CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL NORMS OF ENCLOSURE
A STUDY OF
THE SECULARIZATION OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN

By

SISTER HELEN FRANCIS SMALL, SSND, M.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

November, 1973

ENCLOSURE CHANGES AND SECULARIZATION OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (1973)
(Sociology)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: Changes in Traditional Norms of Enclosure;
A Study of the Secularization of Religious Women

AUTHOR: Sister Helen Francis Small, SSND.

B.A. (Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

M.A. (Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois)

SUPERVISOR: Professor Robert E. Blumstock

NUMBER OF PAGES: xi, 498.

ABSTRACT

This study developed out of a general concern with the central question of renewal in the Roman Catholic church following Vatican II. The decision was made to probe the impact and consequences of adaptation in a religious organization of committed women. The purpose of the study was to analyze one aspect of structural change which has historical and contemporary relevance for women in religious social systems. This change revolves around the cloister, or norms of Enclosure, which have secured and insured separation from the world for those seeking to live the committed life.

In the formal sense, cloister or Enclosure, denotes the body of laws governing entry into and exit from the residential quarters of the religious. In accordance with canonical prescriptions, as well as with selected chapters from the formal rule and constitutions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, norms of Enclosure were operationally defined to include: Life styles within the convent; Admission of nonmembers to the Enclosure; Secular influences within the Enclosure; The wearing of the religious garb; and, Exit of members from the Enclosure.

Within the parameters of the sociology of religion, the focus of the research design centered on the coexistence of the sacred-secular tradition with religious communities as a reference point. These were designated as sacred entities

by the nature of their values and goals. The gradual encroachment and absorption of the sacred by the secular is often referred to as the process of secularization. In this study secularization was operationally defined as a process of change from withdrawal to involvement in the secular milieu. It was based on the transposition of attitudes, values, and behaviour of religious women toward the secular world.

Changes in traditional Enclosure observance were examined from a number of perspectives. On an historical continuum they were viewed as a contributing factor to the structural differentiation which has taken place in the emergence of two types of religious community systems--the monastic and the apostolic. The study documented how the social structure of an apostolic congregation functioned to maintain the values and norms of Enclosure traditionally accepted until 1950. A comparative analysis of the three legislative documents formulated in the organization within the first hundred years of its existence revealed a startling growth of Enclosure directives.

The thesis likewise isolated Enclosure norms as a focal point of adaptation in SSND after 1950. The religious organization believed that if it were to adapt its work to the realities of social change, Enclosure directives would have to be altered. This structural differentiation within one religious system, and in relationship to the social system of the Roman Catholic church was accomplished simultaneously on

two levels. Change agents within the Catholic church and voluntary associations of religious implemented change through external differentiation. General chapters, professional interaction, and a self-study of the congregation contributed to internal differentiation. From 1950 to 1970 Enclosure legislation in the five traditional areas was gradually, but dramatically altered.

Through the use of field sources--questionnaire, interview, and participant observation--the researcher endeavoured to analyze the effects of Enclosure change on the attitudes and life styles of a selected sample of the membership. Data revealed that the majority of members felt that the amount of change which had occurred in the five traditional areas of Enclosure was about right, although there were gradations of acceptance of specific items. A majority agreed that some Enclosure changes had contributed to the secularization of religious women. There was a general feeling that increased secular participation had not affected their commitment to the sacred aspects of religious life, but that it had hindered the growth patterns of the religious organization.

PREFACE

The undertaking of this doctoral thesis was not a perfunctory one, but emanated from a persistent interest in the observance of Enclosure as a member of the congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. In my novitiate days I was socialized in the traditions and rules of the religious organization. In this canonical year it became apparent that along with the observance of the vows, Enclosure was a major consideration in the implementation of life styles for SSND members. As a professed sister, I was increasingly aware that although there were many other orders engaged in apostolic work their rules did not seem to place the same emphasis on the observance of Enclosure.

When the documents of Vatican II directed that Enclosure rules be altered, I wondered how this would affect committed women. This consideration later prompted me to select Enclosure as a topic for research analysis. I decided to examine it from both an historical and contemporary perspective as it pertained to the functioning of the members of my congregation.

In the development of the thesis, I wish to express sincere appreciation to the members of my advisory committee: Dr. Robert Blumstock, Dr. Hans Mol, and Dr. Peter Pineo. Without their valuable insights and assistance this thesis

would never have materialized. To many unnamed members of the sociology department, I extend my gratitude for their helpfulness in the development of my study.

I would be remiss if I did not thank publicly the School Sisters of Notre Dame for released time to complete the work, to the members who answered the questionnaire and were generous with their discussion and interviewing time, as well as to several interested confreres who gave editorial assistance. I am particularly indebted to the Canadian sisters whose hospitality has been beyond measure while I have had residence at their motherhouse.

The research was funded through the Canadian Government and McMaster University. I express my gratitude to them for this academic courtesy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
ABSTRACT		iii
PREFACE		vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS		viii
LIST OF TABLES		ix
LIST OF FIGURES		xi
Chapter		
I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS	49
III.	ENCLOSURE NORMS AND AGENTS OF CONTROL	95
IV.	ENCLOSURE NORMS AND AGENTS OF CHANGE	169
V.	REACTIONS TO CHANGE IN ENCLOSURE NORMS	230
VI.	THE ATTITUDE SCORE AND SACRED-SECULAR CHANGES	285
VII.	MAJOR CORRELATES OF ATTITUDE FORMATION	359
VIII.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	447
APPENDIX I		468
APPENDIX II		474
BIBLIOGRAPHY		485

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I.	DIFFERENTIATION AMONG RELIGIOUS WOMEN AS RELATED TO ENCLOSURE	12
II.	SUMMARY OF SSND ENCLOSURE LEGISLATION	149
III.	COMPARISON OF GENERAL CHAPTER SUMMARIES	177
IV.	COMPARISON OF ENCLOSURE CHANGE BOOKLETS	205
V.	FORMAL PROPOSALS FOR ENCLOSURE CHANGES	216
VI.	SSND POPULATION BEFORE VATICAN II	239
VII.	SSND POPULATION AFTER VATICAN II	243
VIII.	AMOUNT OF ENCLOSURE CHANGE IN GENERAL	248
IX.	CHANGE IN SECULAR PARTICIPATION	253
X.	EFFECT OF SECULAR PARTICIPATION ON SACRED COMMITMENTS	256
XI.	ATTITUDES TOWARD SPECIFIC ENCLOSURE CHANGES	263
XII.	RELATIONSHIP OF SELECTED CHANGES TO SECULARIZATION	276
XIII.	ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMOUN OF CHANGE SCORE	298
XIV.	DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ON SCORE: IN GENERAL AND BY AGE	302
XV.	RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS	311
XVI.	RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SPECIFIC ENCLOSURE CHANGES	315
XVII.	RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SECULAR PARTICIPATION CHANGES	324
XVIII.	RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SACRED COMMITMENT CHANGES	331

XIX. PARTICIPATION OF SAMPLE IN DIFFERENT LIFE STYLES..... 351

XX. RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES TO ATTITUDE SCORE..... 364

XXI. RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES TO AGE..... 367

XXII. RELATIONSHIP OF AGE TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS..... 370

XXIII. AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND THE OLD..... 377

XXIV. GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF CHANGE..... 382

XXV. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND ATTITUDE AMONG THE RESPONDENTS..... 386

XXVI. RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION TO AGE AND ATTITUDE..... 392

XXVII. RELATIONSHIP OF AGE, ATTITUDE, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE STYLES..... 400

XXVIII. LIFE STYLES RELATED TO WORK, AGE, AND ATTITUDE.. 401

XXIX. RELATIONSHIP OF WORK TO ATTITUDES OF THE YOUNG.. 402

XXX. ATTITUDES OF YOUNG AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN RESIDENCE..... 416

XXXI. RELATIONSHIP OF AGE, ATTITUDE, AND ROLE ASSESSMENTS..... 422

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1.	LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR LIFE WITHIN THE ENCLOSURE.....	150a
2.	LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR THE ADMISSION OF NONMEMBERS TO THE ENCLOSURE.....	153a
3.	LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES CONCERNING SECULAR INFLUENCE WITHIN THE ENCLOSURE.....	156a
4.	LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR RELIGIOUS GARB OF THE MEMBERS.....	160a
5.	LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR EXIT FROM THE ENCLOSURE PREMISES.....	162a
6.	TOTAL DEATHS IN NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES (CALENDAR YEAR).....	241a

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social change is intrinsic to society, and is a dynamic process with cumulative effects. Over a period of time it is axiomatic that social patterns or role relationships are altered. In turn, they must be assessed in relationship to the existing social structure. The direction of social change is always conditioned by the social values to which people subscribe. Cohen[1] states that some sociologists have sought to explain the nature of social change by making a careful distinction between changes which are a necessary part of a persistent social system, and those which are genuine changes in the system itself. Likewise, there has been an effort to distinguish between partial and total changes in comparative studies of social systems.

Statement of the Problem

Since World War II, all social institutions have been basically and drastically affected in structure and function. Sociologists of religion have increasingly turned their attention to the effects of social change on religious institutions. This represents a reversed position and emphasis

---

[1]Percy S. Cohen, Modern Social Theory (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), p. 175.

from that held by pioneers in the field--Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Emile Durkheim--who probed the influence of religion on society.[2] Nevertheless, viewed from either perspective, a religious institution is an integral part of the cultural and societal nexus in which it is embedded. As norms of society change, certain adaptations in religious rituals and practices are modified to satisfy the needs of respective members.

When the social order is undergoing an accelerated state of change, as it is contemporarily, a reappraisal of the functions of social institutions is more imperative if relevance is to be sustained. Otherwise, members of religious institutions are negatively affected by the quasi-instability created by pre-established structural forms and emergent modified functions. Trends which are now evident suggest patterns of greater independence and interdependence in the autonomy of maintaining individual social relationships as opposed to the former emphasis on organizational structure.

The realization of this fact is increasingly recognized today. A provocative question, particularly in Roman Catholic circles, is an evaluation of the extent to which changes are required in the church's structure in order to make it more effective--both to the world and to its adherents. Perhaps nowhere in the church is this felt more strongly than

---

[2]P.H. Vrijhof, "What Is the Sociology of Religion?" Readings in the Sociology of Religion, ed. Joan Brothers (Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1967), p. 32.

in religious orders where the definition of the role of the religious life is undergoing scrutiny as to the effectiveness of other-worldliness in a world which is seemingly discarding its sacred commitments.

Despite the traditional norms separating religious communities from the larger society, they still do not exist in a sacred vacuum. In various ways they are directly affected by the vast social changes taking place around them. They are faced with the dilemma of maintaining their goals and values while altering their life-styles and apostolic works in order to become more concerned with a this-worldly orientation. To accomplish this the traditional structure which has preserved the sacred values of religious life for centuries must now be modified to permit increased secular involvement.

For the individual religious member this may occasion revolutionary alterations in traditional thought patterns. For the religious community, as Houtart[3] suggests, it means that the institute itself will have to provide for the change phenomenon by incorporating it into the very structure of the institution. The general ferment experienced by each religious community in probing problem areas and adjusting life styles is more readily tolerated by some, and sanctioned by others, because the church has set the pace for adaptation.

---

[3]Francois Houtart, The Eleventh Hour (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968), p. 104.

The Problem in Perspective

It was in recognition of the forces of social change that the Roman Catholic church, in the Sixties, summoned her episcopal leaders and representatives of other religious bodies from all parts of the world to examine in council at the Vatican, its need for renewal and adaptation. Four hundred years earlier, in the Western world the Protestant Reformation fragmented the unity of the Catholic church. Over a period of several succeeding centuries, innovative ideas with their roots in pragmatism, rationalism, and science permeated the social order. Out of this socio-cultural background materialism, industrialism, and pluralism came to be recognized as prevailing characteristics. But the church, which identified with Graeco-Roman influences and medieval Christianity, remained on the periphery of social change for nearly four hundred years. The Second Vatican Council convened to confront this static condition. It redefined the nature and the mission of the church in contemporary society. The consequent reformulation of theology and ecclesiology [a study of the visible structure of the church] resulted in positioning the church and its members in the secular world.[4]

Religious communities have been changing slowly since 1950 with the encouragement of Pope Pius XII. There has been

---

[4]Richard Reichert, C.S.C., "Secularization and Renewal," Review for Religious, XXVII (September, 1968), 853.

a prounounced acceleration of the trend since Vatican Council II. Over and above adapting to changes in the church, religious orders of women have been faced with the added challenge of participating in the restructuring of their religious systems. They are striving to alter their mode of life and service to meet changing personal and social needs. Basic questions concern their status in 1970 and their future within the next several decades.

Since 1965 the rate and extent of change has been placed within the prerogative of each religious community in cooperation with all of its members. Most changes of greater importance have been initiated as experiments; they are subject to evaluation, reformulation, and consequent adoption by formal consent of the members and the final approval of the church. Published accounts of change in these religious systems--particularly of women--indicate the conflicts, as well as successes and failures, encountered in the change process. They also suggest an attitudinal continuum incorporating a gradation of positions among the members and non-members alike.[5] Indeed, new areas for sociological investigation are present for those interested in probing change in any of the basic elements of established religious community systems.

---

[5]M.J. Nicholas, "Christian Perfection in Religious Life," Religious Sisters (London: Blackfriars, 1957), p. 6.

Purpose of the Study

It is my purpose to select an area of change which has both historical and contemporary relevance for women in religious community systems. This is the cloister or the norms of Enclosure which have insured separation from the world for those seeking to live the religious life. Enclosure norms have been the visible and the invisible restricting force separating the religious from the wider society. In this study, Enclosure norms will be examined from the perspective of their application to religious women within the Catholic church in Western society.

In an article published in 1969, Greeley[6] suggests that the major theoretical question facing the sociology of religion is the phenomenon of the renewal of religious organizations. He points out that the relevant issue is not whether the secular is replacing the sacred, but rather how the secular and the sacred have coexisted in the past, and what forms of coexistence are taking place in the present. In examining change in religious communities, the investigator will present an analysis of the religious grouping as it coexists with its secular environment--a coexistence which historically has not been static. In studying the dynamics at work in one particular community, an examination of changing norms indicates that a new problem is posed to the

---

[6]Andrew Greeley, "The Sociology of Knowledge and the Sociology of Religion in the Catholic University," Cross Currents, XIX (Fall, 1969), 488-489.

members: how to preserve sacred commitments when secular participation is increased.

Traditional norms of Enclosure are important elements in religious subsystems because they have defined the extent of contact with the non-religious world permitted to those living the committed life. Like most norms, they have become institutionalized over a long period of time; that is, they are widely accepted by the group, are deeply inculcated through the socialization process, and reinforced by a system of sanctions. Because of the stability and the security which results for the members, institutionalization is an integrating factor. But when a need for change is involved, institutionalization can have disintegrating effects. Members may be reluctant to make the necessary adaptations; they may experience both conflict and a sense of anomie. If those in positions of authority assume negative attitudes toward change or adaptation, the rate and the extent of change will be limited. The tension engendered through Enclosure modification has, in many instances, resulted in polarization of attitudes among members.[7]

Many contemporary religious are questioning the value and purpose of retaining semi-medieval Enclosure norms in modern society. This was exemplified at the "Institute on Religious Life in the Modern World" held at St. Louis

---

[7]"Priests and Nuns: Going Their Way," Time, February 23, 1970, 63-69.

University in June of 1966. The speakers and the 350 participants present represented 75 religious communities. The papers presented by the speakers were published under the title, Vows But No Walls. Father Eugene Grollmes, S.J., editor, summarized the work of the Institute:

> Probably since the time of its founding, religious life has been associated with walls. For centuries now, entrance or exodus from religious life has been commonly described as "leaping over the wall." Unfortunately there have been formidable walls of both stone and psychic block, and how often the walls were cherished. But the experts in this colloquium (institute) show not only that walls have no special importance for religious life but can positively hinder the achievement of both Christian community and individual growth for which religious life exists. 8

The New Catholic Encyclopedia describes cloister or Enclosure as deriving from the Latin "claustrum" meaning "bar": that part of a religious house, as well as garden and recreational areas, which is reserved for the exclusive use of the religious members. Always excluded from the Enclosure were the church and chapel, guest quarters, parlours, and public offices. In the formal sense cloister denotes the body of laws governing entry into, and exit from the Enclosure. Both in the Western and Eastern Catholic churches, the law of Enclosure is obligatory in all lawfully established religious

---

[8]Eugene E. Grollmes, S.J. (ed.) Vows But No Walls (St. Louis: Herder Book Company, 1967). This reference is taken from the book jacket. There is no quote exactly like it in any of the papers presented at the Institute. However, its theme underlies the message of many of the speakers.

houses. Minor papal Enclosure, of recent origin, was used to differentiate two kinds of papal Enclosure. Major papal Enclosure requires that the members of a religious order never set foot outside of the monastery, and that outsiders never enter it without a dispensation from the Holy See in Rome. Minor papal Enclosure permits religious to leave the cloistered part of the monastery without a dispensation in order to perform works of the apostolate, e.g., to teach school or to catechize. Over and above these two distinctions, the legislation on cloister further distinguishes between religious orders and institutes, communities of men and women, and religious members in the Eastern and Western church.[9]

A breakthrough in the traditional observance of major and minor papal Enclosure occurred in 1965 with the publication of the "Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life," as stated in point 16 of that document:

> The papal cloister for nuns totally dedicated to contemplation is to be retained. Still, it should be modified according to the conditions of time and place, and outdated customs done away with. In such matters, consideration should be given to the wishes of the monasteries themselves.
>
> Other nuns institutionally devoted to external works of the apostolate should be exempt from papal cloister so that they can better discharge the apostolic tasks assigned to them. They should, however, maintain the kind of cloister required by their constitutions. 10

---

[9]W.E. Ryan, "Cloister, Canonical Rules for," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), III, 959.

[10]Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (ed.) The Documents of Vatican II (New York: The American Press, 1966), p. 478.

Scope and Method

The framework for the analysis of this study views religious communities as sacred entities so designated by the nature of their beliefs and values, and protected by the norms separating them from unnecessary contact with the profane world. Through a process of external and internal differentiation, the religious social system has changed from absolute withdrawal from the secular world to involvement within it. The process of change from withdrawal to involvement is described in this study as the process of secularization of religious women, with the main contributing factor being the alteration of norms of Enclosure. The thesis will attempt to test the following hypotheses:

1. The church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world has affected the structure and function of its religious subsystems.

2. Changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women.

3. Members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives.

Changes in traditional Enclosure observance are examined from a number of perspectives. On an historical continuum, Enclosure norms are viewed as a contributing factor to the structural differentiation which has taken place in the emergence of two major types of religious community systems. In the Roman Catholic church these are traditionally categorized as the monastic community and the

apostolic community. They are so designated because of their differences in structure and function in the service of the church, and in their response to societal needs of a particular era.

