special reflexes or "manner" or style of one's role are all inculcated in this socialization process. It seems clear that the seminary's primary role was this identification process and that all intellectual training was subordinate to this.

Alternation then is a process of self-reflection on the commitment, the ability to step back and see it in perspective. It is a change of perspective and the consequent insight of seeing oneself from the standpoint of others. In the words of Alfred Schutz, we challenge our "taken-for-granted world".¹⁴

To understand the impact of such a step it is important to realize the nature of religious system. Religious truth is precarious and tends to resist this process of alternation. It presents itself in an absolute style as unquestionable and to be accepted "as faith"; it tends to adopt an anti-ecumenical style which denies validity to other religions and a strong social system which keeps its members very close and stigmatizes those who change the system or who leave it as heretics

and as damned. Thus the Amish child who "goes gay" and rejects the religio-cultural world of his parents' is a product of alternation, he sees at least some elements of his religious system as relative and open to change. This is just as true of the orthodox Jew, it is equally as true of the Catholic priest.

The precariousness comes from the tightly interwoven nature of religious truth. While "adaptation" or "modernization" of religion is a seemingly logical answer, the sociological fact seems to be that this has led many religious groups down the path of loss of identity. Judaism has questioned its rabbinic traditions and this has led many to question the very reality of the entire tradition of Judaism. If we question the scriptural account of the Magi with their erratic star and decide it is a literary device, then the whole Scriptures seem possible of re-interpretation. If a priest learns to look on his ceremonial robes as elaborate props in a sacred performance, then the very meaning of that performance might be in doubt.¹⁵

Briefly, the process of alternation is a self-reflection on one's meaning system and one's identity. It is precisely this questioning of its taken-for-granted character which is distinctive of alternation. It is the same process we find in

psychology (when we begin to question why we really did that), in epistemology (how can I be sure I know this with certitude? how can I be sure that I know anything at all?) and in sociology (when I see that my social actions like marriage, funerals and styles of interpersonal communication are done very differently in other societies). Alternation then is the dimension of reflective distance.

Alienation can be a product of alternation, or reciprocally, conversion can be its product. It is when faced with alternation that a man makes a choice which can either be a commitment to a group or an alienation from it. In the process of self-reflection I may discover myself as a middle-class, quiet racist or as a personality highly suppressed by a domineering mother. This discovery can come through reading, conversation or through psychoanalysis or some religious experience. It is at this point that we locate the process of conversion. The outcome might be to reject my former state, or to reaffirm it more forcefully. A priest might find that he has been living in a taken-for-granted religious role. This new consciousness can lead him to reject the role, to modify it or to accept it with a new consciousness and awareness. Alternation then can lead to commitment or to alienation and so it provides the key theoretical linkage of the reciprocal nature of commitment-

alienation, and the foundation idea of our model.

This is basically a phenomenological description of an important socio-psychological process that is essential to our study of value institutions. It is important to note, however, that this can be a slow-maturing process which emerges as a Gestalt when one day all the pieces fall into place, or it can be a rather rapid process. It would seem that such self-reflection plays some part in all value roles but that it becomes central when an organizational-normative re-evaluation takes place. This is precisely what happened with the Council's reform, it suddenly asked questions of the taken-for-granted world of the Church and sent shock waves into the ranks of all members.¹⁶

Dimensions of Alienation

When we ask the question "why do priests leave?" there is an enormous number of theories, folklore and opinions which have tried to answer this. We hear that a priest "was disturbed", "emotionally immature", "was picked to death by his superior", "he fell in love", "he rejected the phoniness of the institutional church", "he lost his faith", "he couldn't resist the devil". These and other answers have ranged from the theological to the pop psychological, and have stressed various partisan positions. For this reason, it is important

to clarify that we are trying to present here a sociological typology or phenomenology. Our answer to the question will not be psychological nor theological but sociological and hence limited; and our answer will be phenomenological and descriptive and try to avoid the tendencious partisan explanation which has so far dominated this emotional issue.

For this reason we use a typology which has been slowly crystalized from actual case study and which now seems to be valid for all normative role study. We are not trying to statistically assign priests to these categories but only define the dimensions which explain the patterns of alienation we have found in our case study of over two hundred former priests.

The categories are:

- I. Normative Alienation
- II. Institutional Alienation
- III. Supportive Alienation
- IV. Personal Alienation

Each of these types will form a separate chapter in our study following.

Footnotes: Chapter III

1. A general anthropology of priesthood is presented in E.O. James, The Nature and Function of the Priesthood: A Comparative and Anthropological Study (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1955). Early "church order" shows this stratification process in Acts and in the epistles of Paul eg: the problem of who would replace the apostle Judas (Acts, 1). There are many studies of this such as Walter Schmithals, The Office of Apostle in the Early Church (Nashville, Tenn: Abingdon Press, 1969) and Raymond Brown, Priest and Bishop (New York: Newman Paulist Press, 1970) but attempts to trace present priests to early models still shows a lacuna of much intervening history. Our point is only that a great deal of Catholic reflexes, expectations and piety is built around this stratification eg: commitment in a total sense is identified with priestly role.
2. A source of the "identity crisis" in the Catholic priesthood is the reaction to the changes in this client relationship. There is a great deal of talk about abandoning "clerical culture" in terms of clerical privileges, insignia etc. The portrait of this laity-clergy relations is found in Joseph Fichter, Social Relations in an Urban Parish (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) and in Stephen Charles Neill & Hans Ruedi-Weber, The Layman in Christian History (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963). This is a more general, ecumenical picture which raises questions about social relations in a hierarchic church: who forms the protesters? the heretics? who shapes the theology?, etc. The pervasiveness of hierarchy in Catholicism can be seen in such questions; and this re-inforces our thesis that Vatican reform is rooted in clerical upheaval; the layman again is the participant and recipient.
3. Our conclusion from long observation is that priestly identity is formed basically by the daily functions of social and institutional roles in which he lives rather than by any theory of the priesthood. This is confirmed by Andrew Greeley's reflections that the preVatican, ethnic Catholicism was a semi-closed and complete community in which role expectations were stable on part of laity and priest, and that a theory or theology of priesthood was almost totally lacking. cf Andrew M. Greeley, "The State of the Priesthood" NCR Documentation, Feb. 18, 1972.

4. It became a central issue in Catholicism as the celibacy debate emerged after 1965 and again at the Roman Synod of Bishops in 1971 where the ministerial priesthood and justice and peace were the items on the agenda.
5. As an institutional role its definition or normative shaping is set down by the institution, hence a new theology of the Church implies a new theology of priesthood. We have seen the parameters of the normative shift in Catholicism; these are not reflected in the Council document on priests. cf.: Ruud J. Bunnik, Priests for Tomorrow: A Radical Examination of Christian Ministry (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).
6. Some examples are Fr. DuBay's attack on his bishop and then his fight for a priests' union cf. Rosemary Reuther, "Father DuBay and the Priests' Union" Continuum, Spring, 1967 V:182-4. The 21 Newark priests who called Bishop Boland a racist are found described in NCR January 29, 1969: we have already seen the Bishop Lucey incident in his censorship of MacKenzie; the Birth Control dispute in Washington, D.C. as examples of many other similar confrontations.
7. We shall discuss this identity crisis in "personal alienation" below. See Karl Rahner (ed.) The Identity of a Priest, Consilium #43 (New York: Paulist Press, 1969).
8. This is not to deny the "dilemma of mixed motivations" which O'Dea uses to describe church form vs. sect. Catholic history is full of the Cardinal Wolsey type and the priesthood today has many secular motivations. The real problem for social psychology is to discuss the support system of priesthood.
9. Alienation is a constant theme in sociology but its reciprocal concept is rarely discussed. We feel we are making a distinctive theoretical contribution in the linkage of these two concepts. The idea of alternation or an ability to change one's perspective is a key link. Alienation is a word which has deep philosophical origins. Hegel has a whole chapter in The Phenomenology of the Spirit (1807) on "Spirit alienated from itself: Culture" which Marx focused on. The history of this concept is treated by Richard Schacht, Alienation (New York: Doubleday, 1970). We are using this in the sense of dedication to a value institution. The priesthood is a clear case of such dedication to a set of values and institutional service and there is a strong mechanism of socialization into the priesthood in the seminary. Goffmann's study, Asylums (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961) and Hans P. Drietzl, Recent Sociology #2: Patterns of Communicative Behavior (New York: Macmillan, 1970) discuss some of the socio-

logical mechanisms of such socialization. This also appears in Howard Becker's Boys in White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) for doctors and Preiss and Ehrlich's study on police.

10. Although the priesthood is an almost perfect "type" of commitment and identity with a role, our sociological model here is valid for all value-based roles such as teaching, social work, medicine. These all involve a normative dimension, an institutional one and a socio-psychological or personal level as well as a group level of interaction. A teacher might be alienated, for example, because he no longer believes in the value of education, in this or that academic institution, in himself as teacher, or because the other teachers reject him. Catholic tradition has stressed the total identity of the priest with his function and here we find the unique example of a total professional role.
11. A great deal has been written about the "hyphen priest" in the last five years. Cf.: William Cleary, Hyphenated Priests (Washington, D.C.: Corpus Books, 1969). This is a collection of essays by men, both former and active priests, trying to justify the role of priest-teacher, etc., edited by a former priest.
12. Erving Goffmann, Asylums, *op.cit.*, does not draw out fully the implications of total institutions which is the creation of "total roles". Here we have a unique case when both one's work and one's style of life are fused in a professional role. Also it would be good to stress that "Beruf" or vocation can only be used of professional roles, and roles which have a normative dimension. Without entering into a dispute on the nature of "the professions" we would insist that to speak of a vocation to be a bus-driver, a milkman, etc. is at best an extenuation of a word.
13. Jack Preiss and Howard Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Nebraska: University of Nebraska, 1966) study the problem of police cynicism. A sociology of cynicism in normative professions such as social workers, doctors, etc. would be valuable. We know from interview data that there is a high incidence of cynicism in priests toward their "clients" and toward "authorities", but we have no reliable measure of this.
14. See the section on "Creedal Dimensions" in the first chapter for a description of this theory. Alfred Schutz, Collected Papers (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962-6) speaks of our social world as normally taken-for-granted. Alternation is a questioning of this fact. Conversion then is a commitment in consequence of some type of alternation

cf.: Takie Lebra, "Conversion as Transculturation" Journal of Scientific Study of Religion (Fall, 1970) IX,3. 181-96.

15. Fundamentalism is particularly susceptible of this probably since it lacks any "translation mechanism" which can take the root sources of faith (eg.: Scriptures) and re-interpret them. Joseph Smith, for example, managed to interpret his rather fundamentalistic reading of the Old Testament and flexible adapt it in his lifetime cf.: Thomas O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956).
16. Alternation is normally a slow process of gradually re-defining social boundaries and changing perspective. It is thus the process of boundary maintenance which goes on in all society, or the social dialogue of the individual with his social world. Our point here is that the Council suddenly accelerated a process of theological reflection and symbolic (liturgical) change. As one commentator put it "the Church is trying to compress five centuries of Protestant experience into five or ten years".

CHAPTER IV
NORMATIVE ALIENATION

When Luther spoke the words, "Here I stand, I cannot do otherwise. God help me!", he challenged the Church's role as the official custodian of Christian belief. Perhaps Carlyle's judgment that this was the greatest scene in modern European history becomes plausible in terms of the religious fragmentation which followed. The result was a splintering of the Catholic Church into many sectarian divisions, the emergence of a plurality of theologies and the inception of numerous civil-religious wars which tore at the heart of Europe for centuries, only recently to emerge into a context of tolerance and ecumenism. A similar phenomenon of a pluralization of Catholic belief is recurring today within Catholicism and is having repercussions in the role of the priest.¹

When we speak of a normative system of belief we mean a religious ideology or a meaning system which the religious group uses to identify itself, relate to some transcendent reality and define the rest of reality around it. In Catholicism a body of doctrine has developed from reflection on the person and message of Christ which has been called "the Catholic teaching" or simply "the faith". This has been developed

and elaborated within Catholicism by a long process of accumulated reflection on the message. And so while there are many issues here for a sociology of knowledge we would like to describe two: 1) the breakup of a strongly unified belief system and the pluralization of faith, and 2) the normative confusion of alternation which ensues.²

Pluralization of belief

A common complaint of the Catholic clergy and layman today is "one doesn't know what to believe anymore" or "his theology is old-fashioned" or "he is endangering the faith of his people". This fact is so prevalent and widespread that it hardly needs documentation. In the national survey done of American priests the findings in this regard are instructive:

1. We could find little loss of "faith" among priests; that is to say, most of them were still willing to endorse statements which endorsed orthodox doctrinal formulations.

2. However, many priests, especially the younger ones, are far more likely to agree with values that emphasize process rather than substance, existence rather than essence, open-endedness rather than immutability...

3. Bishops, however, are much less likely to take an existentialist stand. Sixty-nine per cent of the bishops and only forty-five per cent of the priests agreed that "faith means essential belief in the doctrines of the Catholic Church", whereas forty-six per cent of the bishops and

and sixty-nine per cent of the priests would agree that faith is "primarily an encounter with God and Jesus Christ rather than₃ an assent to a coherent set of defined truths."

If we think of the meaning-system as providing a necessary matrix of common understanding and shared expectations, it is obvious that this has partially broken down in Catholicism. Catholic Christianity was noted for its strongly unified and defined cognitive boundaries and this was the hallmark of the post-Tridentine Church. We have noted above how the Church's belief system was not only strongly delimited cognitively but also strongly controlled. We have also noted that the Church went through a long period of strict intellectual control after Trent, and that this was especially strong in the nineteenth century Church in the "anti-modernist era." A sense of great stability was given to the faith, and questioners and doubters were quickly brought under control. In some this even led to an attitude of institutional fundamentalism. For priests it seemed to restrict their intellectual curiosity and even make them suspicious of many of the ideas which were later strongly affirmed in the Second Vatican Council (such as the priesthood of the laity).⁴

Frequently this fact came out in many long conversations with older and younger priests. At times older priests would take a hard stand for "teaching doctrine" (with an especially

strong emphasis on the Baltimore Catechism which was a compendium of seminary theology). But in personal conversation several told how threatened they felt with all the new ideas. What we saw in the Council debates was duplicated in the priests and in their many long hours of discussion. In one interview with John (still active as a pastor) the problem was typified.

"At first I thought that all this new theology was just a lot of words, you know, a way younger priests found to taunt us and what we worked for. Then I began to read articles and even attend those courses at _____. I don't know how it happened, but gradually I realized that I had been taught to think only along "approved channels"...I'd guess, looking back, I'd call this my discovery of brain-washing...This was harder than I can describe to you. I prided myself all my life on my good marks in the 'sem.', and I was a salesman for a lot of those ideas...it's hard to say at the age of 52 that I never really learned how to read Scripture...and the young guys don't help when they throw all this new stuff into your face...I only wish I had time to catch up..."

In this revealing self-criticism we see many of the elements of the pluralization of belief that we have mentioned, and especially notable is that Catholic belief has become an issue of personal and emotional conflict within the priesthood, and the terms "traditionist" and "liberal" have become weapons.

Previous to the Council there was a good deal of soli-

darity in the priesthood based on a common acceptance of doctrine. The Church had a powerful indoctrination system for socializing new members and used strong sanctions (exclusion and even excommunication) against dissidents. We see parallels for this in the socio-dynamics of modernization among the Amish or Hassidim.⁵ The processes by which a closed society develops its normative boundaries and defines its deviants was also seen in Puritan New England and it is a frequent phenomenon in the sociology of religion. Erikson shows how the cohesiveness of a society depends very much on its self-definition and how a definition of deviant behavior solidifies and maintains normative boundaries.⁶ Needless to say, such normative rigidity is difficult to maintain, as the Amish and Hassidim are showing in our pluralistic society; it is almost impossible to maintain in the socio-cultural diversity of Catholicism. Further, this is fundamentally a sectarian pattern and it seems to be a radical mistake for a church to feel that its model lies in the socio-dynamics of a sect. The church conservative rightly sees the solidarity that comes from a strong, univocal belief system, but ignores the sociological dilemma of pluralism.

The present Church crisis is a reflection of its rapid emergence from the over-control of a rigid, sectarian model.

Unlike the Reformation, however, this acceptance of pluralism is happening within the Church, was created by her, and is legitimated by her. The Council has held up almost every aspect of Church life for re-examination. Questions were raised about the meaning of the eucharist (the dispute over trans-signification and trans-substantiation), the human nature of Christ, the role of Mary in Catholic theology, the nature of the Church and its relation to the modern world. The discussion on these and many other topics have made the polar categories of 'liberal' and 'conservative' too simple and unable to catch the complex multi-dimensionality of contemporary Catholic thought. Catholic belief ranges over a wide spectrum and now there is a pluralization and a segmentation throughout this spectrum.

We are suggesting then that the vast ideological upheaval in Catholicism has caused a crisis in meaning and identity in the world-wide Catholic priesthood. It is especially severe since we are talking literally about ideology and not just an idea system. In other words, we are talking about ideas which imply choices, action and identities, ideas which give shape and direction to a community.

Normative alienation

There is no doubt that there is an intellectual explo-

sion within Catholicism which has led to a pluralization of belief and a loss of external control which previously set priorities of action as well as strong noetic boundaries. This has led to various types of normative alienation. In concrete cases our respondents said "I suddenly found myself wondering about the whole thing, and it seemed to me more and more to be a story; I can't accept it anymore. Sometimes I wonder if I ever did". Another said, "I just want time to find myself and to sort out my belief, I don't feel I should preach to others in this state". Or another, "The Church has lost its credibility; there is so much intellectual dishonesty on the whole birth control thing that I had to quit". "The Church has lost the message of Jesus; you have to get outside it today to find real Christians and real believers." "I feel foolish preaching since nothing seems certain anymore. I'm not sure what I believe myself." "I wish these modern theologians would stop disturbing the minds of the people."

These replies give us some of the taste of our many interviews and catch the flavor of what we have called normative alienation. Basically what we will describe here is the process of alternation when suddenly a taken-for-granted world is looked at in a new perspective. This can result in a total rejection of this world or the redefini-

tion of this world into a new meaning synthesis. Concretely we find this happened in two dimensions: A) Total Alternation and Alienation: Loss of Faith, and B) Differential Alternation and Alienation: Redefinition of the Faith.

A) Total Alternation - Alienation: Loss of Faith

The basic supposition for membership in Catholicism or in any value institution is belief in its meaning and values. To the frequently asked question, "Do priests leave because they have lost their faith?", the answer is "yes" for some cases. We found a total loss of faith in some who left (and one case still within the ministry who did not plan to leave; he is in a category that might be called a church manipulator, but we have no idea how prevalent his case is.)

Ed, a middle-aged man, was a priest who spent over fifteen years in a foreign mission. His task there was as teacher and his duties took on a pattern which involved some parochial work and religious teaching. He spoke of taking Catholicism for granted and accepting it.

"I always took the faith for granted. I said Mass every day and I was totally wrapped up in the school from morning on. On weekends, I'd occasionally work in a parish or go on outings with the boys. But in the last two years I began to feel that my work was losing fire. Maybe it was middle age, maybe some of the changes I heard going on in the Church got to me, maybe I was in the missions too long. Anyway, I asked to come home...

Back here I knew I didn't want to go back, and this made me ask my reasons for going. Then I began to think about preaching Christ, saying Mass and all that - and this didn't mean anything to me. Finally I began to ask myself what I really believed in and this scared me..."

Several months later while undergoing psychotherapy, we spoke again.

"I've learned a lot in the last months... I really gained insight into myself and I realized how little I believed in myself. Maybe I had to be a priest and tell others about Christ to convince myself. Anyhow now I'm not sure that I believe at all, and maybe I never did. But I can admit it honestly to myself. All those things I learned in theology classes kept making me think I believed. But right now, I'm not interested in this. I just want to become a richer person, I need time to think about myself; I don't care about this religious stuff now. Maybe I'll change..."

Jack was another respondent who spoke in terms of being unsure of his faith. "How could I get up in that pulpit every Sunday and spout out? I'm not convinced of most of the things I was saying. I just need time to find myself as a Christian and not get up there in the pulpit." He went on to explain, "This all happened when I saw so many things and ideas in the Church up for grabs. I began to ask myself if this or that isn't true then how do I know that any of the big ideas of Christianity are true. You

know it really gets shaky and I really know what the people mean when they complain that it's hard to know what to believe today. They're scared and I am too."

Charlie too had returned from the missions where he had been for five years. He spoke as follows:

"You know, I've been criticized here (in the parish) for not doing much and always raising problems. So much of this is my own insecurity. I came back to think the whole thing over, but somehow I can't get back into it again. I feel like a spectator. I know I don't believe in Christ anymore and I'm not even sure that there is a God. I've got to get out."

These cases are interesting because they illustrate the process of total alienation from the institution and from its beliefs.⁷ There is no way of statistically determining how prevalent this group is but judging from all our cases, it is less than five per cent.

B) Differential Alternation: Redefinition of the Faith

The second aspect of this experience of a crisis of faith is its progressive redefinition in the minds of former priests. One, after speaking of the eucharist in rather radical terms admitted, "I'll probably see things in another light in a few years". Once a man begins to move outside the institutional-noetic boundaries of a religious group there is this tendency toward a redefinition of his theological world as we have seen in the history of religious

sectarianism. It happens too on a personal level when a man moves outside the institutionally approved priesthood; we find him redefining both his priesthood and his Catholic theology. As Kavanaugh describes it:

"Suddenly I realized that I had given up on the institutional church...I still did not have the answers I needed about life's meaning, but I was asking nothing from the institutional church. I was on my own and I began to feel like a human being...I now realize that I had never found Him in all the years of trying. I found only a historic church filled with ritual, dogmas, moral laws and unyielding legalism...⁸But this was not enough. I wanted God."

Here we find a description of how a man felt trapped by the institutional controls on his thought and belief and how to trap others as a priest of this Church.

Our own interview data for this alternation of faith comes from our attendance at several meetings of the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry (SPFM). This is a group of former priests (joined by some active priests and laity) who are looking for new roles for the priesthood and consequent reform of the Church. We attended several of their study days and conferences and listened as the discussions focused around two themes: how to reform the Church and how to reshape and renew the priesthood with new forms of ministry. With every attempted answer to both of these questions came a theological rationale. What was striking was the

enormous range of ideas within the group on the meaning of priesthood, of Church and the goals of reform. While the group itself is dominated by a liberal theology there are serious intellectual disagreements in its membership.

While most of the membership shares the fact of ordination and hence a certain solidarity of common background, there the agreement stops. In its very history as an offshoot of the NAPR, The National Association for Pastoral Renewal, in September of 1968, it set out to discuss the role of men who have left the ministry -- a goal of the NAPR itself -- and has never really clarified the distinction of the two organizations.⁹

But more germane to our theme, both priesthood and church are terms which the group can reach no consensus on, and this disagreement shows up most strongly in their group discussion. In one discussion a 'former priest' (he was not interested in being called "priest" but merely "a religious believer") discussed a liturgy he had celebrated with a whole group of people, believers and non-believers. When asked to justify his liberal attitudes about the elements used (he did not feel constrained by Catholic insistence on bread and wine) and what this ritual possibly would mean to a non-believer, his explanations were the beginning of a great deal of theological

discussion which is hard to reduplicate here in all its emotions, some reactions of being hurt by the Church, a great deal of self-searching about identity, etc. It was certainly a theology which moved far beyond the normative parameters of Catholicism. In personal discussion later, this interviewer was told that he "was just exploring hunches", that the Church was too narrow, that "we have to think of new forms of religion, not just new forms of ministry" and "I'm not really too interested in reforming Catholicism" and finally "I didn't think this way a year ago; I'll probably have very different ideas in a few months."

The division seemed to be based on a "personalistic theology" or the progressive need to redefine themselves in terms of a former role and a former institutional affiliation. Two men interviewed more than a year later told us how they had left all this behind; one spoke of it as "a kind of debriefing stage. I guess I needed to go through all this to de-escalate. But I'm beyond all these re-entry problems and not interested in new or old priesthood." In most cases, however, there is a continued interest and a very personal concern in the group for rediscovery as priests.

What is interesting in this period of "creative disaffiliation" is the fact that noetic redefinition seems

basically a process that comes after a man has left the ministry. While we have given cases for this noetic alternation and redefinition as a motive for leaving, it seems more a phenomenon of readjustment post factum. We see this both in contemporary examples and in history; Charles Davis speaks of his "creative disaffiliation" three years after his famous exodus; he explains how the issues of why he left the priesthood in A Question of Conscience are now remote and this past is psychologically cast off:

"I had internalized so thoroughly the authoritative structure of the Roman Catholic system that the only way of freeing myself from it was to make a clean break...I don't think of myself as a Christian without a Church. I consider myself as belonging to the Christian community and this belonging is not something which is merely in my mind -- it is something which finds constant expression in my relationship with other Christians... the Catholic Church as an organized body recedes further and further from any contact with my religious thinking and my religious living. The necessity I have already referred to of my considering religious questions in an even broader than Christian context compels me to see the Catholic Church as wedded to antiquated and provincial religious views and concepts. Official pronouncements now strike me in the same way as I formerly received the propaganda literature of various sects. Catholic theology itself is still parochial.¹⁰

This quotation illustrates the two dimensions of normative alienation which constantly appeared in our research: the shifting of normative horizons and the alienation of identity. We see that once one begins to formulate a theology outside the institutionally defined limits of the religious group, there is often a shift of horizon and acceptance of a position which the group would not accept, such as a new theology of eucharist. Further this theology rises out of a need for a new role identity and tends to take the personalistic form of a search for religious meaning and the answer to man's anxieties and basic existential questions. This theology of role identity often enters into a dialectic of opposition to the institutional objective role definition.¹¹

This is what is happening in this stage of differential alienation and it raises the institutional-political question of how much the Church will shift its official theology in light of these challenges. It is clear that this political pressure now on the Church from dissent priests' groups such as the SPFM is an issue of ideology where ideas and power mix. It is dubious that these efforts at role re-identification will develop a new theology; what remains to be seen is how much they will influence and restructure the parameters of church theology.¹³

A confirmation that this process of redefinition

usually comes after the fact of leaving can perhaps be found in history. Luther's theology of the eucharist and priesthood emerged after his ninety-five theses and his excommunication, and his later theology had moved very far from his original reform-orthodox Catholicity of his early protest. But more recently we have the history of priests expelled in the previous century in the modernist movement.¹³

What we have raised here is the question of the faith experience of the priesthood and from a great deal of interview data we can make the following summary.

The Vatican Council upset the stable, systematic worldview which Catholic theology had carefully constructed and the seminary had carefully indoctrinated. Part of this faith experience was to accept the intellectual formulation of this faith and "not to question too much". "If we asked too many questions in the seminary", explained Father T. "we were on the carpet, and Father Rector talked about postponing ordination". "We didn't get too worked up, though, since we had a lot of other things to do, and these new ideas weren't around. I guess we were not an intellectual bunch."

Sensed in these interviews and group discussions with older priests was a feeling of uneasiness, even a sense of vertigo when discussing doctrines of Catholicism. It ex-

posed itself on several occasions as a rigid, defensive loyalty or at times as an admission of confusion over all the new ideas but a confidence that the Church knew the answer. One example of this defensive loyalty came in an emotional outburst by one priest in a group discussion that children were not learning the truth and the proposing of an older medieval theory as Church doctrine (which it isn't). Out of the group came many reactions and one voice offered the insight "Let's fact it. If we start looking at everything and pulling it apart, I don't think we'll get it together again. Let's just keep teaching as we always did". Here then is a concrete example of the sense of anomie or vertigo that the modern theological debate has introduced illustrating Berger's description of alternation.¹⁴

The legendary stability of Catholic doctrine now seems to be in process and open to constant revision. As we pointed out above, there is a radical revolution of Catholic thought going on perhaps only equalled by the great transition from a Scriptural mode of expression to a philosophical mode hammered out in the early centuries of Trinitarian and Christological disputes. Catholic theology since the Council has gone through bewildering transformations for many (death of God, theology of revolution, etc.) and this only lends fear to the more orthodox that it is shifting with the

intellectual tides of the moment. This is a complex issue of faith and reason, a theological problem of immense complexity. We have only tried to give its main parameters in the theological shift of style (Chapter II) and the concrete effects of this in the life of the priest, especially those who leave because of reasons of belief.

Footnotes: Chapter IV

1. Luther will be an example of normative alienation (partial) since he realigned his beliefs as a result of his revolt and personal break with the Church. The psychoanalytical study Eric Erikson, Young Man Luther (New York: Norton Press, 1962) perhaps might be a model for a study of modern day priests.
2. This section is a brief reflection on our analysis of the creedal changes in Catholicism in the second chapter.
3. cf.: Andrew M. Greeley, Priests in the United States: Reflections on a Survey (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1972) p, 90.
4. cf.: Michael Gannon's essay in Ellis, op.cit. Also Ellis' earlier study, Essays in Seminary Education (Notre Dame, Indiana: Fides Publishing, 1967) c. 6. "The Priest as an Intellectual".
5. Such closed systems must build a strong wall against infiltration from the outside, and with its school system, censorship of books, strong insistence on teaching authority, etc. the Church tried to maintain such closure. cf.: Ellis and Greeley, op.cit., on this immigrant church.
6. Kai Erikson, Wayward Puritans (New York: J. Wiley and Sons, 1966) passim.
7. Agnes, a former nun, talked about how "things became unhinged when I left. Church concerns became more and more remote. Then Christ was only another figure in the history books. Finally one night I was suddenly hit with the fact that there was nothing there. It was all empty. Do you know what an experience that is? If I had some pills I probably would have taken them all that night". This is another case in our files of total alternation and alienation from the belief of Catholicism.
8. James Kavanaugh, The Birth of God (New York: Trident Press, 1969) p. 21.
9. The expressed purpose of SPFM is to explore alternative forms of ministry and alternative lifestyles. Our comments here are not to belittle the organization but to point out that once one moves beyond institutional boundaries, the noetic boundaries of belief tend to be re-defined over and over again. The parallel might be found in the fragmentation of Protestantism cf.: Martin

Marty, The Righteous Empire (New York: Dial Press, 1970). Our data on the SPFM is taken from attendance at their New York meetings, their publication Diakonia and conference papers cf.: Eugene Bianchi, "The Free Ministry" Commonweal, January 23, 1970.