Parsons'[11] theoretical perspective as introduced in "Christianity and Modern Industrial Society" is germane to this analysis. He points out that a special problem arises when a system is dealt with over a sufficiently long period of time to include two or more stages in the process of differentiation. Structural parts of the system have to be named. It is the nature of the process of differentiation that what was once part of an earlier stage (monastic) becomes two or more distinct parts at a later stage (monastic and apostolic). If the process is one of differentiation, clearly the surviving entity which carries the same name (monastic) is more restrictive in scope, and more "specialized" in the later than in the earlier stage. The problem then becomes one of analyzing the continuities of the component called by the same name in the different stages. Reinforcing this premise, as it relates to the current study, the following table summarizes the structural and consequent functional differentiation that has occurred in the gradual evolution of religious communities of women.

---

[11]Talcott Parsons, "Christianity and Modern Industrial Society," Religion As Culture ed. Louis Schneider (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 276.

TABLE I

DIFFERENTIATION AMONG RELIGIOUS WOMEN AS RELATED TO ENCLOSURE

Era	Structural Differentiation	Relation	Functional Differentiation
Early Ages	Women in the service of the Church; included widows, virgins, and deaconnesses who lived alone, together or with their families.	S ⟷ s	They ministered to members of their own sex; visited and nursed the sick, gave alms to the needy, and prepared women for Baptism.
4th to 12th century	Monasteries were built for virgins who consecrated themselves to God by vow. There were some Enclosure rules observed.	S ⟋ s	Much time spent in liturgical and communal prayer; service to the needy who came to the monastery for help; some freedom to leave the religious house.
12th to 16th century	Rules of Enclosure gradually became stricter for religious women; Ecclesiastical law was upheld by civil law in parts of Europe.	S / s	Much time spent daily in prayer; some service to the needy who came to the monastery; members became very limited in contacts with secular world.
16th to 20th century	Strict Enclosure observed by all the monastic orders of women.	S / s	Much prayer; limited service to the needy, and had little contact with outside world.
	Modified Enclosure was observed by the apostolic orders of women.	S ⟋ s	Less formal prayer; more service to the needy; some changes in Enclosure permitted necessary contact with secular society.
20th to Vatican II	Monastic orders observed strict Enclosure	S / s	Same functions as given above for monastic religious.
	Apostolic orders observed modified Enclosure.	S ⟋ s	Same functions as given above for apostolic religious.
	Secular Institute initiated as a new form of religious life; no rules of Enclosure.	S ⟷ s	Members take private vows and work in the world as lay people. They may live with their families, alone, or in small groups.

Legend: S = "sacred" religious group s = secular (wider) society / = strict Enclosure ⟋ = modified Enclosure
⟷ = no Enclosure norms. The study will analyse the interrelationships of these concepts.

Both types of religious grouping present their members with a dichotomy of life based on commitment to sacred values and participation in secular activities. Historically, the role of Enclosure norms has been to help preserve the distinction between the sacred and secular aspects of the religious life. As these norms have been altered, so have the boundaries of the sacred and secular in the lives of the members. The Roman Catholic church has functioned as both an agent of control and an agent of change in regard to the traditional norms of Enclosure. Through admonition, legislation, and mitigation, the religious social system has decisively affected the observance of Enclosure in the two major forms of its religious subsystems. This has been particularly applicable to committed women.

The study also isolates Enclosure norms as a focal point of adaptation, influenced by internal and external change agents, within a selected religious community--The School Sisters of Notre Dame (SSND), an international congregation of 10,500 women. The thesis attempts to document how the social structure of the SSND congregation had functioned to maintain the values and norms of Enclosure traditionally in the order up until 1950. At that time it was deemed an expedient measure to change and develop new ideas about Enclosure in order to assist the congregation to integrate and adapt itself to the demands of contemporary society.

This structural differentiation within one religious system, and in relationship to the system of the church and

other religious associations, was accomplished on several levels. The thesis seeks to identify the major change agents, both internal and external, which have influenced adaptation within the sacred-secular spheres of the congregation. The period between 1950 to 1970 has been delimited for intensive analysis. In large measure the information utilized for this aspect of the research problem has been drawn from primary and secondary documentary sources. The primary sources include letters and communiques of selected members in authoritative positions, as well as the rule, constitutions, and the customary observances of the congregation. As has been observed by Young, "the use of historical data assumes that the past life of any group and its social institutions has a causal relationship to the present life of the group and its institutions."[12]

Norms of Enclosure may be defined as those formal directives which have been established to insure separation of vowed religious persons from unnecessary contact with the secular order. In accordance with the canonical regulations on Enclosure, as well as with selected chapters from the rule and constitutions of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, Enclosure will be operationally defined thus:

A. Life-styles within the convent Enclosure itself which pertain to the horarium (daily order) and functions of members in selected areas of the religious house;

---

[12]Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), p. 139.

B. Admission of nonmembers to the Enclosure, which would include visitors for business or social reasons and the sharing of convent facilities;

C. Secular influences within the Enclosure which would result from personal communications of the members, as well as the use of mass media and the reading of secular publications;

D. The religious garb of the members which would include the religious habit and the veils worn for particular occasions;

E. Exit of members from the Enclosure premises which would be for personal or professional reasons of either an individual or group.

Through the use of field sources--questionnaire, interview, and participant observation--the thesis will also endeavour to analyze the effects of change in the five areas of SSND Enclosure observance on the attitudes and life styles of a selected sample of the membership. The majority of the present members have experienced the traditional mode of Enclosure practiced in the congregation over a considerable period of time. They have likewise participated in the changes which have occurred, particularly within the last ten years. These experiences, then, can be utilized as vital sources of information about the effects of Enclosure change on selected facets of their lives.

The restrictions of time, funds, and language differentials limited the research study sample to those members of the congregation residing in the eight North American provinces. These comprised a population of about 6,000 sisters. A directory, published annually by the congregation, locates the North American members in both their provinces and the

local religious house in which they reside. In drawing up the sample, the investigator gave each convent in the directory with less than 30 members a number from 000 to 644; convents with over 30 members were numbered from 00 to 15.

A table of random numbers was used to list a series of three digit numbers. Next to each random number the following information was provided: (a) the province this number was related to, (b) the page in the provincial directory on which this house was given, and, (c) the number of sisters living in this local residence. From the list of convents corresponding to the table of random numbers a frequency distribution was prepared which showed the number of convents whose membership ranged from 1 to 30 sisters in a local house group. A similar frequency distribution was prepared for the larger houses whose membership was over 30.

A cost analysis was done for several samplings of smaller and larger houses to determine the final size of the survey sample. Packages of envelopes were prepared for each house size and their postage was calculated by the post office department of McMaster University. On the basis of printing costs, optical scan sheets for answering, and mailing from Canada to the United States, where the majority of the convents were located, the decision was made to utilize a random sample of one-third of the convents in the North American provinces of the congregation. The sample consisted of 234 local convents. The motherhouses of all the provinces

were also included because they were multi-functional institutions housing many members of a province.

A mailed questionnaire, designed specifically for the empirical section of the study, was sent to the selected houses and motherhouses in late November, 1971. An informative letter to the house leader, or to the contact person, accompanied the package of questionnaires and optical scan answer sheets. A cover letter was designed for the guidance of the individual respondent. Copies of the aforementioned are included in Appendix I. Anonymity was guarded by instructing the sister not to sign her name on the answer sheet; a common envelope was provided for the completed forms.

There were 2,100 questionnaires mailed to the selected houses; a projected number of 1,800 was expected in terms of actual response. It was specified in the directions that those members who were active in full-time work should be encouraged to respond.[13] However, if a semi-retired member in a local house wished to fill in the questionnaire, she was welcome to do so. In motherhouses and retirement homes, only the active personnel of the institution were expected to respond to the invitation to participate in the survey.

---

[13]Sisters engaged in full-time apostolic work in the congregation are usually referred to as active members. Those who do part-time work in the service of the local house group, the school or the needy in the local area are referred to as semi-retired. Members who are ill or too feeble to engage in any of the above tasks join retirement or convalescent communities in their province. They are referred to as retired sisters.

Some unanticipated difficulties arose which affected the response rate of the distributed questionnaires. At the time of the initial mailing, because the North American directory for the school year 1971-1972 had not been published, it was necessary to use the directory from the preceding year. All envelopes containing the materials pertaining to the study were addressed to the superior or leader of the local house. It was presumed that if she no longer held the position, her successor would accept the package. For twelve houses this was not the case; the envelope had been forwarded to her predecessor. This caused a dilemma, for in most instances time had been lost and the dateline for return passed. More often than not there was the presumption that it was too late for a house to participate where the communication had broken down. Despite these unfortunate circumstances 200 houses, or 86%, did participate. However, not all of the active members in each convent responded. Of the expected 1,800 there were 1,442 sisters in North America who participated in the survey--an 80% response.

The first section of the questionnaire elicited pertinent census data pertaining to the primary and secondary socialization factors; it also isolated the current roles and functions of the respondents. This information was utilized in studying the correlates of positive and negative attitudes which the members evidenced toward normative communal changes.

The second section of the questionnaire presented

information relative to change in various aspects of Enclosure which occurred in the congregation from 1950 to 1970. The respondents were asked to describe their present attitudes toward each of these changes as they touched upon the use of convent areas, on visitors and the sharing of convent facilities, on personal and social communications, on traditional religious attire, and on greater freedom in leaving the convent premises. It was assumed that changes in the Enclosure norms over a period of time would demonstrate that there were different types of attitudes among the participating members; their responses to the new sacred-secular dimensions of religious life might well vary appreciably. Such a range of attitudes and opinions have implicit and explicit effects on the individual, the local convent house, and the larger religious system planning for renewal.

The last section of the questionnaire was designed to assess how well the respondents felt they were currently meeting the new challenge of retaining their commitment to the sacred aspects of religious life while increasing their participation in secular pursuits. It also sought to ascertain why some members were meeting this challenge quite differently from others. Moreover, it probed to which aspect of this sacred-secular schema they currently gave priority, and their motivations for doing so.

The structured questionnaire pertaining to change in Enclosure norms contained only closed multiple choice

questions. This method was selected to facilitate communication, and to obtain an accurate response pattern which would coincide with the demands of an analytical program. However, this type of research instrument did not allow the respondents an opportunity to state a pro or con position on a given question. To offset these limitations, it was decided that the questionnaire would be supplemented by a follow-up study in selected houses in the North American provinces. During the summer of 1972 the researcher assumed the role of a non-controlled participant-observer while living in twenty-four SSND convents in eight provinces. The gathering of this data was non-controlled because there was no attempt to use instruments of precision in the careful scrutiny of the real-life situations presented in the selected religious houses.

The allotment of three to four months' time for field research placed restrictions on the number of areas in which observation could be carried on. The selection of convents was based on data gathered from analysis of the questionnaire. The analysis indicated that three of the North American provinces had many convents within the metropolitan area in which a motherhouse was located. Three other SSND provinces had the majority of their convents located at a considerable distance from the central motherhouse. The length of travel time to the motherhouse varied from two to six hours in the respective provinces. The remaining two provinces were

characterized as having established their convents in a chain-like pattern from one major city to another, as well as in relationship to the motherhouse. It was this distribution of local houses within a province which determined the geographical locus for field observation. An area was selected which corresponded to the major pattern of house distribution in relationship to the motherhouse in a particular province.

The general pattern was to select three convents within provincial parameters to be part of the field study. The selection was based on receptivity or rejection of recent changes measured in a manner to be discussed later. It was assumed that members in these convents would provide additional insights into current and additional changes in traditional Enclosure norms. Their attitudes were expected to prove insightful in examining the effects of Enclosure change on the sacred-secular dimensions of SSND community life.

Letters were sent to all of the provincial superiors informing them of the purpose of the proposed visit to several of the convents in their province. Although a few of the provincials suggested that some of the members might be away on summer assignments, a decision was made to hold the original plans constant and interview the Sisters who were present at the time of the local house visit.

A personal letter was directed to the superior of each convent to inform her of the nature and intent of the proposed visit. A longer form letter was included for the

local house group to explain the rationale for seeking additional insights. Copies of these letters may be perused in Appendix I. In four of the eight provinces it was necessary to substitute convents within certain areas. The questionnaire data had shown that a number of smaller houses had high scores in regard to the attitude of members toward the amount of change in Enclosure norms. However, in certain instances it was not possible to visit these houses because so few members were present at the desired time. In view of this it was necessary to select a convent with a larger house group so that there would be an adequate number who could participate in the research. The substitute convent, then, was usually larger in membership and often less receptive in attitude toward Enclosure change.

Upon arrival at each SSND convent, the investigator was in the favourable position of being able to establish rapport with the sisters in explaining her reason for visiting, and she actively participated in the regular community functions. Lee comments on the goals of this methodology:

> Participant observation is only a gate to the intricacies of more adequate social knowledge. What happens when one enters that gate depends upon his abilities and interrelationships as an observer. He must be able to see, to listen, and to feel sensitively the social interractions of which he becomes a part. He must be able to grow with his experiences. 14

---

[14]Alfred McClung Lee, "On Context and Relevance," The Participant Observer, ed. Glen Jacobs (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1970), p. 7.

In an informal discussion with the house group, selected findings of the questionnaire were presented; members were then encouraged to react with their comments and suggestions relative to the data.

Personal interviews were obtained with the house leader or superior, the school administrator, and at least one sister who had been a member of the local convent for an extended period of time. The interview guide, followed in these informal meetings, was directed to those topics dealing with accepted types of secular participation by the members of the convent, more particularly, the effects of Enclosure change on the sacred aspects of community living as applied to the local house over a long period of time. Respondents were also questioned about their understanding of secularization and its relationship to Enclosure change in religious life.

In personal and group contacts, house members shared information which provided added insights into the ramifications of change at the provincial and local level, as well as the influence of educational goals and work orientations on attitudes toward Enclosure mitigations. Informal notes were taken during the discussions and interviews; these were appended to the personal observations of the participant-observer. During the researcher's stay at each convent, opportunities were provided to visit other institutions of the province in which members were engaged in special forms

of education or apostolic service. These experiences offered a broader perspective in understanding local and provincial differences.

Each part of the study is a distinct but related assessment of the phenomenon of Enclosure change. In the interest of clarification each aspect of it will be isolated for analysis in separate chapters. The rationale for, and the contribution of this study, will be demonstrated in an analysis of the sociological literature relative to the research which has already been done on religious groups of women.

Review of Relevant Sociological Literature

Joachim Wach formulated the theme of the sociology of religion very broadly as the interrelation of religion and society, and the forms of interaction which take place between them. He viewed religion as an integrating factor in human society, expressing itself in myth, dogma, cult, and religious grouping. Other sociologists have introduced typologies of those religious groups found in certain cultures, and studied the social consequences of these structures. One of the most significant classifications of religious groups was developed by Ernst Troeltsch,[15] who distinguished two main types of ecclesiastical organization which he identified as church and sect. His basic typology has been modified and extended by

---

[15] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p.331.

many sociologists in their study of organizational forms of religious enterprise. However, limited sociological investigation has dealt with "categorization" of committed persons within a religious system; few sociologists have attempted to analyze them. Dobbelaere,[16] found after checking 739 publications written in English, French, and German, in his "Trend Report on the State of Sociology of Religion: 1965-66," that in the United States 1% of the articles, and in other countries 2%, dealt with religious communities of committed persons. In my review of the sociological literature relative to the present study, I have selected those works which have centered around two specific foci: 1) organizational studies of religious communities and 2) studies dealing with the attitude of members toward change within the religious community system.

Organizational Studies of Religious Communities

Ernst Troeltsch[17] in writing about the early foundations of the Christian church singled out a number of ways in which the primitive ideal of the Gospel lived on. He felt that it was most fully realized in monastic religious orders. This is indicated by his statement, "...it was precisely through their ascetisism, and by their seclusion of small groups, that the monasteries were the essential supporters and

---

[16]K. Dobbelaere, "Trend Report of the State of the Sociology of Religion: 1955-66," Social Compass, XV (1968),336.

[17]Troeltsch, p. 163.

radiating centers of that which we may now call a Christian civilization, of a labour, charity, and knowledge which were based upon an intimate love of God."

Wach[18] does not perceive the early monastic groups of religious as peaceful idealists as does Troeltsch, but as protestors against the value-change ideas occurring in the larger church. The monastic groups were organized units whose members, because of their protest, elected to live a common life of religious dedication. The members of the community were bound together by absolute obedience, fixed residence, singular garb, meals in common, special devotions, and common labour. They were also united by their total renunciation of secular relationships and possessions.

The protest movements, as exemplified in the development of religious communities, were at first anonymous, inarticulate, and inconspicuous. In due time they gained coherence, stability, power, and gradually matured into religious orders. Stark[19] also suggests that the founder and original members of these groups are similar to typical sectarians who are disaffected with the majority of their co-religionists and the world in general. They withdraw from the wider society in order to pursue active holiness in

---

[18]Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 182.

[19]Werner Stark, The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom, Vol. III (New York: Fordham University Press, 1969), p. 250.

restricted groups with whom they share like sentiments. But the withdrawal of religious groups from the universal church is never as total as the withdrawal of religious sects from an established church nor is it as final in character. These authors are writing of male religious communities, but there has not been a parallel development in the sociological literature of the motivations underlying early foundations of religious women.

E.K. Francis[20] presents a typology of religious groups which have emerged in the Catholic church. He organizes them into two ideal types--the monastic community and the religious order. Excluding theological implications, he indicates that the common sociological denominator of both types tends to be isolation--the goal of a withdrawal from the "world" in order to be able to devote one's self to a set of higher spiritual values.

Francis describes the monastic community as a relatively small personalized group performing all of the functions of a natural family except procreation. The members establish stability by remaining permanently in the monastery of their original choice; the operative norms of Enclosure insure their isolation and remove them from contact with the outside world. The socialization of members is complete within the monastery, and most of their daily functions are of a communal nature.

---

[20]E.K. Francis, "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders," American Journal of Sociology, LV (March, 1950), 439.

He further suggests that this type of organization closely resembles the gemeinschaft society (Tönnies), familistic (Sorokin), and primary group (Cooley).[21]

The religious order is a more abstract and complex form of social organization as described by Francis. The members enter special training centers for an orientation to the values and norms of the organization. When they are ready to function in their particular roles, they are sent to a given local house, which is called a convent. The members may be moved, and ordinarily in the course of a lifetime they periodically are transferred from convent to convent. For administrative purposes, the order is subdivided into provinces or territorial units. Due to the size, diversification, and mobility of its members their interpersonal relationships tend to be segmental, abstract, and impersonal in numerous instances. Norms of Enclosure, in daily living patterns, regulate contact with the total society. Members are encouraged to develop a sense of inner detachment while carrying on their assigned work for the order. Francis concludes by likening this form of religious organization to the gesellschaft (Tönnies) or a contractual type of social group.[22]

Reviewing the evolvement of distinct types of religious communities, Goddijn observes that the excessive variety of orders and congregations to which the Catholic church has

---

[21] Ibid., p. 439.

[22] Ibid., p. 440.

given approbation in the course of history, are nearly all preserved in contemporary times. His differentiation between order and congregation is relevant to the present study:

> By congregation we mean religious foundations whose members take simple vows, either for a period of time or for life, of poverty, chastity and obedience. Those who take such vows retain the nominal (but not beneficial) ownership of their property, and may also acquire additional property, unless the rule of the congregation expressly forbids it. Those, on the other hand, who take solemn vows...renounce for life both the nominal and the beneficial ownership of their property. A more important social factor connected with the congregations is that because of their greater freedom of movement, they are generally better fitted to cope with the changing needs of our changing society. For this reason, nearly all new religious foundations of to-day are congregations. They can even be set up by a bishop or a parish priest to deal with particular needs, which are often purely local in character. 23

Goddijn believes it is no easy matter to group the many types of religious organizations together sociologically under a common denominator. However, he concurs with Francis, that isolation from the world is a common factor. The separation can never be absolute or entire, but rather is "a highly selective modification of a given social and cultural pattern."[24]

The historical pattern of separation from the world as perceived in these typologies of religious communities is pertinent to the consideration of change in norms of Enclosure

---

[23]H.P.M. Goddijn, "The Sociology of Religious Orders and Congregations," Social Compass, VII (1960), 438. This is an accepted differentiation between the two types of religious institutes. However, many writers use the terms interchangeably.

[24]Ibid., p. 438.

considered in Chapters III and IV in this study. Chapter III investigates the role of the Catholic church as a major control agent. Chapter IV analyzes one religious community in the process of Enclosure change under the influence of internal and external agents.

In comparing religious groups with prison structures and mental hospitals, Goffman[25] labels all three as total institutions. He defines them as a place of residence and work where a sizable number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, lead an enclosed life which is formally structured. In the introduction to his study, he subdivides total institutions into five rough groupings. His fifth one, germane to this study, includes those establishments designed as retreats from the world even though they often serve as training stations for religious members. This includes abbeys, convents, monasteries, and other cloisters.[26] Having suggested a number of the key features of total institutions, he concludes: "The total institution is a social hybrid, part residential community, part formal organization. In our society they are forcing houses for changing persons; each is a natural experiment on what can be done to the self."[27]

---

[25]Irving Goffman, Asylums (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961), pp. 5-9.

[26]Ibid., p. 5.

[27]Ibid., p. 12.

Instead of a total religious group, Hillery[28] is interested in a systematic analysis of a Roman Catholic convent as a localized social organization. He sees two values in such an analysis: 1) a better understanding of one of the oldest forms of human groups, but one that has escaped the attention it deserves; and 2) the convent viewed as a borderline case which stands between two significant types of human groups which are the formal and communal organization. He assumes that this study provides a clearer understanding of the nature of the boundaries between these two groups.

In developing his typology, Hillery disagrees with Goffman and shows that even those traits which convents share with total institutions are at best only superficial resemblances, while the differences are truly fundamental.[29] Inasmuch as convents have often been called communities, Hillery next compares them with vills. He does not specifically define "vill" in his paper, but describes it as a kind of communal organization. He distinguishes communities in terms of levels. At the middle-range level he differentiates the vill as exemplified in neighbourhoods.[30] He sees

---

[28]George A. Hillery, Jr., "The Convent: Community, Prison, or Task Force?" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VIII (Spring, 1969), 141.

[29]Ibid., p. 146. The differences noted by Hillery pertain to: the lack of staff-inmate split; different supra-economic purposes; peculiar socialization systems; and the use of force.

[30]Ibid., p. 147.

similarities between the vill and the local convent but clearly shows differences--particularly in the absence of bisocial families and the sharpness of convent boundary lines. The latter are designed to keep the general public out rather than to keep the religious in. Hillery designates the convent as a religious grouping; the word "religious" denotes a sense of direction that has yet to be demonstrated for vills as communal organizations.[31]

Fichter,[32] in his analysis of religious functionaries, concludes that the local convent in reality is not a family, not a community, but is sociologically and structurally like nothing else on earth. It is unique in its structure because it is unique in its purpose; it is artificially contrived by human beings who are endowed with the ingenuity and the ability to fashion and maintain a great variety of human groups. However, because of its segmental position to other organizational structures in the order and in the Church, he sees the local convent as pulled between the bureaucratic mode (a set way of doing things) and the professional mode (better way of doing things). Fichter believes that apostolic religious, in particular, are involved in a unique social structure which presents a number of problems. They are attempting to enact, in the same group, three social roles

---

[31] Ibid., p. 148.

[32] Joseph A. Fichter, S.J., Religion as an Occupation (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 219.

which people in modern society ordinarily enact in three separate groups: the family role, the religious role, and the professional role. For the most part this has been an acceptable monastic arrangement, but increasingly this presents many inconsistencies for apostolic religious.[33]

Since World War II, members of religious communities pursuing graduate study in sociology have elected to do research projects relative to their own communities. Frequently this has been a vocational assessment of the members, and an attempt to draw up a profile of new recruits. With the increased openness permitted by the church at the time of Vatican II, religious communities have allowed certain members to probe various aspects of religious life.

One of the first studies of this nature was completed in 1964 by Sister M. George O'Toole,[34] who viewed her community as a religious social system. From a survey of the sociological literature, she found that nearly all types of groupings have been subjected to social system analysis with the exception of religious communities. Her study evolved from a recognition of this fact. Sister O'Toole assumed, for analytical purposes, that an active apostolic religious congregation is composed of two substructures--the conventual and apostolic. Each of these,

---

[33] Ibid., p. 232.

[34] Sister M. George O'Toole, R.S.M., Sisters of Mercy of Maine--A Religious Community as a Social System, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1964, p. 790.

as they exist in the present system, was studied for its structural-functional aspects,according to the Processually Articulated Structural Model (PAS) drawn up by Charles A. Loomis. Throughout this study there was an analysis of both the strengths and the weaknesses in her community's social system. Her conclusion was that the latter were in need of more extensive study. My analysis focuses on the religious community as a social system, with an emphasis on structural differentiation and its effect on community functions.

In the same year, and in the same Sociology Department of Catholic University, an Ursuline sister analyzed her community as a social system.[35] This community prior to, during, and after the investigation, was in a period of transition. Social forces, both inside and outside of the community, were exerting pressures for change. Her major hypothesis, formulated in the fall of 1962, was "that structural incompatibilities were producing consequences dysfunctional for the integration and adaptation of the system."[36] This hypothesis was concretized by the official recognition of this fact in a revision of the community's constitution in August of 1963. The focus of the study was then shifted from an attempt to demonstrate the need for change to the process of change

---

[35]Sister M. Regis Ramold, O.S.U., The Ursulines of Mount Saint Joseph: A Religious Community as a Social System, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1964, p. 190.

[36]Ibid., p. 105.

itself--particularly in relationship to Enclosure norms. Her two main problems--integration and adaptation--are inherent in my analysis of normative changes and the subsequent effects on personal and social life-styles of community members.

Sister Roseann Murphy[37] viewed three religious communities as formal organizations and attempted to delineate selected organizational characteristics which most influenced the change climate within them. Her conclusion was that the "organizational stance" was the paramount factor influencing organizational change and structural development. Organizational stance was defined as encompassing (1) the model upon which the organization was patterned; (2) the orientation which the model imposed upon the organization; and (3) the perception of the underlying value of organizational change as it was structured from the beginning. The search for organizational elements that facilitate or hinder change in certain areas of religious life is related to my consideration of internal change agents contributing to structural differentiation in a selected religious organization.

A prevailing theme which underlies organizational studies of religious groups is the persistence of the monastic and apostolic dichotomy. In the further review of sociological literature perused for this study, there is a change in

---

[37]Sister Roseann Murphy, S.N.D., A Comparative Study of Organizational Stance in Three Religious Communities, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1965, p. 23.

emphasis from organizational/typological dimensions to an examination of studies dealing with the attitudes of committed members toward organizational change. Since Vatican II, attitudinal studies have increased in number and scope. In them religious functionaries scrutinize the ramifications of change as it affects the conventual and apostolic aspects of religious life.

Attitudinal Studies of Religious Communities

In 1963 Sister Wilma, S.C.L.,[38] surveyed a random sample of members of ten religious communities gathered on an American Catholic college campus for a summer school session. The majority of the respondents had been professed from ten to thirty years, and were teaching on various levels. The sisters were asked to list the five changes which had been made in their communities in the past five years, and to number these in descending order from those of most to least importance. The changes were ranked as follows:

1. Adaptation of liturgical prayers (breviary) to English from Latin;
2. Establishment of a juniorate for better religious and professional preparation of young members;
3. Increased personal responsibility, particularly in spiritual exercises;
4. Flexibility in the daily community schedule;

---

[38]Sister M. Wilma, S.C.L., "Attitudes of Religious Women Toward Change," Review For Religious, XXIII (March, 1964), 185.

5. Minor habit changes and modifications of the Enclosure norms. 39

An evaluation of these enumerated points shows significance in that in 1963 these respondents felt that habit and Enclosure changes were the least important to them. When asked about the possible dangers of change, the sisters listed "worldliness." In a discussion of this point, the fear seemed to be centered around adopting a set of values based on material ends as opposed to the ideal of spiritual goals. The respondents indicated that their attitudes toward change had been conditioned by certain books and periodicals, lectures, courses, workshops, and by the liberalizing influence of a diversified student body at the summer school session.[40]

The first national Sisters' Survey in the United States was conducted in 1967, with 135,109 participants. It was commissioned by the Conference of Major Superiors of Women, and was under the general direction of Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D.[41] The questionnaire of 649 items attempted to assess the percentage of sisters who were Pre-Vatican and Post-Vatican in their beliefs about God, the church, the vows, and

---

[39] Ibid., pp. 186-189.

[40] Ibid., pp. 191-195.

[41] Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., "Implications of the Sisters' Survey for Structural Renewal," Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the CMSW (Washington, D.C.: Merkle Press, 1968), pp. 1-33.

their apostolates to mankind. It also questioned their views about changes in community structures at the local, provincial, and generalate levels. It evaluated the processes of communication and interpersonal relations among themselves. These opinions on change were cross-tabulated, and aligned with the attitudes which might influence their views on prejudice, anomie, authoritarianism, political pessimism, and interest/value change orientations. The research committee prepared a national profile of sisters to be used by each participating community. In effect, this would provide a norm against which they might judge where their community stood on key issues, and allow them to question who is entering, who is leaving, and what is the morale of those who are remaining within religious life.

During 1967 and 1968, the Canadian Religious Conference conducted a multi-level study of the socio-cultural system currently prevailing in the religious communities of Canada.[42] This study involved superiors, formation directors of new members, professional specialists, and a representative cross-section of religious men and women in the ranks. The collated data was divided into four areas for further study: the search for God; union with God in prayer; interpersonal relationships; involvement in the world. The final conclusions of the survey having been published in 1969, six themes emerged from all the

---

[42]Sister Louise Roy, S.S.A., "Facts Concerning the Re-Search on the 'New Trends'," Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1969), pp.3-5.

data reviewed. Of significance to the present study were (1) a search for unity of life and a corresponding need to eliminate all gaps between the theoretical and existential levels; (2) a tendency to come to God through created and human values, human relations, and human achievements.[43]

In the implementation of the change process urged for all religious communities by the Vatican Council, some engaged in a self-study of their present structures to assess needed changes. One of the first studies to be published was that of the Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose primary work is teaching.[44] Directed by Reverend John P. Marshall, C.S.V., Professor of Religious History at Loyola University, Chicago, the self-study worked through an administrative steering committee and a 225-member task force consisting of five committees whose goal was an analysis of community changes. The entire congregation also participated through regional and area dialogues, special group studies, interviews, pilot projects, and research. This self-study lasted sixteen months. At its conclusion the members said, "A self-study is painful, exciting, gruelling, stimulating, revealing, and propelling."[45]

---

[43] Ibid., p. 20.

[44] Sister Rita Benz and Sister Rosemary Sage, Self-Study for Renewal (Iowa: Mount Carmel Communications Center, 1968), pp.v-xii.

[45] Ibid., p. iv.

The order of the Brothers of the Christian Schools is the subject of a recent sociological study wherein the researchers pose the question, "How can organizations be designed in order to provide the challenge and support needed for its members to lead the committed life?"[46] The answer is suggested in the beginning of the study, and later supported in the findings; namely, that the religious person is continually reminded of the strength of his organization through the common activities of his peers. The committed religious is supported in his actions and finds his own value system reinforced through his bond with community members.

Not all religious communities have conducted such professional self-studies, but many of them have attempted some type of in-depth analyses of their members. In planning for the work of the future, communities are enlisting the help of professional organizations, university departments, or diocesan research teams to assist them in appraising the best possible utilization of their personnel and property. In the Fall of 1972, the School Sisters of Notre Dame (selected community of the present study) engaged an international research organization to conduct an objective study. They were asked to evaluate how well the revised constitution (1970) of the order had been received, understood, and implemented by the members.[47]

---

[46]William Ammentorp and Brian Fitch, The Committed (Minnesota: Saint Mary's College Press, 1968), p.5.

[47]Mother M. Georgianne Segner, S.S.N.D., General Letter, May 26, 1971.

The data for this study was obtained from a questionnaire given to each sister in the international community. A limited number of personal interviews were conducted in most provinces of both Europe and North America for supplementary information. The results of this analysis will be utilized in long range for evaluating the needs and innovative changes in the SSND community. The general chapter of the order gave its analysis primary consideration when it convened in October, 1972.

There has been a variety of research methods used in conducting attitudinal studies: small group surveys, broad national surveys, and professional self-studies of religious communities. In these, attitudes toward organizational change are expressive of increasing primacy which the individual member is assuming in the organization. Another underlying theme implied in these attitudes is a recognition of the reciprocal responsibility on the part of the organization and the individual to become more socially oriented.

Contributions of the Study

It can be seen from a review of the relevant literature pertaining to organizational and attitudinal studies of religious communities that Enclosure norms, per se, have not been isolated for analysis. This may be due to the fact that separation from the world has traditionally been accepted as a necessary goal in the life of committed persons. However, it was primarily at the suggestion of Pope Pius XII that

contemporary female religious communities were encouraged to think of Enclosure mitigations. This normative change is also related to the overall pattern of aggiornamento (updating) occurring in the Roman Catholic church and its religious communities, inasmuch as it concerns their relationship to secular society.

A number of contemporary writers, in their assessment of needed change in religious organizations, have focused on the role of Enclosure modifications as being of primary importance. Strong criticisms of these norms which isolate religious from the wider world received international attention when, in 1962, a leading liberal, Cardinal Leon Suenens of Belgium,published The Nun in the World. He stated, "Physical and psychological detachment from the world leads a religious to turn in on herself and her community. Her world shrinks, and if she is not careful, will end up no more than a few square yards in size."[48] This book underlines the concept of Enclosure change as one of the key points in rethinking the role of religious in the future.

Writing about the changing American nun in 1965, Wakin and Scheuer[49] observed that the more progressive nuns are struggling with a restrictive religious tradition in which change and custom among the modern and the old mix uneasily.

---

[48]Cardinal Leon Suenens, The Nun in the World (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1963), p. 19.

[49]Edward Wakin and Joseph F. Scheuer, "The American Nun," Harper's (August, 1965), p. 187.

This restrictive status of nuns is being challenged within the Catholic church. The nuns' desire for more education, involvement, and personal responsibility will eventually bring about degrees of renewal and adaptation. The authors conclude their article on this note: "...it is obvious that you cannot keep them [the nuns] behind convent walls once they have been on a picket line."[50]

Commenting on the American Sisters' Survey, Father Carroll Bourg, S.J.,[51] suggests that any notion of restructuring religious life must be based on an understanding of modern woman, for woman is made by and is maker of many social worlds which she shares with others. To do this, the novitiate-period should no longer be one of withdrawal and isolation from the modern world. The training, development, and leadership potential of women suggests that they live in an open community which will support them in their own unique development of self-awareness, self-acceptance, and social sensitivity. Future religious life must be theologically attuned to the pilgrim church, and sociologically attuned to the real needs of the world.

In response to the Canadian Religious Survey, sociologists who were members of religious orders also urged

---

[50] Ibid., p. 187.

[51] Carroll Bourg, S.J., "A Sociologist Looks at the Theological Implications of the Sisters' Survey," Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the CMSW (Washington, D.C.: Merkle Press, 1968), p. 170.

adaptation of Enclosure norms, among many other considerations. Sister Lina Gaudette, F.C.S.P.,[52] speculates that our interest in eschatology has kept our values in proper perspective. She goes on to question, however, if this has made us content to occupy a seat in the spectator's gallery, observing the human scene in an attitude of serene detachment, not to say complacent non-involvement. Today the traditional separatist wrappings of the religious way of life are being seriously questioned.

Father Jean-Paul Rouleau, S.J.,[53] asks, "Is religious life suited to our environment in terms of social values, attitudes and behaviour?" He states all social institutions are committed to change and they must find new ways of expressing their values and principles. What sets the religious world apart from these other worlds is its spiritual character, the supernatural dimensions of the values to which it must witness.

Father Edward Boyce, C.Ss.R.,[54] introduces the term "sacredization" in contradistinction to the overworked word, "secularization." To him either term would suggest that

---

[52]Sister Lina Gaudette, F.C.S.P., "Religious Life and Sociology," Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1969), p. 129.

[53]Jean-Paul Rouleau, S.J., "Religious Life and Social Culture," Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1969), pp.121-122.

[54]Edward Boyce, C.Ss.R., "A Sociological Appraisal of the 'New Trends'," Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1969), pp.141-143.

modern man is seeking to unify his life in one direction or another--he wants one life, not two. Religious are caught up in the dichotomy of the sacred and the secular. Most communities distinguish between the religious life and the apostolic life; between consecration to God and service to their fellowmen.