10. Charles Davis, A Question of Conscience p. 17. See his comments later in a 1971 interview where he speaks of being still interested in religious questions but he now sees Catholic theology too parochial and introspective, the issues of his book as in the past, and his interest in religious belief much wider than before. He clearly finds himself outside the noetic parameters of Catholicism cf.: Denis O'Brien, "Interview with Charles Davis", The Month, January 1971.
11. One area of study would be the religious practice of former priests. In reviewing a list of 11 who left with their friends, approximately two were seen as still regular church-goers. We do not have the data to interpret what the motivations of more than one of these men was (Ed is described above), but at least there is a disaffiliation with formal parish-centered Catholicism.
12. One diocese has already formed a committee of liason called Fratres in Unum with its former priests (over 100 to date in 1971) and is discussing ways of possible service for these men.
13. The historical precedent for this shift of noetic parameters outside the defined limits of Catholicism can be found in Luther cf.: Pelikan, op.cit., Richard Friedenthal, Luther, His Life and Times (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Janovich, 1970). This also happened to the clerical theologians of modernism such as Loisy, B. Tyrell, etc. cf.: John Ratte, Three Modernists (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967).
14. cf.: above on "creedal dimensions of reform". This theological era of rapid change - even vertigo - finds its legitimation in what seems to be the contemporary emphasis of modern Catholic theology "the theology of process". This stresses the changing nature of truth and even of God and its dominance in Catholicism seems to have some roots in the contemporary crisis of plurality and confusion. A good review of Catholic thinking on this is Norman Cousins, (ed.) Process Theology (New York: Newman Press, 1971).

CHAPTER V

INSTITUTIONAL ALIENATION

When we speak of a man changing careers in any organization, we expect to find some degree of organizational problems. Complaints such as "they did not let me move in a creative way", "this organization has too many internal problems to function;", "it's a dead end", "I had a 'run-in' with the boss", "there's no future there for me" are heard. It is the familiar and constant theme of work satisfaction.

Here especially we touch our basic theme of institutional-identity for institutional alienation is the problem of one's role. In this case, the priest made his commitment to an institution with certain expectations which in the past were relatively stable and predictable. Now many feel that the church as a religious institution is so unstable and lacking in direction or filled with conflict that a permanent commitment is impossible and logically absurd.¹ Complaints about "the institutional church", "the boss" or "the bishop" of "the system" or "the chancery", "the structures" were frequent for men both in and out of the priesthood. Tensions and morale varied from situation to situation and, in a sense, it was the scene of normal job tensions we might find

in any organization whether an automotive plant or a church.

But as a religious organization there are two distinguishing factors. First, we are dealing with a normative institution, as we have seen, not a remunerative one. More specifically, the institution is religious which means that all its idealism is reinforced by a religious legitimation, by an appeal to some transcendent order of reality as its base. A bishop is not just "a boss" but somehow God's appointed leader; the style of government he works in is not just a historical development (whether episcopal or monarchic or democratic) but a question of church polity and meant to be this way by divine choice. His decisions are presumed to have a wisdom and discernment beyond that expected of a mere organizational head. Religion then gives a sanctity to authority which other normative organizations do not have in the same way. This we call legitimation.²

The second distinguishing factor of Catholic authority is the historical fact of a radical shift in its understanding and use. We have already seen that the pre-Vatican model of authority, so pervasive in nineteenth century American Catholicism and formative of the pre-Vatican mentality was significantly changed in two ways: 1) the model of authority was changed from a vertical one of monarchy or bureaucratic

patrimonialism to a model of collegial decision making and 2) a whole new rationale for obedience was developed replacing the idea of authority coming directly from God and exaggerated into an "institutional fundamentalism" in American Catholicism to an idea of sharing insight and experiences.

The problem of authority in the Church today is very much a product of this reform, and as the Vatican Council's decisions filter down into the Church at large we find two dimensions of institutional alienation especially in priests who have left the ministry:

I. The Systemic Problem: the church employee in a changing structure.

II. The Normative Dialectic: conflict of ideal and institutional implementation.

This latter has become a key problem in a form of revolutionary or protest movement developing among priests which we shall discuss in a later section called "Priests of the Third World".

I. Systemic Problem

That a man leaves an organization because of conflicts or problems with the administration is a common phenomenon of modern institutions and corporate life. What had dis-

tinguished the priesthood was that such job change was almost impossible because of the social and religious sanctions against "ex-priests".³ There is no reason to postulate that these tensions did not exist in the past or that they will cease to exist in some utopia of a reformed church. The Church's canon law has many provisions for delinquent behavior of her priests and procedural rules for conflicts with authority. As a church employee some priests in the past obviously found themselves in conflict with superiors, but the normal solution would usually take the form of a transfer or a sanction. The simple fact is that priests found great pressure against "quitting" the priesthood and the possibility of firing a priest was unthinkable. We might speculate on the tensions caused in an organization which works within such limits: the resentment brooding in the group of priests disgruntled with decisions in their past, the problem of what to do with a poor employee and the psychology of the men who felt trapped in a job they had come to hate or in an organization they felt had treated them unjustly.⁴ It did create a group of men with very definite attitudes on church service and obedience:

"When I went to the seminary -- twenty-five years now -- we were told how to act, where to be, what to do. And when I was assigned as a priest, it was always just that, we were told where to go, and given three days

to move. There the boss told us what to do...you know, it is really hard to explain to younger priests what we went through and how obedience to the superior was "it"...I don't know about all this consultation stuff... it seems to have multiplied committees and meetings...the bishop almost is afraid to move a man...I think a lot of tension has come out of it all, but I don't see that much more production. Maybe, for peace, we should go back to the idea of pastor as boss..."

In this statement of John _____, we find reflected a whole group of men who had been socialized into a specific style of obedience. They worked on the assumption that their mission or church service would be assigned by superiors from above and that the calibre of their service was measured on how willingly they carried out these orders. With this went the belief that God was speaking through these superiors, and even if the assignment seemed a bit absurd, this was God's way of teaching humility to the streak of stubbornness in men and even a greater confirmation of God's will asking the impossible.

This model of vertical authority left most initiative of decision in the superior's hands and seemingly arbitrary commands were made to test this obedience: men were sent to missions with a few days notice; sent to teach courses in which they were not prepared since "we need a man"; they were changed from jobs without warning, etc.⁵ We do not mean to exaggerate this military model into rigidity but it was the meaning system

priests worked under until recently and a system in which a great deal of effective work was done. What is most important is it is still the context within which many priests think and work. The attempt to interpret many of the changes in new styles of church government from this perspective causes a great deal of confusion, resentment and bitterness in priests formed according to this ideal model.

It is perhaps due to a reaction against this socialization that many priests have developed attitudes of alienation and strong, anti-authoritarian complaints. At one meeting of priests in 1969, comments revealed this reaction: "the bishop is just a businessman running around in funny, old peaked hats and dresses". "He thinks he's going to win us over with this peace at any price," "it's incredible to think that this man is a teacher of the diocese; he hasn't had an idea in years."

What these comments reveal is some of the emotional electricity which usually accompanies discussions of authority. Paradoxically they also reveal a high degree of expectation that the bishop should perform and that his position is significant. It is within this emotional context that routine problems of organizational management now take place and a new one is emerging: the problem of re-distribution of power.

This issue of redistribution of authority is a direct

consequence of the idea of collegiality which emerged at the Council. The image of one man prudently making all the significant choices in a diocesan organization has been theologically discredited by the idea of shared decision-making (and perhaps by exposing the impossibility and absurdity of the older presupposition). This problem of redistribution has had differential impacts on various groups of priests.

Hours of interviews with older priests have produced a verification of this model of vertical authority and usually in terms of expression of resentment at the insubordination of the younger men or a statement of confusion at their change in orientation. Much criticism of authority, for example, seemed to reflect an inability to adapt to this new style. "Why doesn't he tell me what I should do here" complained one middle-aged priest in an urban parish, "doesn't he know I exist. I wonder if he thinks I can't do the work..." This type of soul-searching we found in many middle-aged priests and it is far more extensive than any measure of "drop-outs" would indicate. (This is probably explained by the fact that most men of this age have been strongly shaped by the maxim "once a priest, always a priest" and thus they see no possible solution open in that direction;

or it could be simply the hard facts of the job market at this age. More than once priests told this interviewer that they would not be a priest if "they had it to do again".)

Another factor working here is the inability to change one's perspective on authority. A radical shift of emphasis is happening in the authority structures of the Church and the ideology of authority, collegiality and democratization, as we have seen. On the personal level of the individual priest, this requires a strong shift of his style of obedience and his style of response. Many simply cannot do this. They look to the diocese or to the bishop to employ them, while perhaps the bishop is trying to prod them into self-activation. This process has happened frequently in Catholic colleges. Whereas before, religious profession was instant assurance of tenure and a stable job at a college, the whole movement of secularization of these institutions has resulted in the firing of religious faculty or simply not guaranteeing their employ.

Two cases in our files illustrated this. One priest expressed disappointment:

"I came back from the missions at _____ thinking they had some need for me here. I was left sitting on my hands for months, and everytime I saw the boss he just kept asking me what I wanted to do. I told him

that I could do a lot of things. Why didn't he assign me? It made me begin to feel that I was useless..."

In another discussion with a priest-professor who had completed a course of studies he explained how he had worked very hard at his studies and now the diocese was not going to hire him in their college. While he showed a great appreciation for the new directions in college policy and basic agreement with the hiring procedures, still it was a discovery of alienation:

"I really began to see the Church -- the diocese -- as an organization to which I belonged. I was thinking up to then in terms of being a member of the group, an insider -- sort of a feeling of belonging to a community. This made me realize that I was an employee, and wow! my ideas changed. I began to realize that this was a second rate or third rate college...if I had to fight to get in, this place was not worth the bother...I admit there was a lot of bitterness at first, but then I realized that I should follow this to its logical conclusions. I was a competently trained (scholar) and I would work at an institution of quality...I finally saw the diocesan educational scene as too narrow and inbred. I would never get back into it. I'm glad I made the break."

In these two cases again we confront the phenomenon of alternation. In the first case there is a resistance to an awareness of a new context of authority and an insistence that superiors work by the old rules and within the older context.

In the second case, we find a growing phenomenon among younger priests exemplified: that of becoming conscious of themselves as church employees. This consciousness is accepted in a matter of fact way by younger seminarians and some talk of an open commitment to the priesthood, and it is also very strong among younger priests who look on the diocese simply as providing some job opportunities.

This helps explain a recent development in the priesthood where many men still remain priests but seek employment outside the institutional structures. In a somewhat oversimplified description, what is happening is a breakdown of parochialism or the belief that all dedicated work must take place within the Church structures. Priests have left the Catholic school system to work in the public schools and colleges, some have taken jobs in drug programs, poverty organizations and social agencies. This seems to be a natural result of the professionalization of the priesthood in secular areas such as social work, psychiatry and education, and needless to say, a whole ideological debate goes on within the priesthood to explain this ("the Church must be in the marketplace", the nature of the "hyphen-priest", etc.). What interests us here is not this debate, but the fact that the process of alternation has occurred; and that the Church is no longer seen as an all

embracing institution, but as an employer with certain resources and certain outlets for one's talents. This role separation of the priest from the Church has many implications which are just beginning to emerge.

We can see that institutional alienation has a specific post-Vatican dimension. The efforts of the institution to reform its value structures (eg: from an obedience of command to one of consultation) or to reform its institutional functioning (eg: disown the need to work only within its own institutions) have consequently changed the role of members of the institution. Role change is implicit in institutional change. While some have met this fact with bitterness, and a kind of passive resentment and feeling of rejection; others have experienced an alternating experience which makes them re-examine their ties with the institutional work of the group or with the very fundamental claims of the group. It also raises questions about the nature of the priesthood which has been directed more towards employment in church-related institutions (schools, hospitals and church management) rather than in directly parochial functions.

Of special interest to us here is the priest's frustration with the parish ministry. This has come out in specific cases of some men leaving in complaint but especially in

meetings of priests who complain of parish ministry and the emphasis on programs of "experimental ministry".

Henry spoke of frustration with pastoral assignment:

"In my first assignment, I was too young to see problems, too excited about all the things I planned to do. It was good, too, because the boss (the pastor) was kinda old and easy going and he liked me. Then I was transferred to X. Here was a sick parish. All the pastor talked about was raising money and Bingo, and V. (the other curate) was a nervous wreck who never left the house. The pastor was really aloof from the people and had a feud going with the nuns. To be caught talking to them was immediately to go on his list -- he'd think you were against him. But he wouldn't talk about it; he would just send you a letter! Imagine, a letter sent to someone in the same house! We had tight rules in the house. He told us we had to be home at a certain time, and -- here comes the incredible part -- he would let the dogs loose at night in the hall to 'keep the robbers out'; they also kept us in our rooms. This was a sick place."

He went on to describe how he began reading and taking a course on pastoral ministry and was led to the conclusion "that parishes were a structure of the past, and he would not waste his life in one".

In general, the common complaint about the parish is the life-style of the priests, either poor interpersonal relationships among the priests, or a wealthy life style and a whole complex of special treatment given to their status; or

complaints about the burden of trying to maintain this parish plant system of school, rectory, church and convent. One fact does emerge in the many hours of discussion with priests both inside and out of the parish: the parish is very much dominated by the personality style of the pastor. Interpersonal relations and work style depend very much on him.

This is to be expected since he is a "work boss" of a rather unstructured work situation. Although there is some sense of seniority of first, second and third assistant priest, there is no specific role for these statuses. Rather we have the image of a work team whose assignment is very fluid and whose relations to the pastor are equally fluid. In other words, the pastor sets the style of control he will exercise (from autocratic to non-directive) and determines the work priorities of his men. In such an unstructured situation, it is no wonder that "the boss" is a common topic of clerical gossip and that one congratulates himself if the boss "isn't too bad".

This situation has led to some men leaving out of work frustration, of some like Henry quoted above to study and reflect on the parish and decide "it's a tool that just can't do the job."⁶ It has also led to many tense clerical meetings. In one meeting of a priests' group a black list of twenty

parishes was circulated and the request made that the bishop send no men to these places, but replace them with an experimental team. The reasons focused on pastors: resisting changes in the liturgy, unavailable and aloof from the people, "money-mad", too rough on his curates, a drinker, etc.⁷

The more common plea in most areas is for some form of experimental ministry. The author has consulted with three groups of priests from different urban dioceses and the consensus of these meetings is focused on personalities and on the institutional limitations of the parish. While the idea of "experiment" is usually vague, it does emphasize a growing malaise about parish and a growing sense that real institutional reform is needed.

We also found, as did the Jud study, that men would solve the problem by moving into "special assignments" and administrative posts. In one urban diocese, almost fifty percent of the priests were in administrative positions or on special programs while many parish churches were understaffed. In general, however, and perhaps because of alternatives, very few of the men interviewed offered parish frustration as determinative of their reason for leaving. This usually took the form of a crisis of personnel management when it happened.⁸

But underlying all the discussion of the parochial

ministry there emerged a very specific problem: the problem of finding a focus for the parish. Behind most of the complaints against the bishop or the pastor and cries for a need for change and the dissatisfaction with present parish structures, there was an uneasy feeling of puzzlement about just what is a parish or what a parish should be doing. In a period of over three years one parish we studied still could not decide on its priorities even though weekly meetings and hundreds of hours of discussion were given to this.⁹ There is a serious anomic problem in the parishes today, and once a parish moves outside an institutional routine of sacramental ministry (Masses, sick calls, funerals and baptisms) it finds itself asking what it should be doing.

There are many complex factors here and each parish situation seems to have its own special combination. On the one hand, there is a shrinkage of the traditional functions, the decreasing use of the parish plant, the church and the school, in some areas; or a shrinkage of roles for the priest (he is no longer the expert counselor or social worker, etc.). On the other hand, there is an implicit new definition of the parish in the definition of the Church in the Council. Priests speak now not in terms of "administering the sacraments" but of "forming community", the question of value of a parochial

school and the lack of involvement in changing the total educational picture in their community, etc. Again all the problems of an anomic period of transitions are found here: the emotional context of various positions, the vagueness of many of the goals, a searching for new relevance, and the search for a new theory of action, the polarization of people and priests in a variety of alliances, etc. Each parish forms its own constellation of elements and develops its own individual answers to this unstructure situation and it is precisely this lack of normative shape which makes the parish -- and the priest -- anomic.

Within the institution there is present another source of alienation which is common to any institution, the problem of personnel management. One man, who was dismissed from an important post, found out about it by a chance remark of a secretary at a cocktail party. He felt shunned and unappreciated by "the church" and his resentment grew until finally he left. Another man who was developing some techniques for missionary support claimed he was "nibbled to death by timid and unimaginative superiors". There were several cases of direct confrontation with superiors where men simply walked out. This type of encounter is common in all types of institutions, and while it is hard to research accurately because

of the highly emotional quality of the reports, one systemic problem emerges clearly: the problem of personnel policy.

The Church goes to great extents to train its personnel, but it is only now bringing in some management techniques to handle these employees when they are actually on the job. Several of the larger urban dioceses have just instituted personnel committees in the last three years (previously all personnel problems were handled by the bishop or his vicar on an ad hoc basis) and have begun the policy of consultation with their men on job assignments. Previously a man was transferred by administrative decision and given very brief notice. This raised many questions about his commitment to the community and his own personal job preferences and the policy has now shifted in several dioceses to one of consultation with the subject and giving him a determinative vote on changing or staying. Like all institutions in transition the practice does not move smoothly.

Tom was a priest in an inner-city parish for over five years and worked closely with the poorer residents of the parish. Tensions began to grow with the appointment of a new pastor who Tom accused of prejudice after several months of internal tension. The bishop's office quickly ordered a transfer for Tom when the issue exploded, but Tom protested

on procedural grounds that he was not consulted and that the pastor should be moved and not himself. A whole group of priests backed Tom while the parishioners were split over the decision. In the ensuing three months the controversy went back and forth, the chancery recinding the transfer and then re-instating it; charges and countercharges were made by the personnel bureau and by the coalition of priests who backed Tom. Finally, he did accept another assignment but only as a brief transition to his resignation from the priesthood.

What clearly emerged in the sessions of the priests' group supporting Tom was a strong resentment about the contradiction of a personnel policy in its first problem case, and an even stronger resentment against the bishop and his staff whom they held directly responsible. This resentment seemed to run deeper than jus. this case and it reflected a general attitude among the priests that the bishop was not a leader, that "he buys peace at any price", and "he always tries to close his eyes and pray that the problem disappears". This resentment was surprisingly strong in this diocese and confirms several incidents in the press which report a general critical attitude towards American bishops.¹⁰

There was a general malaise we found in over eighty per cent of those former priests interviewed; they felt that

bishops were neither men who had caught the ideas and vision of the Council (normative leaders), nor capable or committed to institutional changes (organizational leaders).

The recent national survey of American priests confirms this finding:

"Therefore, since there is disagreement between the leadership and followers on both the practical distribution of power and the helpfulness of structural reform, and since there is a heavy concentration of power in the hands of leadership, and since there is a widespread tendency to ignore unpopular resignations, and, finally, since there is widespread and generalized disagreement between priests and bishops on many religious and ethical issues, one must conclude that there is indeed a situation of polarization between clergy and hierarchy, one that might even be considered dangerous.¹¹

This returns us to our general model of Church reform and gives a concrete instance of the dialectic of normative-institutional tensions in religious institutions. It will be remembered that we spoke of these tensions as being heightened intensely by the reformation of the normative order and that the transition from the old normative order to the new was complex enough, but even more severe since it meant that this had to work itself out in the new institutional forms. From normative₁-institutional₁ to normative₂-institutional₂ is not a smooth passage and while there has been a certain victory

of normative₂, the general presupposition is that a real institutional radical change is unnecessary and that we can merely adapt present Church structures. The power is generally in the hands of those who take this position of institutional conservatism, but it is being challenged by a younger, more ideologically oriented clergyman and some laity. It is precisely at this point that we find much of the "turmoil" in Catholicism.

A great deal of emotion is found in any discussion of authority, as is to be expected, but many priests felt that this is accentuated by the former tight control of priests: assigned and changed at the bishop's will, his work was decided for him by a pastor in a restrictive role relationship, and this situation lasted well on into middle age in most of the large urban parishes. Some see the psychological-emotional reaction almost as an adolescent Sturm und Drang process of acting out. Whatever the psychological roots, the controversy is highly emotionally charged and this is the ambience of today's priesthood.

And ultimately there is the practical level of just what changes are needed in the redistribution of power and the improvement of personnel policy. A 'conservative' reaction points to the confusion and disunity of the Church and argues

that "at least the old system worked"; they lament the divisions of the Church and the loss of efficiency. A loss of authority and not the redistribution of power is what they lament. In the NORC study, for example, we find:

"There is considerable evidence that priests want to see a much wider distribution of the use of authority in the Church. Bishops, on the other hand, are willing to admit theoretically that there is a need for greater decentralization of power, but they do not seem to be inclined to support many specific changes in the power structure. They are by and large inclined to think that the present practical distribution of power is ideal. They are not, in other words, greatly dissatisfied with the way decisions are made in the Church."¹²

This conservative pragmatism of the bishops and many priests has produced a reaction in many other clergymen and it is part of a general process of the politization of the priesthood. Priests' groups in many dioceses have formed either as official senates or as associations (which are not sanctioned as official by the diocese and often represent one segment of the diocesan priesthood). In one diocese the bishop found himself challenged by a young priests' association, an older association of pastors and a priests' senate. Recently in another diocese an association of priests dissolved themselves in protest and frustration because the bishop simply ignored them.¹³

The priests' senates have federated in America in a growing body called the NFPC, the National Federation of Priests' Coun-

cils and sharp differences are evident between this group and the National Bishops' Conference.

A detailed study of this politization is not our task here, but it is valuable to see this as the context of the modern priesthood. The issues over which politization has occurred and conflict with the bishops has emerged are celibacy, the election of bishops, birth control and new forms of ministry, especially forms of protest against war and poverty and race.

It seems valid then to follow Greeley in his opinion that the basic crisis of the priesthood is not sexual but political and that this is the most serious Church problem. It is certainly a dimension in the exodus of men from the priesthood and a basic source of tension within today's clergy.

II. Normative Conflict of Institution-Value

It is said that revolutions are a sign and a product of rising expectation as well as a state of changing values and anomie of the old order. This is the contemporary scene within Catholicism. The movement of reform has brought into focus the implicit tension of the normative vs. the institutional imperatives in every church. The continual problem of institutionalizing charisma and finding institutional

structures for one's ideal has been accelerated by the Council. The motto of nineteenth century liberal theology, "Christ came to establish the kingdom and what emerged was the Church", is now the motto of contemporary reformers and of many sincere priests and religious.

What we are dealing with here is the emergence of this dichotomy or dialectic. In one sense "the corrupt Church" is not a new discovery. The Church has always been confronted with problems of mediocrity and corruption and every realistic churchman can document this fact from his own experience in the church. Stories and salacious details about priests in trouble, about the behind-the-scenes working of authority, about clerical pettiness and clerical politics are frequently and often humorously exchanged within the closed clerical circles. Priests who leave because the Church is corrupt are criticized by some clerics as being too idealist or "too grim", or it is remarked "he needed a sense of humor" or "he took things too seriously".

This normative-institutional dialectic which we describe here can perhaps be more clearly entitled "the dialectic of reform". It is not just the institutional problems we have just outlined which were prevalent in early, pre-Vatican Catholicism, but the conflict of institutional forms and new

ideas. In other words "who has the power to implement the new ideas?" It is the institutional crisis we outlined in Part I of new values trying to work themselves out into new structures. The problem is partially a lack of belief in many of the traditional tasks of the priesthood (maintaining a school, leading devotional prayers, counseling people), either because there is a sense of lack of professional training for some tasks or because there is a feeling that the involvement should be more relevant. The dilemma might be stated in two general complaints often discussed in Church circles. Some feel that "the best people are leaving" and that the most creative people are not attracted to the seminary and the priesthood. Another complaint is the bishops have no intention of implementing a post-Vatican Church. For many then this means that the Church is now trying to recapture a conservative direction. Let us look at three types: 1) Value-change oriented men, 2) Specific value conflicts and 3) Institutional conflicts.

1. Value-change orientation -- In her 1961 study, Neal found that only one-third of the priests of the Boston diocese were oriented to a change in clerical values, and believed that the Church had to change in order to be a messenger of the ideals and goals of Christianity.¹⁴ Later studies of attitudes show that the general proportion of men oriented

toward change was much higher.¹⁵ In this time, of course, the Council had happened and liturgical change, optional celibacy, the Church's involvement in social issues, civil rights and peace marches, all had been discussed and new perspectives had opened.

We cannot go into the multitude of opinion surveys of the clergy here carried out on a national and local level (it is safe to say that every major diocese in the United States and many foreign dioceses have had at least one self-study, especially as preparation for the Roman Synod of 1971, and every religious order has likewise studied itself). Just a look at the longitudinal results of celibacy surveys shows how opinion has shifted and polarized.¹⁶

In Schallert's study value-change oriented men tended to be located in subordinate positions and not in positions of leadership. Over 80% of the more than two hundred priests and over one hundred religious women we spoke to used the vocabulary and ideas of value-change orientation. In one long discussion with two nuns in a congregation devoted to social work they outlined the problem:

"There is a whole group of us, about 10% of the community, who are trying to get things moving. Our original founder wanted us to be mobile and adaptable, and here we are talking about going back

to community order, being in by a certain hour, and all that, wearing religious habits, and working for church organizations. Meanwhile, we see some real potential for doing good work in the inner city, and maybe even changing it. But you wouldn't believe how political this thing has gotten. They look on us as "heretics" because we are pushing the idea of consultation on assignments. It looks like we are heading for a show-down."

Their feeling was echoed by many former priests who felt that they could not "really move" within the institutional framework. A majority of priests who came through the counseling office of Bearings for Reestablishment came looking for jobs in social work, or "working with people". It seems that they still had their idealism but questioned the church as the vehicle for these ideals. There are many complex aspects of this alienation, however, which need further study (psychological projection on the part of some, a liberal idealism which lacks training, etc.); we only stress here that this has become a serious institutional problem since the Vatican Council as the new normative system is putting pressure on many institutional forms, and the priest is very much in the middle.

2. Specific-value conflicts -- This value orientation is toward change in specific policies, values, and institutions of the Church. The most publicized ones emerged from

the birth control encyclical and its aftermath. The protest of Washington priests against Archbishop O'Boyle is probably a typical case.

The traditional sexual teaching of the Church was challenged in the Council and in the Catholic world as being too biologically-institutionally oriented; it stressed the physical mechanisms of the sex act and a concept of the family which seemed culturally bound to medieval Europe. Meanwhile a whole new ambience of personalism in human sex and love, a rising concern over the population problem and the taken-for-granted life style of the mobile urban family affected the context of Catholic teaching. The theological premises challenging birth control doctrine became more insistent.

The Pope's response was basically an appeal to his teaching authority. After unilaterally removing the issue from the Council sessions, and after rejecting the findings of a majority of theological experts chosen by himself to form a rationale, he published the famous encyclical Humanae Vitae. It was basically a re-iteration of older argumentation and an appeal to his teaching authority. This attempt to authoritatively settle an intellectual discussion with so many practical repercussions failed.

The issue touched priests directly because the traditional

position instructed priests to exclude those practicing birth control from the sacraments. The pressure was on every priest who had already taken a liberal line to explain how he could justify his interpretation with "what the Pope says". Now with the encyclical such reconciliation raised the problem of formal disobedience to many sincere Catholics.

A "Statement of Conscience" was issued July 31, 1968 by a group of 51 Washington priests justifying one's right to determine his conscience privately on the matter. Cardinal O'Boyle called them together and asked them to retract, and the fight was on. The offer of mediation by Cardinal Sheehan, head of the Bishops' Mediation Committee, was turned down by O'Boyle since the matter was "a doctrinal one and non-negotiable". A whole group of canon lawyers took up the priests' position but this raised the spectre of putting Cardinal O'Boyle on trial. The Pope sent a letter of praise to the Cardinal while the canon lawyers were appealing to the Roman Congregation on the Clergy. Meanwhile, a group of professors at the Catholic University were censured for teaching contrary to the Encyclical and this action raised the whole issue of academic freedom. What one humorist called "The Pot O'Boyleing" proved to be an issue which shook the clergy. About twenty of the Washington priests left the priesthood and a Bishop, Bishop

Shannon, made national publicity when he left in protest over this issue and married.¹⁷

Probably no more sensitive issue could have been raised since it touched on the borders of Catholic doctrine and because the Pope was investing an enormous amount of his personal power and prestige to decide the issue. It touched on the borders of schism and what prevented this probably was the fact that many Catholics and many priests chose quietly to ignore it. The damage done to Papal credibility and to the idea that Catholicism has a vision of human love and sexuality to offer the world is incalculable. At the moment the issue lies for most priests in a limbo where liberal priests give permissive advice and conservative priests speak of sacrifice and obedience to the Pope and both try to avoid discussing it and resurrecting the intensely bitter discussions that racked many rectories over obedience and morality and church teaching.

As a case, then, it is almost an extreme type of the normative conflict in Catholicism. This emerges, however, in all value issues whether of authority vs. freedom, style of social involvement and even in the very concrete issues of devotional prayers, use of clerical dress, etc. It is this tension of searching for new institutional norms and what to do with

older institutional styles which is pulling at the priesthood and religious life in the aftermath of the Council. Very few issues have been resolved.

3. Institutional conflicts over values -- We have described two types of value-change problems; what is interesting is that this has happened not just on a personal level but on a group level. The Sisters of the Immaculate Heart in California decided that they had to move outside existing structures to be effective, and the Glenmary Sisters of Appalachia chose to do the same.¹⁸

The "IHM" nuns under Anita Caspary, their superior, decided on the necessity of living as "a community committed to the service of man in the spirit of the gospels". Their previous efforts to change their life style met with constant opposition by the Sacred Congregation of Religious and by Cardinal McIntyre of Los Angeles. In October 1967 this community of over 560 women submitted proposals for changes in dress, forms of their life style and of their work.

In the controversy that followed these sisters withdrew from the diocesan school system of Los Angeles. A Roman official and then later a committee of bishops were appointed to mediate the dispute but without success. A letter was sent by the superior to Cardinal Antoniutti, head of the

Roman Congregation of Religious informing him that 300 of the now 375 sisters sought dispensation from their vows and would presume it granted if the letter was not answered. No answer came. The sisters decided to continue as a non-canonical group within the Church but outside the canon law which binds all religious communities. This was a sensational example of a Catholic organization seeking to continue in apostolic service but free from Roman control. It can perhaps suggest a new direction for service communities within the Church, that they will not submit themselves to a legal system which the Church developed over several centuries to control the enthusiasm of sectarian groups. It is a stage in the de-institutionalization of the Church. Others see it in the principle of dissolution of traditional religious service congregations of religious men and women which now exist. It has been the motivation for some to leave, as one nun expressed it:¹⁹

"What these reformers don't realize is that they have only taken a half-step. This is the century that will end religious orders. They are finished and all the fight over renewal and a new life style is just a group who can't let go...the proof is that nobody is entering these congregations."

While the predictions and pessimism expressed here are not necessarily characteristic, what we did find in many interviews with religious was this sense of alternation

concerning the institution. Many even remarked how the one unthinkable thought in their training and subsequent life as religious had been of leaving the institution. Those who left were spoken about with sadness and in tones of pity; now there is open talk about how long the congregation can go on. We have confirmed this in hours of conversation with religious men and women; some are optimistic but there is open discussion among many in communities about the future of the group, comments like "I would leave if I were younger"; "I wouldn't urge anyone to become a _____(religious) today"; or just a general feeling that there is no longer any clear purpose or direction to the group, or frank discussion about the non-future of their congregation.

A consequence of this is that the validity of the institution is questioned. Priests feel the need to move outside the institution to be effective. "I left because I'm no longer that young. I don't have time for structures to change", said one man in his early forties. In some cases whole groups within a community have left for greater flexibility and effectivity. A group of Notre Dame Sisters (11) left in Cleveland in protest against their order "running away from the poor" to form a Community of Christian Service in Pueblo, Idaho. There is also the case of the Glenmary

Sisters who felt the need of removing themselves from the Roman control of the Congregation of Religious as well as from the internal control of their own governing Chapter caught up in the tensions of reform.²⁰ There is an awareness, in other words, of institutional lag in many who leave, and a sense of the need to find new forms of ministry.

This has been expressed by many priests such as Bernard Cooke who left the Jesuit order because he wishes to find new forms of ministry outside the present structures, and this idea of a new form of priesthood was the inspiration behind the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry.²¹

Others have gone beyond this impatience with a painfully changing and renewing institution and have even seen these institutions as non-Christian. Some would challenge the institution not only as a dead form like monasticism but as fostering non-human and non-Christian virtues: a sense of being select, creating a spiritual ghetto or subculture safely out of touch with life and human problems; they point to the depersonalizing elements of changing one's own name with religious profession (and in many women's groups taking a man's name), the "psychological sickness" of many of the rules and the daily order, the domination by a superior, etc.²²

Thus we see a critique of both the effective functioning of the group and the very existence of religious communities.

Tension has built up between men who are convinced that the organization is basically efficient and those who feel that new forms of the distribution of authority are necessary. This politization is especially strong among priests. Two directions seem to be emerging: a gradual pressure of those within official Catholicism for political reforms such as the election of bishops and a theory and practice of shared responsibility. A second group has moved outside the Church either individually or as groups searching for new forms of ministry and service. Historically many such marginal groups, at first sectarian, were co-opted and their ideas incorporated into the life of the Church such as the Franciscan movement. In the wider historical picture this style of reform "from the border" is traditional and historical. But there is also the possibility that this de-institutionalization will not re-integrate itself but splinter into sectarian groups. Emerging events have not yet reached clarity to predict the future of this movement of reform.

Let us see a specific crisis in the interaction of reform and the problems of poverty in the priesthood of the Third World.

Footnotes: Chapter V

1. There is a contemporary dialogue in Catholicism on the nature of permanent commitment especially inspired by the charge that priests and nuns leaving betray Christ. A philosophical approach to the possibility of permanent commitment is one aspect cf.: Richard J. Westley, "On Permanent Commitment" America, May 24, 1969. Concretely it often becomes an emotional and personal discussion among priests about those who leave and analogies are drawn with marriage and divorce, the rationalizations of men who leave are picked apart, etc. An interesting phenomenon of "internal dropouts" comes up here. In two interviews, older priests discussed how they didn't know what to make of the changes, they were too tired to start all over again, and they were discouraged and depressed that much of their hard work in the past is now considered by others as futile. They respectively took a "paper job" and the other continued in a pastorate where he felt little pressure to perform.
2. cf.: Thomas O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion pp. 96-7 on the value-institutional dilemma. Berger, The Sacred Canopy c.1 develops this idea of religious re-inforcement or legitimation.
3. The breakdown of stigma is perhaps the most significant factor along with Church reform contributing to the exodus of priests. Before many men felt trapped or took enormous risks when they moved out of the priesthood. Now there is a movement to use ex-priests. The National Pastoral Council in Holland asked this in 1968 (NCR, January 17, 1968) and it was a topic of the 1971 Roman Synod. In the United States some bishops have officiated at the weddings of their former priests and one diocese is forming a committee to explore ways of re-integrating priests. We have already seen the movement of the Society of Priests for a Free Ministry. In one diocese, a group encouraged by the priests' senate called Fratres in Unum has been formed to develop possible channels of communication.
4. The problem, of course, is that this can create malcontents within. We have recent cases of priests who refused transfers such as William Warthling in Buffalo whose transfer

produced a protest march of 500 inner-city parishioners on the Cathedral against Bishop McNulty and a refusal of the priest to go. In the case of another priest who was transferred from his parish because of his sermons on peace and poverty to a hospital, he quit with the words "when you work for a company for many years and then they give you an elevator boy's assignment, it's a deliberate attempt to force you out".

5. Without dwelling on extreme cases, the point is a type of military or institutional obedience prevailed in which the priorities of the institution had preference over priorities of the individual. The new model of consultation and collegial sharing looses something of this efficiency but it tries more to give weight to personalities and preferences. What seems to be emerging is a de-clericalization of Church management as the Church realizes that it does not have within its clerical ranks the manpower to perform much of its diverse operations (accountants, church managers, specialized ministries to ethnic-linguistic groups, etc.).
6. Beneath the demands for new forms of ministry and the criticism of present parochial structures is the fact that a parish is a ministry without a focus. It is like some inkblot in which priests and laity see all sorts of different ideas and goals. The author's own experience of living with an open parish searching for direction was a confirmation of this fact that there was a struggle 1) to set priorities, 2) to decide who had the authority to set priorities and 3) the conflict of personalities involved and their personal beliefs. Thus anomie is found in goals, authority structures and interpersonal dimensions of community. Part of the problem seems to be the necessity to take options since the ideals of a church really are very varied. Avery Dulles points out that at least seven different models of Catholicism and images of "church" exist in Catholic theology, while most opt for one or two, Revelation Theology (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971). It is this undefined situation which is the source of much tension among priests.
7. This happened with a "Young Priests' Caucus" in Chicago, cf.: Parnell Emmet, "On a Clear Day You Can See the Young Priests' Caucus" Critic, September-October, 1970 pp. 54-65.

It is interesting to note that the National Federation of Priests' Councils originated in Chicago and that the Association of Chicago Priests have been a pressure group on Bishop Cody ever since their appeal to Rome to elect their own bishop. A similar phenomenon happened in Brooklyn.

8. cf.: Gerald Jud, Ex-Pastors, Why Men Leave the Parish Ministry (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970) called "ex-pastors"; in the Catholic priesthood, such men would not be ex-priests but most likely be considered as promoted, and we do not have any way of determining if these men have lost interest in the pastoral ministry.
9. cf.: Note #6
10. This became a startling issue when Bishop James Shannon resigned over the issue of birth control and tensions among the bishops, cf.: Time, June 6, 1969 and NCR, June-August, passim. The tensions are perhaps more accentuated because a theology of priesthood today is stressing the close (sacramental) sharing in the priesthood by bishop and priest, cf.: John R. Sheets, "The One Priesthood: Union of Bishop and Priest" Worship, June-July, 1969. The reality is far from this, cf.: for example Bishop Lucy is requested to resign by his own priests NCR, October 30, 1968 and the many cases we have cited.
11. Andrew Greeley, Priests in the United States p. 104. He stresses that the study found that the fundamental crisis in the priesthood is not sexual, but power. We shall point out that celibacy is also an issue of power below.
12. Greeley, op. cit., p. 104.
13. This formation of pressure groups of clergy is the most significant step toward a realignment of clerical structures since the Council. It has moved rapidly since Fr. DuBay argued for priests' unions cf.: Patrick J. McGeever "Priests' Organizations in the United States: An Interim Report" (New York: Woodstock College, 1968) private circulation and Priests' Forum, the magazine of the NFPC.
14. Marie Augusta Neal, Values and Interests in Social Change (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965).

15. Eugene Schallert and Jacqueline M. Kelley, "Some Factors Associated with Voluntary Withdrawal from the Catholic Priesthood" (San Francisco: Institute for Socio-Religious Research, 1970) private printing.

16. cf.: Jan Kerkhofs, "The Priest of 1971 in Search of His Identity" Pro Mundi Vitae Report (Brussels) #18 p. 176.

1966 (Fichter in USA) sampled 3,048 priests	62% for optional celibacy
1968-9 (7 Brazilian dioceses) 203	78.5%
1968 Holland (priests & deacons) 7,382	46% (27% qualified)
1969 Turin Diocese - Italy	63.1%
1970 Congo priests	80%

This report shows a great deal of inconsistency and lack of data, but there is a minority in favor of mandatory celibacy. In Greeley's NORC study, Priest in the U.S. 28% wanted mandatory celibacy, while Fichter found 38% in 1966. In Spain in 1970 47% wanted mandatory celibacy while of those under 30, only 22.6% wanted it (Kerkhofs). We can see a change of attitude in the last ten years, and especially a significant age stratification in these studies.

17. We have discussed this above in Chapter Two. Bishop Shannon is the most prominent "drop-out" because of this. Tom was another case. As a professor of theology he protested angrily about "the stupidity of (Pope) Paul". "It is an act of intellectual dishonesty. He must have his reasons, probably something to do with Vatican politics, but he is screwing up a lot of lives. How can any teacher be that dishonest. He is really a liar in my eyes." After this emotional discussion which lasted an hour, he spoke about his doubts about being a priest "in such a Church". He left the following week.

18. The story of the Notre Dame Sisters is found in NCR, February 14, 1968 and further details were collected by the author in a two day conference with this group and others on New Forms of Christian Commitment in 1969. In Saint Anthony's Messenger (September 1967) Maureen O'Connor gives her personal version of the crisis and the problem of trying to do effective work in Appalachia while being

pressured by Bishop Alter and Cardinal Antoniutti to wear habits, keep a daily order -- and in general, to impose a quasi-monastic life style.

19. These ideas are expressed by many such as John F. Mahoney "Is Convent Life Fundamentally Unchristian?" NCR, March 6, 1968 pp. 10-11. One of the letters subsequent on the article by Sister Muckenhirn basically agreed. Later, this woman theologian and reform leader of the Holy Cross nuns left in June, 1968 saying, "Since I am a theologian I cannot live withdrawn from modern life experiences". Another nun spoke to the author: "they have built a big castle around a lot of values like silence and celibacy in religious life; they can't admit it was all a mistake".
20. cf.: Maureen O'Connor in St. Anthony's Messenger, loc. cit., What is happening in general in religious groups is a movement of "mini-Councils" or chapters. The form usually is a self-study and a plenary session of reform. Strong divisions have emerged in many groups and there has been a splintering of reform groups among which the Glenmary and Immaculate Heart Sisters are the most publicized examples.
21. Bernard Cooke, the theologian assigned to do the theological study of the American priesthood for the American bishops left the Jesuits in October, 1969 (NCR December 3, 1969) seeing " a need to develop new forms of Christian life and priestly ministry. So I do not see the decision to ask for a release from the Society of Jesus and the clerical state as one of leaving the priesthood but of searching for new avenues of expressing this outside the ordinary clerical structures as we know them, though not in opposition to them." Many clerical commentators are cynical of this search for new forms as a subtle form of rationalization by priests. While there are elements of this, as we have seen in our case studies, there are signs of a definite movement forming here.
22. cf.: #19.

CHAPTER VI

PRIESTS OF THE THIRD WORLD

A basic question that every church must face is the complex one of its relationship to "the world". It cannot continue in the world-fleeing or world-negating pattern of sectarianism, rather it finds itself more and more involved with the socio-cultural world in which it finds itself, and with the political structures of the civitas.¹ In Catholicism we have a religion emerging from Jewish sectarianism and from the catacombs to become closely identified with the Roman world and to create that symbiosis of religion and culture which we know as Christendom.² While this religious amalgam was broken at the Reformation and with the religious wars and factions that racked Europe in the subsequent century, there was little formal acknowledgement of defeat by Catholicism and a failure to develop a new rationale for the Church's new position vis-a-vis the world in which it found itself.

Rather the pre-Reformation theology of the Church as a societas perfecta et altior (a perfect and higher society than the state) predominated the social thinking of the Church. The dominance of the Church over the world and its stance of moral superiority led to a position of closure against the rise of the secular state until it reached its height in the reign of

Pius IX and the modernist crisis. It contributed to the mentality that was reflected in the famous "Syllabus of Errors" against all forms of modern trends.³ Its basic thesis was that the ideal state was the confessional state, and that the religion confessed was, of course, Catholicism. At best the secular state was tolerated as a necessary evil (hypothesis). This led to the famous theory of thesis-hypothesis which dominated nineteenth century theory.⁴

It was only eighty years ago that Leo XIII began a reversal of this trend with his encyclical on the rights of working men Rerum Novarum.⁵ This was to be followed by others such as Quadragesimo Anno down to contemporary encyclicals such as John's Mater et Magistra and Populorum Progressio and Pacem in Terris. We note a transit from the closure of Pio Nono towards the modern world to a concern with individual rights and justice for the laborer to a concern with socio-structural problems such as war, race and world poverty in the recent era.

This contemporary emphasis can be noted in the American priesthood in the shift of emphasis from the Catholic labor schools of the 1930s to concerns with inner-city poverty in the 1960s and to the contemporary focus on peace. The "waterfront priest" was replaced by "poverty activists" and then by "peace demonstrators".⁶ We shall see that the Latin American Church has developed an even more radical approach to the problem of

poverty in its position documents from the Medellin conference, while confessional states like Spain are divided on the issue of preserving the older concept of Christendom.⁷

There has been a new orientation in the Church summarized in the preamble to Schema XIII:

The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too are the joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the followers of Christ...This is why this community (Catholic Church) realizes that it is truly and intimately linked with mankind and his history.⁸

This is a reversal over the last century of a theology which saw the world as a "vale of tears" from which religion would give the ultimate liberation. A new theology of involvement is emerging which is working itself out in the concrete context of the American church's confrontation with poverty and racial division. We see a Church emerging from its ethnic roots and trying to deal with the moral issues of poverty, prejudice and peace -- and the internal controversy these issues cause among Catholics.

What is important to realize is that this new self-awareness of the Church takes place within a contemporary concern in America about poverty, peace, politics and racial issues. It coincides with a new American awareness of poverty and race and with the recently emerging consciousness of the nations of the Third World.⁹ Its impact on the Church and its internal

structures is only beginning to emerge, but some index of the tensions and the changes might be found in the priesthood as a barometer of this upheaval. For this reason we would like to explore some case studies first of inner-city and missionary priests and then draw the implications for church structures from this data.

1.) The Experience of Priests. Both missionaries and those priests who work in the inner-cities of our country are dealing with the marginal poor, people on the fringe of society, alienated and often embittered. In fulfillment of a deep sense of mission which they see parallel to Christ's mission to preach to the blind, the lame and poor, they find themselves as messengers of the gospel. But they also find that they bring with them a church which is culturally bound and institutionally top-heavy. It was the observation we heard again and again in our interviews with these men; it is best caught in the phrase "the marginal church".¹⁰

The church worker begins with high idealism and believes that he has something to bring to a mission land or the inner-city. But they described how they began gradually to see the shallowness of their original assumptions and the marginality of their church. Jack spoke about the great freedom of this work: "This is bottom, the only thing they can do to me is move me out, and anywhere else is up." But he went on to speak

of the racist assumptions of many priests and his superiors.

"Here I came into a Black ghetto with a bit of a savior complex. I thought I would really move things and take over. But I found that the older Blacks wanted the traditional church, and the Black power guys wanted no part of a white leader with a white collar. I thought I would lead them out of bondage and poverty. Well, they told me where to go and they weren't about to follow along.

That's when things began to change. I took a good look at what I was witnessing. It wasn't the message of Christ, it was a white church. Why even look at that building over there...it was left when the whites fled and now I am told to turn to these people and ask them to keep it patched up...that really got to me...Then I began to see that my Church stood for a lot of bias and the whole system was loaded against the poor. I read the Kerner Report and thought of the Church...it was like slipping on a glove. It was then I decided that I would have to move outside of this system."

This description of marginality is also expressed in frequent comments which more or less say the same: "I'm asked to say something about human dignity and freedom to the poor but my Church is so chicken to really speak out on race and poverty that I feel like a hypocrite." A rather withering denunciation came from one priest in Bedford-Styvesant and was published in

a leading Catholic journal under the title "A Non-Prophet Organization". The tone of alienation is strongly expressed and articulated.¹¹

Joe expressed this for the missionary. "I was sent to Japan with my college degree and seminary theology to teach these people. But I found such a rich culture that I felt that I just couldn't do the job. I felt so shallow and empty. Christianity simply hasn't found a way of expressing itself in a non-Western way; and I felt progressively more frustrated since the job was too big for me whether the big issues of church theology or simple things like a marriage ritual. And at that moment B. came into my life and helped my decision to focus."¹²

In all these cases there is a sense of alienation from the church. The church vis-a-vis the third world is seen as a white colony and marginal to the poor. This is expressed in many ways, and with varying degrees of clarity and emotional force. One priest began to realize how he was taught to be paternal, to look down on people and really to bring them up to his cultural level. He expressed doubts whether he was a bringer of the gospel or a messenger of middle class, white American values.¹³ Others would go so far as feeling that the message of Christianity had little or nothing to say to poverty and dehumanization.

This gradual radicalization process happens most strongly in the ghetto or in the missions because there the existence of

the church is not taken for granted. It is often seen as an institution of manipulation or a false panacea. The strong Marxian critique that religion dehumanizes people by depriving them of anger and revolt had become an issue in the 60s. We do not mean to imply that the American priests have become Marxists (although there are socialistic leanings in Latin American clergy); the American clergy is too pragmatic perhaps.¹⁴ In any event, we found no evidence of this, but only evidence of being accused of this at times by conservative protestors in the church. Labels like "that pinko priest", that "Irish communist" were heard. This, of course, produces a stronger division and feeling of alienation.

It is the strong discrepancy of perception which is dividing American society and is also affecting the priest in the ghetto.¹⁵ There is a constant pressure on the priest to re-examine himself in this situation, and to question the church he represents. Such a pressure on his image of the church and on his self-image and identification with a service role in the church produces alternation. The taken-for-granted goodness of the Church is questioned, and the relevance of the church to this world is continually challenged.

By contrast, such a process does not go on in a suburban parish to any great degree. The priest finds himself there

in a socio-cultural level familiar with his background, he finds himself accepted and even given a status of high respect, and finds his financial position much more comfortable. In fact, many suburban priests reflect on the dangers of their comfortable position and how easy it is to "settle in". (One director of parish missions for a denomination remarked to me how their ministers came out of the seminary social and theological liberals, but by six years had either left or become "adapted" to the local congregation.) This mechanism of support and reinforcement will be discussed again, but in general we can say that the suburban minister seems to find a place in the community and a basic acceptance of his goals and message.¹⁶

The priest of the third world not only finds wide indifference to his message if not hostility, but he finds himself more and more caught up in the militancy of that world. This has become a part of much social action and ideology today, and the priest inevitably finds himself drawn to it or reacting against it. In the inner-city, in Black and Spanish parishes, the priests are sharply polarized on social issues. Some are even more hostile in their criticism of the administration. Most of the priests in Brooklyn who signed a petition against celibacy or the Newark group who attacked their bishop as a racist illustrate this alienation.

It would be possible to show how the priest in such

areas is usually introduced to a whole new world of thought. In the American church, we find a very rapid development in the secular war against poverty quickly assimilated by these inner-city priests. They accept such ideas as 1) community participation, 2) the need to alter racially existing structures and 3) the need for protests and militancy as operational principles.¹⁷

The point is that none of these are the operational principles of the official church and the diocese. Thus the church itself becomes marginal, preaching a message of poverty but refusing to accept the principles of a war on poverty. One priest quipped: "The bishop is like a mid-western, Republican grandmother praying for poor souls".

Thus marginality sees the church on the fringe of poverty. It also shows the operational weaknesses of the church vis-a-vis these principles. For while the Church is taking great steps toward lay participation, it is seen as not really yet a church of "maximum feasible participation". In its official charity works, it still seems to remain in a "case work" approach, rather than become a strong advocate of structural change, and it shies away from any sort of violent protest.¹⁸

The end result is the radicalization of some inner-city priests, a radicalization which makes some move out of this

marginal church. George, a former priest, spoke strongly about the need for a radical Christianity, and said "the seminary training deliberately depoliticized us, so that we fear protest or the use of force. We even say that religion should stay pure of politics, while there's politics all around us -- certainly a heck of a lot of it in the chancery."

1 b) The Experience of a New Awareness. This radicalization process might be best described as a development of a new awareness. Political analysts like to point out that people must develop an awareness of their suppression before they will rise up for their rights. This idea of sensitizing people (conscientizar) is occurring within the Black world and the Third World of Development. It also takes place in the priesthood. We can trace its gradual development best in the recent autobiography of Tom and Majorie Melville, two former Maryknoll missionaries in Guatemala and now members of the Catonsville Nine. It is paradigmatic of the inner experience of many inner-city and missionary priests interviewed.¹⁹

Tom spoke of his attraction to the priesthood, his experiences at Maryknoll in training and his assignment to an Indian parish in Guatemala. He began by performing the traditional parochial ministries of baptism, administering the sacraments, case work with the poor and religious teaching. Majorie was assigned to a school run for the upper class ladinas

of the country familiarly known as the "Maryknoll Hilton". Gradually she was confronted by the growing realization of the aristocratic attitudes of her students who looked down on the desperately poor Indians of these countries. In face of a quiet indifference among her own Maryknoll community she tried to develop programs to give a Christian conscience to her students. She involved them in social services and in teaching and in contact with Guatemalan poverty. As she struggled to develop these attitudes in her students, her own attitude developed. In both cases, she and Tom, although miles apart and not even acquainted, experienced a similar criticism from church superiors and fellow missionaries that they should worry about saving souls.

It is difficult to sift out the elements of this new awareness as it develops. The autobiography reveals a gradual sense of alienation from many of one's fellow workers in the ministry. For example, Tom found his bishop remote from life and the suffering of the poor while Majorie saw a contrast in her community's protected life of vowed poverty and the real poverty around them. She felt that they protected themselves from seeing it.

Also along with this usually comes a personal sense of being remote from the problems and concerns of men, and again this is especially expressed in Majorie's attempts to

talk with her girls. There is a sense of discovery of the symbolic role she is placed in and the difficulty of escaping out of it and simply "being oneself".

Another element of this new awareness is to see poverty as socially structured, that answers are not found in giving out powdered milk or doing casework, but in developing programs which touch at the roots of poverty. Tom found himself developing cooperatives as a result.

These elements are common to most of the priests and religious we interviewed and this sense of alienation from one's religious group, one's role, and even a growing marginality of one's church are all elements of this "third world consciousness". What is more distinctive of Latin America at this moment is the insight into the political roots of poverty, and at this point social change becomes politicized and one's vision becomes radicalized.

It is difficult to describe this dimension of the vision in general since it varies from country to country and the political situation of Latin America is so different from the United States. Basically it sees the governing power motivated by self-interest and dominating the poor by non-service. The Church tends to support the existing structure by giving religious status to the poor and even the idea that it is God's will that they find their salvation through poverty. It is

almost the classical Marxist portrait and very quickly the accusation of 'communist' is attached to those who challenge the status quo.²⁰ Among most revolutionaries who come out of a Church experience there is the belief that this is a third way or socialism. As we shall see this can take the form of guerrilla resistance, but at this point we must stress that there is a radicalization of consciousness, and that it follows the general pattern of the phenomenology of alternation which we have just shown.²¹

Again, we are back to the institutional dilemma, how does the church support the radical or rebel? There is no doubt that some do remain in the priesthood. And there is no doubt that the historical picture shows how creative such people can be. The institutional problem especially of an institution which praises the prophet, is to learn how to gain insight from him and accept him without killing him. And he in turn needs to find in the institution a good deal of leverage for a real change and a great deal of support for a difficult role. This is an institutional dilemma which the church has not yet really solved even in theory.

2) The Marginal Church. We see the emergence of a new urban Church with men like Groppi, Lucas and the formation of Black clergy caucuses around the United States.²² We also see an emerging group of revolutionary priests of the Third World forming in Latin America, Africa and Spain, men in political

exile and even in prison. The tensions faced by these men present a microcosm of the tensions faced by the Church in the modern world.²³

The American Urban Church. The American urban church of the nineteenth century found itself very closely identified with the urban proletariat and poor of the migrations, even if mainly along ethnic lines. It was a Church of the struggling poor and a church of construction with its schools, hospitals, homes for aged and delinquents and its hosts of social services on the parochial and diocesan level. As such it could hardly be accused of indifference to poverty. And yet its lack of ethnic identification and its failure to be a church of the poor is exactly the complaint of many urban priests today.

The urban crisis is a complex phenomenon which almost defies analysis in itself. How it has had an impact on the churches still needs a great deal of research and study. How did these churches lose touch with the urban poor and to what extent? Certainly whatever our answer is to this question there is no doubt that the church is the focus of many contrary expectations, and neither as an institution nor in its implementations of its own message and values has it adequately met all these expectations. Institutionally it is laboring under tremendous financial burdens and its evaluation of new movements of Black or Spanish power as well as poverty movements is

still ambiguous.

There is a structural problem in that the Church is trying to gridge the gap of its relationship to the new migrant groups, especially the Spanish speaking and Blacks; it is trying to adapt and maintain a set of buildings or a parish plant which were built in another era to deal with the contemporary problems of today's city.²⁴

There is also a value problem which emerged in our research. The Church has an ambiguous stance on the local level toward the immense problems of poverty. Part of this is due to a significant shift away from individual charity and an emphasis on case work to a call for structural changes, a "war on poverty" and even a revolutionary restructuring of the social sources of poverty and degradation. The new emphasis is not to improve and extend the church to the needy but to develop programs which change the stuctural forces which produce poverty. This orientation or new consciousness has permeated social work and American social thought in the last decade and has quickly made its impact on the church. We should add too that this new consciousness involves also a new racial ethnic consciousness which is becoming politicized.²⁵

These two factors then tend to make the Church -- and priests -- marginal to the urban crisis. Somewhat similar to the French worker-priest experiment we find priests in the

inner city seeking to detach themselves from a church which has become "establishment" and often represents the interests and prejudices of the middle class. Let us take a look at this urban church crisis especially as it touches the lives of priests.

1) New priorities. Involved in the Church's new self-definition we find a sharp shift in priorities in the inner-city ministry. We might characterize it as a shift from the sacramental to social ministry. Twenty years ago (and today in the suburban parish) the priest was kept active in ministry to larger congregations, baptizing and marrying, anointing and preaching, and spending a great deal of his time with church organizations and school life. By the admission of all, this activity focused around the church has diminished in the inner-city and often has been replaced by the need to maintain a progressively decaying structure with a dwindling income. Most of the churches were built on a grand scale by previous ethnic groups only to be found half used and half empty today.

The present picture of the urban church is one of transition and confusion and division. The socially minded priest is trying to redefine his role in terms of community organized and prophetic leader, while many other priests in the same area are working out of different priorities. Our research was not geared to analyze this in statistical detail, but the general picture emerges of a sharp polarization and

sometimes angry tensions among priests assigned to the same area. The most sensitive locale in which this emerges is in the rectory where the system of pastoral appointment places in charge an older man basically working on the older priorities. At times it takes the forms of rather direct prejudice against church members. In one case a pastor purchased an attack dog to keep "those new people" away from the rectory and in another the people heard from the pulpit "we want you to come on time for services; if we were giving out welfare money you people would certainly come on time -- so do the same here?" While these are extreme examples, the inter-priestly tensions come from more mundane and practical issues as well as issues of church tactics and policy. One is that of door duty or the system which expects a priest to be available in the rectory. Some priests see this as an essential part of their service, others see it as a way of avoiding involvement and wasting time. It became such an issue that in one diocese a younger group of priests did a survey on it and tried to use the results as a pressure tactic (which was unsuccessful).

This polarization of attitudes usually takes a sharp age stratification, and we find a set of attitudes which emerges in almost every level of concrete decision-making. It is not just limited to this age division however. From evidence gathered at over two dozen clergy meetings, there is a sharp

division of opinion on how the church should confront the problem of poverty and work in the inner-city. It is precisely this lack of cooperation which made Tom say: "I'm leaving because we're not going anywhere. I had hoped when I came to this area that some of us could get together and make a dent. I don't believe this anymore. I think that the clergy will be fighting like this five years from now and that if I come back in another five years I will be able to pick up the same fights I left still going on." While this is one specific example, there is no doubt that the polarization of the clergy is an extremely significant issue, a contributing factor to the dropout problem and a source of great frustration to those who are working in the active ministry. There is still no strong unifying ideology among priests of the inner-city (although the trend from sacramental to social provides some base for one) nor is there any strong unity among these priests as a clergy group in most dioceses.

2) Identification. Stemming from the problem of a shift of the church's value system and self-definition is the identity crisis of the priest. In the inner-city it takes such forms as a question "what am I doing that a social worker doesn't do?" "Was I ordained to be a big band-aid for the welfare system?" Or it is often spoken of in terms of the need for specialization (usually in the social sciences). What is involved here

is not just the church's struggle to redefine itself, but also the consequent redefinition process for the priest (as we saw in chapter one).

Structurally the roots of the problem are the fact that he is asked to fill several roles of leadership. The most salient ones affecting his identity are 1) the ritual or priestly role, 2) the institutional role of the representative and maintainer of a church plant, 3) the prophetic role of leader for social reform. We might also mention two other very important roles of 4) counselor and advisor to people in their many problems. In this role he is a community ombudsman to whom many come when the welfare system, the courts, or social services break down. Another important role he plays in the ghetto is 5) the symbolic role of religious leader. He is asked to respond to the needs of a type of religious fundamentalism which has been identified by several sociologists as a feature of the culture of poverty, and called upon to bless houses and persons against evil influences, to say prayers for someone and to preside over rituals of death.

The issue of how an individual priest reacts to this complex pattern of roles and role-expectations varies greatly. Some find in it a great freedom of action, others see it as conflicting and tension-producing, while others seem hardly aware that it exists. There are many involved issues of social

psychology here which we cannot enter into, rather we would like to discuss two other consequences of the problem outlined.

3) Marginality to the community. The first consequence of what we have described so far is the priest's problem of marginality to the neighborhood. To some extent, he falls into the category used by Herbert Gans of "caretaker".²⁶ Like the police, social worker and teacher he represents "the establishment" and usually comes from another ethnic group, although he does reside in the neighborhood. This alienation of the priest by the community comes from both the large dechristianized masses in his area who see little point to what he is doing and what he believes in. It especially comes, however, from the growing militancy of the ghetto which puts a premium on one's racial identity, and this is strongest in the Black community. The position of a white leader is extremely precarious and paternalism is doubly dangerous. Several respondents told how the church is losing because there are no Black clergymen and others spoke of how they had to get out, especially when their work began to take a more socially involved direction. In other words, as the priest began to redefine his relevance in this social direction, community leaders began to reject him in his self-appointed role of leadership. This has put severe pressure on many priests; some have reacted with

bitterness or developed an indifference to the area, while others have chosen to leave. This demand for Black priests and a Black church is one of the most serious pressures the renewed church has to face in the years to come, since the danger is that both Church and priests will become progressively more marginal to the younger and more militant members of the community.