There are few sociological studies dealing with women other than those relating to instances of deviancy and marital-familial role analyses. One exception to this is Gusfield's[55] depth study of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in which the prevailing questions to be answered were: (1) Has a change in environment led to change in the goals and doctrine of the movement; and (2) What explanations can be advanced to explain the change, or lack of it, in the organization? The present study is another test of the same change process, yet discrete in its identification of a variable (Enclosure norms) which primarily accounts for gradual structural-functional adjustment. In the Gusfield study it was demonstrated that the adherents kept their goals constant and thus were not sufficiently flexible to accommodate to environmental change. Gusfield observed, "in the one hundred and fifty years during which the organized movement has been a significant part of American life, it has gone through a process of 'boom and bust,'

---

[55]Joseph R. Gusfield, "Social Structure and Moral Reform: A Study of the Women's Christian Temperance Union," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955-56), 222.

from activity and success to quiesence and failure."[56]

As a woman and a member of a religious community, I am interested in demonstrating the response of religious women to social needs created by environmental change during the last fifteen centuries, and more specifically since World War II. This also involves a consideration of the major change agents, both internal and external to religious organizations, which have influenced this response. The consequence of this has been an alteration of the social structure and a corresponding change in the goals of religious organizations, and the ideological basis for commitment. The change has been in the expansion of the basic goals of love of God and of neighbour, to include new areas of human need in an ever wider environment. This has forestalled the demise of religious life in the Catholic church, but it has contributed to radical new forms of religious organization which have emerged in particular historical periods.

Within the parameters of the sociology of religion, this study's focus is centered on the coexistence of the sacred-secular tradition with religious groupings as a reference point. The apostolic community (SSND) selected for analysis, has traditionally emphasized sacred values in the sacred-secular functioning of its members. Contemporary adaptation in the religious organization has altered this emphasis. It has occurred in large measure through modifica-

---

[56] Ibid., p. 221.

tion of the norms of Enclosure. The increased secular orientation permitted to the members has produced a new sacred-secular tradition in their lives and in that of the community. The effects of this major alteration in a community so large in membership, so long in existence, and so worldwide in its service, should provide an adequate base to test several major hypotheses. The general conclusions will provide other religious communities with data pertinent to an evaluation of adaptive processes in their respective social structures.

The substance of this study should also be of value to those engaged in research on religious organizations. It details the effect of the social milieu on the religious organization itself, and the organization's response to this force with its consequent effects on the members. In certain historical periods, through a process of structural differentiation, the roles of religious members have proliferated to meet the needs of their changing geo-cultural areas. This was accomplished through an alteration in the normative structure of the organization with a resultant change in its functions. The role of Enclosure norms in this adaptive process provides an insight which may well initiate further research in a number of other religious organizations.

General Outline of the Thesis

The explication of the thesis, and the sequential plan utilized in probing the theoretical, historical, and

empirical facets of its, is outlined as follows:

Chapter II develops the theoretical framework of the study. The basic concepts to be analyzed are sacred, secular, and secularization as they relate to the religious social system and its subsystems undergoing the process of structural differentiation.

Chapter III examines the historical role of the Roman Catholic church in the preservation of Enclosure norms, and the emergence of modified types of religious community systems. Church control is exemplified in an examination of the legislative directives of one selected religious subsystem.

Chapter IV isolates Enclosure norms as a focal point of adaptation, influenced by internal and external change agents, within a selected religious community (SSND). It specifically documents changes in traditional Enclosure occurring in the congregation during the years from 1950 to 1970.

Chapter V presents the reaction of a sample of members to alterations in Enclosure and consequent effects on the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives. It probes the effects of change upon membership patterns, social control, and secularization.

Chapter VI analyzes Enclosure norms as an influence for change on the attitudes and life-styles of members in the North American provinces of the congregation. Hypotheses of the study are tested through the use of several research methodologies.

Chapter VII investigates the motivations of members for the acceptance or non-acceptance of change in the normative structure of the religious system. Motivations which derive from variables associated with socialization processes, religious life-styles and role assessments are isolated for analysis.

Chapter VIII summarizes the basic conclusions to be drawn from the entire study in relationship to the fundamental hypotheses which have been formulated. Questions are raised which will provide stimuli for future research problems.

CHAPTER II

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

Sociology's theoretical concern with religion is part of an awakening interest in religious phenomena which preoccupied much of nineteenth century thought. Together with individualistic rationalism and secularism there was a sustained concern with matters of faith and liturgy which produced some outstanding Christian theologians. Their works appeared in every part of Europe in reaction to the secularism of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution; they rekindled an interest in the role of religion in human thought and society.

A parallel development can likewise be traced in the humanities and sciences as is reflected in the writings of Coleridge and Southey in England, Hegel in Germany, Saint-Simon and Comte in France. Although the ideas and premises of the nineteenth century writers were diverse, there was a common acceptance of the necessity for giving credence to some kind of value system in society.[1] Sociologists' interest in religion emanates from this acknowledgement. The sociological perspective has been an analysis of the interrelationship between religion and society, and of the forms of interaction

---

[1]Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, 1966), pp. 227-228.

which takes place between them.[2]

Dichotomy of the Sacred and the Profane

One of the first clearly defined, analytical uses of the perspective of the sacred as a religion is found in Fustel de Coulanges' The Ancient City, in which he interprets the role of religion in social organization and institutional change. The heart of religion, de Coulanges emphasized, is not belief, or faith, or external authority, but the idea of the sacred. In its first form in the Ancient City, it was the sacred fire which burned in each family hearth.[3] The major theme of de Coulanges' work may be summarized as follows:

> A comparison of beliefs and laws shows that a primitive religion constituted the Greek and Roman family, established marriage and paternal authority, fixed the order of relationships, and consecrated the right of property and the right of inheritance. The same religion, after having enlarged and extended the family, formed a still larger association, the city, and reigned in it as it had reigned in the family. From it came all the institutions, as well as all the private law, of the ancients. It was from this that the city received all its principles, its rules, its usages, and its magistracies. But in the course of time, this ancient religion became modified or effaced, and private law and political institutions were modified with it. Then came a series of revolutions, and social changes regularly followed the development of knowledge. 4

---

[2]Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 11.

[3]Fustel de Coulanges, The Ancient City, trans. Willard Small (New York: Lee and Shephard, 1874), p. 30.

[4]Ibid., p. 38.

One of the most influential professors whom Emile Durkheim had at the Ecolé Normale was de Coulanges. Given the prominence of the concept of the sacred (religion) in The Ancient City, and also undoubtedly in his lectures, the motivation for Durkheim's meaningful use of the term sacred in his major work on religion, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, can be surmised. In it Durkheim introduces the ideal constructs of sacred and profane:

> The division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought; the beliefs, myths, dogmas, and legends are either representations or systems of representations which express the nature of sacred things, the virtues and power which are attributed to them, or their relations with each other or profane things. But, by sacred things, one must not understand simply those personal beings which are called gods or spirits; a rock, a tree, a spring, a pebble, a piece of wood, a house,--in a word, anything--can be sacred. A rite can have this character, in fact, the rite does not exist which does not have it to a certain degree. 5

No intrinsic quality gives sacred objects and entities their religious meaning; rather, they are set apart by the attitudes, sentiments, and values that individuals and groups accord them. Sacred things have a natural superiority to profane things; they are superior in dignity and power. Man looks up to sacred things, immolates himself to them in one way or another. Sometimes his relations to the sacred is one

---

[5]Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1915), p. 37.

of awe, love, or measureless dread. At other times his relation is one of joy, ease, and pleasure. The distinction between the sacred and the profane is absolute. Durkheim insists that "in all the history of human thought there exists no other example of two categories of things so profoundly differentiated or so radically opposed to one another...the sacred and the profane have always and everywhere been conceived by the human mind as two distinct classes, two worlds between which there is nothing in common."[6]

The solemnity of man's relationship with the sacred is seen in the power of contract--society's capacity to sanctify the relation in a way that it does not solemnize other relationships. This is done through symbolic communication:

> There is something in words that is real, natural, and living and they can be endowed with a sacred force, thanks to which they compel and bind those who pronounce them. It is enough for them to be pronounced in ritual form and in ritual conditions. They take on a sacred quality by that very act. One means of giving them this sacred character is the oath, or invocation of a divine being. Through this invocation, the divine being becomes the guarantor of the promise exchanged...the juridical formula is only a substitute for sacred formalities and rites. 7

In accepting a religious view of the universe which divides it into sacred and profane realities, in Durkheim's terms, one can define religion as a "unified system of beliefs and practices, relative to sacred things, that is to say,

---

[6] Ibid., p. 38.

[7] Emile Durkheim, Professional Ethics and Civic Morale, trans. Cornelia Brookfield (London: Routledge and Degan Paul, 1957), p. 182.

things set apart and forbidden--beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them."[8] Durkheim rejects the view that religion is identified by beliefs in gods or transcendent spirits or that it is synonymous with magic in its origins. For him the essence of religion is crystallized in the sacred community of believers sharing the indispensable feeling of collective oneness in worship and faith. He concludes that in a primitive culture this sacred community is society: "The individuals which compose the community of believers feel themselves united to each other by the simple fact that they think in the same way in regard to the sacred world and its relations with the profane world, and by the fact that they translate these common ideas into common practice in what is called a church."[9]

Although communal beliefs bind groups together, there are cults and rites through which the members translate their beliefs into action. "The cult is not simply a system of signs by which the faith is outwardly translated, it is a collection of the means by which this is created and recreated."[10] Every cult has two aspects, Durkheim says, one negative and the other positive; they both flow from the important distinction between the sacred and the profane. The function of the

---

[8]Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, p.47.

[9]Ibid., p. 44.

[10]Ibid., p. 417.

negative cult is to free man from contamination by the profane in order that he may be placed in a position through which he may regain the sacred through acts of self-denial and abasement. The positive cult affects the reciprocal relationship between god and man. The rites of sacrifice, imitation, and representation reinforce this relationship for they are performed in the state of confidence, joy, and enthusiasm.

Durkheim regarded religion, then, as a more or less complex system of interrelated parts. Religion's core, the sacred, is closely related to the subsystems of belief and ritual. These are maintained by yet another subsystem, which is the supporting attitudes of a community of worshippers.[11] Similarly the Roman Catholic religion and its communities of relgious persons can be treated as independent social systems. A social system has a structure, basic functions, and crucial environments which are usually referred to as the cultural and personality systems. Parsons[12] explains structure as those features of the system which can be treated as constants over certain ranges of variation in the behaviour of other significant elements. Function, on the other hand, diverges from the structural in a dynamic direction. The primary theoretical significance of function is integrative, for it

---

[11]Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Relgion: A Sociological View (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 14-15.

[12]Talcott Parsons, "An Outline of the Social System," Theories of Society, eds. Talcott Parsons et al (New York: Free Press, 1961), I, p. 36.

mediates between structure and the external environment of the social system.

The relatively stable system of interaction among the members is based on values, norms, collectivities, and roles. Values are those ideals which appear most desirable to members of a system, and norms are structural factors that specify or particularize values. Norms implement values and carry them on toward actual performance in human society. Within the structure there are subgroups or collectivities of various types whose members have certain statuses and roles that they are expected to fulfill. Each element of the structure has different functions and these elements are related to one another in a system context.[13]

In the present study, religious communities of women are analyzed primarily as subsystems of the Roman Catholic church. It is this status which most influences them in their values, norms, and roles. It can be hypothesized that the church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world has affected the structure and function of its religious subsystems. If the independent social system has a negative view of the secular society, it can be expected that the subsystem will reflect a similar perspective. If the dependent system does not willingly accept the views of the independent system, there are social pressures and constraints which may be implemented to insure its conformity.

---

[13] Ibid., p. 19.

The traditional negative attitude of the Catholic social system toward the secular environment in which it was situated was based on a belief that "the world is full of temptations, not only because it is the site of sensual pleasures which are ethically irrational and completely diverting from things divine, but even more because it fosters in the religiously average person complacement self-sufficiency and self-righteousness in the fulfillment of common obligations, at the expense of the uniquely necessary concentration on active achievements leading to salvation."[14] This attitude resulted in prescribed behaviour patterns for all members which demanded that they isolate themselves as much as possible from the concerns of the wider society. For religious persons these proscriptions were crystallized in canonical norms of Enclosure. The general expectations of the church for all of its adherents was that of deep involvement in the sacred beliefs, rituals, and associations of the religious social system. Ideally, great value was placed on the separation of the sacred and secular aspects of life, and any unnecessary interaction between these was frowned upon for all members--particularly those committed to the religious state.

Usage Incorporated in the Catholic Social System

Durkheim's evaluation of the sacred and the communal

---

[14]Max Weber, Sociology of Religion, trans. Ephraim Fischoff (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. 165.

aspects or religious observance is exemplified in the Roman Catholic religion and its communities of religious persons. The Catholic church, in its Apostles Creed, affirms a belief in the sacred--a triune God to whom is attributed creation, redemption, and the sanctification of the world and its people. Its churches have been considered sacred property because the consecration rites and rituals of the religious observance take place there. It is the locus for the sacramental presence of the Deity. Sunday is observed as a holy day inasmuch as the great mysteries of the religion (Easter and Pentecost) occurred on the first day of the week. On this day ritual cleansing (sacrament of Confession) was practiced, and the sacrifice of the Mass was offered. Prohibition rites forbade all profane work or activities on Sunday so that the state of purity or consecration might last.

For those who had seriously blemished the image of the sacred in themselves, in others, in sacred objects or places, there was ritual punishment and ritual cleansing--the severest being excommunication from the membership of the church. In early Christianity, readmission into the community of the chosen came about only by taking progressive steps through the various stages of penance. For example, the "weepers" stood outside of the church beseeching the faithful to intercede for them; the "hearers" advanced to the vestibule of the church; the "kneelers" were permitted in the nave among the standing congregation; and the "co-standers" could join

in the services, but not receive the host at the Communion of the Mass.[15] The absolute separation between the sacred and the profane does not mean that persons and things cannot pass from one state to another. As has been observed in past Christianity, piacular rites in the form of confession and penance were required for a person to pass back from the secular (excommunication) state to the sacred where the person was then permitted to receive Holy Communion at the ceremonies of public worship.

Usage Manifested in Religious Subsystems

The church has surrounded religious, particularly women, with additional aspects of the sacred beyond that given to the lay member of the faith. These can be identified as: (1) rites of passage; (2) norms of Enclosure; and (3) primacy of worship.

(1) Rites of Passage:

These are the ritual observances expected of those moving from the sacred to the secular, or from the secular to the sacred. The latter is characteristic of entrance into the religious life. A new member receives admission into the religious organization on the condition that she will fulfill certain prescribed stipulations. A general orientation programme follows the initial entrance in preparation for a more solemn and fundamental socialization process. This takes place

---

[15] J.T. McNeil, A History of the Cure of Souls (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), pp. 95-96.

in the novitiate (a canonical period and locus) and is continued into the immediate formation years thereafter.[16]

A major aspect of religious life is the final consecration to God by vow, and is a formal contract with the religious group one is joining. It is made in ritual form and with ritual ceremony. Durkheim insists that contract cannot be explained in the individualistic terms of interest or reason; rather it rests upon pre-contractual foundations derived ultimately from community.[17] Initially the new member makes promises for a temporary period; only after she has had ample opportunity to live the full communal life does she pronounce final vows in the religious order. A formal contract to this effect signed and witnessed by members is preserved in the archives of the organization.

If a religious should resolve, thereafter, to renounce her vows or promises and leave the community, there is also a step involving ritualistic formality. The member must receive a written dispensation from her vows from the highest authorities in her religious organization; ultimately it must be from the church. This formal permission is referred to as an "indult of secularization." It is not requested lightly, nor is the dispensation given too readily. In the past, the utmost secrecy surrounded this event; nor was the sister

---

[16]Sister Mary Josette, S.N.D., "From Decision to Final Vows," Convent Life, ed. Joan M. Lexau (New York: Guild Press, 1964), pp. 57-58.

[17]Durkheim, Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, p.425.

leaving encouraged to retain personal contact with those with whom she was severing ties.

(2) Norms of Enclosure:

These are formal regulations established to insure separation of religious persons from the secular social order. There is historical evidence that from the early foundations of religious life the committed sought to safeguard themselves from profane influences. Some fled to the desert, others walled themselves up in anchorholds (cells), still others joined religious groups--many of whom sought to be self-sustaining in their isolation. Some monasteries were so constituted that they had their own water supply, a mill, a garden, and sufficient material for the craft work of their members. All of these provisions reduced the reasons for the religious to go out into the secular world.[18]

As religious life became more institutionalized, formal rules pertaining to the cloister (Enclosure) were imposed on the members. These were based on the evaluation that a religious was a person consecrated to God; ipso facto, she renounced all but sacred concerns. The Enclosure (cloister) was considered an integral part of the committed life which helped to insure the preservation of the members' total dedication to the sacred. Enclosure rules regulated the exit of members from the religious house, as well as the entrance of

---

[18]William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., "Origins and Development of Religious Orders," Review For Religious, XXVIII (November, 1969), 916-917.

visitors into the interior of the monastery.

The Enclosure imposed on women was always much stricter than that regulated for men. This reflected the traditional view toward women which prevailed for many centuries in both the church and in society. Woman was "weak and frail", "slow to understand"; thus she had to be protected by either a husband or a cloister. It was presumed that women responded better to external practices in the acquisition of virtue, than to the interior forces of intellect and will.[19] In light of this the cloister was considered an ideal place for their spiritual development, one conducive to perpetuating the commitment of their vows.

(3) Primacy of Worship:

The daily horarium of any convent of religious women gives primary attention to the time for certain ritual observances surrounding the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, for the communal prayers of the church, and for the prayers which have become ritualized by that particular community. Beyond this, a committed member spends some time daily in private meditation and spiritual reading. The traditional rules of silence, prescribed for certain times and in designated portions of the convent, were intended to foster an intimate communion with the Supreme Being. Although it was customary for religious groups to engage in selected works of mercy in serving the

---

[19]James R. Cain, "Cloister and the Apostolate of Religious Women," Review for Religious, XXVII (March,1968), 256.

needy either within the religious house or in the nearby neighbourhood, work never took precedence over prayerful worship.

The total response of the whole person to various aspects of sacred commitment gives meaning to life in the religious state; it further differentiates it from the everyday world of the profane. Out of this maturing religious experience, stable forms of thought and action, feeling and relationship evolve; these serve to motivate the present members, and are a compelling force in attracing new ones to the community group. It is not infrequent that non-members look to the committed to share with them their spiritual insights and other-worldly values. There are singular instances when individual men and women, through charismatic leadership in religious orders, have inspired others to heroic feats of sacrifice and service, in both the sacred and the profane spheres of life.

The Profane World

Durkheim's implicit negative evaluation of the profane has been concretized in Christianity's traditional negative attitude toward the "world"--the wider secular environment in which the religious social system is situated. In tracing the foundations of the early church, Troeltsch[20] noted that the

---

[20]Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches trans. Olive Wyon (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960), I, pp. 100-101.

more the Christian movement closed its ranks and became an organized and unified body, the more it tended to regard the rest of life as the "world." This world was regarded as a mass of evil. Those in the monastic life rejected the world consistently. Christians who were not singularly identified with monasticism would have rebuffed it, too, had this been feasible. Practically, however, they had to move and have their being in it. In later years the church pointed out that the world itself was not evil, but had become that way through the fall of Adam and Eve. Christians themselves do not live immersed in the world; through the medium of the church, however, they are permitted a limited participation in the affairs of the profane.