4) Marginality of the Church. What has also developed in this situation is a serious critique of "the Church". While the term is used loosely of the Roman Catholic value system, a parish rectory or parish community, its normal referent in most of our conversations was the diocese and more specifically the policy of the chancery (much as urban residents would speak of "city hall"). The criticism spoke of 1) a lack of leadership, 2) a lack of a sense of support and 3) the prejudice of downtown. The validity of the criticism is perhaps less important than the intensity of it a strong sense of alienation developing in inner city priests. It has emerged in some dramatic examples such as the case of the Newark priests who attacked their bishop for being a racist. In reply to why they did it in such a public way, they retorted that all official channels had been tried and no response had been made. There are numerous examples of this gap of management and workers in every hierarchic church.

To some extent then we see the same polarization that the Kerner Report spoke of in our society permeating the Church and the consequent tensions and antagonisms.²⁷ An interesting discovery of our study was the progressive radicalization of the urban clergy. Not only are they caught up in a renewed vision of the church but along with this new consciousness is a social consciousness very much influenced by the inner city. We shall see this even more clearly in the case of the Latin American priesthood very shortly. This radicalism not only puts them into conflict with much of "white America" but also into conflict with the official church. What is remarkable so far is not that some leave the church because of their new consciousness, but that the institutional church is able to tolerate these men and occasionally support them rather than close ranks against them. That a Berrigan can still be a bona-fide member of the church and the Jesuits shows a remarkable institutional flexibility, or that a Lucas could write such a strong condemnation of the white church and remain a pastor in that Church. What such a policy will do to the institution still remains to be seen.

The Church has not yet moved in the direction of a strong social innovator (as the Ford Foundation, for example) and rarely has moved in terms of institutional, political pressure in the war on poverty with the same intensity that it did

so in the past on a moral crusade against pornography or movies or abortion. It lacks the unanimity to do so. In fact we might say that structurally and in terms of values the church is as seriously divided on the urban-racial issue as any other element in our society today, and that this division is at the root of serious divisions in the priesthood.

Thus there is the pressure of a double marginality in the urban priesthood, an alienation from the racial and ethnic communities he serves and an alienation from the institutional church in which he works. Added to this is a sharp division within the priesthood itself over goals and priorities.

This is a serious situation which usually has the end result of isolating men and reducing priestly work to individual apostolates. Some indication of this came from four active, urban priests who spoke of their ideal as "doing your own thing". While this approach has developed the Lucases, Groppis and Ber-rigans, it basically fails to mobilize the team effort of fellow priests and the institutional resources of the Catholic Church in the war on poverty.²⁸

The Latin American Revolutionary Church. In speaking of priests of the poor it is instructive to look at the social revolution going on in Latin America, how it touches the Church and how it has involved the priests.²⁹ In general we find a spiritual, atemporal Church still influenced by its Spanish

heritage. But emerging from this Church is a whole new awareness of the structures of poverty, a movement of revolution which has its own theory (or theology of revolution), its own hero martyr in the Columbian priest Camilo Torres, and an organization developing within the priesthood (Tercer Mundo). It is impossible to explore this in any detail here; its value for our analysis is that it provides a more developed stage of the latent situation in the inner-city.

Both social scientists and revolutionaries point out the wide gap of rich and poor in Latin America, the lack of a middle class and the concentration of wealth and power in a small ruling elite. "Yanki imperialism" is seen as supportive of this "status quo" and so is the powerful Catholic Church.³⁰ The problematic position of the Church is that it is caught in this dilemma; if it speaks out for law and order and civil disobedience it is supportive of a colonial-military regime. If it speaks in the terms of recent Church documents on peace and the development of peoples it either runs the risk of overdi- luting those documents to read as platitudes or takes a radical stance close to the revolutionary. The missionary from North America is in an even more problematic dilemma; if he simply expands the work of the native church he seems to be supportive of the status quo, if he turns toward social change he runs all the risks of being a revolutionary and an outsider besides

(non-identification and interference in the internal politics of a country). It is this type of radicalization which causes such problems in the Peace Corps, which led to the Maryknoll crisis in Guatemala and which is a prototype in many ways of the white inner-city priests searching for a way to go in the American Black revolution.

Two aspects of this Latin Church ferment are pertinent here for our study, 1) the development of a new consciousness within Christianity, and 2) the organization of radical priests.

1) A New Social Consciousness. Church thinkers were giving much attention to an analysis of and a tactic for the desperate poverty of the Third World at the time of the Council. The Jesuit Institute in Chile and their magazine Mensaje was one example of the development of a Catholic theory of social change. This in turn had its roots in recent French Catholic social philosophy. The fact is that this came onto center stage with the Vatican document Gaudium et Spes (On the Development of People) and gained official legitimation. These two factors set the Church on a radically new course of social awareness. Bishops formed into a continent-wide conference called CELAM and recently developed their own interpretation of human development for Latin America in the Medellin conference.

The new movement sees the need for a "profound change

of structures" and revolution (not necessarily violence). The internal colonialism of the conquista continues under a native elite and the proposed solutions have the general shape of identification with the poor and the formation of a socialistic state. The Medellin papers and individual bishops such as Dom Helder Camara of Recife move the Church strongly in the direction of socialism (they are far stronger statements on poverty than anything which has come from North American bishops). The result of this is a severe internal division within the Church which is seen by the third world priests as a Church of the 'second estate'. This social analysis and philosophy of change also moves very close to Marxism and shares many ideas with it (class warfare, dialectic of change, socialistic state).

Thus ideology becomes politicized both in the internal politics of the Church and in the relationship of church and state. The situation in Brazil has perhaps become the most extreme where we find the Pope finally speaking out in protest against the torture of priests and nuns and the imprisonment of many. Protests and demonstrations in Columbia mix placards of Camilo Torres with Che Guevara and the Chilean Church supporting the new Allende socialistic regime.

Partially as a result of the papal documents on human liberty and development a new theology of hope has sprung up among Catholic thinkers, and this in turn quickly becomes a theology of liberation-revolution. Americans like Harvey Cox

and James Cone and Latin theologians like Rubem Alves build on European thought (Jurgen Moltmann, Ernst Bloch) and begin to identify salvation with human liberation and sin as that which oppresses man. They call man to the task of working toward an attainable future and to see that this is God working with them. The Brazilian novelist Antonia Callado says it well:

It all changed so fast. In 1959, traveling around Juliao's peasant leagues in North-East Brazil, I didn't see one priest involved. Two years later, after Pope John, they were all over the place. Now they have priests who talk the same language Juliao talked, the peasants are gathering around the Church. They tell them that Christ came to the earth to help hungry people like yourselves, and that even to help the rich you've got to take some of their money away because they'll never get used to heaven with so much wealth. This kind of unsophisticated teaching is just soaked up like rain into a desert. The center of revolution in Latin America is going to be the Church. Ten years ago I'd have laughed at the idea, but now they're the axis.³¹

What interests us here is the sociological implications of this theology. We see an exercise in utopia-making of a religious-secular type. This is not to brand it as unreal but as future oriented, looking for a better state, a better world. The same type of process happened in the American and French Revolutions, but in this case the convergence of Catholic and Marxist, and the religious impetus given to revolution is fascinating. It is too early to predict and

there are many issues both theoretical and practical to solve, but we do see a revolution shaping not hostile to the Church (as the French or Russian) but dividing the Church and finding religious legitimation in the partisans of Church renewal.

2) The Organization of Radical Priests. The history of these events still has to be written and it is impossible to trace them here; what is significant for us is the emergence from this new consciousness of an organization of priests called the Priests of the Third World (Sacerdotes del Tercer Mundo). This shared consciousness is forging a solidarity of priests from Europe, especially Spain and France, with Latin American priests (the American priests are significantly absent in this movement).

In 1968 the Latin Bishops met at Medellin, Columbia and produced a series of documents credited with being "the new Pentecost of Latin America". These documents were inspired by recent papal writings especially Populorum Progressio and Latin American social philosophy built around the idea of "conscientizar".³² At the same time eighteen bishops issued a pastoral letter on the needs of the Third World, and in several countries priests organized to discuss this letter. Gradually groups became aware of specific interests and took organizational shape. For example, four hundred priests signed a manifesto in Argentina in the following year and the movement took form

in that country. In Columbia a group formed called the Golconda priests (named after the place where they met in December, 1968) to add their "reflection toward the search of a new and more intense presence of the Church in the contemporary transformation of Latin America".

At this writing groups have formed in every South American country with international links. Also we find parallel groups in France and Spain which have grown up rather independently but contemporaneously with this Latin movement. What we are watching in other words is a movement which is taking organizational shape. But more significantly a movement which began within and worked the institutional Church; its inspiration came from the bishops at Medellin and in the episcopal letter mentioned above. There is a confrontation within the church and episcopacy between conservative and radical bishops, and an even more serious confrontation between Church and State in Latin America. There is documentation of the torture of priests and nuns by the military regime of Brazil, and the implication of some tercermundistas in the assassination of President Ongania of Argentina recently.

The organized movement too is split on the issue of revolution. Does this term mean the violent overthrowing of colonial structures or peaceful evolution of radical new social forms? What pragmatic and theoretical alliance will the movement form with Latin American Marxism? How will this divide

the immensely powerful Church in Latin America? and above all for our purposes, how will this shape the Latin American priesthood?

Many of these questions are awaiting the answer of historical development. Our presentation here is not meant to be anything more than an illuminative comparison of the problem of marginality and crisis in the Church and the resultant alienation of priests. In North America we do not find a movement taking such ideological shape, nor do we find such a strong commitment to radical restructuring of society to eliminate poverty. Perhaps this is due to a lack of strong revolutionary ideology in American secular society, perhaps most Americans do not see the colonial model as applicable to America(except radical Black and Spanish groups).

What does emerge both in North and South American Churches is the problem of identification with and dedication to a marginal church. This has produced role conflict for men in the ministry and motivation for some to sever connectiond with the Church.

Chap. VI. PRIESTS OF THE THIRD WORLD

1. cf. Thomas O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion, op. cit., c. 4.
2. A great deal of history and theology has been written about this idea of 'Christendom'. For example, the essays and works of Christopher Dawson give a historical and sociological analysis of the period; cf. "The Sociological Foundations of Medieval Christendom" in Medieval Essays (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1959). Many authors point out that the principle was still continued in Reformation thought with the ideal of the confessional state but that the Reform was the first step in the shattering of Christendom. cf: John P. Dolan, A History of the Reformation (New York: Mentor-Omega Books, 1967). In some Catholic circles, historians clung to the lost dream of Christendom cf: James Walsh, The Thirteenth, The Greatest of Centuries (New York: Catholic Summer School Press, 1906) as an example of this genre. What is more important is that it continued as a theological theory cf. note 4.
3. A brief history of this era can be found in E.E.Y. Hayles, The Catholic Church in the Modern World (New York: Doubleday, 1960) and a whole issue of Continuum Summer, 1965 vol. 3 is devoted to an analysis of modernism.
4. This famous theory was developed by Roman theologians to deal with the problem that although the "ideal state" was a Catholic confession state (hypothesis), its realization was remote and so the thesis or actual state of things had to be tolerated. The document of Vatican II on the Church in the Modern World rejected this idea of the "confessional state" and set the secular state as the ideal, in other words, the separation of Church and State. cf: John C. Murray, We Hold These Truths (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1960) for a discussion of the thinking behind the two theories. Murray, an American Jesuit theologian, was the chief architect of this section of "Schema XIII" cf: text in Abbott (ed) op. cit.
5. The best comprehensive study of the papal social teachings in Jean-Yves Calvez and J. Perrin, The Church and Social Justice: The Social Teaching of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII (Chicago: Regnery, 1961) and later Calvez'

Social Thought of John XXIII (Chicago: Regnery, 1965) also Peter Riga, Peace on Earth (New York: Herder & Herder, 1964).

6. The War on Poverty and the civil rights movement deeply involved many priests. "A. S." is a very real landmark (After Selma) as Pettingrew's study shown cf: Thomas F. Pettigrew & Ernest Campbell, Christians in Racial Crisis (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1959). The trends are seen in Edward A. Marcinack, "Catholic Social Action: Where do we go from Here?" America Dec.12, 1970 while a more general history of American Catholic social thought is found in Aaron I. Abell, American Catholic Thought and Social Questions (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968).
7. CELAM, The Church in the Present Day Transformation of Latin America (Bogata: Columbia, 1970) 2 vol. It was this famous Medellin conference which gave birth to the Movimiento del Tercer Mundo or "Third World Priests Organization", as we shall see. This movement in Spain is still developing in the 70s and challenging the confessional state idea cf: "Religious Liberty in Spanish History" Herder Correspondence July, 1967 and La Documentation Catholique, a monthly Catholic documentation service published in Paris passim since 1968.
8. Schema XIII, Preamble cf: Abbott, op. cit., p. 199.
9. A study of the anti-poverty movement in America would take us far afield, but we see the Church in some priests closely paralleling the movement and bringing it into the Church. We might see the shift from case work to community development in American social work paralleled cf: Philip Klein, From Philanthropy to Social Welfare (San Francisco: Josset-Bass, 1968). What has also happened is the radicalization of some priests by this. Lawrence Lucas, a priest of Harlem expresses this most severely in Black Priest, White Church (New York: Random House, 1970). In a fascinating study of VISTA volunteers, Prof. David Gottlieb shows how the volunteers became radicalized against American policies by their experiences as it showed its ineptitude before problems of severe poverty. We would suggest that the same has happened with priests toward the Church cf: New York Times May 24, 1971. Martin Rein suggests a parallel problem for social workers "Social Work in Search of a Radical Profession" Social Work, XV, 2, April, 1970 pp. 13-28.

10. We use this term of a church which is (or is accused of being) on the fringe of a culture or on the fringe of a socio-economic group. Many of our respondents saw the Church as middle-class and white, not identified with Spanish and Black poor. They seem to verify the famous Kerner report on riots which saw our national living in two sectors, separate and unequal.
11. Rev. William J. Duncan, "A Non-Prophet Organization" Commonwealth Dec. 20, 1968. Some example of alienation can be caught in these scattered quotes: "In oak-paneled rectories, confused white priests dispense an ever-increasing number of "food tickets" ... Despite a rapidly emerging Black consciousness, there are no Black clergy, no Black leaders in ghetto parishes ... Ill-trained nuns, ignorant of Black and Puerto Rican culture, but eager to be "relevant" and "meaningful", see themselves as "missionaries to these people". They bring a white Jesus into a Black community ... (this) grows out of the Church's continued cooperation with the larger society's racism." He goes on to complain of the white colonialism in the ghetto on the part of the Church and the lack of imagination and love in the Church towards the poor. These comments have been echoed in other words and in other places in many interviews with varying tones of alienation. Fr. Duncan left the priesthood the following year.
12. Here we find a marginality to culture. In interviews with ex-priests of the inner-city there was little sensitivity to the idea that the inner city priest is marginal to a culture. There is a small group of active priests who seem concerned that the Church is burying the ethnic culture of the Puerto Ricans and ignoring Black culture. This would be a study in itself. Such sensitivity to culture was found mainly among ex-missionaries in our study.
13. Jay said: "I began to analyze my own motivation and I discovered that I had to convince myself that people needed me in order to put up with the tough life on the missions. Everytime I could build up dependency in a person, I felt good. Well, S. pointed this out to me one day and it came as a shock. Maybe that's why I fell in love with her. All I know is that I stopped believing in the middle class, American Catholicism I was exporting."
14. We discuss Latin American priests below. While American priests tend to be less ideological and more pragmatic

perhaps, and certainly not as a group influenced by Marxists ideas (in fact the critics only reflect the rapid anti-communism of the 1950s in American Catholicism) there is some interest now developing slowly in "Black Theology", but very slightly, if our evidence is a barometer. cf: James Cone, A. Cleage, etc. (bibl.)

15. There is a serious radicalization of the American priesthood today, which has led to divisions in one diocese studied between "poverty priests" and "suburban or white priests" -- terms used by each group of the other. The focal issue which catalyzed this was the idea of parish sharing or teaming, where the more economically advantaged parish would adopt an inner-city parish. The outcry was from both priests and people of the "suburban" parishes.
16. The feeling is that the inner-city is the source of losing one's priesthood is strong. In a group of 14 men about to be ordained interviewed, this animus against the inner-city was strongly indoctrinated. The 'fact' that many feel that inner-city priests are the troublemakers or are the ones who leave is strong in this diocese. In a still incomplete count of all the priests who left one diocese in five years (102) out of 78 cases verified, approximately 45 could be characterized as 'inner-city'.
17. It would be interesting to document this with a study paralleling the Gottlieb research on VISTA, but this was not part of our research.
18. A recent set of interviews with all members of the Catholic Charities staff (5) in a poverty area confirmed this for one diocese. Although a great deal of discussion was had about maximum feasible participation of the poor and community development, with one exception, all the workers were still doing casework.
19. Thomas & Marjorie Melville, Whose Heaven? Whose Earth? (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1971.) The important point here is that this analysis was frequent in many of our case studies both of missionaries and inner-city priests. The test is a summary of their autobiographies.
20. The event in the life of Camilo Torres show this critique developing up to his radical solution of joining the gue-

rillas and his execution. cf: German Guzman, Camilo Torres (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1969).

21. A recent work puts these revolutionary trends into perspective. cf: Francois Houtart and Andre Rousseau, The Church and Revolution (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1971) which discusses the French Revolution, Cuba, Latin America, etc. in terms of the dilemma of the Church.
22. Fr. Groppi has recently decided to turn his parish over to Black leadership, and in general, this sensitivity to Black leaders is affecting the role of the Church in the ghetto; in a lesser extent, it is also touching the Catholicism of the Puerto Rican communities. At the recent synod, a group of Black American priests held an interview with a Vatican official on the need for a Black bishop of Washington, D.C. to replace the controversial Cardinal O'Boyle.
23. The Spanish clerical scene is beginning to develop serious church-state tensions. According to one priest interviewed, the worker-priest movement is developing in Spain, similar to the labor priest movement here in the United States in the 40s, but with a great deal more police opposition. He told a story of harassment by the government, accusation of being "agitators" and pressure put on church official to expell them.*
24. Catholicism in the American inner-city has not been caught in what Gibson Winter's called The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York: Doubleday, 1961) because of its policy of rarely closing a church; but at the same time, the aging plant, like most inner-city real estate, proves more and more expensive and not adaptable to needs of another group. This was a constant observation and complaint in the interviews.
25. A brief article gives a summary history of this movement is Edward A. Marciniak, "Catholic Social Action: Where Do We Go From Here?" America Dec. 12, 1970. We might also mention Saul Alinsky's close connection with the Catholic church in Chicago as well as Caesar Chavez's identification of his Chicago movement with Catholic symbolism and later the Church's organizational structures. It is interesting that many Black groups and the Young Lords are looking to the Church's for backing.

26. Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: Free Press, 1961) c.1.
27. cf: Herder Correspondence "The Church in the Ghetto" June, 1968 V#6:165-72. James H. Stewart, The Changing Role of the Catholic Priest and His Ministry in An Inner City Context: A Study in Role Change Sociological Analysis xxx, 2 (Summer, 1969) 81-90. An interesting case we found was Gene, who both according to his own self-description and those of fellow priests was a moderate conservative when ordained. He was sent to study Spanish and returned and began working in a ghetto community. There he received training in alinsky style demonstration techniques and absorbed a whole philosophy of confrontation and pressure tactics. His alienation from the Church began when he was stopped from protesting the educational system because "some back-door deals were going on between the Board and the parochial schools and I was messing this set-up. As usually we got sold out, and the people were sold out on education because the Church wanted their schools to survive."
28. The famous worker priest experiment was finally stopped by Rome after years of controversy. It shows the same structural shape as we have noted here. An attempt at close identification with problems of poverty, a gradual radicalization of the priests, official reaction, accusation of Marxism and the church being identified with the status quo, the militancy and finally a severe exodus from church ministry. cf: John Petrie (pseud.) The Worker-Priests: A Collective Documentary (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956). It is very parallel with Latin America; The United States phenomenon is more racial in its emphasis and less ideological. We have not touched on the phase of the revolution which is staying within the Church and represented by such men as Groppi, Lucas and the Berrigans. One work tries to deal with this. Francine du Plessix Gray, Divine Disobedience (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970) talks of Emmaus House, the Berrigans & the Catonsville Nine and Ivan Illich in a rather romantic treatment. The Berrigans, of course, are national news (Time, Jan. 25, 1971). A good treatment is found in The New York Review of Books, April 8, 1971 by Robert Coles. At issue here is the whole dimension of revolutionary change (cf. Chapter one) and the impact of secular ideas of protest, counter institutions, and a vision of history and of man. It is here that Christianity intersects with modern ideas of change. This whole issue of Christianity and social change raises many issues too com-

plex here. The World Council of Churches published four volumes of their 1966 conference and a summary in Harvey Cox, (ed.) The Church Amid Revolution (New York: Association Press, 1967). The influence of Dietrich Bonhoeffer is strongly felt as well as Franz Fanon, Paulo Freire and new Marxists.

29. This section is only to highlight the general structures of the Third World priesthood in the United States through the more articulated model in Latin America. There is as yet no real study of this movement. The Medellin documents mentioned are a help and the proceedings of the CICOP conference (Catholic Interamerican Cooperation Program) especially the latest, Conscientization for Liberation, ed. Louis Colonese (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1971). There are studies of some leaders of this movement. German Guzman has a very subjective appraisal Camilo Torres (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1969) who was a Catholic Che Guevarra or model of the movement. Also John Gerassi (ed.), Revolutionary Priest (New York: Vintage Press, 1971) gives the full writings of Camilo. A study of the Brazil leader Dom Helder Camara is done by Jose de Broucker, The Violence of a Peacemaker (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1970) also his own writing such as Helder Camara, The Church and Colonialism (Denville, N.J.: Dimension Books, 1965).
30. This is detailed in Horowitz, op. cit. Father Colonese was fired from his position in 1971 for his "radicalism" showing how these issues and this ferment has reached the priesthood.
31. De Broucker, op. cit. cc.1.
32. The third world movement in Columbia is also strong as can be seen in a series of statements of "the Golconda Movement" as it has come to be called. El Libro Rojo de los curas rebeldes (Bogata, Columbia, MUNIPROC, 1970). It is interesting to note also that the prestigious Marymount School in Columbia was closed by the order of Religious of the Sacred Heart. Charges of being Marxists were brought against the American nuns and one member of the faculty was a Fr. Rene Garcia of the Golconda movement. One nun interviewed felt that the problem was really bringing the upper-class Columbian children into contact with "the brutalizing poverty of the country, a poverty they don't realize exists".

33. Irving L. Horowitz (ed.) Latin American Radicalism: A Documentary Report on Left & Nationalist Movements (New York: Random House, 1969) gives a good introduction to the crisis. Gary McEoin, Revolution Next Door -- Latin America in the 1970s (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1971). Many good analyses of Latin America exist such as George C Lodge, Engines of Changes (New York: A. Knopf, 1970). A Latin American point of view can be found in Vision (May 8, 1970) "La Iglesia: Lucha por el cambio", and Herder Correspondence, vol. 5, # 8 (Aug, 1968) "The Theology of Revolution" and "The Church and Castro".

Chap. VII INTERPERSONAL ALIENATION - CRISIS OF CELIBACY

When we treat this dimension of alienation we are basically concerned with the specific Catholic problem of celibacy of all her priests as a necessary condition of the priesthood. Although it is a Church discipline of law and not part of the dogmatic nature of the priesthood, the present papal policy is to maintain this law unequivocally and without exception.¹ Needless to say, it is probably the most publicized and the most sensitive contemporary issue of the priesthood.

As an issue of much publicity and emotion, it is important to stress that we are concerned with celibacy only from a sociological point of view. It touches very closely our basic theme of the relationship of institution and identity and we want to submit it to the same phenomenological analysis that we have been using throughout. It is impossible to do full justice to any other aspect of celibacy, its historical roots, its theology in the Western Church or its psychological aspects because of its historical complexity. Rather we are interested in the phenomenon of celibacy as experienced in those who have left the active ministry and the structural implications of this clerical law. We want to describe how celibacy has helped shape a specific institutional role and a legitimating theology as well as to describe why it has become problematic today.² In other

words, to explain the priest exodus as a desire to marry or as a result of immaturity or even psycho-sexual problems (as is so prevalent in popular explanations), is to miss the question why has celibacy become so problematic today in Catholicism and not fifteen or fifty years ago.

In the actual interviews the place of the love of a woman varied. For some priests it had nothing to do with their decision to leave, in other cases, it was the only reason they left, and as they often expressed it "I would go back tomorrow if I could only remain married." In other cases, it was the trigger incident which seemed to fuse a good deal of scattered alienation. Charles Davis explains this well:

I was looking for spiritual liberation. I wanted the strength to leave the Roman Church and become myself with freedom, unafraid to face the consequences of my thinking because of the liberating power of a woman's love.

I should have turned to God, not to a woman. Yes, I, too, know the standard reply. But I did turn to God. And what I ascertained was that he sent me Florence as light and liberation. God does normally answer us through the concrete circumstances of our lives. Florence was light, because the thought of her enabled me to face my own deeper thoughts without emotional threat. Once I no longer feared to leave the Church, I faced the full implications of my objections to it. Florence was liberation, because marriage with her meant that I could go forward positively into the future and plan a new life in freedom. Even had I been able to make the break with the Church, without the positive pole

provided by personal love and marriage my life would have been twisted by the sheer force of the negation, and I should have ended in unbalanced bitterness. As it is, the peace and joy of my personal life has offset the distorting power of the negation, so that I feel serene enough to work with Roman Catholics as well as other Christians for Christian renewal.

Why do people, even those most sympathetic to my personal decision to marry, regard my love for Florence as inevitably a distorting and confusing factor? Is there not a deep-seated reluctance to admit the elevating influence of a woman's love? I did not think objectively about the Church in spite of my love for Florence, but because of it. There are emotional factors other than love for a woman, many of them much stronger, operative upon the decision to believe or disbelieve, to leave the Church or remain. I did not act irrationally in counteracting the intense emotional hold of the Church of my childhood by turning to a freely embraced personal love.³

In general there is a certain structural pattern in this kind of alienation which we shall document below. Celibacy was accepted as part of the commitment to the priesthood which was taken for granted. The self-sacrifice of being ordained and the dedication of the priest was proven in the promise of celibacy. There was a whole rationale of freer service, a more pure love of Christ, a more complete dedication which justified this commitment.⁴ There was also a host of re-inforcement mechanisms to support this commitment (sermons, spiritual direction, role models, confession, etc.), and if a man

expressed doubts in the seminary he was usually assured that God would give him the grace. The only explanation for a priest's leaving the ministry was to be found in the vocabulary of "traitor", "renegade" or "Judas" or perhaps in some psychological terms such as "mixed-up" or "disturbed".⁵ The priest who left was socially stigmatized in the Catholic community and there was little doubt that he would be eternally damned unless he stopped living in sin and repented. In other words, dedication to priestly life was inextricably linked to a celibate form of dedication and assumed by all to be normative and binding. As Gerry said:

Celibacy was a "package deal" when I entered and I never thought about it being any other way. There were times when I wondered if I could do it, but these were always dismissed by my director as temptations. I went along with this, maybe because I was young and idealistic; maybe because I didn't want to be one of those guys who "jumped the league" and were talked about. We had them down as ex-Christians, and damned to hell of course unless they left the woman (funny, we would never call her a wife) and lived a life of penance. ...just penance, mind you; there was no idea that they could come back again. It was Boyd Barret's Shepherds in the Midst all over again... what really spun me around was the debate the Council raised about celibacy. At first I thought 'this optional celibacy idea is way out', then I thought 'maybe for some, but I'm not going to compromise'...well, now I have reached the stage of thinking there is no good reason for being celibate at all.

Celibacy - A New Context It is important to realize that the context of celibacy has changed in the post-Vatican period and an analysis of our data takes place within this context.⁶ In general it fits into our larger model of a new awareness or a new consciousness within Christianity. While surveys show that a large percentage of Catholicism still has the expectancy of a celibate priesthood, there has been a definite trend of more and more in favor of optional celibacy for the priest both on the part of priests themselves and the laity. This has led many to question the taken-for-granted world which sees celibacy and priesthood necessarily linked. In 1966, 1,700 of Holland's 5000 priests signed a petition for optional celibacy. Joseph Fichter surveyed 3,048 American diocesan priests and found 62% in favor of optional celibacy and 47% in favor both before and after ordination. In a 1970 survey in Spain of 15,449 priests 47% were in favor of optional celibacy while of those priests in the survey under 30 years of age 75% favored optional celibacy and at Immaculate Conception Seminary in Conception, Missouri, the students voted 143-32 for optional celibacy. The national survey of American priests in 1969 found that three fifth of priests under thirty-five agreed strongly with a change for optional celibacy and about two-thirds of the priests of the country expect a change in the law (while only

18% of the bishops expected a change). Eighty-eight percent under thirty-five expect a change, while only 22% of the priests said they would marry if they could.⁷

There is no doubt that celibacy has now become a political issue like birth control and that its structure as a 'discipline' has been accented in the recent controversy. As such it has been the option of the Church to impose it as a necessary condition for the priesthood. Perhaps, with Greeley, we can say that the Pope tried to reaffirm it by reasonable justification.⁸ But even since this issue was removed from conciliar discussion and even before, the issue has been a political one and one of personal conviction and passions; it was no longer the taken-for-granted position of Catholicism at large.

For this reason it is hard to read the evidence. Is one's attitude a theological rationalization after the fact? Do subconscious motive and emotional rationalizations work behind the given reason for leaving the priesthood? There is no doubt that the issue today is polemic and political and that we are touching the very sensitive areas of personal involvement and deep human emotions.⁹ Nevertheless, in our interviews with former priests, there was an interpersonal pattern which we call "an awakening to affectivity" which we would like to explore here as an experiential aspect of alternation. In the second

section we shall speak of some sociological dimensions to the celibacy crisis.

I. Celibacy and the Awakening of Affectivity

In a famous article, "I am a Priest, I Want to Marry" in the Saturday Evening Post of March, 1966, Father James Kavanaugh brought the plight of loneliness behind the priest's role to the attention of a wide audience. It is precisely this interpersonal aspect of the institutional role which interests us here. Many respondents spoke in the same terms as Father Kavanaugh of a desire to share one's thoughts and feelings with someone who cared, a desire for a family and the fear of simply becoming "a crusty old bachelor with nobody who cares for him". Perhaps never before in the Church's history has this problem of the interpersonal life of its priests become so seriously questioned and so openly discussed. It is this psycho-social dimension we want to explore here (again building on a phenomenological synthesis of interviews with priests and former priests). There are two important aspects of the problem, 1) the awakening of affectivity and 2) personal supportive life-styles.

1. The Awakening of Affectivity. It is difficult to describe the experience of falling in love. Perhaps this is best left to the artist and to the poet. But it is equally difficult to describe the formation of a celibate priest in which

his affective life is carefully channeled to avoid this experience. He is urged to be a dedicated man, a 'man for others' to be imposed upon and to be available with a spirit of self-sacrifice and little concern for himself. The whole notion of commitment is presented (and accepted by many priests today) as inseparable from celibacy.¹⁰

Tom was a good example of this. He met Jean and they talked about new programs and changes in the Church. She confronted him with the facts that he seemed so impersonal, "always the priest and never the real person of Tom". She accused him of running behind his clerical dress and a certain clerical professional style and "I told him he had learned to play safe, emotionally above it all, but probably very lonely."

Tom spoke of this experience. "At first I was annoyed in a very superior way, but then I suddenly realized there was someone there for me, who cared for me, who wanted to know how I felt. It was a powerful emotional experience and I tried to run away from it. But it made me think a lot about myself. I remembered all the things they told me about avoiding intimacy with women. But I was fascinated by her. I could not accept the fact that anyone could care for me, that I was lovable and wanted, not just as "father", the priest, the man there to help and to be imposed upon, but because I was me. With Jean I was afraid and fascinated." He spoke about how he tried to deny

these feelings and she spoke of his dry, timid, personality. "It helped me see that I had spent years building a shell around myself and thinking of my feelings and emotions only as something that got in my way of being a good priest. I remembered all the things we were taught in the seminary about "particular friendships", how to deal with women, custody of the eyes, the need to be mortified and self-sacrificing and I saw that I had pushed myself into a shell. I was a dry person, I could hardly feel anything, I was emotionally shriveled. It was not just that I protected myself with my shell, but I let myself shrivel as a person inside it. It took a lot of love and a lot of talking with Jean to help me believe in myself again."

This awakening to affectivity came for another priest in a group encounter session and he described how at first he resisted. Here was a group of people trying to get in touch with their emotions and worried because they had suppressed them and couldn't express them directly, and "then I saw that my own training was just the opposite. What I thought was the right thing to do, they were calling hang-ups or stuffing emotions. After the sessions, I wanted to let my personality come out, you know, "let it all hang out", as they said. I went home after this session with a profound sense of loneliness. I began to reflect deeply on what had gone on and slowly it dawned

on me that in denying my emotions I had gone shallow. I began to feel very shallow about all I was doing: pretending to tell people how to love when I didn't know how myself, convincing myself that I knew all about it because a priest should know this -- what I'm trying to say is that I believed my own propaganda about the priest being a possessor of superior knowledge and greater capacity for love. But when I came out of there, I was that I had much less to give than most of the group. This sunk in slowly, but when it did, it changed my whole life."

This awakening to affectivity is an expansive personal moment and it stands in contrast to priestly seminary training, style of life and the ideology of his asceticism. In another interview Jack remarked: "I was trained to be a contented, secure bachelor. They told us to avoid deep friendships because they might become sexual, to be careful of being "too sympathetic" towards women with problems, and to worry about "souls" to be saved, and all that crap. Now I can see how I became pretty secure and pretty cold; I began to ask myself if I could really help people when I was so indifferent to real people. Now I feel I can -- not save the whole world, nothing like that, but at least touch a few human lives deeply. I'm a lot more realistic and a lot more human." (He went on to reflect on how this is what "salvation" means to him now.)

Another spoke of isolation. "Nobody treated me as a

person; I was always a title like "Father", while everyone else was Tom or Jim or Jack. I wanted to be able to relate with others as friends, but nobody would let me come out from behind my collar." Another priest told how his life had been totally shaken and reoriented when a woman said to him after a group session "but when you want to laugh or to cry, is there anybody there to be with you? Who shares this with you?"

Arthur described his lack of a community of support and concern thus:

While doing my clinical internship in psychology...my part was to attempt to teach a twelve-year-old boy to speak for the first time in his life. For seven months, I worked two hours a day feeding him pieces of candy, holding brightly colored paper before his eyes, and vocalizing words. Like a miniature Helen Keller story, he finally burst forth with "M-M-Mother", two hours later it was a clear "Mother" and "walk"...I virtually flew home to the rectory to blurt out at the evening meal: "Tommy said some words."

My excited announcement was greeted with "How old is Tommy?" When I explained that he was twelve, the conversation moved on as someone remarked: "What's so big deal about that?"

I ate and anxiously waited to find the laity who would listen and understand and celebrate the "good news" that a twelve-year-old boy had spoken and therefore might speak ever more.¹²

This was a very frequent complaint among priests: "the rectory is like a morgue", "I got to never expect interest in me or my work, just wondering if we could survive another

meal without an argument", "the house was like a big men's club". All these frequently reflected a lack of supportive groups and a sense of close intimate sharing with a fellow human being.¹³

While many others did not speak so deeply about celibacy and others had various motivations for marriage, we saw frequently this pattern of psychological alternation. A person moved from a taken-for-granted world in which celibacy was part and parcel of the ideal of commitment to a separation of the idea of priestly commitment and celibacy. The move was usually made through the concrete experience of a "significant other" or loved person. (We shall discuss some cases of how this was sometimes done in primarily an intellectual way through theological and psychological readings in our comments on the "ideological erosion of the legitimation of celibacy".)¹⁴

What emerged then in many interviews was this pattern of an experiential discovery of the value of interpersonal relationships, an experience of alternation or affective awakening. This was expressed in many ways such as a fear of 'loneliness', a 'need for someone who cared', a desire 'to share one's life'. This usually came about in an actual encounter with another woman, but it also represented a man's rethinking the premises of his celibacy. Other cases seem to represent the acting out of psychological problems such as the need for a mother, resentment or even practical problems such as gaining access to American

citizenship by marriage, but they either require psychological skills to analyze or are too bizarre to be considered part of the current phenomenon.¹⁵

2. Personal Supportive life-styles. Celibacy not only involves the sacrifice of interpersonal and sexual relations with another but it also imposes a specific life style. In the case of a religious priest it is his community while for the diocesan priest it is the rectory.

The historical tradition of the Church always associated a specific style of community with the profession of the religious priest. It bound him by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to a sharing community of religious believers. In other words, celibacy within monasticism and religious life was a total life style with a well developed theology or legitimation and with a clear legal status of the vow in Church law. Both psychologically and sociologically this makes sense. It was not the prime intent of priestly celibacy in the Church to develop a hermit or to produce social isolation, but to form a way of living in a communal form of life. Here the celibate was to find both effective and affective support for his religious commitment. There was an implicit sociology in the recognition of the need for supportive groups, and the vow was not for the individual's isolation but aimed at a closer integration into a community.

The actual problem with this today is that religious community life is struggling to recapture this interpersonal, supportive dimension and the rectory system of the parish priest is a weak derivation.¹⁶

Religious community life today finds its strongest criticism within these very communities and the focus of this criticism seems to be the lack of interpersonal communities. A renewed sense that these communities must be small interpersonal groups strikes at the larger functional groupings which are the dominant pattern at the moment. Not only has this provoked a great deal of psychology and theological literature, but it has also provoked legal confrontation with Church authorities. The splintering of the IHM order of nuns is the most dramatic instance of this search for new life styles confronting traditions. As the issue of the model Christian community comes once again to the fore, we find a sharp polarization both within the communities and between some communities and the official Church powers. Thus a religious community is not only divided on the issue of their function and their apostolate but also on the issue of their style of life. The tensions produced in many communities have certainly weakened any supportive value the communities had and turned them into fractional subgroups. The exodus of religious men and women is a partial reflection of this.

But our main concern here is not with religious communities, but with the diocesan priesthood. We begin with the fact that the rectory life-style is derived from monastic institutions and never focused strongly as did the latter on a close interpersonal Christian community. It was rather a functional gathering of men who worked together usually in a large urban parish. Speaking historically and somewhat hypothetically, monasticism imposed a life-style of celibacy on the secular clergy without the compensating supportive life style of community. Celibacy is a rule without a supportive group structure in the secular clergy. This "derived celibacy" has borrowed its justification or ideological support, its rules and the consequent life style from monasticism with mixed success.¹⁸

While celibacy is the most publicly discussed problem of the priest today, perhaps equal time is actually given by priests to discussion of the rectory system. Obviously there have been serious personality clashes in some rectories, but what is more significant is that the criticism now is concerned with the system itself. What we found was not just particular complaints and specific personality clashes but a sense of alternation about the viability of rectory life. There is a great deal of talk about team ministry and moving out of rectory structures. This has been the subject of a great deal of complaint and perhaps we can quickly point out some of the causes.

Structurally the rectory is not set up to be a team ministry. It has a patrician-like structure of pastor and then a ranking of first, second assistants, as well as a considerable age gap within these roles. The relationship is structured to a father-son relationship or an age-seniority stratification system, rather than a close community of friendship and support (we are talking about the official power structure or chain of command and not the actual modus operandi which might develop in some parishes). Not only does this structure tend to undermine a fraternal support system and cooperative decision-making, but it also lacks any theological rationale.¹⁹ There is no ideological *raison-d'etre* why these men should live together except for convenience (in this there is a sharp contrast with the theory of religious community). It is these serious theoretical weaknesses that militate against a team ministry and can often produce an interpersonal context which is erosive of morale and have a negative impact on one's work, one's intellectual development and one's religious commitment. The heavy volume of complaints documented below show the consequences of simply taking for granted a community of religiously dedicated men.

This socio-psychological problem of supportive group structures is a serious one for any group which tries to set up a religious community, but it would be inaccurate to imply that the priest does not have any. There is always the informal

groupings such as his own classmates from the seminary or the frequent phenomenon of families who almost 'adopt' a priest. Many priests have an extensive and very deep network of friendships which makes their lives full and rewarding. The point here is that they are not only excluded from a direct family but that the imposed formal life structures are not supportive. Behind most of the critique of the rectory system and the search for new life styles is this religious and psychological need for supportive structures. Celibacy without such supportive groups becomes an ideal and not a way of life.²⁰

II. The Sociological Dimensions of the Crisis.

We have dealt with the recurrent pattern of explanation and criticism which emerged in our interviews and case studies. It would be possible to document this with more ramifications from the mass of criticism which has been churned up in this celibacy dispute, but now we would rather turn to a sociological analysis of the ideological and structural implications of celibacy.

1. The Erosion of an Ideology What seems to have been the strongest motivation for celibacy in the past was not its theological legitimation but rather an ecclesial stance that simply assumed celibacy. It was a requirement taken-for-granted, and priests ordained before the Council grew up in this assumption. This unquestioning attitude is reflected in recent encyclicals on the priesthood and neither Pius XI (1935) nor Pius XII

(1955) give much attention to justifying celibacy. These documents are rather a set of spiritual maxims on how to preserve it.²¹

If we examine the traditional arguments for celibacy we find several: an unhampered service, a purer heart for prayer, a requirement of being a priest forever, a closer imitation of Christ, a sacrifice with Christ crucified, the higher life, the Western church's long tradition, the purity of a priest of the altar. These are some of the values we find in pre-Vatican literature.

But several problems immediately reveal themselves. There is no clear distinction of primary and secondary reasons for celibacy, nor can we find one which we can label the official church reason for its demand, except tradition.²² If we examine the tradition we find optional celibacy in Scripture (St. Paul says "that concerning marrying or not I have no command from the Lord, but I would prefer that you be as I", but apparently highly influenced by his belief that the world would soon end). The tradition only becomes firm in the late Middle Ages. We also find assumptions about sexuality and marriage which are unacceptable today. What is constant in this tradition however was the general assumption that the highest spirituality was found in the celibate state.²³ Tradition therefore meant that the massive force of an authoritative teaching Church

was placed behind the idea that celibacy alone was the way for a priest, the Church demanded it, the laity accepted it (along with their lesser status) and spiritual writers taught it. Virginitly was the way par excellence to God and the only way for a priest. It is hard to portray the vast institutional consequences implied once this climate of assumption changes.

A detailed historical study of celibacy has not been done since the time of Lea's work but it would most likely confirm the picture of the enormous institutional investment the Church has put into celibacy as a structure of the priesthood.²⁴ In medieval times, for example, besides its spiritual value it most likely had canonical-legal values of social import, since it disenfranchised the priest's children from inheriting benefices and church property (everyone, including canon lawyers, seemed to assume that these children would always be around as a problem). When celibacy became an issue in the Reformation its fate was sealed. No one could expected the Church to yield on this point just at the time it was so under fire by the Reformers. Certainly many of the arguments raised for maintaining celibacy today show an awareness of the structural revolution of the priesthood which will ensue. So far no pluralism has been allowed to emerge.²⁵

The debate now has produced a great deal of theoretical discussion. Scriptural studies show the early church's

open attitude on this issue.²⁶ This is confirmed by historical studies especially by putting celibacy in the perspective of many competing philosophies (for example, the constant resurgence of Encratic or Manichean tendencies negating the physical which have constantly emerged in Christianity), and showing the mix of secular and religious reasons which made it a Church law (the protection of Church property from inheritance, the gradual sacralization and clericalization of the ritual, the impact of monasticism -- in a word, the "institutionalization of a charisma").²⁷ Ecumenically the discipline of celibacy is hard to maintain as essentially linked with the priesthood without ignoring or demeaning the Eastern Church tradition and other Christian Churches.

The modern revolution in psychology cannot be discounted especially since it has clearly affected the priests with whom we spoke. This revolution is twofold, 1) a Freudian phase which has made man more conscious of his physical and sexual nature of human development, 2) the interpersonal phase which sees great value in "dialogue" and "I - Thou" relationships. Even a quick reading of the modern Catholic literature on marriage with its frank discussions of better sexual techniques and with its emphasis on close and deep interpersonal relations shows the impact of this psychological revolution when we compare this with the same genre of twenty years ago.

So too, this has deeply affected the priesthood, since celibacy implies a whole ethos of sexual and interpersonal relations.²⁸

Sexually, there is no doubt that celibacy has always tended to deny the physical whether we think of Origen castrating himself out of a literal reading of Scripture or Pius XI urging priests to be a little more like the angels. The early Church tried to preserve a fine line of distinction between its value of evangelical purity and philosophies which saw the flesh as basically evil and sex as a sinful act (Encratism, Manicheanism, Platonism, etc.) It reacted to Origen who took too literally the command to make himself a eunuch for the sake of the kingdom, but found itself accepting the towering dominance of an Augustine who never did really overcome his philosophical Manicheanism. His idea that the sexual act was always partially sinful was explicitly repeated by the other towering genius, St. Thomas Aquinas, and this Augustinian-Thomastic synthesis has shaped medieval and modern Catholic thought, especially as regards marriage and chastity.²⁹ Even more, historical investigations are showing the dominance of neo-Platonic thought as it became concretized in monasticism. Here an asceticism of self-denial and world-fleeing took shape around this implicit attitude toward the physical dimension of man's experience and perfection was defined in contemplation and

flight from the world. Thomas A. Kempis' aphorism "The more I go out among men the less a man I am" is a summation of this. And there is no doubt of the dominance of monasticism on the shaping of the secular clergy.³⁰

Celibacy and the church's law on celibacy also took shape in the context of a functional attitude to marriage. Marriage was an important socio-economic step primarily and interpersonal love seemed secondary. This is expressed explicitly in the Church's definition of the primary purposes of marriage as first procreation and secondly as mutual love (with the strange-sounding third end of "being a remedy of concupiscence").

It is impossible to do justice to the history of these ideas here; what we are suggesting is that modern man holds very different assumptions on sexuality and interpersonal love. This means that there is a radical erosion of the legitimation for celibacy not because the arguments have changed, but because the very assumptions on which these arguments are built have shifted.

In our research we found three different dimensions of this modern attitude. Firstly, there was the wrestling with the Freudian idea that sexuality is all pervasive and shapes our personality. There was a wrestling in the sense that many expressed a need to overthrow their puritanical formation by rules of never touching another person, keeping "custody of the

eyes, etc." Here we found several respondents with very deep problems, some even requiring psychological help. Secondly, and most important, we found a great stress on the value of interpersonal relationships. The ideal of the unattached person being best able to enter into a deep personal relationship to God was challenged. In fact, there was a great deal of criticism and even bitterness about bachelors who thought they could love God by remaining free from any human love. Henry explained that a real step towards leaving was the insight he got looking at his pastor. "I didn't want to wind up as a selfish, lonely old man like that. God knows, no wonder he drank like a fish. He was really a sorry human being."³¹

The third way in which we found this modern attitude was in an attitude toward marriage and a family. Anthony expressed it best. "Suddenly, with all my work with children, I realized that I simply wanted to be a father and to have a family. The seminary taught me that celibacy was a higher state and I saw married people as somehow inferior, somehow even lacking self-control and dedication. Now all this seems very silly." A new attitude towards family life is present even within the Church and a new balance with celibacy has to be found.

And so, it was within this context of a normative vacuum that many of the respondents were being asked to live. No

longer did it seem valid to say that one was a better Christian because he was celibate, nor that he was necessarily closer to God. As one wife of a former priest said (herself a former nun) "I look back now and see that what I wanted in the convent was the answer to how to love Christ and love people. And I am still looking for love. But I see now that with Jim both these ideals became much more down to earth and I'm really living this way."

Therefore celibacy shows once again the dialectic of the normative values and the institutional shape these take. The institutional forms shape the values and the values shape the institutional form in a sociological dialectic.

Ideal order - Values

Structural forms

It is precisely the assumed equilibrium which is upset here and form and value no longer are mutually supportive. Historically and theologically there has been an erosion of the legitimation of celibacy in Catholicism and it now rests on a very shaky structural-value base. The Church only is trying to hold onto a linkage of celibacy and priesthood by law and a certain affinity (not theological necessity). This is a very tenuous position in light of both the intellectual attack and the severity of the sacrifices demanded of its priests. We shall see that with the collapse of this taken-for-granted discipline of celibacy, the issue is now one of power and control

over church change and that theology has become an ideological tool in this conflict.³²

If this analysis is valid it is a confirmation of our general theory of an ideological revolution going on within the post-Vatican church. We have new values struggling to break out of older institutional forms. More generally, celibacy becomes not just an issue in itself but an index of the direction of church change and who will control it.

2. The Institutionalization of a Charism. There is another aspect which deserves attention here in this sociological analysis of celibacy. That is the process of the institutionalization of a charism. It is important to describe this process and ask the question of how the celibate priesthood got this way in order to understand the dynamics at work in shaping today's priesthood. The shaping of the priesthood shows processes of bureaucratization, the formation of a clerical caste, and sacralization as some of the general institutional processes in religious organizations.

A recent study by J. P. Audet shows how the early Church developed two forms of priesthood with two distinctive life styles, the domestic or parish priest and the missionary or itinerate preacher.³³ With each distinctive ministry went a distinctive life style, and so Paul can urge that the gospel minister remain unmarried in one letter and then set as the

norm for a bishop that he be faithfully married to one wife. Celibacy emerges as a special charism with no essential link to the priesthood, but a gift given in a totally unpredictable manner such as prophecy and speaking in tongues.

What we see in the course of the Church's historical development in the West is the gradual institutionalization of a charism, fusing a special gift of the spirit as a requirement of office.

By and large, it may be said that the church's pastoral tradition up to the middle of the fourth century was far more concerned with the services themselves than with the style of life which went with them. But from the point when the old styles of life, dictated by convention and custom, began to turn into definite states of life with a meaning and value in themselves, which could be idealized and then to that extent subjected to stricter and stricter regulations and laws, the whole pattern of pastoral thinking became profoundly altered.³⁴

This is part of the sociological process of institutionalization and we see the attempt to legislate and control a charism by fusing celibacy and the priesthood. But unlike the Weberian analysis of the routinization of charism which is more precisely to channel and socially structure a new inspiration, here we have an attempt to demand charism of all office holders.

There is also the aspect of sacralization which is

involved here. Gradually ritual becomes not a liturgy (leitourgias) or work of the people but the specialization of a chosen clerical elite who gain a special sacred status within the community. While Christ seems to have avoided official ritual priesthood, we find the sociological paradox of insitutionalization evolving exactly this pattern. It is not our task here to evaluate what is theologically and dogmatically true in this socio-cultural development in any religious body but only to point to the social dynamics at work and some of their implications.

In our interview with former priests and in many discussions with active priests and Catholic laymen, leaving the priesthood was a moral issue of dedication. Priests and laity alike often judged those priests who left by interpreting their motivation and often spoke in harsh terms of "betrayal", "lack of sacrifice", "self-indulgent", etc. Laymen too spoke of how shattering an experience it could be to their own belief to see a priest leave. Probing deeper a very important assumption emerged which shows the structural shape of the hierarchized Roman church. This is the concept of a clerical elite.

A popular operational model of the Church seems to have been that the very sincere religious man had only one way of total commitment: the priesthood or religious life. The

laity interviewed would often refer to themselves as the "ordinary" or "average" Catholic, implying that somehow something was lacking their full Christian dedication. This idea of the higher 'state of life' had great theological validity in Catholic preaching until it was rejected by the Council. It seems to have derived ultimately from Christ's call to the young man who wanted to be more committed to give up all and follow him. In the gradual traditional understanding formed around this saying of Christ this meant religious or priestly commitment and celibacy.

The structural consequence of this was to form a real operational distinction in the Catholic mind of sinners and illuminati (at least implicitly and not as explicitly as in Medieval Catharism for example). The priest then becomes the religious expert in terms of knowledge and the true Christian in terms of commitment and the layman is a second class citizen. The danger in such a belief is obvious, the Church becomes almost identical with the clerical elite. Not only is all Church management in their hands, but they become the automatic arbiter of religious knowledge and the official "holy men".

The consequences of such Church stratification are serious and complex (and the reality is not as simple as our typology, we might add). Important to our analysis here is the fact that this model has been rejected by the post Conciliar

church in its identification of Church with "the people". The priest is seen as the servus servorum Dei or the servant of this believing community. This rejection of an implicit model has caused a serious re-evaluation or crisis of identity in the priesthood. Perhaps this can best be caught in the Church's symbols. If a "pastor" thinks of himself uncritically in the scriptural imagery of a shepherd with his flock there is the danger of paternalism, the acceptance of the role of authority and religious expert (and implicitly the more dedicated Christian) in relation to the people.

A constantly recurring theme in discussions with former priests was precisely on this idea of dedication. The theme was often the same. They were led to believe by their early training that real Christian dedication meant a "vocation" (in fact this work in Catholic circles still is almost exclusively used of the priesthood). Their dedication only had one real channel -- the priesthood, and a sign of that dedication was the promise of celibacy. Many went through a long period of internal struggle before they began to see that this was a confining definition of Christian dedication. This especially became acute for those who had to confront the charge of betrayal and "giving up" from fellow priests and laymen. While it is true that a number of priests interviewed expressed loss of faith or lack of interest in religious concerns (see above),

a great number spoke of a renewal sense of dedication now as laity.

At this point the issue can become extremely personal and judgmental in the present Christian discussion of motivations, and our point is neither to analyse the personal motives of others as to their validity nor to speculate about the emotions behind the attackers. Rather we have tried to point out an actual operational model of the Church by phenomenological analysis. It is a bi-polar stratified religious system still with a duality of ordinary and dedicated believer. It has tended to gather all the higher class (the perfecti or dedicated) into a formal structure of commitment (priesthood and religious life). At the same time it has explicitly denied the popular assumptions and quasi-theology which tended to legitimate these distinctions. The position of the priest therefore becomes ambiguous (many still operate on the older assumptions and many Catholics still treat them accordingly.) Here is the root of a serious crisis of identity for priests sensitive to the ambiguities and contradictions of this transitional Church era. This model of the Church as an exclusive domain of a clerical elite and the layman as a recipient of his professional services is another example of the basic dilemma of new values in conflict with existing Church structures.

Besides this very fundamental institutional dilemma

there are several others which we might mention here. First, the Church is in the position of defending a much more univocal concept of the priesthood than it finds in its own scriptural and historical experiences. What historical-sociological forces have done is to funnel a wide variety of priesthood into a rather specific one of the institutional cleric. This has always presented a dilemma for theologians who feel that they must explain priesthood within the context of its present forms, and only recently is there an awareness that "ministry" has been too narrow a concept within Catholic theology and what has emerged is more an ideology of the existing forms rather than a wider view of biblical ministry.

Sociologically we can see this narrowing process in the usually professionalization patterns of any role; the institution begins to put not only normative parameters on the role but operational ones. This is the problem of all professionalization, whether of doctors, teachers or priests. Rather quickly the clergy gained control over their own profession and began defining requirements. Norms for selecting candidates developed (especially as a result of the Council of Trent), specification of the professional training of priests was set up, definition of life style to a degree not found in the other professions -- in a word, a strong institutionalization of the role.

But just like the teaching profession there has been

a revolutionizing of the role. The selection of candidates basically restricts entrants to youth still in their teens either at a high school or college level. This coupled with the requirement of celibacy block the entrance to more mature men who might feel called later in life. It has also de facto been a middle class candidate and has not yet attracted the Black or Spanish speaking minority youth, and in mission areas it still struggles to form an indigenous clergy. The training requirements in the United States involve academic high school, a college education and a post-graduate program of four years in theology. (We might mention that both the location of and the restrictions of a seminary seem to indicate that their primary rationale in fact was the preservation of celibates rather than the expressed goal of training priests. All seemed to put a priority on isolation which has had serious academic limitations. There is no doubt that celibacy was a prime consideration in forming this role, and to question celibacy is to question the entire structuration of the priest's role. This is why it is such a pivotal issue.)

When we speak of the institutional narrowing and professionalization of this role, it is important to see that it is the clerical institution within the church which is defining this role (much as the AMA is a profession regulating itself); the voice of the people was hardly heard on these issues. But

now the church has opened itself up to the layman and is asking his opinion. At least in theory this is so, there has been little lay impact on the clergy problem which has reached the official level. All the preparation for the Roman synod on the priesthood was mainly in the hands of the bishops (neither laity nor priests had much to say about this issue). There are many problems of closure here when a profession defined itself (the health crisis in America, the shortage of doctors, etc., is an instructive parallel), and perhaps much of the "priest crisis" is precisely due to a failure to share it and discuss it with the total membership of the Church.

Basically celibacy is now a political issue joined within the clerical profession. The pressure groups have been formed. While it is true that the laity feel little involved or even aware of this confrontation, its effects will be serious. For many liberal priests the issue is best expressed by one respondent, "if they hold the line on this, it will show they are out of touch; they really don't care about church change". While we have no data on how prevalent this thinking is, certainly a sense of alienation within the clergy of priests from bishops will be widened by a failure to act on celibacy.

In conclusion it is possible to see now how celibacy is part of the whole process of the institutionalization of the Christian ministry. Widely conceived as an administration of

Sacraments and preaching of the Word and supervision of Church life, we see the professionalization of the ministry within more narrow parameters in its entrance, training and functioning requirements. We have seen how new ideas of humanization have affected the priesthood and developed for many into an awakening to affectivity. We have also seen the sociological structuration of ministry around an emphasis on celibacy and the recent trend in the church for declericalization and reform which has questioned this structuration, both in its normative assumptions and institutional requirements.

What has also been radically altered is the notion of commitment. We are watching a declericalization of the idea and this is evident in a growing Catholic emphasis on commitment being a quality of all Christians. Priests frequently recalled that in their early life real Christian dedication meant a "vocation". Dedication and the desire to "follow Christ" and to live a deeply Christian life was channelled into the priesthood or religious life. This is clear from the vocabulary of betrayal which one meets from other priests and laity upon leaving the ministry. That many former priests spoke in their interviews about a renewed sense of dedication now as laymen perhaps might be the first stage in a massive value shift within Catholicism.³⁵ There are many indications that modern Catholicism is moving toward a renewed stress on personal commitment

and adult "conversion", which has been more characteristic of the sect type.

Chap. VII INTERPERSONAL ALIENATION - CRISIS OF CELIBACY

1. Sacerdotalis Caelibatus was issued on June 23, 1967, Pope Paul's encyclical insisting on the traditional discipline of celibacy for priests. Unlike birth control celibacy does not involve a moral principle nor does it touch on the dogma of the priesthood; it is a regulation or "a discipline" in the Church with great historical precedent, but not of the theological nature of priesthood, and hence open to legislative change. The recent Roman Synod of bishops, after a bitter and confused vote, opposed optional celibacy for priests NCR Oct 22, 1971. Judging from the polls, there is a widening gap between younger and older priests on this issue cf: Fichter, op.cit. p. 163ff and the Spanish survey of 1970 which found in a sample of 1,925 priests under 30 that 74.6% were in favor of optional celibacy while the total sample of all priests (15,449) was 47.2% Pro Mundi Vitae Report #18 loc. cit.

2. It is interesting that optional celibacy has been a major issue since 1965 when the issue was removed from discussion in the Vatican Council by Pope Paul. This ironically sparked the public debate. In September 1966 it became a subject of Joseph Fichter's sociological study of the priesthood (America's Forgotten Priests (New York: Harper & Row, 1968) which showed the question was age stratified with majority of younger priests in favor of the option. A symposium at Notre Dame in September, 1967 explored various aspects of the question (George H. Frein, Celibacy: The Necessary Option (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), the theological, patristic, scriptural, psychological and sociological. The NAPR (National Association of Pastoral Renewal) directed by Robert Duggan, a former New York priest, tried to focus this concern into a pressure group, and an offshoot organization, SPFM (Society of Priests for a Free Ministry) also took up the cause. Meanwhile a great deal of scholarship was being produced (cf. bibliography) mainly in favor of optional celibacy. The issue came to focus now in the 1971 Roman synod and is the most sensitive internal problem of the contemporary priesthood. A study of the development of this issue is necessary since it reveals a great deal of the clerical structures beyond the surface issue.