Harvey Cox[21] seeks to explain the source of Christianity's negative attitude toward the world by developing the historical meanings of the words "saeculum" and "mundus", which were both derived from Latin. They were used differently by the Hebrews and the Greeks. "Saeculum" is a time-word, used frequently to translate the Greek word "oeon," which also means age or epoch. "Mundus" is a space-word, used almost as frequently to translate the Greek word "cosmos," meaning the universe or the created order. These words trace the residual and crucial difference between the Greek spatial view of reality, and the Hebrew time view. Through the early Christians,

---

[21]Harvey Cox, The Secular City (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), pp. 18-19.

the impact of the Hebrew faith on the Hellenistic world resulted in a temporalization of perceived reality. For centuries Christian theology has been plagued with tensions between the interpretations of the Greek and Hebrew view of the secular world.

From the beginning of its usage, secular denoted something vaguely inferior. It meant "this world" of change as opposed to the eternal "religious world." This usage implies an ominous departure from biblical categories; it implies that the true religious world is timeless, changeless, and thus superior to the "secular" world which is passing and transient.

In the pursuit of eternal salvation, Christians may develop divergent attitudes toward the world. Max Weber's[22] broad characterization of religious virtuosity can be employed in this instance, namely the mystic who flees the world and the ascetic who rejects the world. Mysticism is the hallmark of certain Eastern religions, but it is also the goal of selected Christians who choose to live the committed life in monastic communities.

> This too (mysticism) is confined to a minority who have particular religious qualifications, and among them only as the end product of the systematic execution of a distinctive type of activity, namely contemplation. For the activity of contemplation to succeed in achieving its goal of mystic illumination, the extrusion of all everyday mundane interests is always required.... These

---

[22]Weber, pp. 169-170.

> subjective and mystical beliefs may result in absolute flight from the world. 23

Weber characterizes Christianity as an ascetic religious system, but differentiates between Protestant and Catholic Christianity in their relationship to the secular order. He describes Catholic Christianity as a "world rejecting" asceticism which prescribes for its members a formal withdrawal from the "world"; from the possession of worldly goods, and from political, economic, artistic, and erotic activities--in short, from all creaturely interests. Participation in these may be regarded as an acceptance of the world, which leads to alienation from God.[24]

In Protestant Christianity certain religious groups may be distinguished by their "inner-worldly asceticism." For these the unique concentration of human behaviour in activities leading to salvation may require participation within the world, or more precisely within the institutions of the world. "In this case the world is presented to the religious virtuoso as his responsibility. He may have the obligation to transform the world in accordance with his ascetic ideals, in which case the ascetic will become a rational reformer or revolutionary on the basis of the theory of his natural rights."[25]

---

[23] Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[24] Ibid., p. 166. The early Christians strove to attain this ideal. In succeeding centuries, it became the goal of religious groupings of committed men and women.

[25] Ibid., p. 166.

From the point of view of the basic values of asceticism, the world as a whole constitutes a "massa perditionis." But for the Protestant the world is a creation of God, whose power comes to expression in it despite its creatureliness. It provides the only medium through which one's unique religious charisma may prove itself by means of rational ethical conduct, so that one may become and remain certain of one's own state of grace.[26]

For the Catholic, the world was to be avoided as much as possible; eternal salvation was found in the sacramental system of the church, considered the only true representative on earth of the transcendent God. At times, in the interests of the Catholic social system, or in strengthening its sphere of religious influence, the church permitted partial alteration of its norms of isolation from the environing secular society. In doing this Catholic Christianity established itself almost as a closed society. Its population was homogeneous for only baptized Christians could be members. Its rule was autocratic and monolithic. Maintenance of the status quo was important, and change of any kind posed a threat.

The Process of Secularization

If the sacred and the profane (secular) are conceived and defined in relationship and in contrast to each other, a consequential reality becomes apparent. As they are merged

---

[26] Ibid., p. 167.

in closer affinity or wedged farther apart, each sphere surrenders unique characteristics and properties in the process of contact and separation--as the case may be in given historical epochs. The gradual encroachment and absorption of the sacred by the profane is usually referred to as secularization. There is considerable agreement among some who study the sociology of religion that the long-range trend in Western societies has been one of increasing secularization.

Development of the Concept

Durkheim does not use the term secularization but he describes it as he observes the change that can take place in sacred orientations within a society. In Division of Labor he asserts:

> But, if there is one truth that history clearly teaches us, beyond doubt, it is that religion tends to embrace a smaller and smaller portion of the social life. Originally, it pervades everything; everything social is religious; the two words are synonymous. Then, little by little, political, economic, scientific functions free themselves from the religious function, constitute themselves apart and take on a more and more acknowledged character.
>
> ...The individual really feels himself less acted upon; he becomes more a source of spontaneous activity...This regression of religion did not begin at some certain moment in history, but we can follow its phase since the origin of social evolution.
>
> ...It is, thus, linked to the fundamental conditions of the development of societies. 27

An historic example of the change from sacred to secular values

---

[27]Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 169.

and beliefs in the process of secularization is found in de Coulanges' work, The Ancient City. Indirectly, de Coulanges portrayed the rise of Greek rational thought as he analyzed the changing roles of the sacred (religion) and its relation to the social organization of these societies. He probed the effects of the sacred becoming secularized through the forces of revolution, war, and expanded trade. This process of secularization and its effects are summarized in the conclusion of his book:

> We have written the history of a belief. It was established, and human society was constituted. It was modified, and society underwent a series of revolutions. It disappeared, and society changed its structure. 28

Shiner[29] traces the development of the term "secularization." It seems to have appeared first at the negotiations emanating from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. At this meeting the French representatives utilized the word to signify lands and possessions transferred from ecclesiastical to civil control. The church subsequently regarded secularization as a neutral force sometimes, and in other instances as an unmitigated evil. Beginning with Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, there is evidence that secularization was used as a descriptive and analytical term; historians also utilized it. However, in theological context secularization continued to be viewed as a negative power to be combatted. Since World War II a number of

---

[28] de Coulanges, p. 529.

[29] Larry Shiner, "The Concept of Secularization," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VI (Spring,1967), 208.

Protestant theologians have argued that secularization is not only in part a result of Christian faith, but rather is demanded and to be fostered in all areas of life by the freedom and responsibility entrusted to the man of faith. Gradually, some Catholic theologians have begun to speak positively of the growing autonomy of profane society in the process of secularization.

As a result of these opinions, the term secularization is used by so many writers today with such a diversity of interpretations that there is a lack of agreement as to what secularization is, and how to measure it. Shiner,[30] in a comprehensive paper published in 1966, attempted to bring this issue into focus by considering the concept of secularization in its current definitions, its use in empirical research, its weakness as an analytical tool, and presented several possible alternative ways of expressing secularization. Of relevance to this thesis are his categorical definitions.

1. Secularization defined as a <u>decline of religion</u>.

   The previously accepted symbols, doctrines and institutions lose their prestige and influence.

2. Secularization defined as <u>conformity with "this world</u>."

   The religious group of the religiously informed society turns its attention from the supernatural, and becomes more in and of "this world."

---

[30] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 209-216.

3. Secularization defined as disengagement (differentiation) of society from religion.

   Society separated itself from the religious understanding which had previously informed it in order to constitute itself an autonomous reality and consequently to limit religion to the sphere of private life and inward awareness.

4. Secularization defined as transposition of religious beliefs and institutions.

   Knowledge, patterns and behaviour, of institutional arrangements which were once understood as grounded in divine power are transformed into phenomena of purely human creation and responsibility.

5. Secularization defined as desacralization of the world.

   The world is gradually deprived of its sacral character as man and nature become the object of rational-causal explanation and manipulation.

6. Secularization defined as movement from a "sacred" to a "secular" society.

   This definition embraces the general concept of social change emphasizing multiple variables through several stages of differentiation. This type is a general theory of social change rather than a theory of specifically religious change.

Shiner concludes his analysis by accepting three of the present definitional uses of secularization because he feels

these three are not contradictory but complementary. His three acceptable definitions include: transposition--disengagement or differentiation--and desacralization. He views these particular definitions as representing successive and overlapping emphases in Western religious history. His conclusion is that the only way one might use the term secularization appropriately today is to state carefully the sense in which it is being used in a defined context or as an operational definition.

R.K. Fenn[31] has attempted to develop a testable theory of secularization. In his paper entitled "The Secularization of Values" he shows that two specific conceptual frameworks are being used simultaneously in the discussion of secularization. When conceived as a process, secularization can be discussed in terms of structure and function. Religious institutions have official norms and undergo both internal and external differentiation from other institutions in the social system. Religious institutions have functions which can often be fulfilled as well, or better, by other institutions.

When applying the theory of action, the frame of reference shifts from analyzing the process of secularization to understanding the action which is secular. The theory of action deals explicitly with the normative orientation of the actor and

---

[31]Richard K. Fenn, "The Secularization of Values," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, VIII (Spring, 1969), 113.

it recognizes that there may be, indeed, new ways of conceiving and practicing religion. What to the observer, therefore, may be a "secular" activity might be identified as "sacred" by another actor in a particular circumstance. Durkheim makes a similar distinction between action which is oriented toward ends which evoke awe and reverence, ultimate ends, and action which is not so oriented.

The present study defines secularization as a transposition of religious attitudes, values, and patterns of behaviour for clerical, religious, and lay members of the Catholic church. These changes have been based on the "transformation of conceptions and modes of thought which were originally developed by the Christian salvation beliefs, and its theology into ones of a world-based outlook."[32] Such a transposition process has involved a change in attitude from a customary negative one to a new,positive definition of the secular environment in which the church is situated. This important change has occasioned alterations in traditional behaviour patterns. Actions which were based on at least psychological isolation from worldly concerns have been re-ordered to an unstructured, but prudent, involvement in activities within the secular milieu. These broad changes within the religious social system have been based on a transposition of traditional religious values. The value system no longer attempts to

---

[32]Adalbert Klempt, Die Sakularisierung der Universal-historischen Auffassung, Gottingern: Musterschmidt, 1960, p. 7, as quoted in Shiner, p. 214.

maintain a dichotomy between the sacred and the secular aspects of life for its members. There is now an acceptance of the development of the autonomy and pluralism of the secular sphere seeking freedom from the domination of the sacred. This acceptance has led to a positive evaluation of the unique qualities of both spheres of influence. Through the judicious interaction of one with the other, an enriched perception of the world is currently being fostered.

Sources of Secularization

What has caused this change in primacy from sacred orientations to secular ones in many societies and their religious institutions? Ethnologists and phenomenologists of religion largely agree that the process of desacralization was initiated by the biblical faith.[33] One can isolate in the Bible a clear distinction between God, the Maker of heaven and earth, and the created world itself. God entrusted the earth to man; man is lord of the earth as God is the Lord of heaven. Three pivotal events in the biblical faith have each contributed to the process of secularization. "The disenchantment of nature begins with the Creation; the desacralization of politics with the Exodus; and the deconsecration of values with the Sinai Covenant, especially with its prohibition of idols."[34] In considering the great religious constellations

---

[33]Monsignor Albert Dondeyne, "Secularization and Faith," Lumen Vitae, XXIII (1968), 608.

[34]Cox, p. 17.

derived from the Old Testament, Berger places importance on differential relationships in accounting for the secularizing forces in time and place...:

> Judaism appears as an encapsulation of these forces in a highly rationalized but historically ineffective formation, the ineffectiveness to be ascribed both to the extrinsic factor of the fate of the Jews as an alien people within Christendom and the intrinsic factor of the conservative impact of Jewish legalism.
>
> Catholic Christianity, both Latin and Greek, may be seen as an arresting and retrogressive step in the unfolding of the drama of secularization, although it preserved within it (at least in the Latin West) the secularizing potential, if only by virtue of its preservation of the Old Testament Canon.
>
> The Protestant Reformation, however, may then be understood as a powerful re-emergence of precisely those secularizing forces that had been "contained" by Catholicism, not only replicating the Old Testament in this, but going decisively beyond it. 35

The rejection of the growing autonomy and pluralism of the secular order by Catholic Christianity explains the comparatively slow pace of secularization in the West, although its historical beginnings were in the era before the advent of Christ.

It must likewise be pointed out that from a sociological viewpoint, secularization can be considered not only as a religious phenomenon, but also as a cultural one. Secularization arose in, influenced appreciably, and still affects the whole of society; it is particularly apparent in the Western world.[36] There is a long recognized sociological tradition which traces

---

[35]Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy (New York: Doubleday Co., 1969), pp. 123-124.

[36]Pierre Delooz, S.J., "Catechisis and Secularization," Lumen Vitae, XXIV (1961), 197.

the ramifications of the transitional stages of a peasant society changing into an industrial one. Tönnies, Cooley, and Becker have theorized about their prevailing characteristics. A theme common to all of them is the concept of the peasant village wherein primary relationships are intimate, family-centered, and where the tribal patterns of action and sacred religious values are supported by the mores. With the breakup of the peasant village there emerges a new type of human behaviour which eventually becomes characteristic of industrial societies; it has been described as formal, contractual, rationalized, and impersonal with very little concern for sacred (religious) values.[37]

Metz traces certain historical processes which have also contributed to the growth of secularization in the Western world:

> Since the late Middle Ages, slowly, but all the more definitely and irreversibly, man, his society, his science, his culture, his economy, have moved out of the great all-inclusive edifice that was medieval Christendom.... The political exodus begins early: the nation states emerge, press for autonomy, and create independent social and cultural centers.... Philosophy throws off the tutelage of theology. As Kant was to put it later, it no longer wants to be a maid servant carrying the torch of reason in front of it. The Galileo affair was symptomatic of the momentous rejection by the natural sciences of the authority of the Christian understanding of the world. The age of the Enlightenment, on the one hand, and the political, social, scientific, and technological revolutions that

---

[37]Andrew Greeley, "An Exchange of Views," The Secular City Debate, ed. Daniel Callahan (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), pp. 103-104.

> began in it, on the other shows...in a sense, that the world determines itself. 38

Max Weber[39] views the increasingly secular position of modern man as the culmination of a long change process which has been going on for a millennium. He identifies it as the process of the disenchantment of the universe, in which mythology has yielded to ontology, and ontology to empiricism. Through this process new universes of discourse have arisen: the arts and the humanities; science, both physical and natural; jurisprudence and aesthetics. The process of secularization has also generated a new race of disenchanted gods, of values and orders, and of impersonal forces. All of these define for secular man the terms of his freedom. Weber proposes a two-fold response to this process--the religious and the secular orienation to life.

Building on Weber's two-fold response, Fenn[40] attempts to construct a typology of the religious and the secular orientation to a secularized universe. The basis of this definition lies in two separate modes which relate values and beliefs to motivation and behaviour. The individual with a religious orientation searches for an inherently valuable goal

---

[38]Johannes B. Metz, Theology of the Word, trans. William Glen-Doepel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968),p.143.

[39]Max Weber, "Science As a Vocation," Essays in Sociology, ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), p. 129.

[40]Richard K. Fenn, "Max Weber on the Secular: A Typology," Review of Religious Research, X (Spring, 1969), 164-167.

or object which can elicit his devotion (commitment), but about which no ultimate certainty is any longer possible. There are no new revelations and even if there were, there are no new prophets to unveil them. This religious premise visualizes human nature fulfilled only in vocation. The norm for the religious individual is a coherence among his beliefs, actions, and motivations which will help him to attain authenticity and wholeness--these are the conditions under which he makes his vocational choice.

An individual with a secular orientation conceives the world as carrying within itself its own justification. Work and human relations are not cloaked with values from a transcendent realm. The individual makes no decisive choice--no ultimate commitment; rather he makes a series of provisional and perhaps changing commitments. He lives with, rather than attempts to resolve, the conflict among his values, beliefs, and actions. He accepts a partial and relative view of life instead of striving for a coherent and total perspective. A society which is going through the process of disenchantment, as Weber describes it, may foster both types of response--oftentimes within the same individual.

It appears, then, that the major sources of secularization stem from the sacred and the secular (profane). Both the advent of biblical faith (sacred) and certain social processes (secular) throughout history have contributed to the emergence of an autonomous social milieu freed from the domination of religious institutions. There likewise seem to

be two general outcomes related to the sacred and the secular in the development of this historical process. These have been identified as "cultural secularization" (secular) and "institutional secularization" (sacred).[41] Secularization in the "cultural" sense is the evolutionary process whereby the influence of religion and religious institutions generally decreases in a society through an ever-widening gap in the relationship of the sacred with the secular. Secularization in the "institutional" sense is the forceful process whereby specific religious institutions and orientations themselves become both part of the world and like the world, a process whereby the sacred seeks closer ties with the secular. The secularization process has provoked both negative and positive critiques among those attempting to analyze its cultural and institutional dimensions.

Consequences of Secularization

Bonhoeffer[42] believes that the vast movement of secularization has in our time reached a certain completion and that the modern world has come of age. Marlé[43] asserts that this point of view is arguable, but does agree that some of

---

[41] J.J. Mol, "Secularization and Cohesion," Review of Religious Research, XI (Spring, 1970), 183.

[42] Diedrich Bonhoeffer, Letters and Papers From Prison (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1953), p. 146.

[43] Rene Marlé, S.J., "Secularization," Lumen Vitae, XXXIII (1968), 585.

the signs of the times indicate certain manifestations of secularization. He points out that the autonomy of science is universally admitted in principle, even when it is likewise shown that the scientific viewpoint is not all-embracing. Democratic pluralism is widely considered to be the normal social pattern for modern societies. In many religious denominations biblical criticism is being increasingly supported.

The rise of urban civilization and the collapse of traditional religion are two aspects of the process of secularization. Harvey Cox[44] affirmatively examines these two phenomena in his controversial book The Secular City (1965), which he subtitles, "A celebration of its liberties and an invitation to its discipline." In it he probes the sources of both urbanization and secularization and their effects in the life of modern man. Cox takes the persuasive position that in the light of biblical faith, secularization and urbanization are not sinister curses to be escaped, but epochal opportunities to be welcomed. The effect of cultural secularization (urbanization) on religious institutions is not one of persecution. On the contrary, cultural secularization simply ignores religion and moves on to its other concerns.

Religion in the secular city has become quite privatized. Religious institutions no longer exert strong influence on the decision makers in society. Religion is accepted as the peculiar prerogative and point of view of a particular person

---

[44]Cox, p. 3; p. 127.

or group. With its emphasis on pluralism and tolerance, a secular society is unwilling to enforce any particular value system on its members. But Cox believes that religion (the church) has new functions in a secular city, based on the example of Jesus. Theologians call it kerygma (proclamation), diakonia (reconciliation, healing, and other forms of service), and koinonia (demonstration of the character of the new society). This is the three-fold message of the church in this era.