3. Charles Davis, A Question of Conscience (New York: Harper & Row, 1967) p. 31.

4. Fulton J. Sheen, The Priest is Not His Own (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963) gives some sample of this style of priestly exhortation. Paul's encyclical also repeats it. In general, the touchstone of priestly commitment is seen expressed in the celibate life in the pre-Vatican mentality; we find the focus of priestly dedication then is on life style and the discipline of celibacy as well as task performance. The root of much of the debate now is on this identification of celibacy-commitment.
5. The American bishops used this term "derelict" in their preparatory meetings for the synod, and Paul's encyclical speaks of those who abandoned celibacy as losing zeal for souls, no psychological testing of these men, etc. In a secret preparatory document for the 1971, the text speaks of priests more dedicated "to the work of proclaiming the Word of God, since they have firm control of themselves." The Minister-Priesthood (Rome, 1970 private printing.) There is a legal stigma against former priests teaching in seminaries and religious programs, but a stronger de facto stigma which is rapidly changing (cf. J. O'Brien op. cit.).
6. In the introduction to the Notre Dame Symposium Celibacy: The Necessary Option (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968) the editor, George Frein gives a brief history of the change of opinion in the United States. He finds its roots in an article "Should the Council Look at Celibacy?" in the National Catholic Reporter June 9, 1965. Then the debate began in the Catholic press, and gained occasional attention of the secular press. A Newsweek poll (March 20, 1967) showed that 48% of the Catholic laity sampled favored optional celibacy. The history of the debate since then has become complex but the final result was a discussion of the issue over a wide span of the Catholic populace and raising the issue in the Roman Synod of Bishops.
7. First published in NCR Dec. 12, 1966 then in his book America's Forgotten Priests. op. cit.
8. Greeley, Priests in the United States, op. cit., p. 79.
9. The responses of the bishops to the Pope's encyclical as reprinted in Osservatore Romano in the months following the encyclical give some indication of the politics involved. All praise Paul in a pro forma style of rhetoric, while many priests groups reacted against Paul.

10. Constantly in the interviews the 'taken-for-granted' character of celibacy was mentioned; it was seen as a necessary concomitant to the priesthood. Father John A. O'Brien in Why Priests Leave (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1969) gives twelve testimonials of former priests, which reinforces our own data and the structural analysis of reinforcement in a taken-for-granted value and alternation given here. The shift is seen in a recent Gallup poll where 77% of priests under 40 years of age favored right to marry. The New York Times, April 11, 1971.
11. A euphemism against a tendency to homosexual attachments. The general ideology expressed is a universal love for all the community. While this tends to help solidarity, it can develop a shallow interpersonal life style.
12. O'Brien, p. 47. A highly personal study of the impact of group sessions on a religious-trained person is found in Barbara Austin, Sad Nun at Synanon (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970).
13. It must be remembered that these are very personal experiences and it is not implied that all religious communities are joyless and full of tension; this would be like generalizing about marriage from the narratives of divorce. Rather the interviews expose a source of potential tension.
14. The rationale for celibacy has always been tenuous. Its historical roots are difficult to establish cf: Joseph Blenkinsopp, Celibacy, Ministry, Church (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968) for a concise history of the Scriptural period and the medieval shaping of celibacy. The two roles of priest-celibate were fused in this period and gradually the affinity was assumed. Different rationales were offered such as dedication, the relationship of sexual purity and prayer, celibacy and a priestly community and even a type of ritual purity (abstention from sex before liturgical actions). It is interesting that the official motivation never gain the clarity that birth control gained, for example; there is no primary nor secondary motivation for celibacy officially established by the Church. But like any law, it has simply insisted upon it, and let the theologians give reasons why. The plurality of these reasons (eschatological witness, dedication, Christlike living, etc.) show the instability of the rationale for celibacy and hence the danger of ideological erosion. A good overview of the issue is found in the article "Must

Celibacy be Compulsory?" Herder Correspondence Vol. 5 # 2 (March, 1968) 67-72 cf. pp. 80-85 and "The Celibacy Backlash" ibid. Vol. 7 # 5 (May, 1970).

15. Our stress is on a psycho-social structure not on the personal motivations and psychological problems of those interviewed. Our task sociologically is to point out a clear pattern of human behavior; the psychologist's task would be to explore the individual roots of this behavior in the subconscious, etc.
16. This issue of small religious communities of interaction is one of bitter dispute. Older religious see this as self-delusion and selfish while those in favor of small communities criticize the "religious hotels" that large communities represent. Underneath the clash of personalities, there is evidence of a shift from a legal definition of community to a more interactionist definition. This is reflected in the works of Br. Gabriel Moran, Eugene Kennedy (cf. bibliography) as well as in the Roman legal attempt to define life style for the Immaculate Heart of Mary nuns (they legally dissolved and regrouped as a community outside Roman jurisdiction as we have seen.)
17. We have discussed this quest for a new life style in religious communities. It is perhaps the central issue of religious life today, and the IHM dispute is repeated in some communities without the confrontation with Rome. Behind the change in religious dress is also the effort to develop new communities of interaction, apartment house living, etc. There is even a directory of New Communities of Men and Women (Mt. Pleasant, Michigan) private printing. 3rd ed. 1970.
18. Brian Tierney points out that monasticism was the dominant ideal type of medieval Christendom (Western Europe in the Middle Ages (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970) c. 5, in the sense that it became the normative pattern of the ideal Christian. A good historical study of the priesthood might show the gradual domination of monasticism on secular clergy in matters of dress, style of ministry, recitation of the Divine Office and celibate life style. In other words, celibacy for the secular clergy is a borrowed life style which derives its laws, its theology from monasticism; it did not however borrow the communal life style. Historically this hypothesis needs proof; sociologically we are insisting that the celibate life needs supportive structures.

19. The implicit model is patrimonial. All power exists in the father and he delegates responsibility when and as he chooses. Actual rectory practice still comes close to this ideal type in many cases. But while it normally does not actualize this type, it still has not yet moved toward an organizational concept of team with explicit recognition of areas of competence and responsibility. Canon law builds on the old model. The mitigating factor is that younger priests simply refuse to be limited and the problem is solved ambulando. This of course bypasses the issue of structural reform.
20. We do not document this here but it is a constant source of complaint. Ivan Illich in his article suggests that the priesthood will develop into a type of service which has no more to say about where a priest lives than the medical profession tells a doctor where to live. "The Vanishing Clergyman" (The Critic, June 1967). This is at least one of the implications of the celibacy dispute.
21. Pius XI in his 1935 encyclical on priesthood hardly mentions celibacy while Pius XII in his encyclical on Sacred Virginity gives traditional reason such as a 'higher state of life'. An example of this taken-for-granted attitude is found in Paul's encyclical:

Who can see in such a life so completely dedicated and motivated as shown above, the sign of spiritual poverty, of self-seeking, and not rather see that celibacy is and ought to be a rare and very meaningful example of a life whose motivation is love?..Who can doubt the moral and spiritual richness of such a consecrated life...Sac. Caelibatus #24

The structure of this encyclical is a theoretical Part I in which the arguments for celibacy are made after a very fair presentation of the modern criticisms (however these arguments are not addressed to the criticisms but merely reiterate past ideas). Then Part II is a long section on priestly formation and holiness.

22. This emerges in most of the debates on celibacy and even in theological justification of it. In the birth control debate, one always knew that the Church felt the primary end of intercourse was the procreation of children, and

the secondary end of intercourse was personal love and support. The primary of the biological over the interpersonal has been questioned severely, but at least it is there as the traditional position, and an elaborate morality was evolved from it. Theological elaborations on celibacy start with no such official or traditional position. Basically then we have a plurality of theologies with a plethora of maxims. The basic theoretical argument focuses around total dedication. While it is true that institutionally this is an objective test of one's dedication in that it makes the priesthood a difficult, serious choice, the data indicates that most priests who have left were concretely disabused of this argument. In other words they do not find the theory in practice and point to many cases of heroic dedication in laymen while aware of semi-functioning priests.

23. cf. Frein, op. cit., and Jean-Paul Audet, Structures of the Christian Priesthood (New York: Macmillan 1968). We discuss Audet below. The best overall summary of the issue of celibacy is Joseph A. Blenkinsopp, Celibacy, Ministry, Church (New York: Herder & Herder, 1968).
24. Again, a full history of celibacy needs to be done. Charles Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy (New York: University Books, 1966) is good but rather polemical. In the early documents we find all these organizational problems involved in the law. Inheritance was certainly an issue, the evolution of a clerical caste was certainly a concomitant process with the emergence of the celibate discipline. Then too we must ask about the influence of monasticism, the impact of the Protestant polemic on adopting an intransigent attitude, the impact of Augustinian philosophy, etc. These historical questions can be balanced with contemporary questions about present values of sex and interpersonal relations, the impact of Freudianism and other psychologies, a new emphasis on marriage within Catholicism, etc.
25. We have already noted the 'sociological tenor' of many traditional arguments for celibacy. Besides the question of whether a celibate is a more efficient man than the married man (which needs some empirical verification), there is also a whole series of objections raised "what do we do with Church rectories?", "who can pay a priest enough to support his family?", how do we handle priests with marital problems?", etc. These are the frequent objections of

the traditional position and they are theological in character.

26. cf: Audet, op. cit., and Blenkinsopp op. cit., c. 4&5.
27. Blenkinsopp, op. cit., c. 1&6. Modern theologians are pointing to the impact of Augustine's manicheanism on the doctrine of celibacy. For a balanced survey of Augustinian neo-Platonism with its idea of ascent to God by detachment from matter cf: Etienne Gilson, The Christian Philosophy of St. Augustine (New York: Random House, 1960) John J. Hugo, St. Augustine on Nature, Sex & Marriage (Chicago: Scepter Publishing Co., 1971). Also Blenkinsopp, Sexuality and the Christian Tradition (Dayton, Ohio: The Pflaum Press, 1969).
28. An interesting dilemma for papal statements, for example, is the expressed fundamental right of all men to marry found in Pacem in Terris. Some critics contrast this with mandatory celibacy (but the argument is weakened when it is pointed out that no one is forced into the priesthood-celibate life).
29. cf. John Hugo, op. cit.
30. These ideas are documented in the seminary rule books which basically originate with the Rule Book of St. Sulpice, the French congregation which shaped so much of seminary life in the United States. cf. Ellis, op. cit.
31. Many priests reached this "awakening to affectivity" through some type of pastoral counseling training or some experience of psychotherapy. An Institute in New York which gives intensive training in pastoral counseling has had a very high percentage of priests leaving the ministry. We interviewed only two and they both spoke in terms of self-discovery and credited much of their decision to this Institute.
32. With a polarization of clergy on this issue and with a traditional base of legitimation of celibacy which is more sociological than theological, we see a sharp power struggle developing in the Church on this change. Also power is a factor in the control over personnel an organization has when it deals with non-married members whose place of residence and style of life it also controls.

33. Jean Paul Audet, op. cit. It is precisely this pluralism of Christian ministry that adherents of celibacy refuse to admit. In other words, there is an ahistorical fusion of distinction and different roles in the early church in today's concept of priest. The fusion is beginning to come apart.
34. Audet, p. viii. New stress is being placed on identification with the community today, and it is especially urgent in the inner-city churches and in the phenomenon of Black Catholicism. This demand for a man from the community is putting new life into this argument for married clergy. Hans Kūng in his study Why Priests? (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1972) tries to develop a democratic theology of priesthood built more on spontaneous leadership than on office.
35. This de-clericalization of commitment is a modern trend in Catholicism and much commented upon in the Catholic press as a perusal of The Catholic Periodical Index under Layman and Commitment will show.

Chap. VIII PATTERNS OF PERSONAL ALIENATION

There is a perennial bit of folk wisdom among priests which identifies the reason for priests leaving in personality weaknesses. "He was always mixed up", "he was very immature", "he should never have been ordained." This attitude is summed up by one priest in a talk he gave to a vocation promoting club, Serra International when he spoke of over ten men he knew who left because "they lacked the psychological and moral maturity required. How they got through is a mystery of providence and incompetence".¹ A second group he labelled "unfortunate" since they could not handle change; and a third group were "unenlightened" about the real meaning of faith and the Church. Unfortunately, since we do not really know much about the psychological tolerance necessary for the priesthood (and since many men with apparently the exact qualities above have not left the priesthood) these categories remain too subjective for analysis.

There have been many studies of the psychological qualities of clergymen. One priest-psychiatrist found a pattern of despondency in over 100 ex-priests he interviewed.

I find that priests who are leaving and marrying are virtually all depressed. They have become sad and lonely, disillusioned and resentful. These are task-oriented men who were raised by their parents in such a way that the achievement of goals -- particularly difficult ones -- appeals strongly to them. They go about their work in a

compulsive, perfectionistic style, not seeking or enjoying pleasure from it, but aiming unconsciously at the recognition and approval they will gain from those they serve. After a number of years in the ministry (usually between five and fifteen) they feel their parishioners are taking them for granted. . . They begin to feel more and more dissatisfied with themselves, with their role in the Church, and with the requirement of celibacy. At the point where the man becomes most unhappy with his lot in life and pessimistic about his future, some sensitive woman accurately perceives his deep need for someone to love him -- not for his performance or accomplishments but just for his own sake...He decides to marry and leave the priesthood.²

He goes on to trace the history of a highly developed super-ego as it seeks approval for outstanding achievement in the seminary and then later in Church roles. The crisis point comes when a person feels himself taken for granted and not appreciated.

Other studies seem to indicate that the psychodynamics of leaving the ministry is more varied and complex.³ We have already described Ed who left in the process of psychotherapy in our chapter on Normative Alienation. And a considerable bibliography has developed around the great deal of psychological testing that is part of most seminaries.⁴

There is even the case of the Benedictine monastery in Cuernavaca, Mexico which offered group and individual psychoanalysis to their monks in 1961. Of sixty members in 1966, forty had left the monastery by 1970. Later the originator,

Abbot LeMercier left to marry.⁵

This psychological data is beyond our competence to analyze here and we cannot evaluate it as part of this study; there is a need for a scholarly synthesis beyond the scope of one scholar here. Rather we would like to draw some implications from our interview data here in connection with the theme of the interrelationship of the personality system and the social system.

1. Personality growth. The over-riding conviction derived from our study was that priesthood includes an enormous variety of personalities both in those who leave and those who remain in the active ministry. There was no personality type of the "dropout" distinguishable, no pattern of immaturity, or homosexuality, or neurosis which could distinguish the dropout - although all these and other problems appeared in different cases. We do not intend to detail these cases since it is more a task of psychology to accurately read and evaluate the personality types of those who leave.

One general pattern did emerge however which interests us here in a sociological study of an institution: the conflict between personality development and institutional training. Many felt strongly -- and sometimes bitterly -- that the institution was more interested in their role conformity rather than in their personality development.⁶ In this they seem to reflect

the human potential movement with its various forms of developing self-awareness, sensitivity and personality growth. This connection was not part of the original research and so its incidence still needs study. Looking back over our data however, we find a great deal of reference to comments about one's maturity, repression of personality (especially in the areas of affectivity), and a great deal of expressed awareness of "my hang-ups".⁷ Many of the priests we spoke with had taken part in encounter sessions or some type of sensitivity training, and even some in psychotherapy. One group who had all been students of a pastoral counseling program left, although, like the Cuernavaca experiment, we do not have the data to study this closely.⁸

Closely parallel to what we have called the awakening to affectivity we noticed a great stress on personality development in the language of modern psychology. This was more than an openness to the use of psychiatry in pastoral counseling or the need to have professionals to deal with neurotic priests, it was a sense that psychology could help the average person to expand his experience and mature him in areas of incomplete growth.

Perhaps it was due to the fight to legitimize psychoanalysis in Catholicism, perhaps due to the increased studies of pastoral counseling in the 1950s and 1960s, or perhaps due

to popularity of psychological training groups in the mid sixties, but psychology was "in the air" and part of the taken-for-granted world of the priest.

It even reached into the literature of spirituality of a priest. If we compare some of the books written to form the idealism of a priest we find the more objective theological treatises which spoke of the various virtues of the priest: "a man for others", "a man of self-sacrifice", etc., we note a change to personalism and a discussion of personal growth in priestly and religious life. We have already noted that Catholic theology had become personalistic.⁹ Now we find a whole reorientation of attitude toward personality development. As part of the large scale done of the American priesthood in 1971 we find this emphasis primary in the psychological report. While admitting that some priest are psychologically ill and can only function within certain psychological limits, the emphasis is on techniques of personality growth. It finds priests are ordinary men who did not find in their training a discipline of life which introduced them to the real problems of their personality development. At times it reinforced aspects which did not need the emphasis (self control and docility) while ignoring areas of necessary development (personality identity, self-confidence and ability to relate deeply with others). The whole tone of this study stresses the development of a deep, mature freedom .

and not the traditional insistence on close supervision and control of the priest's life.

We cannot probe the complexity of human motivation and religious commitment here since this is neither our skill nor our research design. We admit that there were undoubtedly many psychodynamic elements in our case studies hidden from the sociological eye (and from the person himself).¹⁰ Rather we have tried to trace here a shift of values in the priesthood, a shift towards personalism which is shaping his thinking about personality growth and about the role of the priest. Personal development in the priesthood has become a central issue of the contemporary dialogue on priesthood.

2. Identity of role and personal values. A second problem arose which we have partially touched on in our analysis of the alternation of belief. This is the close personal identification a priest must have with his work. In a counseling situation, a priest discovered that he was unable to discuss the subject of death with a young woman about to die, and in his visits to her avoided the subject. In the counseling group which was evaluating the experience, the priest realized the root problem was that he could not confront his own mortality. As Nouwen reports:

This response gave a dramatic shift to our "professional" discussion and made us more and more aware of the fact that he who wants to be a real minister to a

dying patient can never be so when he has not been able to face his own death and relate in a Christian way to this undeniable reality.

He goes on to observe that many men ask for pastoral supervision with the questions of how to preach more effectively or how to counsel a marriage about to break up, but beneath these questions of professional competence, there is a deeper one:

Sometimes it even seems that underneath all these concerns is the question about the spirituality of the man or woman who raises them. Many students and trainees are struggling with their own sense of being. Long before they can ask themselves how to preach the gospel to others, they find themselves struggling with confusing questions: Who is God to me? Does Jesus really motivate my life? How do I think about my own life and death? What do I really have to do with my neighbors?...and if it is perhaps possible for a doctor to cure a patient even where the doctor hardly believes in the value of life, a Christian minister will never be able to be a minister if it is not his own most personal faith and insight into life that forms the core of his pastoral work.¹¹

This perhaps is the best statement of our thesis: institution and identity; the nature of the ministerial role must carry this existential commitment of belief.

We found this expressed already in those who left because they did not believe and had come to discover this. It was also found in men who left because they were not sure

of their belief. This was expressed in comments like Mike's: "I think I really entered the seminary to find myself and my own faith; I was never the missionary type and I don't really find myself motivated to go out and preach. You might call these years a necessary stage in my own Christian growth." Others spoke of a need to get our "to find myself and sort it all out" or another "I'm still not sure of where I'm at religiously and so I'm calling a moratorium on the priesthood."

This close identification of a man with the role is closely related to a third factor or stress.

3. A vocation of stress. We have seen ; how the priesthood puts a man frequently in interpersonal situations which demand a maturity of insight and deep belief. There is always a stress placed on such interpersonal roles, especially those which deal with man at such peak moments of crisis: birth, death, illness and religious and psychological confusion. In a recent study, John Koval claims that one out of every four Catholic priests is considering resigning because of "serious occupational stress".¹² These are detailed as lack of leadership and the lack of moral support from the Church on social issues as well as the interpersonal problem of loneliness.

We would like to link this problem of stress to several of the issues we have made. First, stress is very personal because of the close link of the role with one's personal values,

as we have just discussed. Secondly, this stress is even accentuated in this period of a church in transition. We see an institution moving hesitantly towards a new or reformed value system with a great deal of reaction, institutional inertia and lack of clarity about the new forms of functioning needed. It is within this contemporary context that the personal dimension of alienation moves.

Chap. VIII PATTERNS OF PERSONAL ALIENATION

1. NCR, Sept. 3, 1969. This subjectivity of interpretation is a sociological fact however which forms a great part of priestly attitudes and discussions -- and tensions.
2. James J. Gill, S.J. "Despondence -- Why we see it in Priests" Medical Insight Dec., 1969 I, #3. 21-2.
3. Eugene Schallert, op. cit. places great stress on "the significant other" in his analysis of this motivation. The National Psychological Study by Eugene Kennedy can be found summarized in The Catholic Mind, Sept., 1971 LXIX #1255, 42-9.
4. A brief introduction is Jeffrey Keefe, "Considerations on Maturity and the Catholic Priest" Worship 43 #2 (Feb., 1969) 82-99. A more complete survey is R.J. Menges & J.E. Dittes, Psychological Studies of Clergymen (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965).
5. A documentary summary of this event can be found in Herder Correspondence "The Benedictine Experiment with Psychoanalysis" May, 1966 (III, #5:152-4). There have been attempts to introduce sensitivity training into religious houses such as Carl Rogers and his staff at the Jesuit School at Alma in 1969, but there is no recorded study either of the incidence of this nor its results. Individual priests of course have used psychoanalysis and one Washington hospital specialized in a section for mentally derranged clerics.
6. Sister C. spoke of how her community was frustrating to her personality development. "When I went away for one summer to study and came back I found the rules of the order very silly, I found some of the sisters wrapped up in this pettiness, and I began to see how Mother ____ (the Superior) was using a great deal of power. That's when I began to think about my frustrations in finding a community of mature women and a community working out the ideas of the Council."
7. Religious life does attract many problems, of course, and perhaps even creates some where a tension of personality and institution arises. Jack entered with a problem of

habitual masturbation- "I thought that I would control it. .. and I felt this was the way to atone for what I had done. Reparation was a big reason for me to become a priest. What better way? I could offer the sacrifice of the Mass daily...but it didn't work. I became depressed, I even had such guilt that I thought of suicide. This made me leave...but now the problem is starting again..." Jose found himself becoming a social drinker and then an alcoholic. This gave him a severe stomach problem. (When interviewed he had the DTs and could hardly control his shaking. It was only reluctantly he admitted need for AA).

8. In the two cases interviewed here we found the general awakening to affectivity mentioned above. These men both found that they had obediently submerged their personality and were helped to see this through the program. We do not have any data on this program however to verify the reason for a large exodus.
9. This is a further confirmation of the shift towards personalism we found in Catholic theology recently. The general trend can be seen in a work like John Powell, Why Am I Afraid to Tell You Who I Am? (Chicago: Argus Publishers, 1969) much used in teenage training programs led by priests. More specific to priestly formation are Edwin McMahon and Peter Campbell, Becoming a Person in the Whole Christ (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963). A debate went on in American Catholicism in the 1950s-60s on the use of psychiatry for priests and religious. Some taste of this can be found in Henri Samson, S.J. Spiritual Insights of a Practicing Psychiatrist (New York: Alba House, 1966) and John C. Ford, Religious Superiors, Subjects and Psychiatrists (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1963).
10. The most dramatic case in our files was Tom (during a group session with a psychiatrist). He spoke of how it was sinful to leave the priesthood as he did. He explained himself by saying that it was logical that if he abandoned God then God would abandon him. God wasn't fair. Finally in a dramatic explosion, prodded by the other group members, he shouted that he hated God for ruining his life. During this session he was shown how his guilt had created a monster which he should hate, but began to see that this was not necessarily the Christian God. He could identify the image with the constant harping of one superior who told

him that his action of leaving was sinful. The session ended at this point.

11. Henri J.M. Nouwen, Creative Ministry (New York: Doubleday, 1971) pp. xix-xx.
12. John Koval, "Stress in the Ministry" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Spring, 1971

Chap. IX CHURCH REFORM AND ROLE DILEMMA

We have given a portrait of how the Catholic Church, as a large scale institution, has embarked on an ambitious program of reform and structural change. In the Council it mapped out a program which called into review its values, institutional structures and its relationship to the contemporary world. Such a program was bound to find both resistance and enthusiasm on many fronts and to demand an enormous amount of re-education and re-structuration before the Church would take this new course designed for it by the Council.¹ We have assumed the theory that this reform movement, like Christianity itself, is precisely a movement, and like all reform movements will have its ebb and flow. We have also seen how it has had a deep impact on the priesthood and that the priesthood in turn accurately reflects much of the dynamics of reform.

Blizzard's famous study of the ministry shows how the minister's role is in conflict because the normative definition of that role was in one order of priority while its actual functioning was in another.² While the ideal minister was the teacher-counselor (normative role), the actual fact was that his time was dominated by problems of church organization (functional role). But this conflict between the normative and pragmatic function does not explain the contemporary Catholic

priest crisis. It is not just a crisis of institutional organization. Rather the very normative definition of the priesthood has shifted and contrary expectations of his function have emerged. There has been a transition from normative order₁ to normative order₂ while there has been little transition from institution structure₁ to institution structure₂. In other words, the new priesthood is in a process of change and has not yet taken clear normative nor institutional shape.

Others speak of a priestly identity crisis.³ A man who has lost his identity is in a precarious position since he is psychologically uprooted and institutionally anomic, and the situation is especially precarious if this man holds a position of leadership, guidance and management. We have stressed the sociological dimensions of this identity crisis and how it can produce alternation or a sense of vertigo. Our model of commitment-alienation shows the four major dimensions of role-stress and emphasizes how each dimension is part of the personal role commitment of the priest.⁴ We have illustrated this role stress in its concrete dynamics from case studies to show the actual stresses present in the post-Vatican priesthood. It should be clear that any simple answer to the question "why do priests leave?" is impossible. It is a complex interpersonal role which involved religious belief, institutional service, a particular form of interpersonal life

and personal identification with the role.

The Role Dilemma

The basic notion of all role theory is that social interaction is not just person to person but role to role. Human interaction is governed by roles played by various members of society, specific social identities or "masks" or "faces" one presents to others. In daily interaction we negotiate these roles with their rules, symbols, status and patterned interaction. The role also is part of one's personal identity and a man is not simply 'a person' but also a father, a policeman, a homeowner, a member of the club, and perhaps a priest. It is this complex of identities then which shape social interaction and shape a man's identity.

Sociology has given a great deal of attention to role theory in both its dimensions. The Weberian influence has helped shape the institutional aspect of role study found in organizational studies. The influence of Mead and Cooley has stressed more the interpersonal and psychological dimensions of role theory and the effect of roles on personal identity. We have tried to combine these two approaches in our study of Institution and Identity.⁵

Role Definition In the institutional aspect of the priest's role, the key question is "who writes the script?"

or who determines the role requirements. While it is clear that much role structuration is due to the concrete circumstances, social expectations and implicit social norms, the normative definition of the role comes from the Church. It comes however, not so much from a direct theology of priesthood but more from a theology of the Church itself. It is in the self-definition of the Church that the definition of priest is found explicitly. The Church not only provides the props, the stage, the scenes, makeup, cues, exits and entrances, for the role of the priest, but is defines his role.⁶ In fact, the role is entirely a normative construct of the Church with little empirical reference. A busdriver, a toll-collector or even a profession role such as a doctor or teacher has empirical limits or definition of the task. But the priesthood lacks this empirical referent and is in this aspect a more amorphous role.⁷ What a priest does (or should do) is derived from the goals and normative limits which Church theology sets for him. In the past it was a set of role expectations built up from Church theology, actual practice and community expectations. Theologically this has always been very vague and historically very diverse. We find different emphases within historical Catholicism such as the cultic celibate of the middle ages, or the priest-monk, the patriarchal priest type of the Greek Church, the social ombudsman of the American ethnic communities, and

types once acceptable to the church are later rejected, such as the priest-worker.

The problem of commitment is partially due to the fact that the ideal or norm of "priest" was always implicit in the ideal of "church". Now this institution is in a process of radical normative change. The priest's identity crisis or uncertainty is not just the problem of how he does his job, but also whether he has a job at all. We do not intend to enter into the theology nor the history of Church order but only to locate the psychological identity crisis on the level of institutional redefinition. We see, for example, a de-emphasis of the Tridentine theology which gave to this role special sacramental powers (to consecrate the eucharist, absolve sinners and anoint the sick and dying) and a special status in the Christian community (a higher rank of community leader signified by special indelible character). This was the cultic priesthood.⁸

In its Decree on the Priesthood, the Council stresses the teacher-prophet role, or a preaching role. This is consonant with the Church's own re-emphasis of the place of Scripture and its importance in Christian piety. It also stressed a role of shepherd or community leader which has been interpreted by many priests today as a role of social activist. This shift from the cultic to the social is not so much an explicit theology of the priesthood, but more a reflection implied in the

Church's own self-understanding. We cannot predict the future shape of the priesthood within Catholicism, but we would safely guess that it will follow the normative reshaping of the Church itself.

In our many interviews, this normative-institutional dilemma is revealed. One active pastor remarked, "For me, the Pope is still boss. Someone has to run the show. I think a lot of these young men simply don't like authority-like many of the kids today - and want to freewheel...for example, they go around telling the people to follow their consciences on birth control, while the Pope has given them the answer. They seem to think that their ideas and some theologians around these days have more value than the Pope's statement. This is hurting the people." On the other hand, a young leader of priests said "What bothers many priests, usually the older ones, is that they fear that the Church they joined is no longer around. And it isn't. They were brought up in an atmosphere in which everything was set. They were told what to study in the seminary. They were given their job, their days on duty, their way of dressing,... they were told in many explicit and implicit ways what a priest was and what he did. I lived in this world before the Council, and I can tell you that it was a very stable world. I also think that it was a world in which we wasted a lot of time on

silly things: writing out Mass cards, training altar boys, and that sort of thing. But it was nice in that the Church assured you that this was God's will, and people kept reinforcing your sense of priesthood.; Another older priest added: "I think that the big difference today -- say in the last six years (1965-71) is that it is fairly easy for a priest to leave. I feel that in the past there were a lot of psychological drop-outs. They gave up but never went out, they pared their work down to a minimum, they clutched a bottle or all sorts of wierd hobbies...work was kept to a minimum. It was a kind or semi-retirement, but with a lot of bitterness and guilt."⁹

A young theologian-priest helped to clarify this new identity crisis when he spoke of a lack of theory or theology of the priesthood: "Recently there has been a lot of discussion about the theology of the priesthood, and I was reflecting on how in the past this was not true. Everybody seemed to know in the past what a priest was, while now there are a lot of theories and everyone has his own combination. It made me realize that what happened was that there were other factors at work in the past -- I guess you would call them sociological -- which kept the priesthood together. There was kind of a tight institutional character about the priesthood which made everybody take it for granted -- not that we knew what it was, but we knew what to do. It was all laid out for us and we were kept

busy being priests. Now those nice clear patterns have gone, and priests are all confused."

The major point of the idea "Institution and Identity" has been that the "identity-crisis" is a product of (a) Church definition (or theology) and (b) Church functioning and (c) the personal self-image of the priest in this context. It is because there is a good deal of anomie and conflict in these dimensions that we find suddenly that we have an identity crisis among priests. As Msgr. Delleport says:

Everywhere there is an increase of resistance to obsolete structures and exaggerated conceptions of authority in the church, the consequences of which we are not yet able to foresee. The background of this is a deep rooted uncertainty as to the role of the priest, the nature of the church, the value of the christian message in its dialogue with the modern secularized world, a world which wants to test both the truth and reality of the church's message and the functional effectiveness of its structures. In the countries where this is not yet being observed, the coming years will bring the decisive significance of this evolution to light. The young people will, themselves, draw their own conclusions from the image of the priest as they see it, if we do not answer their questions soon.¹⁰

The basic question of the priest's identity then is how does the church define "priest"? What are the normative parameters of his status in the church and of his functions? What are the merging institutional shapes his role will take?

These are the deep issues latent in sociological dimensions of the identity crisis.

Role Structure

The complexity of this "identity crisis" can perhaps best be seen if we consider the many components of action in the priest's role. We can do this best by envisioning a cone of action, the tip of the cone representing the concrete act of the priest, while layers in the cone representing various elements which structure or shape that act. Thus the act of the priest is social structured by 1) historical traditions, 2) normative role definition, 3) institutional structure of the role, 4) reference group expectations and 5) personal role image.

If we think of the action of a priest in offering Mass, we can clarify the operations of this model. He performs a liturgical action which has deep historical traditions and many of the actions are done basically because "they have always been done this way", and the central action of the eucharist is done "in memory of me", in memory of the historical action of Christ. Normatively, the role of priest is defined as entitling a specific individual to perform this action and not just any Christian.¹¹ Institutionally the Church "writes the script" in that it tells the priest how to perform, and more remotely, it tells the priest what training he needs, how he should live, what are the functions of a good priest, etc.¹²

The priest also performs this liturgy very much in terms of various reference groups: the older couple who are attending this Mass to celebrate their wedding anniversary or a young group of teen-age dropouts. Both impose different expectations on his action, as well too as the pressure of fellow priests in the rectory, groups of friends, ect.¹³ Finally, the priest acts in terms of his own role image as priest. He might insist on strict liturgical conformity because this is what the Church expects of him, or he might see himself as a missionary to the Church outcasts and willing to bend and change to "relevant".¹⁴

All these components enter into the action of a normative role and the priest is continually involved in weighing them all. If he decided to march on a picket line, he not only evaluates himself in terms of biblical propheticism perhaps, but also in terms of his reference groups: "what will the parishioners do?" It is important to see that because the priesthood has changed, and because institutional expectations no longer give sharp, if narrow, guidelines for action that these elements for choice come up more frequent now than in the past. Perhaps for this reason, the priesthood was found in a recent study to be more stress oriented than the Protestant ministry.¹⁵ The priest will evaluate his own success or failure in terms of a personal combination of these elements.

What is also important to realize here is the dialectic of choice which goes on. Not only is there the dialectic of normative vs. institutional functioning that Blizzard points out, but there is also a dialectic of different normative systems. This is the dilemma of reform. A priest can chose to live and abide by the pre-Vatican normative system or judge and evaluate himself by some newer theory of the priesthood. Hence, the concrete choice becomes more complex.¹⁶

Role Identity and Commitment

Finally, it is important to stress that we have here a role which demands a strong commitment and identification. Like all professional roles, it is distinguished by a 'vocation', a Beruf. It has never been a role lightly chosen or easily put aside. The priest who is a mere functionary and only does his job, is, by definition, a poor priest. Like all professionals, a sense of deep dedication and commitment is expected, far beyond any remunerative reward. Commitment and dedication are the focus of a priest's training and of the sustaining mechanisms the Church uses. The seminary, as the major socialization process, is equally concerned with shaping an identification with priesthood as it is in imparting a professional education.¹⁷

And so within this context of institutional-role, commitment in the contemporary priesthood is revealed in some of

its inner dynamics. We can see the close interaction between institution and identity and commitment becomes more complex. The widespread exodus of priests and the polarization of the priesthood is rooted in the crisis of this professional role, and we have seen the four major dimensions of commitment-alienation in this role. The role crisis, in turn, is fundamentally a function of church reform. Let us briefly look at this "gathering storm in the churches".¹⁸

Reform and Changing Roles

The central theme of our study here has been how a Church movement of reform has been the key factor in understanding the contemporary crisis of the priesthood. We have seen how there has been a pluralization and a polarization within the Church membership along the dimensions of its belief system, its structures of authority and its symbolic system (the elements of creed, code and cult). The human reality of reform, especially as it touches the priest, has been complex, full of the emotional and personal details of involved and committed men, full of sincere doubts and mistakes and personality and ideological confrontation. We have seen how alternation was the prime socio-psychological factor in the wake of the Council and how the sensitive and focal role of the priest reacted to the reforming Church. What had happened was a "shaking of the foundations" in a radical attempt to restructure the Church from within which has few parallels in

secular revolution or in reforms movements. A basic dialectic was set up between values and structures which is only just beginning to articulate itself. Attempts to implement this reform movement have expressed themselves at times in a heightened self-consciousness, alternation, conversion, cynicism and separation from the Church. Also a variety of personal stances have been the result: reactionary, conservative, liberal, radical, -- with various shadings along a continuum of change orientation. To evaluate this present state of reformed Catholicism we must locate these phenomena of alternation and polarization and new consciousness in its relationship to the general processes of reform.

The nature of Reform¹⁹

Reform and renewal have always been a preoccupation of Christ's Church since John the Baptist introduced Christ's ministry with a call to repentance. Christianity calls men to have a change of heart, to begin again, and this call has echoed down the centuries and produced various responses. We find a preaching renewal of the medieval Dominicans paralleled by various forms of nineteenth century frontier and contemporary evangelism. We find periodic movements of monastic reform, and we find the "magisterial" and "radical" Reformations of the sixteenth century. Sociologically we have seen that this tension of the normative model and actual religious functioning is

a basic, irremovable tension within religious groups and it presents us with the five-fold set of institutional dilemmas, as well as being the dynamism of sect formation.²⁰

Reforms differ widely according to emphasis or focus. Historical studies indicate that within Christianity reform has three major foci: 1) the nature of man (is he totally corrupt or basically good; the question of an optimistic theological anthropology or a pessimistic one as raised by Augustine, Luther and Calvin); 2) the nature of the Church or the theological model of Christian community which divided sectarians from ecclesial reformers; 3) the model of "the world" or political and socio-economic society: is the world corrupt and to be fled or is it good or must it be saved. And so there is the perennial problem of reform: "where to reform?", and historically there have been many varied answers. The Vatican Council basically focussed on a massive ecclesial or structural reform as well as a re-evaluation of its relationship to "the world", while the more personal, pietistic reformation of heart was hoped for and presupposed.²¹

The second problem of reform is the option of style of change: the radical or reform approach. The radical would tend to reject institutional structures both ecclesial and political (as did the Anabaptists) while the reformer would see the church as overlaid with historical accretions and in need

of purification (the magisterial reform of Luther and the Catholic Counter-Reformation). In this latter option is included the problem of continuity and identity. Reform is not simply a question of institutional adaptation to function better. In normative institutions there is always a concern for historical continuity and ideological or theological continuity with a primitive tradition.²² Debates always range over exactly what changes are negotiable and what elements are permanent and untouchable. If we can see a continuum from fundamentalism, conservatism, reforms and radical reform, we can see the diversity of responses to any church reform movement such as the fragmentation of Christian groups in the sixteenth century. Today Catholicism is an example of this continuum as it works itself out in the life of a religious community. Among priests we find a wide divergency in their ideas of this modern reformation, their ideas on man ("these new priests don't pray", "there are a lot of mixed-up, selfish priests", "there is a great potential for good in man", etc); on church change ("the old system was working beautifully and now all these young kids have come along and destroyed it"; "the Church needs to step out of its medieval shell", "we must forget about the narrow questions of Church and talk about Christ and Christianity" etc.) and on church and the social order ("those Berrigans are

mixing the gospel with politics", "the Church will always be there with too little and too late to help real poverty", etc). We find this polarization in contemporary Catholicism which arises both out of a believer's theology (implicit at times) and out of his concrete religious experience. This range of attitudes has divided the contemporary priesthood and divisions and factions which were latent before the Council are now explicit and have reached a level of self-consciousness which effect the work of the priest and most attempts at community life among priests.

A third problem of reform is found in the question "where is the reform?" or the contemporary problem: "where is the Vatican Council?" It is important to study the social stratification of reform. Some historically have had a broad popular base (as Methodism here in this country and in Europe), while other reforms have been relatively confined to a theological or intellectual or ecclesiastical elite. Thus medieval monasticism renewals are different from the more broadly based Lutheran reform; the contemporary ecumenical movement has remained very much the domain of Church bureaucrats and theologians with little impact on grassroot Catholicism.

Another possibility of reform is that different social strata in the Church see reform from different perspectives. This seems to be the situation of contemporary Catholicism.

Basically the Vatican reform movement has been an elitist reform of theologians and clerics and it still has not succeeded in developing a popular front. The major issues of the Council on the new theology of the Church and a new theology of Church involvement did not originate in the Catholic laity; rather they were the objects of the reformers' zeal and at times not very willing recipients of change (the liturgy, new ideas about Catholic schools and catechesis, new life styles among clergy and religious, etc.). Many of the major changes are only slowly beginning to interest them, such as collegial decision making in the Church, and on social issues, ethnic, social-class roots seem to run deeper than Christian convictions.²³

These three problems of reform have been the constant socio-historical problem of all Church reform: the focus of reform, its acceptance or rejection of the Church (reform or radical reform) and its social stratification. All these questions are alive in the contemporary Catholic reform movement, and all these questions are implicit presuppositions and come to focus in the interaction of priests.

Sociologically, reform is the inverse side of institutionalization and the routinization of charisma. The sociological process of routinization or the dialectic of norm-structure is as necessary as it is inevitable. Ritual loses its intimacy

with size as it tends to become a cathedral performance in the hands of experts holding carefully defined status-roles. Government becomes diversified into offices and a permanent bureaucracy; creedal statements move from simple primitive form into complex, technically precise formulae. This raises the problem of spirit-structure which can be expressed more graphically in the question "is the church a mirror or window?"²⁴ does it become a self-serving institution wrapped up in self-scrutiny or does it open out both to transcendence and to the world around it? There is always the strong sociological tendency for the institutional form itself to become normative and absolute. Luther saw this in the Church of his day, a self-maintenance system which had developed an elaborate theory of the afterlife, a whole system of prayers and indulgences to assure the safe status of the dead, and the ultimate commercialization of the entire system. On the other hand, normative institutions face the problem of continuity with their own traditions and Catholicism lives with the spectre of some sectarian groups which seem to have diluted their own traditions beyond recognition.

There are many sociological-historical options open to those who seek to change the church and we find within contemporary Catholicism a whole range of change attitudes: the institutional fundamentalists who seek to recapture the stable

Church of pre-Vatican vintage, the pietist fundamentalists such as the "Jesus People", cursillistas" and some forms of Catholic Pentecostalism, Reformers who are working for the institutionalization of collegiality, or due-process or reform of marriage laws, radicals who use the Church as a base for their operations in social-reform.

Perhaps it is clear by now that this essay has been a study of a reform movement and how this movement has affected a large, key segment of the Catholic Church: the priesthood. It is important to place the contemporary crisis of the priesthood in this normative reformation since it is the social context of this present institutional-role dilemma. The post-Vatican era has been marked by a diversification and pluralization of a reform movement, and the contemporary priest is 'the man in the middle'.

Chap. IX CHURCH REFORM AND ROLE DILEMMA

1. Historical Christianity has seen many reform movements, some moving into heresy, others being absorbed by the Church. The contemporary Catholic Church is precisely in this complex process of trying to integrate elements of the movement into its own structures. Useful here is J.R. Gusfield, Protest, Reform and Revolt: A Reader in Social Movements (New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1970).

2. Samuel W. Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma" The Christian Century, April 25, 1956. A basic research premise in our study is a paradox: that the role can often best be studied in problem role performers. Hence the normal parameters of the role of priest can be seen in marginal and even deviant role players. What is latent and only partially visible in a profession often becomes magnified on the margins. This "definition by deviance" approach has been used by Kai Erikson (Wayward Puritans, loc. cit.) to define the role-identity parameters of the priesthood.

3. Karl Rahner, ed. The Identity of the Priest, Concilium #43 (New York: Paulist Press, 1969) explores this, especially the chapter by Emile Pin (a former Jesuit) on the sociological dimensions. The basic problem now is normative or theological, and yet it is hard to find a theological consensus on the definition of priesthood; historically it had many shapes. It seems that certain elements run through it: an imitation of Christ and his ministry, a consecration to renew his sacrifice in the eucharist, to preach his Word and to minister to a community of believers (and help administer a church plant). The theological literature is immense but a good introduction to it is found in Concilium Vol. #3 and #4 (New York: Paulist Press, 1970). Basically we are in the problem of church order of the normative structuration of the Church, an issue which has divided Christianity since its early days. While most Christian groups look to the New Testament for normative precedent and an apologetic of their structuration, it is good to remember that we are dealing there with a nascent community and this search for normative structures might be sociologically misguided. Besides, there is evidence that the early Church lived in a post-Easter enthusiasm expecting

the imminent return of Christ and hence structuration was a second generation problem. It is the familiar movement from charismatic-creative ministry to structured office-roles. "It is even doubtful that a single ecclesiastical office remains among us substantially as the NT churches conceived it." Richard Dillon, "Ministry as Stewardship of the Tradition in the NT", Proceedings of the Catholic Theological Society, vol. 24 (1969) pp. 10-11.

4. Role relations must be distinguished from interpersonal relations. A role is a set of behavior patterns within a given social system or within socially defined parameters of activity. In Parsonian sociology "institution" is a complex system of roles. We might also consider roles in terms of "a game" of expectations and images. (In fact game theory might be the most viable theoretical base for role theory, but it has not been developed.) The unique aspect of the priest's role is a belief that function and identity must be fused, not only is he the leader of prayers, he is also the man in closest touch with God; not only does he preach morality but he must be most moral; not only does he counsel but he must be the most balanced, etc. This fusion of function and identity can create role strain on average men. cf. Paul F. Darcy, "Transition in Priesthood from "State" to "Function" Maryknoll Council Bulletin (New York: private publ. # 68-12)
5. Role theory is a complex and theoretically diverse area of sociological investigation. Blau and Schoenherr stress that organization can be approached with two fundamentally different questions 1) Merton's question on how the individual is affected by the organization; and 2) Weber's question as to what shaped these organizational characteristics in the first place. Peter M. Blau & Richard A. Schoenherr, The Structure of Organizations (New York: Basic Books, 1971) pp. 4ff. Also cf. Bruce H. Biddle & Edwin J. Thomas (eds). Role Therapy: Concepts and Research (New York: J. Wiley & Sons, 1966). Our division distinguishes two major theoretical strands 1) the organizational study of role which sees role as a function of the organizational system and 2) the symbolic interactionists' approach which sees role as a function of identity. cf. Hans Gerth & C. Wright Mills, Character & Social Structure, The Psychology of Social Institutions (New York: Harper, Brace & World, 1953). Bartlett H. Stoodley (ed) Society and Self (New York: Free Press, 1962). S.N.

Eisenstadt (ed.) Max Weber: On Charisma and Institution Building (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

6. Several significant shifts of emphasis came out of the Council. First was the stress on the fundamental priesthood of the laity (a doctrine in bad repute until the 40s in Catholic circles) vs. an exclusive sense of priesthood dominant in the previous theology; secondly a stress on the importance of Scripture as God's present Word to man and hence a renewed emphasis on preaching vs. the anti-Protestant stress on cult which developed in the 16th century. Thirdly, there was a movement from a sacred, cultic role to a secular role which came about in the anti-poverty social movements of the 60s. It raised the question of how much time a priest should dedicate to devotions, and cultic ministries and how much to social change -- it is a strong underlying issue in much of the self-definition of today's priest (cf.: chapter on Priests of the Third World).
7. The priest's role is a very undefined role and hence very diffuse. In the Jud, Mills, Burch study this was best expressed by one minister who complained that he would be content if someone could only give him a job description (Ex-Pastors, Why Men Leave the Parish Ministry (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970). In our own research some complained about this especially in terms of their own sense of accomplishment and sense of identity while others seemed to enjoy the wide freedom it gave them.
8. A recent trend which emerged in our case studies was this transition from sacramental to social priesthood, or from cultic to prophetic. At times it was explicitly stated; at times some older priests reacted to this secularization of the priesthood. It was seen in small ways such as priests refusing to lead devotional prayer services; at times it took the form of radical protest. cf.: James H. Stewart, "The Changing Role of the Catholic Priest and His Ministry in an Inner City Context: A Study in Role Change" Sociological Analysis xxx,2 (Summer, 1969) 81-90.
9. A far more serious problem than the exodus of active priests might be the organizational problem of escape mechanisms. To the question "why do so many priests leave?" another question is "why do so many stay?". Escape through alcoholism is well known, but other forms of escape are the subject

of complaint among priests: "the golf priests, hobbies, the clock punchers" or 'duty priests' are all problems of personnel adjustment, as well as men who have developed serious psychological problems which limit their functioning. There might be as many as 10% of a diocese in this non-functioning category. (In one active community of religious a list of 7 out of 63 was agreed upon by several members interviewed.) The problem is to clarify the category and to obtain the data -- even more inaccessible than the number of priests who leave.

10. Msgr. Delleport's introduction to The Priest in a Secularized World (Third International Conference on Inter-European Sacerdotal Exchange, Maastricht, Netherlands, 1968) p. viii.
11. Thus the priesthood is a focal role, sensitive to all the shifts in emphasis in creedal statements, authority structures and symbolic changes. Whether it is a question of the Church's position on birth control, what books to use for religious instruction, how and when and where to perform the liturgy, etc. He is the "man in the middle". A parallel analysis has been done for the Protestant clergy by Stephen Russel, A Man in the Middle (Dayton, Ohio: Pflaum Press, 1969) When we realize that all religious norms have historical roots, the debate can be imagined "The church has always done it this way". "we shouldn't try to innovate". There was found a strong belief in archaic roots for much church practice among the laity interviewed, especially in liturgical matters, although de facto there was no deep historical tradition.
12. We move here from the idealism with which the Church speaks of the priest to the way it actually employs him. The priest is a Church employee; as such he fits into a large institutional structure from which he gets his orders and draws his pay. Aside from "free Pentecostal ministers" this is true of all ministers, but especially notable in the strong vertical authority of the priesthood. cf.: Joseph H. Fitcher, Religion as an Occupation, A Study in the Sociology of Professions (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961)
 This is especially significant here since we are dealing with a total role which finds no parallel with the professions. In other words, it is a profession within a 'total institution' cf. Irving Goffman, Asylums (New York:

Doubleday, 1961). Structurally the church has created a "kept professional". Not only does he have little freedom as to where he will work (unlike a doctor who chooses his medical affiliation or teacher who can choose his university), but his personal life style is highly controlled. He is told where to live, how to dress, etc. This notion of "free" professional or professional mobility seems to be an essential characteristic of the professions, but surprisingly little attention has been given to this idea of total role in study of the ministry. eg: James D. Glasse, Profession: Minister (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1968). Implicit here is another model of priesthood or free ministry which would involve "part-time priests" or a contractual relationship with a specific church (as found in the Protestant idea of "call"). It seems that one of the unintended consequences of celibacy is precisely the formation of a total role (where life style and life work are linked).

13. Role studies, such as those of police, point out that real job training comes more from his work partners than from a rulebook or theories. cf.: Jack J. Preiss and Howard H. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1966). So too a priest's role is formed by the priests he works with or his colleagues. Many priests felt that fellow priests were more influential than either his superiors or his congregation on his work performance, but this is another area of research.
14. This is the issue of self-identity with the role. Again, it is typically of all professional roles that there is a close identity with the role. Unlike a job, the professional is a doctor or teacher. Especially in the priesthood, the main thrust of the normative spirituality is toward an identification with the role, and the Church has developed a whole complex of role-enforcement mechanisms such as retreats, forms of prayer, days of study and in-service training. This is especially important here since, as we have seen, the priesthood is a construct role, and its shape and definition must constantly be re-inforced.
15. John P. Koval and Edgar W. Mills, "Stress in the Ministry" IDOC Reports, 1972. "Identity Crisis" therefore comes at the intersection of all these referments. In every priestly act there is the potential of varied expectations. The

priests who went to Selma (according to one interview) had to face the institutional problem of a bishop refusing permission to go, the normative problem of the ideal of priestly action here, the pressure of his fellow priests, the reaction of parishioners, and his own personal commitment to poverty. Other cases have arisen such as Catholic teacher strikes, the Black manifesto, pressures for liturgical experimentations, etc.

Here too we touch on the high symbolic valence of this role. As a policeman is often "an inkblot in uniform" and expected to symbolize "law and order" and receive the spectrum of reaction to this (cf. Ehrlich & Preiss, op. cit.) so the priest is a symbolic figure. The symbolic aspect of the priestly role has normally been seen as supportive of traditional values (community affairs, patriotism, law and order) and this often takes effective action in his counseling functions. The role, in other words, both effectively and symbolically stood for tradition, law and order and stability of society, and it legitimated these values by an appeal to the sacred. Today, it is also tending toward a social prophetic role which is largely antithetical to this traditional role. Some priests want it to be a symbol of radical social reform and to legitimate even violence. There is a wide variety of emphasis within these polarities which touch a priest's life whether it is an issue of leading protest actions among the Black like Fr. Groppi or some as simple as whether to permit "America, the Beautiful" as a church hymn.

16. Without complicating the model too much, we must see a potential dialectic or interaction between every element in this cone of action eg: historical reasons might be used to justify one's self-image ("Paul was a worker-priest"), the institutional and the normative ("I'm not going to change this until the bishop speaks"), etc. This dynamic concept of role is a key theoretical pin in symbolic interactionism. cf.: Herbert Blumer, "Society as Symbolic Interaction" in Arnonld M. Role (ed.) Human Behavior and Social Processes (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1962) pp. 179ff. Also Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961).
17. This linking of identity and role function seems to be an important dimension of Weber's idea of vocation or "Beruf"; and vocation is a specific quality of professional roles. This whole process of the socialization of a professional

has been seen for doctor's in Howard Becker, Boys in White: Student Culture in a Medical School (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1961) It suggests a similiar study of the seminary in terms of identity formation, which still has to be done. cf.: Philip L. Berg, "Socialization into the Ministry: Comparative Analysis' Sociological Analysis xxx,2 (Summer, 1969) 59-71. The pre-Vatican seminary was almost a perfect archetype of enclosed socialization and a total institution, and structually it implied more stress on identity formation rather than intellectual formation.

18. Jeffrey K. Hadden in his study of the Glock and Stark data suggests a "gathering storm" between the clergy who take a pccision of "challenge" and the laity who come to the Church for "comfort". The Gathering Storm in the Churches (New York: Doubleday, 1969). We found this to be a minor polarization in Catholicism and too middle-class oriented; the real polarizations cut across laity-clergy distinctions and rather divide conservative and liberals, and reformers within themselves.
19. A magesterial work on the phenomenology of reform is Gerhart B. Ladner, The Idea of Reform (New York: Harper & Row, 1967). Our own research here took us into a sociological study of heresy and especially valuable is George Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962) and Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1967).
20. Perhaps an equilibrium model has dominated the study of Church reform both in theology and sociology. Our point is that there is a fundamental dialectic in the tensions of spirit-structures (cf.: Thomas O'Dea's idea of the "five dilemmas of institutionalizing religion" The Sociology of Religion, op. cit. c.5) A Sect then is not a deviant group (at least in its inception) but an expression of this basic tension Tillich saw an inherent danger in Catholic theology precisely in its tendency to snuff out the sectarian protest or "the Protestant Principle" cf: The Protestant Era (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1948). Much sociological study of "sects" tend to do the same by isolating sects and imposing an unconscious equilibrium model.
21. Much Catholic apologetic lacks any socio-structural dimension and it tended to blame the Reformation on bad men. Jacques Maritain's Three Reformers: Luther, Descartes,

Rousseau (New York: C.Scribners' Sons, 1942) and his recent Peasant of the Garonne (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968) are examples of this genre. A history of this post-Reformation Protestant-Catholic polemic is found in John Dolan, The Reformation (op. cit.) c. 1.

22. The nature of "tradition" is extremely strong in the Judaic-Christian tradition. There is a need for sociological studies of the social nature of tradition, especially in terms of what John Lucacs calls The Remembered Past: Historical Consciousness or The Remembered Past (New York: Harper & Row, 1968). There is a need for the study of the socio-dynamics of the creation of primal myths (whether this be the Garden of Eden or the Black Muslims' theory of history), the impact of "the founder" on formation of latter policy especially in Catholic religious orders, the tendency of popular "tradition" to be a fairly recent remembered past, and the very structures of religious history. We find little evidence of such theological-sociological studies in process.
23. An interesting typology of reform can be found in W.A. Visser 't Hooft, "The Way of Renewal" in The Renewal of the Church (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957) and reprinted in William B. Greenspun & William A. Norgren, Living Room Dialogues (New Jersey: The Paulist Press, 1965) pp. 16-74. His first type is the triumphal one which assumes that the Church is a perfect society and incapable of reform except a moral reform of its members. Reaction in the secular sphere to the Kerner Report on the structured racism of American society shows how hard it is for people to grasp this structural or sociological perspective.
24. This is the title of a work by Oliver R. Whitley, The Church: Mirror or Window? (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1969). It is the basic hypothesis of this study that we are studying a religious movement, a movement which has actualized anew the tension of spirit-structure. Our own sociological bias is one of "conflict theory" and hence we see this tension as a sign of vitality not of confusion and decay. cf.: Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (New York: Free Press, 1956).

Chap. X CONCLUSION

It has been our basic hypothesis that the religious reformation movement which came to focus at the Vatican Council was similiar to the many reform movements within Catholic history and especially to the sixteenth century Reformation. While this contemporary movement has touched on many of the old themes such as clerical celibacy, the hierarchic church and church goals and priorities, it has not yet developed any significant schism. Rather the struggle for reform has been internal and the resulting polarity has been contained under a general mantle of "catholicism". This has been especially evident in the thrust to democratize church governmental structures, to rationalize and modernize liturgical and ritual forms and to personalize dogmatic formulations.

Like most social and ideological movements the Vatican reform movement has been characterized by 1) a new consciousness or a reformation in the normative order and by 2) a struggle for structural-political reform. We have shown that the Church is now in a period of "reconstruction" in which it is moving from value₁-institution₁ to value₂-institution₂. Basically the new normative order has gained possession, at least in the official church statements and policy; the problem is to operationalize this in actual Church life. Not only is there significant

resistance in structural inertia and bureaucratic erosion of idealism, but a large number of Catholics, both clerical and lay, have not accepted this new normative order, or have done so selectively and, at times, reluctantly. What churchmen have variously described as a period of confusion and even a loss of faith has been the inevitable confusion and reaction present in all transitional periods.

Our study has seen this movement as basically stratified and fundamentally still a clerical struggle. It is not a grassroots movement; it neither originated in the laity nor has it gained widespread support from the majority of Catholic laity. In its roots, its programs of change and in its supporters it is still clerical although slowly gaining a wider base of support. For this reason, the priesthood is a sensitive and key role and a good barometer to take measure of this reform movement. But above all, the priest remains the central figure of leadership and a mediator of the reform movement, if he so chooses, to the local congregation.

We have been engaged in an analysis of institutional change as reflected in a sensitive institutional role. As we have pointed out, the priesthood is a role, like most professional roles, built mainly on normative values, not remunerative nor coercive values. Every normative change such as a shift from a sectarian solidarity to ecumenism, a strong authoritarian

political model to more democratic sharing of decision-making, from rigidity of doctrinal formulation to theological pluralism, all have had a deep impact on this role. We have seen this liberalization in slow emergence of Catholicism from its nineteenth century sectarian closure which found its crystalization in Pius IX and Catholic anti-modernism. In America, this liberalization of the Church has many complex social causes such as the emergence of Catholicism from its ethnic ghetto structures. Perhaps, the most significant has been the impact of the recent poverty movement and now the peace movement on Catholic conscience and especially on social consciousness of priests. We have tried to document this shift from a sacramental to a social self-definition of priests.

The precariousness of our data is evident when we consider that we are dealing with a transitional moment in Church history. The Church has not yet totally abandoned its medieval model nor totally embraced this reform movement. If one clear fact emerges from this study it is that the Catholic world is polarized and pluralized -- perhaps irreparably so -- by the Council. To measure the impact of this on the priesthood, it is valuable to see the priesthood within this reform movement.

The first stage of reform historically centered around the Council and the first turbulent years after the Council. It was marked by a preoccupation with institutional reform and an

enthusiasm for "renewal" on every level of Church life. Its theme and self-description was Pope John's word: aggiornamento. It was also the period marked by the confusion of an "open church" moving from nineteenth century sectarian characteristics and out from the ethnic ghetto, and even more remotely away from medieval ideals and structures rigidified in the hostility of the Reformation. We have seen this in the disputes on collegiality and infallibility, the struggle for new theology, etc.

A second stage of reform moves away from this stage of institutional reshaping and seems to be in what we might call a humanizing stage. Here there is a change of focus. The drama is no longer one of internal church conflict; the participants have tired of the essential introspective nature of this struggle. There is a concern rather with the more general religious and social problems of mankind today. We see a deepening consciousness and sensitivity to problems of world poverty, peace and to the general task of building the city of man. We might describe this as an opening out of Christianity beyond its own institutional concerns.

Although it is hard to gain an historical perspective and give a description of a movement still shaping, we see two general dimensions: the psychological and the social.

On the psychological level Catholic thought has been

deeply impressed not only with the psychological roots of deviance and sin, but recently very much by a theory and a theology of human growth and the development of human potential. We find studies of spirituality, of marriage and even catechetical materials trying to rethink both the gospel message and techniques of communication in terms of human psychological growth. The concern with man's inner development, self-awareness and the interpersonal dimensions of love and marriage are reflected in the enormous amount of literature and discussion on these themes recently. In other words, we see signs of the emergence of a new Christian humanism in this new Reformation. And unlike sixteenth century counterpart, the humanism finds itself more psychologically based rather than based on literature and the arts.

In some ways the social direction is even more dramatic as a find a rejection of the last traces of a world-fleeing monasticism, and of a sharp division of the sacred from the secular. The priest again is the dramatic center of this revolution of ideas. His role is no longer normatively shaped by a monastic model and a sharp class distinction which builds basically on a separation of the sacred and the profane. Rather the role has become more and more one of social activists and community change agent. We have traced this movement both in this country, as priests have become more and more involved in social action and poverty programs and even in politics. Names like

the Berrigan Brothers, Groppi, Lucas, etc. have become symbolic of a sharp shift in the theory and practice of the modern priesthood.

What is characteristic of this second stage of reformation and its both dimensions, the psychological and social, is that it tends to be extra-ecclesial. Also like the reformation period, there are signs of non-denominational pietism closely connected with this stage of reform. The Explo Revival of 1972 has numerous Catholic participants and Catholic Pentecostalism seems to be thriving.

In less than a decade then, we see two stages of reformation: 1) the stage of institutional self-reflection and the stage of 2) humanism and non-denominational pietism. Again, we are trying to discern the shape of a highly polarized, overlapping and still emerging religious movement within Catholicism, and our description has only heuristic value as it attempts to give order to a rapidly changing reformation.

The priest is at the center of this stage, and 'the crisis of the priesthood' is not celibacy, nor authority but the very structures which constitute the priesthood. A new theology of the Church demands a new theology of the priesthood (which has still not emerged) and institutional reforms ultimately find resonance in this role. A restructuration^{ing} of the Church necessarily involves a restructuration of the priesthood since

Institution and Identity are correlative in many aspects.