Van Caster[45] observes other signs of the secularization of religious institutions. Liturgical rituals and worship are no longer celebrated exclusively in sacred places (churches) set aside for this religious function. Certain gestures and words expressive of faith in God, such as grace before meals, are rarely performed in secular situations. Modes of life which were characteristic of those who had committed their lives to God are rapidly losing some of their distinctive features; adaptations of traditional living patterns to non-conventual houses attest to this. It is also evident that religious monolithism is giving way to pluralism in the interrelationships of contemporary religious institutions and associations.

There is an attempt on the part of theologians to face the factuality and autonomy of cultural secularization and to carve out a theology of the secular. Lynch emphasizes that certain theologies had been using a vocabulary according to

---

[45]Marcel van Caster, S.J., "Secularization: A Christian View," Lumen Vitae, XXIII (1968), 619.

the terms of which the secular means that which is not holy. He suggests that theologians shift their images and vocabulary and begin to interpret the secular "in terms of emergence and identity and conceive of the holy as the force, certainly one of the great forces, which will compel the secular to be itself."[46]

Adaptation to the forces of secularization may appear to be the main way for religious institutions to retain their membership and remain viable. However, a number of sociological studies of specific religious institutions indicate that "some of the least secularized religious bodies tend to increase, and the more secularized to decrease in strength in the same society where presumably the forces of cultural secularization are strong."[47]

Secularization and the Catholic Social System

For centuries the Catholic social system observed the process of secularization with resentment. It viewed secularization primarily as circumscribing the influence of the universe of faith. Very slowly the Catholic church began to admit that the secular world should assume its own autonomy. Gradually, since World War II, Catholicism has also begun to accept secularization as a process that is "partly determined by the inner-most historical impulses of Christianity itself and its

---

[46]William F. Lynch, "Toward a Theology of the Secular," Thought, XLI (1967), 354.

[47]Mol, p. 184.

message."[48]

A more positive attitude toward the secular world on the part of the Catholic church emerged from the deliberations of its leaders gathered for Vatican Council II. The main purpose of the Council was to examine the role of the church and its members in this era of history. Far from considering the contemporary world as an enemy, the Council examined it with discernment and sympathy. This is evidenced in Gaudium et Spes (The Pastoral Constitution on the hurch in the Modern World). One of the major concerns of this document is to bring the religious social system closer to the secular world. In it the church encourages its members to also find God through their concern for all men within the wider society.

Gaudium et Spes is intrinsically related to the major document of the Council, Lumen Gentium (The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church). This Constitution deals directly with an analysis of the church in her mysterious realities and internal structures. The fundamental premise of Lumen Gentium is that the church must be regarded as a "sacrament." The church is the basic sacrament of God's presence and action in the world, and of the world, on its journey toward God. Based on this Constitution, one of the major concerns of the Council was to examine how the church and its members could be "signs" of God; how they could attest His presence and His actions, not

---

[48]Metz, pp. 143-144.

through isolation from the world, but by a concerned involvement in it.[49] One of the observers at the Council commented that the full acceptance of a secularized world in the life of every Christian means that the very first place of encounter with God is in the world with men.[50]

Vatican Council II did not treat of the process of secularization as a specific subject, but it recognized that secularization had presented the church with two tasks: (1) Secularization, understood as the autonomy of the profane world, must be taken seriously, as the Constitution Gaudium et Spes made clear; and at the same time (2) the church must make a great effort to constantly purify the Christian faith and to raise it to the standard set by the Gospel.[51] These tasks are in accord with the "aggiornamento" inaugurated by Pope John XXIII. For him aggiornamento meant that the church must both adapt to the modern world and return to its original Gospel sources. These major tasks were only initiated by the sixteen documents issued by the church from the deliberations of the Council. Their guidelines and implementation suggest that "the whole of theology and with it the whole of Christian life are called to discover their deeper meaning through the process of secularization and the Christian world's increasing

---

[49]Marlé, p. 595.

[50]Francois Houtart, The Eleventh Hour (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968),p. 55.

[51]Dondeyne, p. 608.

awareness of it."[52]

The primary response of the Council Fathers to cultural secularization was that of a religious orientation. Their concern was that the members of the church be renewed in their commitments to the sacred aspects of their religious tradition. In various documents, guidelines were suggested for liturgical reform in which the liturgical rites would awaken a more vitalized worship and faith. The Council also sought to promote a deeper dynamic conception of revelation and the place of the Bible in the context of the whole of Christian doctrine and salvation. Reform of the internal structure within the Catholic social system **was** suggested in those documents addressed directly to bishops, priests, religious, and laity. For each collectivity there was a delineation of roles and functions; the religious system was striving to attain its new goals of renewal and adaptation.

A number of the Council documents bear witness to the church's concern for all men and her new policy of openness toward non-members. The Decree on Ecumenism observes that "today, in many parts of the world, under the inspiring grace of the Holy Spirit, multiple efforts are being expended through prayer, word, and action to attain that fulness of unity which Jesus desires."[53] Out of heated debate and discussion emerged

---

[52]Marlé, p. 596.

[53]Pope Paul VI, "Decree on Ecumenism," The Documents of Vatican II, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 347.

the Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions. In it the church declares that it "looks with sincere respect upon those ways of conduct and of life, those rules and teachings which, though differing in many particulars from what she holds and sets forth, nevertheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men."[54] This decree also contains a discussion of the formal proposition that the Jews should not be presented as repudiated or cursed by God.

The Declaration on Religious Freedom emphasizes that "all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individual or social groups and of any human power, in such wise that in matters religious no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs."[55] This Declaration indicates that Catholicism in its religious orientation to secularization is seeking coherence in its beliefs and actions. Its motivation is to establish a new dynamic relationship between sacred and secular realities. "Since this relation is maintained in motion, it will always have to be recreated anew yet remain such that neither of its two terms can be cancelled out or diminished by the other; for, on the contrary,

---

[54]Pope Paul VI, "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christians," The Documents of Vatican II, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 662.

[55]Pope Paul VI, "Declaration on Religious Freedom," The Documents of Vatican II, ed., Walter M. Abbott, S.J., (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 679.

they should be strengthened and consolidated by a constant interaction between them."[56]

Secularization and Religious Subsystems

In the conciliar document Perfectae Caritatis (Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life), the proposed program for the renewal of religious subsystems in the church involves two simultaneous processes: (1) a continuous return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original inspiration behind a given community; and (2) an adjustment of the community to the changed conditions of the times.[57] These goals of the subsystem reflect those of the major system--renewal in the sacred dimensions of the religious life and adaptation to the demands and needs of the secular social order.

When the decree Perfectae Caritatis was promulgated on October 28, 1965, there was appended the usual statement that within several months the Supreme Pontiff would publish norms for the implementation of the aforesaid laws. A commission was appointed to carry out the Council's decrees. The draft issued on August 12, 1966, was called, The Motu Proprio "Ecclesiae Sanctae"--Part II. The document enunciated clearly a number of principles to be observed if the Council's teaching were to be effective. A member of the commission summarized

---

[56]Marlé, p. 587.

[57]Pope Paul VI, "Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life," The Documents of Vatican II, ed., Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 468.

them thus:

1. Renewal must be undertaken by the Institutes themselves and not imposed from above by the Church; the Institute must take the initiative;

2. The task of general chapters is not limited to making laws but they should also foster spiritual and apostolic vitality; wide and prudent experimentation was recommended;

3. Suitable renewal cannot be achieved once and for all; it needs to be fostered continually, with the help of the fervour of the members and the solicitude of chapters and superiors;

4. Cooperation of all superiors and subjects is necessary for the renewal of their religious lives. Each Institute is left to work out its own appropriate method of dialogue and communication;

5. The norms and spirit according to which renewal and adaptation must be effected are found in all of the Council documents--not just the one for religious;

6. A general chapter should be convoked within two or three years, to put renewal and adaptation into effect; all members should participate in preparations for the chapter. Chapters may be held in two sessions--eighteen months apart;

7. Constitutions of religious orders should be revised, and should contain two kinds of elements; a) evangelical and theological principles concerning religious life and its incorporation into the church, along with a clear and accurate formulation both of the spirit and the aims of the Founder of the Institutes' sound traditions; b) juridical norms which are necessary to define the character, aims, and means employed by the institute. 58

The second part of the Motu Proprio emphasized that in

---

[58]Bishop George B. Flahiff, "Vatican II and the Religious Life," Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1968), pp. 32-36.

the process of renewal the principle of subsidiarity should be stressed; that is, many matters which touch the lives of individual religious should be dealt with appropriately at the local level. A religious woman was to be reminded of her place in the church today--not of her role in medieval society. If the world has become the parish for the contemporary Christian, then religious subsystems must move forward resolutely. This necessitates dialogue and communication at all levels. When Gregory Baum spoke about the "anthropology of Vatican II," he was articulating this point:

> ...Vatican Council II insists that "social life" is not something added on to man, but that the human person is essentially social. The emphasis on personhood and on the inner dialogue does not lead to an individualistic concept of man. Man becomes a person in society. While there may, at times, be tensions between fulfillment and the requirements of community, we must never make the mistake of realizing the human person in principle as vis-a-vis society. It is through others that we can become ourselves. 59

As a result of the Council documents, changes that had been slowly taking place in religious communities have now been vastly accelerated. Religious orders, in their general chapters, initiated experimental changes that would no longer have to conform to the Code of Canon Law, or the approbation of the Sacred Congregation of Religious. Their experimentation could be extended from 18 months to 12 or 15

---

[59]Gregory Baum, "Man In History: The Anthropology of Vatican II," The New Morality, ed. William Dunphy (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967), p. 164.

years before definitive endorsement by Rome would be forthcoming for each religious community.

In the attainment of the goals of renewal and adaptation, it was necessary to alter official norms which provided physical and psychological barriers to the separation of the established sacred and secular dimensions of the committed life. A second hypothesis of the present study proposes that changes in the traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women. Alteration of Enclosure legislation permits the committed person a more direct contact with the wider society. For this to be a satisfying experience, there must be a new positive attitude toward the secular environment. The Council documents outline this ideological framework; its implementation is an individual option.

Since attitudes are closely related to behaviour, a change in one affects the other. Actions which were oriented to a withdrawal from secular contacts can now be re-oriented to a prudent involvement, based on Christian concerns, with the secular milieu. Contemporary changes in traditional norms of Enclosure establish new patterns of interaction between the sacred and the secular which contributes to the alteration of life-styles of the members, both within and without the convent dwelling. These changes are closely related to the process of secularization as it is delineated in the present study if the member choses secular involvement.

Most committed persons recognize that secularization

poses an added challenge: how can they retain their commitment to sacred values and practices while increasing their participation in secular activities? The concept of commitment implies consistent lines of activity which persist over a period of time, serve in the pursuit of a goal, and imply rejection of certain alternative criteria.[60] In pronouncing final vows in a religious order, the individual makes a commitment of her life to God, a commitment which is expected to endure until her death. In the past the traditional aspects of the sacred in religious life were considered to be vows, spiritual exercises, and community living, all of which were preserved by formal norms of Enclosure. Removal of these strictures now places much of the preservation of the sacred aspects within the personal responsibility of individual members. However, life in common with other committed persons helps nurture individual commitment because the support of the group for central values and actions is the bond which unites the members.[61]

All members are participating in the changes taking place in their community systems, but all do not respond to them uniformly. It can be argued that one of the primary reasons for this is the member's attitude toward change.

---

[60]Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (July, 1960), 33.

[61]William Ammentorp, The Committed (Minnesota: St. Mary's College Press, 1968), p. 6.

Krech and Crutchfield define an attitude as "...an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual, and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world."[62] Attitudes are present but dormant much of the time; they become expressive in speech or in certain types of behaviour only when the object of the attitude is perceived. Most attempts at measuring attitudes try to place them on a linear continuum so that the respondent can be described as mildly or strongly positive, mildly or strongly negative, or maintaining a neutral position.[63]

The third hypothesis proposes that members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives. When a random sample of religious women in a selected community is presented with questions relating to changes in Enclosure norms which have been operative in their order for many years, it is presumed that these questions will activate latent attitudes. Some members will react more or less negatively and perhaps more or less vehemently than others. This depends on how closely the attitudes are related to the beliefs and values which are significant to their fundamental philosophy of life.

---

[62] K.D. Kretch and R.S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems in Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948), p. 152.

[63] A.N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), pp. 105-107.

Attitudes toward Enclosure were part of the socialization process of new recruits. Later they were enforced through legislation, admonitions, and sanctions in the daily life of the members. These beliefs led to a philosophy which valued isolation from, rather than involvement in, the society beyond the confines of the religious community system. It explains why attitudes toward Enclosure will have a greater depth and endurance than attitudes toward other aspects of religious observance.

Research has demonstrated that attitudes not only have depth, but breadth. They are often related to one another "across" at the same level.[64] A particular attitude toward change in one sacred dimension, e.g., Enclosure, will tend to be the same for changes related to other sacred dimensions, i.e., vows, spiritual exercises, and community living. Members who feel there has been too much change in Enclosure are likely to also feel that there has been too much change in other sacred aspects of their lives. Likewise, they will sustain an attitude of negativism toward changes in the secular dimension. Here the negative attitude suggests that given changes have led to excessive involvement in secular activities. The interrelatedness of certain attitudes reflects the traditional incompatibility between the sacred and the secular in the lives of committed persons. It also enables the researcher to categorize respondents somewhere along a

---

[64] Ibid., p. 111.

continuum from strongly negative to strongly positive.

Summary

Within the theoretical framework of this chapter, three basic concepts of the study have been examined: sacred, secular (profane) and secularization. Durkheim introduced the ideal constructs of sacred and profane when he observed that the distinctive trait of religious thought has been to divide the world into two domains. One contains all that is sacred and the other all that is profane. The present study applies this dichotomy to selected aspects of the traditional functioning of the Roman Catholic church. In this regard, the first hypothesis pertains to the relationship between the church and its religious orders of women: The church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world has affected the structure and function of its religious subsystems.

Secularization is used by many writers today with such a diversity of interpretations that there is a lack of agreement as to what it is and how to measure it. Shiner has developed a number of categorical definitions of the term. The present study accepts the fourth category and defines secularization as a transposition of religious attitudes, values, and patterns of behaviour for clerical, religious, and lay members of the Catholic church. The transposition process has involved a change in attitude from a customary negative one to a new, positive definition of the secular environment in which the church is situated. It has also occasioned

alterations in traditional behaviour patterns. A major dimension of this process is tested in the second hypothesis: Changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women.

The study focuses on the growth and diminution of Enclosure rules as well as on the effect of these changes in one religious congregation of women. All its members are participating in the changes taking place in their religious organization, but all do not respond to them uniformly. This depends on how closely they are related to the beliefs and values tangential to their fundamental philosophy of life. In the present study this is related to the concepts of sacred, secular and secularization. It is presumed that a particular attitude toward change in one dimension of life will tend to be the same for associated areas. The third hypothesis deals with attitudes related to major concepts: Members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives.

The next chapter examines the historical role of the Catholic church in the preservation of Enclosure norms through councils and synods, as well as by religious orders in the formulation of their rules and constitutions, in conformity with the legislation of the church. The information utilized for this aspect of the research problem has been obtained from primary and secondary documentary sources.

CHAPTER III

ENCLOSURE NORMS AND AGENTS OF CONTROL

In retrospect, the primitive Christian church, which originated as a despised Jewish cult, came in the course of time to represent an authentic religious system, if "...by 'church' we mean the tendency, within a religious organization to evolve a formalized, hierarchical, and juridic social structure with elaborate socialization of roles, and institutionalization of behavior."[1] The early Apostolic periods were formative ones during which Christians strained to establish themselves. They resisted waves of persecutions, withdrew to catacombs, and only gradually combated the counter forces of non-Christians in the wider society. Greek and Roman elites vied with each other in acquiring control of the emergent church. Antiquity blurs the exact date as to when an episcopal form of government developed in Rome. There is common agreement that "later than Clement and earlier than Irenaeus" the church had forged the nucleus of an established structure, and had laid the groundwork for its development into an integrated social system.[2]

---

[1]Andrew M. Greeley, Religion in the Year 2000 (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969), p. 154.

[2]James F. McCue, "Roman Primacy in the First Three Centuries," Papal Ministry in the Church, ed. Hans Kung (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), p. 38.

The first century was characterized by men who had intense identification with the goals of the church, and who provided the charismatic leadership necessary for cementing strong bonds. During the second century cities acquired a position of prominence: letters from Rome, Carthage, Ephesus, have a resounding ring in annals of church history. By the end of the third century lines of demarcation, tantamount to parameters of ecclesial provinces, were becoming visible.[3]

In a slow, but constant evolutionary pattern, hierarchial lines of authority were fixed. From a cultural point of view this was a consequence of the "primacy of the Roman character of the Western church" in contradistinction to the "Eastern concept of collegiality."[4] Moreover, this primacy was related to the fact that Christianity, as a partially emancipated religion, was accorded visible recognition by Constantine the Great. He became a powerful figure over the Western empire after his decisive battle in 312. Irrespective of his political motivations he took overt steps to restore property which had been confiscated from the church. He also sanctioned the freedom to practice religion openly.[5] From the

---

[3]Emile Amann, The Church of the Early Centuries, trans. E. Raybould (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1930), p. 57.

[4]William de Vries, "Theoretical and Practical Renewals of the Primacy of Rome," Papal Ministery in the Church, ed. Hans Kung (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971), p. 52.

[5]Williston Walker, A History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), pp. 100-101.

fourth century the Christian church took on a Roman juridical stance.

The Church and Enclosure Observance

When organizational aspects of the religious system became more structured, sub-groups within the church assume more differentiation in the enactment of their roles. The institutionalization of normative behaviour for committed women in regard to Enclosure observance was increasingly directed by the church. The present study is concerned with the authoritative government of the Catholic church in its juridical power. Jurisdiction resides in the bishop of Rome (the pope) and all other bishops under his leadership who constitute the hierarchy of the church. In the forging of Enclosure legislation, particularly for religious women, the church exercised its juridical power as an agent of control.

It is against this frame of reference that the contemporary woman in religion stands. Behind her are some twenty centuries of tradition, for there is a residual theme that women had a recognized place in works of the Apostolic church. The Acts refer to widows, deaconesses, and virgins. The importance of their role fluctuated over time as they rendered charitable services to the sick, and participated in ministerial tasks. So intimately were they associated with the church, one author identifies them as constituting ecclesial orders.[6] McKenna says that the Order of Widows was the

---

[6]Georgia Harkness, Church and Society (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), p. 72.