We have identified the stress on this role and the consequent pressures for a high incident of priestly exodus in four dimensions. First there is the dimension of normative change and the crisis of a theological orientation for the priest which touches the roots of his identity. We might even speculate that the recent theological reorientation in Catholicism was only paralleled once before in her history in the third century when the Church moved from a Scriptural mode of statement to a more theological and Platonic style. The impact on the average priest is only beginning to be felt. Basically it is the problem of a normative role without a well developed normative rationale to support it. Secondly, the priest is the man most touched by an institutional reconstruction period within Catholicism with all its attendant anomie, lack of direct, clerical politics and human foils. Third, the priest finds himself more opened to the whole question of interpersonal relations and his life style by a continued questioning of celibate commitment and community life structures. Finally we find the institution person problem of the 'fit' between the institution and the person. This is the organizational problem of a person's psychological and personal capacity to do the job.

These four potential crises areas have always been there for the priest, of course, but what has precisely made the

contemporary crisis is the institutional changes within the church. The shift to a reformed set of values-beliefs and to new structures can always be an unsettling experience. It is at this point that the concept "alternation" becomes a theoretical linch-pin in our study. Sudden shifts can lead one to question a taken-for-granted world, to see values and structures in a new light. This can lead to a totally new awareness of the organization and one's role in that organization. Religion especially is highly susceptible to this "precarious vision". This vision or new awareness affects one's commitment and can either lead to a new commitment, a re-integration of one's commitment in light of this new perspective, or a loss of commitment altogether. This alternation has been the general experience of the contemporary priesthood as our data indicates and all three options have been present among priests today.

When studying a human phenomenon so complex as religious motivation we cannot easily say that a man left for one of the four major reasons we gave above, although in our interviews usually one dimension such as celibacy or institutional tensions predominated. The individual, even in an in-depth interview, is capable of a great deal of rationalization and changing interpretations of so highly personal an event. Our case study approach seems the only viable one to get approximately accurate data. Besides our main purpose was to explore the parameters or

the pattern of alienations as an index of the actual dimensions of Church change. This study of concrete cases among churchmen give a portrait of some of the actual tensions of a Church in a period of reconstructions. Beneath the human conflicts, fear and emotions there is a picture of the socio-dynamics of institutional reform within a religious movement of reformation.

We have suggested that educational reform movements, especially the contemporary American dialogue on education, can provide a useful model and revealing parallels. What we have discussed is a change in the Catholic community's own self-awareness which is highly differentiated in the contemporary Catholic world. The Church is trying to carry out reform on all fronts, 1) institutional reform, 2) the normative change of a new image of man and 3) the reshaping of the social order, and to do all this simultaneously. Sociologically, we find the roots of anomie here in this expansive program. They are also found in a serious pluralization of Catholicism without a consequent politization. In other words, reform has not found strong leadership in the papacy nor in the American hierarchy nor any widespread grass-roots support in the laity, and the clergy has been polarized on the major issues. Besides a considerable impetus of the reform movement has moved outside the confines of Church structure in wider secular and more ecumenical concerns.

We cannot predict the future. There is, for example,

a good possibility that the reform movement will be diluted and have only sporadic success and institutionalization will gradually settle in again. There is the possibility of serious schism among conservatives and liberals as well as among reformers themselves.

What might emerge is a new model of priesthood, and we would suggest that it will take the lines of a free professional. Perhaps much like the doctor or teacher the priest will have institutional mobility in the choice of his place of work, and the specialization he will develop within this work. The possibility of freedom of choice in life style, where the priest lives and if he can marry, is possible but strongly resisted by hierarchic powers at the moment. Some trends such as the professionalization of priests and the training of priest-psychologists, priest-social workers, etc., have already begun. Since Institution and Identity are correlative many of these changes would imply an official pluralization of Catholicism, a recognition of the diversity of cultural styles of Catholicism as well as theological pluralism. This might be similar to the struggle for recognition of ethnic pluralism in America. If such an officially legitimated model did emerge it would mean the end to the pre-Vatican, hierarchic model with its implicit sectarian tendencies.

Meanwhile, there is no doubt that the priesthood is in

crisis. This is not a moral phenomenon or a crisis of piety, but a reflection of a vast institutional reformation of normative values and institutional forms. The priesthood is a focal role, and his identity or crisis of identity reflects the institutional crisis of Catholicism. We are watching a reconstruction period in Catholicism and the new shape of the priesthood will be formed by the complex socio-dynamic processes of reform now stirring within the Catholic Church.

APPENDIXMETHODOLOGYPreface

Methodology is fundamentally a critical act of self-reflection on one's research. It seeks to explicate not only the theoretical framework of any study but also the implicit assumptions, as well as to explain the techniques of data collection and analysis. As such, it takes seriously the socratic axiom "an unexamined life is not worth living" and applies it to the sociological work involved. It is in such a spirit that we perform this critical reflection on the procedures and theory of our study, and examine here the tools of research, data collection, assumptions and theoretical model - in a word, we examine the objectivity and validity of our research.

Theory and Method

Our fundamental assumption is that theory and research methods are highly interrelated. Not only in the sense explained by Sjoberg that "the researcher's theoretical commitment not only influences his choice of a topic and statement of the problem but it also often affects his selection of research procedures and the specific manner in which he analyzes and disseminates his findings", but also in the very data themselves. We might present this diagrammatically:



While Sjoberg would stress that theory determines research techniques (and we will agree with this), we would also stress that both theory and method are variables in the research design. For theory acts like a selective filter highlighting certain aspects of the problem and sensitizing the observer to see these, while obscuring other aspects and rendering their discovery unlikely. Our study, for example, has tried to highlight certain institutional aspects of the priest's role and remains "theoretically insensitive" to psychological problems such as developmental problems of socialization and internalization of the role, or to the question of a predominance of certain psychological types in the priesthood.

It is important to see the function of theory here as imposing the discipline of a consistent point of view or perspective. Theory has given us a perspective, the level of analysis, and systematic linkage of facts.

The perspective of our theoretical approach is that of institutional analysis, and specifically an analysis of a value-based institution. To examine this perspective, we decided to examine the conflict of values in "deviant" or anomie cases, and like Durkheim, studies of delinquency, Ericson's study of religious deviance and others, we have tried to capture the self-perceptions of those "on the fringe". The theory then denoted a method of case studies and in-depth interviews, linked with field observation.

Naturally this perspective limited and cut off other

valid research questions (such as psychological types within the priesthood). We can only say that the theoretical perspective developed here emerged slowly in an intellectual process of trial and error, of fits and starts and was not imposed from the beginning. Such a dynamic process is hard to describe in its genesis and growth; we would only insist that every effort was made through testing and reading comparative studies and through research itself to keep this process open. We do not feel that the theory was imposed on the data but grew out of a constant confrontation with the data.

What emerged too was a level of analysis. Here it is good to remember that the option is not just between "grand theory" and "middle-range theory", but across a whole spectrum of levels. The task of sociological theory is to maintain a consistency of level. Here we move on two levels, the macro-institutional level represented in the first three chapters concerned with the general value-shift in the Church, and then on the systemic level concerned with seeing a particular diocese as an organizational system. The ultimate verification here rests with the consistency of our analysis.

Finally, theory has a synthetic function of linking facts into some coherent picture. This too can only be verified from a sense for the integrity of our portrayal here and the fine critical eye which sees the links we have forged. The key link is, of course, that between the structural anomie of the Church and the sense of alternation which this produces

in believers, leading to "confusion", re-evaluation, and in the cases here, some type of alternation.

And so theory and method are highly interrelated and the "objective facts" are products of a theoretical perspective and a selective research procedure. Objectivity is a much wider term than a proof of research technique; it verifies 1) the theoretical assumptions, strengths and limits of our study and 2) it clarifies the methods used. We shall return to this particular "epistemology" of social research as a necessary dimension of any discussion of methodology, but let us first look at our actual data collection procedures. Hence we shall discuss 1) the collection of data and 2) the phenomenological methodology.

1) The Collection of Facts

(a) Elaboration of the Research Instrument

Our study is basically an attempt to probe into the structures of a religious institution, the Catholic Church, and to trace the dynamics of rapid value reorientation in that Church as it produces a situation of institutional anomie with a resultant sense of alternation in its members variously experienced as confusion, renewal and alienation. There are many possible ways of measuring and presenting these data, but from the various research tools available to us, we have chosen to do a field study with in-depth interviews. Our final product was the typology of commitment-alienation as an analytic model for this value-based institution, and hopefully

for all such institutions, religious and secular.

It was the choice of this institutional level which guided us throughout and which led to the elimination or neglect of many other important theoretical and research questions. We do not attempt to enter into many questions of personality correlations, or to measure the impact of peer esteem or the expectation of one's clients on the priest. Rather we are only concerned with the impact of value-change within the Church on one specific role by an in-depth study of the alienated.

The study is not in any way a statistic study of former priests. There are many reasons for this. Besides that of pure economy, the population of former priests is hard to identify and locate for any valid statistical sample. Official channels will not release information on those who leave, and because of pressures of stigmatization, it is hard to locate former priests. It was thus early decided that any hope for a statistical sample method was beyond our research resources. Besides, careful attention would have to be given to the different systemic differences between dioceses - some would be characterized as "hopeless" or "medieval" while others might be considered as open and "progressive". The task of verifying such evaluations would be necessary, and there are as many dangers of easily comparing priests from different dioceses as to compare police from different cities. The possibility of controlling variables is unlikely.

Hence, we chose to do an in-depth set of interviews with

a select number of priests as our basic research tool. It also involved a great deal of historical reading in Church reform, and of contemporary evaluations of modern Roman Catholicism which are innumerable. Also this was our field study (as we shall describe).

Our interviews began in a pilot study stage. Here the author worked as an intake interviewer for an organization trying to relocate former priests. The task was to identify the client's needs and orient him towards the services of the organization. This also gave the opportunity to discuss the motivation for leaving. This usually happened towards the end of the intake interview when the client would often spontaneously talk to the issue. At other times the question was posed, "If you don't mind my asking, what made you leave?" or "Why did you feel you had to leave?" or a similar probing question. The answers came readily. In fact, in over 250 interviews, only twice was a reply given "that's a personal matter". Usually there was a strong need to talk about it and the question often provoked a long discussion, one lasting as long as three and one half hours! These men were grateful for a sympathetic hearing.

The result of this was a widening and deepening of the author's perception and a strong appreciation for the complexity of the matter. It was in this stage that our theoretical model was developing, and we feel that it emerged very much in a real confrontation and challenge from the data, and so it has deep empirical roots. It is hard to describe

the slow, step by step, process of discovery and the periods of slow maturation of the questionnaire. It was several months, for example, before it dawned on us the potential of the question: "Under what conditions would you go back to the priesthood?" and yet this became a key question in our research. It helped not only to define the specific sense of alienation as when the answer was given "I would go back tomorrow if I could stay married". It also clarified the new self-identification of the priest: "I don't think I have stopped being a priest. Don't use the past tense. I am still a priest although the Church does not let me fully function".

The questionnaire was thus slowly elaborated while at the same time the intake interviews and our reading of history and contemporary Church commentaries continued. It represents a deep, probing interview which helped us develop our role typology as a carefully measured reality. We feel it represents an important contribution in terms of a non-statistical, qualitative analysis of a complex phenomenon. Its limitation is basically in that it cannot assign quantities to each type, and this is the admitted limitation of the whole study. It does, however, give ample opportunity to explore and probe all facets of alienation, at least all facets that appeared in over 250 interviews and in the thirty specific interviews using the itemized questionnaire. In this context, Young's statement is important:

Social scientists, in their study of human behavior, strive to obtain a fundamentally real and enlightened record of personal ex-

periences which would reveal in concrete detail a man's inner strivings, tensions, motivations that drive him to action, the barriers that frustrate him or challenge him, the forces that direct him to adopt a certain pattern of behavior and to live according to a certain scheme and philosophy of life. Only some of man's experiences can be learned by observing him in action. To understand his behavior fully and intimately, he must supply a detailed and penetrating account of what he does and has done, what he thinks he does and has done, what he expects to do, and says he ought to do.

This is a case history, and each person interviewed was asked to give one either in long (full questionnaire) or short form (intake interviews). While Thomas and Znaniecki think case histories or "personal life-records" are the perfect type of sociological material, and the only reason for other methods is the practical difficulty of obtaining such records, we would point out the serious limitation. We are dealing with remembered information freely given. Not only is there a tendency (demonstrated in social psychology) to hide and even block out and forget unpleasant and unfavorable data, but there is the possibility of withholding truth and even lying. This came out in some interviews as the need of the agency for accurate information to an employer, for resumes, etc., was met. In all cases, there was fear because of personal involvements and scandals in the priesthood or else because of a sense of fear of the agency. There was a tendency in some men to feel that they were being spied upon by "Rome" or by the local bishop.

But the basic problem does not seem to be with the veracity of the reports, but with the accuracy of the self-perceptions involved. In general, we spoke to people who were on the verge

of leaving or who had left within a few months period (although one had left 23 years ago), and presumably their expressed self-perceptions were close to those motives which led them to leave. In subsequent interviews, and in discussion with many former priests, they admitted that their perceptions changed the longer they were out, and as one explained "I will probably see all this very differently ten or five years from now". This time change of perception is a variable which we did not control for in our study, and it obviously could form a study in itself.

Thus case studies have the intrinsic problem of double subjectivity which threaten the objectivity of the research, the subjectivity of the one interviewed and his limit of self-perception and memory. It also includes the researcher as a variable, who can misinterpret and read theory and his own presuppositions into the data.

(b) Other Research Instruments

For this reason other sources of information were sought in our second stage of forming and utilizing the questionnaire. First, the author began collecting personal documents and statements of former priests. Many men who left the priesthood were moved to write letters to their friends or parishioners explaining the reasons for such steps. In fact, John O'Brien has collected a book of these. Also, several books were written by former priests - the most complete and reasoned one being that of Charles Davis, A Question of Conscience.

Secondly, the author attended meetings of former priests'

groups, specifically a group now with national affiliation called The Society of Priests for a New Ministry and a small group which meets bi-weekly in a nearby city. In both cases, long discussions about one's new views and vision of the institutional religious forms and of Christianity would emerge, and gave nuances and a great wealth of data.

Finally, he also was invited by a psychiatrist friend to attend a group therapy session as an assistant, a group made up of three former priests (and two former nuns and two layman). This gave some data on deep, unconscious motivations and on the guilt created in many priests by their act of leaving. He also directed a group attitudinal therapy session with another group of men. Thus gradually, an enormous body of data was collected which is only partially reflected here in the thesis, and a base of interviews which not only reached several dioceses in the United States, but brought the researcher into contact with several former priests from Europe and Latin America.

Thus we find ourselves very much in the tradition of Thomas and Znaniecki in gathering data concerned with personal documents, personal accounts, and in-depth interviews. Basically, we were concerned with data which would reflect these former priests' "definition of the situation" or their personal perceptions of their change of career.

Definition of the Situation

Our concern, within this tradition, was to gather social attitudes or values - to capture the former priest's "definition

of the situation". As such it is a field study which yielded a rich body of data and a fantastic diversity of outlook and opinion. We feel that as much as it is possible to reduce the rich details of life to a pattern, that we have caught the major dimensions of this phenomenon in our typology. At least we have tested it over a wide range of interviews, and with specific, in-depth analyses.

In his 82 page critique of the methods and the validity of the work of Thomas and Znaniecki's research, Professor Herbert Blumer outlines several contributions of such an approach:

1. It showed the importance of studying subjective factors in social life.
2. Introduced the technique of life-histories.
3. It gave a statement of social theory which outlines the framework of a social psychology and the features of sociology.
4. A statement of scientific method which has stimulated and reinforced the interest in making sociology a scientific discipline.
5. A number of important theories, such as those of personality, of social control, of disorganization, and that of the four wishes - wish for new experience, for security, for response, and for recognition.
6. A variety of concepts which have gained wide acceptance such as attitude, value, life organization, definition of situation, and the four wishes.

7. A rich content of insight, generalizations, and shrewd observations.

8. An illuminating and telling characterization of Polish peasant society.

It would be too complex to apply all these criteria to our study here. We would only like to point out some basic justification for our use of this method and some claim for its objectivity.

(c) Role of "Insider"

While striving for a definition of the situation we also were trying to locate this within the workings of a complex organization, and show how the person and the institution are interrelated. For this, a good deal of knowledge of the Church as an actual functioning institution was necessary. Otherwise, we are limited just as we are limited reading chapters of the Polish Peasant, lacking the socio-cultural context in which to place these personal accounts. The advantage the author had is that he is a functioning priest within the Catholic Church and familiar with its workings and ideology. In fact, we can see three distinct advantages to such a position.

First, it gave easy access to priests and even to former priests. Like every profession, there is an "offstage and an onstage" and perhaps in the priesthood this concern for image management is stronger than in any of the other professions. Thus a researcher who is an outsider does not easily gain access to shop-talk and inside details which

would be discussed in the presence of another priest without hesitation.

Secondly, the author has a good training in both the old and new theology and has therefore a sensitivity to value issues which might escape an outsider, much as an outsider might miss the nuances and even important issues in the study of the Amish community or the Hassidim or in any strange culture.

Finally, he has lived and is still working as a priest and is familiar with the institution "from the inside". He is aware of the tensions priests live under, the pressures they feel from authority or the leveling processes within their own peer group. He has also made himself familiar in the interviews with the inward workings of one diocese in detail, both the formal political structures and the informal, political pressures operative.

For all these reasons we would defend the position of insider. While an outside observer can bring an objective distance to his perspective, he perhaps cannot easily obtain the same depth. To perform the operation of verstehen, one must be inside, either antecedently or manage to insert himself there in the process of research. In the case of the outsider, it is a question of gaining entry; in the case of the insider, it is the problem of the ability to step outside the role and gain perspective and perform this as an act of sociological reflection. This latter attempt was the author's.

(d) Confrontation

This last statement leads to a discussion of a topic we have never seen discussed in sociological literature, but it is an invaluable tool of verification. We refer to attitudinal confrontation. Here a person is confronted in group sessions by his peers about his attitudes, biases, prejudices and challenged to examine them. The result is to take seriously Sjoberg's assertion that the researcher is a variable in any study. Such techniques bring to light hidden prejudices and assumptions which a person takes for granted, and these techniques have been used in interracial sessions, for example, with great effect.

They also have great value in gaining methodological objectivity and perhaps would widen many researchers in their academic and cultural biases as well as personal limitations. It was primarily for this reason that we went through group sessions with former priests, and the processes of confrontation and reinforcement helped the author immensely in seeing limitations in his premises and approach. Besides, we also submitted our ideas and theories to many former priests in private conversation for criticism and that living dialogue out of which real intellectual progress is borne.

2) The Phenomenological Method

The above is presented by way of validation for the accuracy and theoretical validity of our study. Basically, every study has both advantages and disadvantages and insights and limits. We have merely tried to perform what

every methodological analysis must perform, an act of self-reflection on our approach and our theoretical perspective.

What has emerged, besides, are some of the elements of a phenomenological approach to sociology, which is our basic intellectual orientation. Just as phenomenology has made an impact in "existential psychoanalysis" under thinkers like Binswanger and Rollo May, so it has influenced modern sociology especially in the discovery of Alfred Schutz. What is ironic here is that Schutz has shown how the elements were already there in Weber.

We have tried to be faithful to two guiding principles of this approach. First, not to allow preconceived theoretical and epistemological ideas shape our analysis but to aim, as far as possible for a description of the data which portrays without forcing it in to some procrustean bed of theoretical or methodological limitations. It seems to us that sociology has similar epistemological problems as philosophy and hence often insists on a methodology which is narrowly conceived such as its positivistic methodology. The gap is perhaps no more dramatically shown than to juxtapose Weber and a recent issue of a sociological journal. While allowing for a development of methodology, we note the lack of perspective and history and descriptive power found in a Weberian emphasis.

We have tried to see theory here as basically a particular perspective and a consistence of one level of analysis and this is the scope of our work.

Secondly, phenomenology places a great stress on Kierkegaard's axiom "trust is subjectivity" and we find an

echo of this in Weber's notion of verstehen. This need to see from the inside but objectively. We have dealt with the dilemmas of this paradox above.

Without developing the premises and a text on phenomenological sociology, we would like to think that we have recovered here two of its methodological emphases, the descriptive power of theory and the insightful quality of verstehen, and that this undergirds the two stands of institutional analysis, large scale organizational study and description, as well as the more interpersonal symbolic interaction level. Methodology then becomes a return to two basic problems of all scientific research, accuracy of measurement and clarity of theoretical perspective. Ultimately, its justification is existential: the "now I see" of the eureka experience, the experience of discovery, and hopefully that is at least partially the shared experience found in this study.

Priest _____ Code # _____
 Religious _____ Date _____
 Yrs. Ordained _____ Yrs. Out _____ Age _____

Questionnaire-1

Begin: The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out what's going on in the Roman Catholic Church; interested in your insight; only I will have access to information.

Part I

1. Can you tell me about your decision to leave, what were the major factors?
2. Was this a slow developing decision, or was there some decisive moment of decision?
3. Were you always unsure; or was there a moment when you began to doubt priesthood?
4. What was chief motivation: (celibacy/faith/irrelevance of job/clash with authority/lack of challenge/talents slighted)?
5. Did anyone help you in your time of doubt? (Use of psychiatry)
6. What kept you from leaving? (social pressure)
7. Are you married/intend to marry? How did this person's presence influence you?
8. How do you feel now about your decision?

Part II

Genesis of Vocation

1. Thinking back, can you describe your attraction to the priesthood? (family influence; other priest; desire to serve; need to discover self)
2. Would you do it again? (probe for hostility; disaffection, etc.)
3. Did you find your training helpful (seminary) to deal with people; intellectually; etc.?
4. What was your experience in first years of priesthood? (immature; happy; etc.)
5. How was life in the rectory?
6. In this time, did you have any doubts or special problems?
7. Did you get a good education? Any post-seminary education?
8. Looking back, do you feel you took the decision to be ordained in maturity? And celibacy?

Part III

Church Values

1. How do you feel about all the changes in the Roman

Part III (contd.)

- Catholic Church today? Did this affect your decision?
2. Did the birth control encyclical affect you?
 3. Was there any trend in church which affected you?
(too slow to change; too undecided)
 4. Did your thinking radically change since you entered?
 5. Some feel this crisis is loss of faith by priests.
How do you feel?
 6. Do you still consider yourself a Christian? A
practicing Catholic?
 7. Did you find the church too institutional?
 8. Did you find the church too authoritarian?
 9. Are you disappointed in the church?
 10. Do you see a future to Catholicism?
 11. Have there been any authors, books or periodicals
which shaped your thinking?
 12. Do you still want to work with people?

Part IVImage of Priest

1. Did you consider yourself a successful priest? In
what areas?
2. How did people accept you?
3. Would you advise a boy to become a priest?
4. Books are written about the "Priest in Crisis".
What do you think is happening?
5. Do you think most priests are confused today about
what they should be doing?
6. Do you find divisions and contention about priests
today?
7. What do you think about celibacy? Optional? If you
could remain married, would you be a priest?
8. What was the reaction of fellow priests to your
decision?
9. Did you find your work as irrelevant and mickey mouse?
10. Did you find your life controlled and supervised too
much?
11. Were you frustrated in your attempts to be effective
as a priest?
12. Did you find a lot of satisfaction personally in your
work?
13. Priest association
14. New forms of priesthood - what is the role of a priest?
Who is he?

Part VReference Groups

1. A priest's life can be very lonely? Did you find it

Part V (contd.)

- so? (Probe for close friends)
2. (If woman involved) - some describe a sense of deep personal growth in knowing the love of another? Can you speak of your experience? Did your wife help form your decision?
 3. Did you have close friends among the laity? How did they feel about your leaving?
 4. How did your parishioners feel?
 5. They say that many more priests would leave if they had the courage; what do you think?
 6. Why are so many leaving today?
 7. How do your fellow priests feel about your decision; how did they treat you?
 8. How were you treated officially? (By the way, are you legally dispensed) by bishop and chancery? Was there any problem in the handling of your case?
 9. Are priests today demoralized and confused?

Part VIPresent Status

1. What is your present work? (Is this your first job) (What do you want to do)?
2. When you first left, what did you want to do? (Social work, etc.). How has that changed?
3. Do you feel you relate better with people now?
4. Do you feel personally more satisfied? (Self-image). More mature?
5. Many describe early experience as cold shock of reality? Do you? How does this contrast with previous life as priest?
6. What was reaction of secular work (employer) to your status?
7. What kind of work are you doing now? Approximate salary?
8. Any special difficulties in adjusting?
9. What are your plans for the future?
10. Do you see any future for you in the church (As layman; probe for personal faith, etc.)
11. Under what conditions would you return to the priesthood, if any?
12. Do you meet with other ex-priests? (Probe for friendships). (Get names of others to contact). Anything else?

Methodological Appendix - Footnotes

1. Gideon Sjoberg and Roger Nett, A Methodology for Social Research (New York: Harper and Row, Publ., 1968). p. ix. Our own corrective to Sjoberg is a great stress on the history of Sociology - or its lack. Like the field of historiography which has been able to uncover cultural viewpoints and philosophical assumptions in "historical fact" and show that this fact always involves an angle of vision (contrary to Harnack's dream of pure objectivity) so there is a need for a sociology of sociology. This is just emerging but it is seriously needed when we consider sociology's roots in nineteenth century positivism along with history, and when we consider the various divergent - and perhaps incompatible strands of theories today.
2. Our study has not moved in the direction of mathematical analysis or statistical data partially because of the practical impossibility of assembling such data, but mainly because our focus has been a phenomenological study of a religious phenomenon. It has been more important to describe such phenomena such as "awakening to affectivity" or "the radicalization of the third world priest" than to statistically analyze a sample. This we see as a later step. The work here follows the theory of the sociology of religion as elaborated by Peter Berger in his various works, especially The Precarious Vision and The Social Construction of Reality (cf.: bibliography) and the seminal works of the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz, especially his Collected Papers. Also a survey in Joseph J. Kockelmans (ed.) Phenomenology (New York: Doubleday, 1967).
3. It is important to keep in mind that a great effort was made to preserve the confidentiality of the reports. No attempt is made to identify a man in his diocese (since only a few dozen have left the average diocese, this would link too closely the data with the person for many "insiders"). Nor methodologically, for this study, it was necessary to identify a man by age, education, etc.
4. John A. O'Brien (ed.) Why Priests Leave (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1969) is a collection of twelve testimonies or autobiographies of former priests. Charles Davis, A Question of Conscience (New York: Harper and Row, 1967) is a profound autobiography dealing with the author's own struggles. Other authors mentioned in the bibliography (Frein, Drane, Blenkinsopp, McLoughlin, etc.) are also former priests.

5. This was a weekend conference concerned with Church renewal but involving many former nuns and priests. The author worked side by side with a psychiatrist and again had the opportunity to measure his reflections against another scientific discipline.
6. Herbert Blumer, An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America", (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939).

APPENDIX B

TABULATIONS

The data for the thesis have come from four years of intensive participant observation and case studies. As mentioned, intensive field work was done living in one parish for three years, participating in area meetings there about twice a week on the average; two years of semi-weekly meetings with religious priests discussing new forms of community life and ministry; two years of study of an ex-priest group and five meetings with another; a total of 56 seminar sessions with a group of older priests (157 over three years); and conferences and private discussions on the matter.

For over two years 12-35 hours each month of this research were spent working with an agency helping priests in transition.

Our basic case data come from 215 long interviews in this action research, (113 were diocesan priests and 102 were religious priests). Helping them adjust, it was possible to ask many of the basic questions in the interview schedule (although a total administration proved too formal, stiff and unmanageable). Some respondents were rejected because it was not possible to ask the basic outline of the questionnaire and a few (4) were rejected because the information they gave was false - a protective reaction, especially in foreign priests who saw the Agency as an arm of the Church.

What follows then is a tabulation of the case studies.

TABULATIONS

1. AREA WHERE MAJOR APOSTOLIC WORK WAS DONE

Metropolitan New York & East Coast	144
Detroit, Chicago and Midwest	15
California and Far West	11
South and South West	7
Europe	4
Latin America	28
Orient: Korea, Japan, Phillippines	6

2. MAJOR TYPE OF WORK

Diocesan	126
Parish	98
Inner City	37
Administration	6
Education	22
Missions	89

3. AVERAGE YEARS OF SERVICE

1 - 3 years	13
3 - 6 years	31
6 - 10 years	91
10 - 15 years	52
15 - 25 years	27
Over	1

4. REASONS FOR ENTERING *

Strong family piety/influence	81
Admiration and closeness to group	115
Need to save one's soul	103
Desire to do apostolic work	97
Other	16

5. DID THE SEMINARY PREPARE YOU WELL FOR YOUR WORK **

Yes, generally so	41
No	151
No answer	33

* The reason is listed when mentioned as strong factor; several respondents had multi-reasons and so the tabulation is given here as a general profile

** Most of the answers here were qualified; we are summarizing a general sense of satisfaction and dissatisfaction

6. MAJOR DIMENSION OF ALIENATION ***

Church is over-institutional (IIa)	91
Ethnic narrowness of group (IIa)	11
Conflict with authority (IIb)	41
Division & tensions in community, rectory (III)	39
Loss of faith (IA)	7
Disappointment with lack of reform (Ib)	191
Psychological problems (IV)	23
Sense of irrelevance of apostolate (IIb)	61
Church's position on Birth Control (IIb)	31
Lack of commitment to the poor (IIc)	109
Resistance of Church to Change (IIb)	117
Church treats me immaturely (IV)	19
Celibacy and desire to marry (III)	167
Sense of group rejection (III)	19

KEY

Ia	Normative alienation; total ie: loss of faith
Ib	Normative alienation: conflict over changing values
IIa	Institutional alienation: systemic
IIb	Institutional value dilemma
IIc	Institutional alienation: Third World Priests
III	Interpersonal: Celibacy and Community
IV	Personal alienation: psychological problems of adjustment

7. DO YOU STILL CONSIDER YOURSELF

A Christian	208 yes
A Catholic	177 yes****
A Priest	122 yes****

***Again, motivation was seen as complex. We have simply tabulated answers which identified a

major cause. Many respondents saw several and their frequent hesitation to assign priority to one is reflected here

**** Although this answer was usually qualified

8. A GENERAL EVALUATION OF RESPONDENTS TO DETERMINE IF THEY WERE CHANGE ORIENTED AND IN FAVOR OF THE CHANGES OF VATICAN II, SHOWED ALL BUT ONE IN FAVOR. ASKED IF THEY WERE THEOLOGICALLY LIBERAL OR CONSERVATIVE, ALL BUT 7 IDENTIFIED AS LIBERAL

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