'mother form' of the organized life of women in the service of the church. Christian women, and in particular religious women, of our own day have inherited the ministry they fulfilled.[7]

In the instance of virgins, it was the total consecration of themselves which was the essence of their gift. In the early church, virgins simply made a vow if this was their free will intention; they did not necessarily occupy a place apart. The influence of Jewish custom supporting marriage may have been a contributing factor in this stage of development in the primitive church. It was around the fourth century that virgins began to take on the semblance of an order. In the Sponsa Christi Pius XII wrote, "When virgins came to constitute not merely a class of persons but a definite state and Order recognized by the Church, the profession of virginity began to be made publicly."[8]

With the passage of time, taking a vow of chastity, as well as a vow of poverty and obedience, became a conventual formula symbolizing personal dedication. Although committed men and women always practiced the counsels of poverty and obedience in an intensified manner, circumstances sometimes altered their interpretation. However, virginity came to be

---

[7]Mary Lawrence McKenna, S.C.M.M., Women of the Church (New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1967), p. 35.

[8]Sister Bertrande Meyers, D.C., Sisters in the Twenty-First Century (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), p. 6.

recognized as an essential and enduring requisite for both men and women if they had declared a consecrated life. In order to safeguard this position, and to insure an environment where it could be fostered, the early church fathers saw the place of women in service of the church as a place apart. Hinnebusch says that "the law of the cloister or enclosure was the most valuable protection that tradition threw around the vow of chastity." The relevance of this observation is borne out in historiography.

The Monastic Movement and the Double Monasteries

The celibate who was united with other fraternal celibates in communal life ultimately was so within the framework of particularized forms. Monasticism was one of them. This movement developed along two base lines. The anchorite took himself to the desert in solitude, or to an isolated hermitage, for he believed that these places provided a desirable climate for meditation and union with God. The cenobite formed community with his brethern in the monastery, which emerged as a symbol on the agrarian landscape where monks lived together, worked together, and prayed together. Theirs was a life lived in common. Under the aegis of the church, too, was a parallel development of monasteries for women which followed shortly, and being built in close association with

---

[9]William A. Hinnebusch, The History of the Dominican Order (Staten Island: St. Paul Publication, 1966), p. 134.

monastic institutions for men.[10] From this claustral origin until the era of Vatican II, life styles for committed women were controlled almost exclusively by musculine imposition.

The practicality of building separate monasteries--one for males and one for females--in close proximity had certain temporal benefits. Monasteries were usually located on the periphery of the cities and in recessed wildernesses; these areas were frequented by marauding bands. The women, in a very true sense, had to be physically protected. They also needed the services of the priests to carry out the liturgical functions, to administer the sacraments, and to impart spiritual direction. In some instances one church was used jointly by both male and female communities. While this arrangement of maintaining contiguous property warranted positive effects, the circumstances for possible abuses among men and women who had pledged a celibate disciplined life were readily recognized. Abbots and abbesses of respective orders drew up rules governing relationships between the sexes, and issued admonitions to insure right conduct. Already as early as 362 the church took a discreet position in this matter: "The first instance of canonical legislation appears to be issued at the Synod of Alexandria forbidding monks and religious celibates ('continentes') to meet and converse with women except in the case of necessity."[11] In addition to the influence of geophysical

---

[10]Peter F. Anson, Papal Enclosure, Unpublished manuscript (Scotland), p. 27.

[11]W.E. Ryan, "Canonical Rules for Cloister," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), III, 959-960.

features, the development of monasticism over centuries for both men and women unfolded in unique relationship to prevailing social, political, and economic institutions. In part this historic fact accounts for fluctuations of severity and laxity as religious life was lived by committed members. Wach describes it clearly as a "highly dynamic process, with heights and depths, declines and revivals."[12]

Basically, each monastery was regulated by a rule which embodied the ideological and evangelical principles for members to exemplify in their lives. Of the four basic rules which are still approved by the church today--Augustinian, Basilian, Benedictine, and Franciscan--all but the Franciscan date from the formative period of monasticism.[13] St. Benedict is credited as having written the first monastic rule at Monte Cassino in the fourth century; subsequently it became a model from which many other rules were formulated and applied in monasteries for men and women.[14] However, the first rule designated primarily for women--a Rule for Nuns (Regula ad Moniales)--was written by St. Caesarius in the earlier part of the sixth century. Initially it was introduced and used at a convent for nuns in Arles where his sister resided. The general state of society

---

[12]Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 184.

[13]Thomas P. Neill and Raymond H. Schmandt, History of the Catholic Church (Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1957), p.113.

[14]Edward Cuthbert Butler, Benedictine Monachism (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924), p. 11.

near Arles was such that strict Enclosure was not an arbitrary regulation, but rather it was imperative. The Rule of Caesarius imposed a strict cloister.[15]

Accounts suggest that from the fourth century on, the church, orders, and civil emperors made declarations concerning the exit and entry of those leaving and frequenting the monasteries. Justinian (after Constantine) even directed that walls be built around the institutions to circumvent abuses. He declared his displeasure with the arrangements of double monasteries, and was the first legislator to provide porters at the gates.[16] This general idea had already been incorporated in the original rule of St. Benedict, and became a prescribed point of insistence in innumerable rules for both men and women. A parallel example is drawn from the Benedictine fourth-century rule with a portion from that of St. Clare in the thirteenth. St. Benedict's rule, Chapter 66, reads:

> At the gate of the monastery let there be placed a wise old man, who knows how to receive and give a message and whose maturity will prevent him from straying about....This porter should have a room near the gate, so that those who come may always find someone at hand to attend to their business. 17

St. Clare's rule, Chapter XI:

> The portress is to be of mature manners and

---

[15]Rev. P. Pourrat, Christian Spirituality (New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1922), pp. 252-253.

[16]James R. Cain, "Cloister and the Apostolate of Religious Women," Review for Religious, XXVII (March, 1968)257.

[17]St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries, trans. Leonard J. Doyle (Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1948), p. 86.

> discretion, and of suitable age. During the day she is to remain at the entry in a small open cell without a door.-Point 1
>
> And by no means shall it be opened indiscriminately to anyone who wishes to enter, but only to those to whom it has been granted by the Sovereign Pontiff or by our Lord Cardinal.-Point 7 18

Regarding papal figures, probably no pope had greater personal concern for monasticism than did Gregory the Great (590-604). He endowed the monastic institutions with property, supporting the idea of extending a great deal of autonomy to the monks themselves as he likewise did for the monasteries of nuns. To the latter he showed his concern by giving them certain household articles after their convents had been ravaged by the Lombards. His attitude conditioned that of the Holy See toward male and female monasteries for decades after his reign. In fact, "Gregory's influence on the future of the cloister, and, through it, on the civilization of Europe, cannot be overestimated."[19]

Duval[20] also points out that by the seventh century there were double monasteries in Spain, France, England, and Germany; sometimes they were regarded as twin abbeys. He suggests that centuries later the counterpart of this arrangement

---

[18] The Life and Writings of Saint Clare of Assisi (St. Bonaventure, New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1953), Ch.XI, p. 79.

[19] Horace K. Mann, The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1914), I, 212-213.

[20] Andre Duval, O.P., The Direction of Nuns, trans. Lancelot C. Sheppard (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1957), p.20.

was reflected in "mixed" or double orders.

In large measure monasticism developed in the European countries in close relationship to feudalism. In this unique set of circumstances, because of the distribution of lands, property and wealth, a feudal lord might become an abbot or an abbot a feudal lord. Money bought coveted favours; abuses and circumvention of rules were commonplace. Monks became involved with the affairs of the secular world.[21] Under the seemingly innocent occupation of pilgrimages, many dubious journeys were taken by religious.

Because society at that time provided no place for a single woman to engage in vocational pursuits, a marriage was arranged for her or a dowry was provided for her so that she might establish herself in a monastery. It was not uncommon for a cell in a monastery to be endowed by nobility in perpetuity. Financial dependence on worldly power struggles placed the monasteries in the vulnerable position of acquiescing to the wishes of noble families.

While there were a number of fervent religious orders, there were lax monks and nuns when Charlemagne took the throne of an empire including France, Germany and part of Italy. "The chief characteristic of these Carolingian monks was undoubtedly their widespread activity.... In their hearts they wanted to be monks...but away from the cloister they were

---

[21]Sister M. Monica, Angela Merici (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), pp. 316-325.

deeply involved in worldly affairs."[22] Once more it became necessary to reiterate the necessity of maintaining the Enclosure for men and women.

In this period of restoring the true monastic spirit St. Benedict of Aniane was instrumental in preparing a Codex Regularum as a basis for reform. At Aachen, 817, a meeting was held for the superiors of many monasteries to plan how they might exhort their members to a new life of fervour.[23] Anson also relates that the Councils of Freising (c. 800) and that of Mainz (813)[24] drew up rules containing sanctions against nuns leaving their convents without permission, and took a staunch position about monks entering nunneries. Other councils which were basically concerned with the observance of rules by religious orders were the Synod of Rouen (1074), and those of Poitiers (1078), Rome (1083), London (1112), and Paris (1212-13). Innocent III was stringent in reiterating the decisions made at the last one.[25] In the chronology of renewal, one of the most forceful and all-embracing attempts to regulate conventual life occurred in the tenth and eleventh centuries, one vitalized under the leadership of Hugh of

---

[22]Stephanus Hilpisch, O.S.B., Benedictinism Through Changing Centuries (Collegeville: St John's Abbey Press, 1958), p. 26.

[23]Ibid., pp. 33-34.

[24]Anson, p. 30.

[25]F. Cabrol, "Monasticism," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (1928), VIII, 794.

Cluny.[26] Inasmuch as there were Cluniac houses in France, Germany, Italy, Spain and England, this rejuvenation had far-reaching effects in the general tenor of religious life. Crook refers to the restrictions put upon the Anglo-Saxon double monastery at Wimbourne in the same Middle Ages:

> It is possible that in the close affiliation of the interests of men and women in the ascetic life we find the form of the double monastery of the early Middle Ages, one for men and one for women, sometimes founded and more often administered by a woman. Drab clothing and complete enclosure for the women goes with the developed form of these institutions. In the double monasteries, such as Wimbourne in the South of England, ruled by the able and energetic abbess Tetta, no communicating is allowed between the two houses. 27

Under Hugh of Cluny's direction a convent at Marcigny was founded for women. "Knowing that even a great movement may degenerate, to guard them from the sight of the profane, Hugh forbade the nuns ever to leave their holy and glorious prison.... The vows were taken for life...no woman was to be accepted unless her vocation was assured;...no sister under twenty was to enter;...riding was forbidden."[28]

The First Lateran Council (1123) and the Second Lateran Council (1139) continued to endorse the basic premise that an enclosed woman was synonymous with a vowed woman.

---

[26]L.M. Smith, Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (London: Philip Allan and Co. Ltd.,), pp. 29-34.

[27]Margaret B. Crook, Women and Religion (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 149.

[28]Smith, pp. 121-122.

Cain records: "...all nuns living in the world without an approved Rule, the last vestiges of the early virgins, were dissolved by Lateran II, and henceforth all women dedicated to God with vows had to dwell in monasteries."[29] The conviction that a religious woman's place was in the cloister remained constant in the following century; in 1208 Innocent III enunciated his position which reinforced the Enclosure precept.

Alterations in the Monastic Mode

However, there were two men in this period who were on the cutting edge of introducing new forms of religious life in the church. St. Dominic, a man oriented to action, believed that educated preachers could render a unique type of service by taking the cloister to the world. His plan was to send men who belonged to the Order of Friars Preachers out into the secular spheres with freedom to go wherever there was work to be accomplished. In effect, their mission was as widespread as the church itself.[30] Yet, it was not time to entertain the same vision for women. In the convent at Prouille, which Dominic founded in 1206, strict Enclosure was adamantly safeguarded. In reference to the sisters of England, after the Dominicans had been established there around 1212, there is evidence from the legislation of a

---

[29]Cain, p. 237.

[30]John B. Reevers, The Dominicans (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), p. 44.

general chapter in 1259 that great care was taken governing the relationship between the two orders...every person of whatsoever status was forbidden to eat or sleep in these (sisters') cloisters.[31] Again the actual proximity between a foundation for men and one for women is indicated.

St. Francis of Assisi, too, decreed that the Order of Franciscans would not sustain the traditional way of monastic stability. His influence overshadowed a new strain of religious lifestyle for centuries to come. In writing about the high points in the church during the Middle Ages, Tillich says:

> ...Francis continued the monasticism of Augustine and Bernard. Like them he emphasized personal experience, but he introduced the idea of the active life in contrast to the contemplative life. From the beginning this was always nearer to the Western mind than to the East.... Francis also introduced the idea that lay people must be brought into the circle of the holy. In the sacramental system the clergy and the monks were real representatives, while the laymen were only passive. To bring the laity into the circle he created the so-called "third order," the tertiaries. The first is the male order, the monks; the second is the corresponding female order, the nuns; the third is the laymen who remain married and subject themselves to some of the principles of the monastic orders." 32

While this position seemingly constituted a threat to the status quo of the hierarchial system, Francis was not at odds with the church. As a matter of fact, he went to Rome

---

[31]Beryl E.R. Formoy, The Dominion Order in England Before the Reformation (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925), pp. 106-107.

[32]Paul Tillich, A History of Christian Thought, rev. and ed. Carl E. Braaten (New York: Harper and Row, 1968),p.182.

and sought the assistance of Bishop Guido to appeal to Innocent III for the approval of the Franciscan rule. Actually, "...what Francis was seeking was official permission to preach: his Rule was laid before the authorities as no more than an explanation of his manner of life and as a kind of guarantee of his orthodoxy."[33] This same Bishop Guido was named the official protector of the order. There were many who did not look upon it as an "order" but rather as a movement of preachers who would go out to the wider environs.

Nevertheless, chroniclers record that the Order of Clarisses, which Francis and St. Clare founded for women, had an imposed Enclosure. An example of its implementation is reflected in a point from St. Clare's rule: "But let none presume to go to the grille unless there are present at least three Sisters appointed by the abbess or Vicar from among the eight discreets chosen by all the Sisters for the council of the Abbess."-Point 7[34]

The thirteenth century saw and felt the momentum of these two great religious movements--that of the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The activist followers of Dominic challenged the heretics through their preaching, while the mobile, ascetic Franciscans engaged in practical theology.

On the periphery of monastic life were communities of

---

[33]Theodore Maynard, Richest of the Poor--The Life of Saint Francis of Assisi (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948), p. 96.

[34]St. Clare of Assisi, Part II, Ch. V, p. 72.

religious sects, or quasi-religious groups who formed a part of the ecclesiastical picture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Two of these groups, the Beghards and Beguines, were articulate proponents of the "Free Spirit" movement, vehemently attacking the affluence of city life, which contrasted with the poverty of small weaving towns; the status of the upper class; and the papacy itself. They have been described as "associations of women living in semi-monastic fashion, but not bound by irrevocable vows."[35] Cohn places the movement in this context:

> ...The Catholic mystics lived their experiences within a tradition sanctioned and perpetuated by a great institution; and when--as often happened--they criticized that church, their aim was to regenerate it. The adepts of the Free Spirit on the other hand were intensely subjective, acknowledging no authority at all save their own experiences. In their eyes the Church was at best an obstacle to salvation, at worst, a tyrannical enemy--in any case an outworn institution which must now be replaced by a paracletic community centered on themselves... 36

Beguine women often adopted a type of common religious dress. Sometimes they remained in their own families and retained property; other groups lived in small convents; others resided behind walled enclosures seeking intense mystical experiences as an ultimate goal. The degree of controversy over these partially heretical sects differed from one country to another. From time to time the church took counter positions regarding

---

[35]Walker, p. 237.

[36]Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Milennium (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961), p. 152.

them. "But it remained for the two Clementine decrees, Cum de quibusdam mulieribus and ad nostrum qui desideranter, promulgated at the Council of Vienne in 1311, together with reenactments by John XXII, to focus attention on the Beguine-Beghard issue and to enlist papal support in the efforts of the episcopate to crush heretical confraternities."[37] The Beguinages underwent reform sporadically. There are still residual groups in the twentieth century.

Papal Decrees on Enclosure

Through the centuries the church functioned judiciously as a control agent in holding synods and councils to meet the challenge of threatening heresies; to review ways and means of correcting abuses in monastic life; to resolve the many exigencies and disparities which were conditioned by the breakdown of feudalism in the social order. The pinnacle of cloister regulation was reached, however, when Boniface VIII promulgated the Periculoso in the year 1298:

> ...We command by the present constitution, whose validity is eternal and can never be questioned, that all nuns, collectively and individually, present and to come, of whatever order or congregation, in whatever part of the world they may be, shall henceforth remain in the monasteries in perpetual enclosure... 38

The message was definitive and exacting; but in assessing its implementation in perspective it was not totally effective.

---

[37] E.W. McDonnell, "Beguines and Beghards," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), II, 225-226.

[38] Anson, p. 34.

It carried little or no sanction for enforcement; it may well not have been issued forcefully at local levels in all church territories.

Of broader implication were the social, economic, and political forces breaking across the continent without precedent. Churchmen were necessarily preoccupied with continuous manoeuvering to cope with the diplomatic affairs which involved the church and the state. These issues included the consequences of the Black Death (1347-1350); the Hundred Years War in France (1337-1453), which left its economic devastation; the delicate problems emanating from the banishment of the papacy to Avignon from 1305-1337; and the sharp break occasioned by the Great Schism (1379-1477), with its internal disputes and external compromises. No institution in society was left untouched by the catastrophic currents which had been set in motion.

Other accounts of the period indicate that the medieval synthesis, which had been a unifying force, was starting to splinter. There was evidence,too, that certain political structures were forging stronger national states. Art and architecture, literature and music reflected discontinuities with the past.

In writing of the sociology of the Renaissance, von Martin posits the idea that a new bourgeoisie rose in power as capitalistic rulers. They were assertive, and intended to usher in a liberal social order. He goes on to appraise the

state of ecclesiastical affairs:

> ...Religion had lost its power and its function as the common bond of all to the same extent as the ruling groups of the Middle Ages had been supplanted by the bourgeoise. Similarly national languages began to supersede Latin, the universal language of the clergy. Clerical demirationalism, i.e., the Thomist reconciliation of the natural and supernatural, of the world and God, now led to complete rationalism. Religion was increasingly formalized, becoming a matter of outward observances. It was, in effect, neutralized and robbed of its hold upon life and the present. 39

The Renaissance reached its zenith in Italy in the fifteenth century; it was never matched in intensity in any area of Northern Europe. To the extent that it did, was in large part due to the work of Erasmus, who had been influenced through his association with a group of English scholars. While he postulated a Christian humanism, he strongly denounced the church because, in his evaluation, it had moved so far away from the simple, modest evangelical counsels. In reviewing this period Dawson says: "I emphasize the importance of Erasmus because he seems to represent the meeting of the great forces which changed Western culture in the 16th century; the revival of learning and the reformation of religion."[40]

Generally speaking (the English Reformation excepted), it is with Luther himself the world has come to associate "The Reformation" as it was generated in the sixteenth century.

---

[39]Alfred von Martin, "Sociology of the Renaissance," The Renaissance, ed. Karl H. Dannenfeldt (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1959), pp. 48-49.

[40]Christopher Dawson, The Dividing of Christendom (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), p. 60.

Historical accounts of the period indicate that he was able to make the sweeping impact that he did because, in a sense, the climate was ripe for it. Peasants in Germany were still seething from the Peasants' War; the local churches had been nationalized at the city level; the papacy itself was unduly secularized as it became more involved in political structures. Through the instrumentality of the universities--French students attending German schools and German students frequenting the University of Paris--new theological issues came to be disseminated vigourously.[41]

An insightful assessment of the Renaissance and Reformation is that of Troeltsch, who contrasts and compares their currents:

> Renaissance and Reformation constitute the end of the Catholic-ecclesiastical culture of the West, which one usually refers to as the Middle Ages. This position of the two movements in universal history and their contemporaneousness has caused many authors to take them for two different yet inwardly related and complimentary instances of one and the same great common movement.... Thus one recognized in both movements a turning toward the world and this present life, in the Renaissance with the full emancipation of secular culture and in the Reformation with a new religious consecration and sanctification of life in the world. Thus both movements taken together could be viewed as the genitor of the modern spirit and depending upon the personal cultural conception of the author could be portrayed either as permanently determinative for each other or at least as the molding powers of modern culture temporarily promoting each other... 42

---

[41]Joseph Lortz, The Reformation, trans. John C. Dwyer (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1964), pp. 3-62.

[42]Ernst Troeltsch, "Renaissance and Reformation," The Reformation, ed. Lewis W. Spitz (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1962), p. 17.

Regardless of which emphases scholars might debate or support, there is agreement that the church found herself pressured from all sides by the encroachment of new ideologies and theologies as well as by the agitation of those demanding action.

A counter-revolution was an inevitable reaction. Paul III took a strong position in suggesting a reform of the Curia. He proposed an actual "reformation" of the Curia itself; and "in the summer of 1536 the pope appointed a commission to study church reform, and its membership did not include a single one of the backward-looking canonists in the Curia."[43] From 1536 on, Paul was involved with facing up to theological differences, with decoding accusations which came to him both within and without the church, and with explaining his rationale for not having moved faster. It was against this involved background that the Council of Trent was convened in 1545. Because of several interruptions it lasted until 1563. It was in the twenty-third session, chaired by Cardinal Morone, that the church again pontificated autonomously on monastic life:[44]

> The holy Council, renewing the constitution of Boniface VIII, which begins, "periculoso," commands all bishops that by the judgement of God to which it appeals and under the threat of eternal malediction, they make it their special care that in all monasteries subject to them by their own authority and in others by virtue of the Apostolic See, the enclosure of nuns be

---

[43] A.G. Dickens, The Counter Reformation (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968), p. 97.

[44] Francis Dvornik, The Ecumenical Councils (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961), pp. 90-91.

> restored where ever it has been violated and that it be preserved where it has not been violated; restraining with ecclesiastical censures and other penalties, every appeal being set aside, the disobedient and the gainsayers, even summoning for this purpose, if need be, the aid of the secular arm... 45

Emergence of Apostolic Orders of Religious Women

In spite of the unyielding position of the Council of Trent, this era marked the juncture in the history of the church when two forms of religious life--the monastic and the apostolic--became partially recognized as valid ways of rendering dedicated service. In contradistinction to the anchoritic or cenobitic life, the compelling thrust of apostolic life was mediation in external, worldly spheres. The church and religious orders, with few exceptions, reluctantly accepted this actuality. It forced the religious members into the painful position of redefining organizational goals if the sacralization of the secular were undertaken outside of cloistered walls. That staunch guardians of the Enclosure principle could neither be convinced readily, nor alter their resolute position radically, is reflected in the following accounts of men and women who pioneered the apostolic way of life.

One forerunner, Angela Merici (1474-1540), sensing the decadence of the times in Brescia, believed that the proper education of youth would condition a regeneration in society.

---

[45] Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, trans. H.J. Schroeder (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1941), pp. 220-221.

To avoid the deep issues involved in the whole dowry question, and also to circumvent Enclosure, she simply wanted to organize a closely-knit group of young women who would profess no vows as such. The small company of twenty-eight girls pledged fidelity to the common goals they endorsed by signing their names in a book in 1535.[46] Their signature of personal intent did not, in and of itself, alter the prevailing public opinion toward them. Debates and rebuttals ensued among lay and clerical groups. Ultimately an explanation was advanced to clarify their unprecedented action.

> ...The Ursulines' "senza esser di clausura" means then, that to them as a body, no restriction of place was to be set, although they now had the privilege of living together at convenience, instead of scattered in their respective family homes. From all this it is clear that St. Charles Borromeo did not cloister the Ursulines, according to the statement that is sometimes made. What the Cardinal did was merely to conventualize them. They had not asked for Enclosure. At this time... no cloister except the strictest kind was recognized by the Church... 47

At a much later date, Charles Borromeo did take precautionary steps to formalize the "institute" or "company" so that its structure and function were in conformity with the precepts of the Council of Trent.

Francis de Sales, together with Frances de Chantal, conceived the idea of an order whose members would devote themselves to rendering social service. Because of the nature

---

[46] M.A. Gallin, "Angela Morici," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), IX, 681.

[47] Sister M. Monica, p. 313.

of the work, members would necessarily work outside of the confines of the cloister.

> ...But this did not please the then Archbishop, afterwards Cardinal de Marquemont, who, though a fine man, was so thoroughly imbued with all the Italian maxims as to the management of women that he could not endure their living in this fashion without vows or enclosure.... He therefore advised them and even urged...Francois to insist upon their choosing some one of the Monastic Rules approved by the Church and upon their taking perpetual vows and preserving enclosure... 48

Such a steadfast position on the part of clerics who had power and prestige curtailed any rapid advancement of apostolic work for committed women. But there were also other charismatic leaders who were steadfast in their determination to pursue a course of action they believed in.

Vincent de Paul circumvented similar circumstances for the community he founded. Together with Louise de Marillac, in 1625, he pioneered the Daughters of Charity, who were not considered "religious" in the canonical sense.[49] The directives given to them by him were these: "Your monasteries are houses of the sick; your cell, a hired room; your chapel, the parish church; your cloister, the streets of the city; your enclosure, obedience; your grille, the fear of God; your veil, holy modesty."[50]

---

[48]Jean Pierre Camus, The Spirit of St. Francois De Sales (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952), p. 188.

[49]Igino Giordani, St. Vincent De Paul (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961), pp. 68-69.

[50]Joseph H. Fichter, Roots of Change (New York: Appleton Century Company, 1939), p. 23.

Somewhat later the tide toward active orders was once more evidenced in the work of Mary Ward in England. She had in mind to forge an institute based on the Ignatian spirit of the Jesuits--a revolutionary idea for women. Controversy over the rule she presented prevailed for ten years; the issue was attacked from all quarters. Mary was even imprisoned for a short time, for the church was inflexible in her reluctance to have the Enclosure concept modified. The climax came when the institute was suppressed in 1631, although some sisters continued to live under private vows. After a long stretch of time Mary Ward came to be recognized as a great lay apostle.[51]

These men and women precipitated a ferment among the laity and the clergy of the church. Their work marked an important point in the historical development of religious orders, for they openly challenged the validity of the cloistral concept as an end in itself for all committed women. Nevertheless, the judicial legislation governing Enclosure as an integral aspect of religious life for nuns, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, reflects the strictures of the church as a control agent for a period of a thousand years. To understand this with some degree of objectivity, the general position of women in society at that time must be assessed. In the following section, the focus will shift in greater detail to one order; it is particularized because of its centrality to the

---

[51]Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B., Life of Mary Ward (London: Burns and Oates), pp. 38-48.

research interest of this paper.

Peter Fourier and Alix Le Clerc

In the shadow of the Council of Trent, Peter Fourier of Mirecourt emerged as an important man in sixteenth century church history. He entered the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine in 1585 after his university training. Following the tradition which had been established by St. Augustine, they surrendered private property and wealth in contradistinction to the secular canons who did not. These priests became known as Canons of St. Augustine.[52]

After Fourier attained his doctorate in patristic theology in 1595, he chose to become a parish priest in Mattaincourt, doing so purposely because he was acutely aware of the low moral standards among the people. Believing the long-range solution lay in educating youth, he turned his zeal and energy primarily to young poor girls who lived there. It took several years before his plans materialized. In 1597, in collaboration with Alix Le Clerc, he founded the Canonesses of the Congregation of Notre Dame.[53] Against the prevailing customs insuring Enclosure for women, he took a determined position.

---

[52] E.K. Francis, "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders," Religion, Culture and Society, ed. Louis Schneider (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 524.

[53] Sister Dorothy Zimmerman, S.S.N.D., "The Classroom Has Two Doors," Unpublished manuscript. p. 120. This group of dedicated young women was formally constituted an order in 1616.

> ...The founder of the Canonesses of St. Augustine was quite clear about what he wanted: he wanted to establish free schools for day pupils and boarders and he wished the exigencies of the education of children to take first place over the rules of Enclosure. 54

It is apparent that the teachers were not nuns in the beginning of their undertaking, although they expressed a desire, almost immediately, to form a community. Inasmuch as precedent indicated that one took vows in an order with an approved rule, Fourier was eager to formulate one in conformity with the mind of the church. Within a year he had drawn up a provisional rule which contained nineteen articles. Much later he and Mother LeClerc, with the help of several Jesuit priests, reformulated a longer rule.

Fourier presented it to the Primate of Lorraine who approved the order under the title of "Congregation de Notre Dame." This approbation secured the establishment of the teachers in the duchies of Lorraine and of Bar.[55] The authorization was not endorsed favourably by everyone; there were villagers, as well as ecclesiastics, who were not convinced that the establishment of an order of teaching nuns was an acceptable innovation. Fourier never swerved; he maintained his adamant stance that these women were to be "teacher nuns," a position he maintained when the final constitution was sent

---

[54]Leon Joseph Suenens, The Nun in the World (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1963), p. 40.

[55]Sister M. Dolorita Mast, S.S.N.D., Man of Lorraine (Baltimore: Port City Press, 1966), pp. 145-146.

to Rome. The pontifical brief he received in 1616 gave authorization for the nuns to accept the instruction of young girls as boarders and day students.[56]

SSND Order and Enclosure Observance

The so-called "Constitution of 1617" became Peter Fourier's legacy to the congregation; final approval came under the reign of Pope Urban VIII in 1628. Fourier had a dilemma to resolve, for he envisioned the far-reaching work of the canonesses to require active contemplatives, or contemplative activists. Notwithstanding, an active apostolic ministry for women had marginal precedent to support it. For this reason he had to have recourse to unusual procedures. The manner in which he creatively introduced "active enclosure" may be deduced from a point in the 1617 constitution:

> ...The instruction in monasteries will take place in a classroom built in the enclosed space and onto the outer wall of the monastery, but separated from the regular cloister, and closed against that by strong walls, and by having in these rooms or classes no openings through which secular persons may enter, except little school children, and so that, during the day, these latter may not go out to the streets but into a court, square or garden. When the mistresses want to enter to teach at the prescribed times in the forenoon and afternoon, the school children will enter first, two by two, the mother supervisor of schools being in attendance, and immediately the doors onto the court and of the classroom are to be closed, and that between the cloister and the classroom will be open. So that the mistresses will enter, and having taught for two hours or thereabouts, they will withdraw and their door being

---

[56] Ibid., pp. 152-153.

> closed, that of the classroom will be opened so that the children may return each to her own home. 57

In his long-range plans for the canonesses, Fourier conceived that they would form independent houses in a loose federation, subject to a diocesan bishop. The order spread very early through France, and on into Bavaria. Just when the work of the canonesses was well under way, the French Revolution broke in the sweep of history. As the church became a primary target of its animosity, likewise the subsystems within it came to experience excessive pressures.

> One of the major branches of Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church was dealt the most severe blows--the storm had its rise and main centre in France, which by profession was predominantly Catholic. Some of the most violent repercussions of the storm were in the Roman Catholic portions in Germany, in Italy, where that Church had its capital, and in Spain and in Portugal... 58

Extensive properties of the church were confiscated, and one monastery after another was closed. There was some degree of leniency for the work of the nuns who were engaged in teaching, so that the Notre Dame congregation was not directly suppressed by the secularization edicts. Nonetheless, enforced taxation became unduly burdensome, and the tight surveillance of state officials oppressive. While the committed women were steadfast in coping with the confrontations, in the

---

[57] Constitutions of 1617: St. Peter Fourier, trans. Sister Dorothy Zimmerman, S.S.N.D., Unpublished manuscript, Part I, Point 3.

[58] Kenneth Scott, Latourette, The Nineteenth Century in Europe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), I, p. 136.

end they had to succumb to secular forces. Their position was finalized when "...the last house of the Sisters of Notre Dame at Stadt-am-Hof was disbanded in 1809."[59]

In 1801 Napoleon established a concordat with Pius VII which, ostensibly, would have restored amicable relations between church and state. But the anti-clericalism which had been so rampant was destined to persist far into the future. It was only after several decades that religious orders came to the fore again. Stadt-am-Hof, Bavaria, stood out once more as a focal point, for it provided the link to bind Peter Fourier irrevocably with the School Sisters of Notre Dame.

Caroline Gerhardinger (Mother Teresa)

Caroline Gerhardinger had been recognized as an exceptional pupil in the girls' school under the tutelage of the Congregation de Notre Dame at Stadt-am-Hof. In the period following secularization certain religious orders initiated a resurgence of activity. Bishop Michael Wittmann, a prelate of the cathedral church in Ratisbon, wished to found an institute to teach the poor children in his parish. Caroline pledged her interest in the new venture as did a small group of girls who became her co-workers. They taught vigorously and during their third year achieved success in public examinations. "After 1812 they were 'Royal Teachers' in the King's

---

[59]Sister Mary Charitas, S.S.N.D., A New Superior Generation (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1951), p. 45.

School for Girls at Stadtamhof."[60]

Nothwithstanding, the nuclear band did not want to be only teachers in a professional sense. Increasingly, they were interested in following a committed, dedicated life, and sought spiritual direction for this purpose. "Bishop Wittmann himself...weekly instructed them in the Rule of the suppressed Congregation of Notre Dame for he wished it to be the foundation for their future life as Religious."[61] Shortly before his death in 1833 "...he sent Caroline his writings on the Rule for the Religious Order she would form."[62] He directed her to study them diligently and subsequently to confer with Father Sebastian Job at Neunburg vorm Wald--the recognized cradle of the SSND order. In turn he appointed Father Matthias Siegert to be a future spiritual director to them. After extensive preparation Caroline took her vows in 1835 and accepted the name of Teresa. She also accepted the same rule that Fourier's daughters had--the constitutions of 1617 based on the rule of Saint Augustine. However, interested churchmen advised Caroline not to adopt and incorporate the constitutions in their entirety for the sisters. They suggested that a reasonable amount of time be set aside for experimentation. In

---

[60]Sister M. Dolorita Mast, S.S.N.D., Through Caroline's Consent (Baltimore: Institute of Notre Dame, 1958), p. 18.

[61]Ibid., p. 63.

[62]Ibid., p. 70.

this manner a rule could be formulated which would best suit the needs and the works of the foundation.

In the meantime the rudimentary affairs of the order had to be undertaken. New recruits from various localities were asking to join the community. The acquisition of additional educational sites, convents and schools, required Mother Teresa's personal appraisal. As each expanding contract was made, she was confronted with one more clergyman who held a strong personal opinion regarding the type of rule that should be drawn up as a guiding principle for the Notre Dame Sisters. She was pushed and pulled in the formative period. She necessarily had to come to grips with the issue, but she did not intend to make any precipitous move. Nevertheless in 1840 the Regensburg Council advised Mother Teresa that she should be prepared to submit a rule without further delay.[63]

While tolerating all of these tensions, she continued to work on an Outline of Regulations. Basically she was certain that she wanted to adopt the rule of Peter Fourier in so far as it conformed to the goals and spirit of the new foundation, but she had several reservations. The first conflict sprang from her deep personal concern for Enclosure; the second was related to the government and governance of the

---

[63]Mary Liobgid Ziegler, S.S.N.D., Mother Theresa of Jesus Gerhardinger, Mequon School Sister of Notre Dame Archives manuscript, p. 232a.

order. She was absolutely relentless in holding to her original position, i.e., establishing an order directly under the jurisdiction of a mother general, with a central motherhouse uniting all branch houses. She also judged it appropriate to place the entire order under papal direction rather than have branches (provinces) under diocesan bishops. The point of Enclosure had already been a tension point in 1837, when there was thought of moving the motherhouse from Neunberg to a large city, Munich.[64] The archbishop there questioned the practicality of maintaining strict Enclosure for the sisters--particularly in small rural areas. He was also of the mind that foundations should be existent as independent units. In view of the fact that Munich would become the central location of the motherhouse, these viewpoints were of singular significance.

Extension of the Order

Within a relatively short span of time the congregation spread beyond Europe. In America Redemptorist priests, who were working with large concentrations of poor immigrants in city parishes, pleaded for sisters to teach the children. Since this apostolate lay within the tradition of Peter Fourier and Bishop Wittmann, Mother Teresa responded favourably. Before embarking from Europe, she desired to leave a personal legacy to the sisters. It took the form of a long exposition

---

[64]Mast, pp. 120-121.

on vows, poverty, chastity, Enclosure, school and boarding pupils, chapter, and other topics of conduct for religious. She began:

> For several years American missionaries have implored me to send our School Sisters for the training of female youth so that Catholicity might be sheltered and strengthened. King Louis, the father of our country, joyfully approves of our accepting this mission, and our prelate has sanctioned it. If it pleases God the Sisters, by the middle of next month, will set out for St. Mary's, a city in Pennsylvania. Your poor Mother Teresa of Jesus will accompany them. Considering the uncertainty of my returning, I wish to leave you, my spiritual daughters, a souvenir.... 65

Mother Teresa departed with a small group of sister volunteers backed financially by the Ludwig Mission Society under the auspices of King Ludwig of Bavaria. They arrived in New York on July 31, 1847, after a long circuitous journey. While in the United States she travelled to the extent that pioneer circumstances would permit, inspecting those locations and parish sites where the sisters' apostolate was indicated. The travellers were not always well received by Catholics or by Methodists. There were cultural problems, breakdowns in communication, and financial deprivation. Notwithstanding, Mother Teresa pushed on through the East to the Great Lakes region and westward to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. A letter which she wrote in this period, dated June 18, 1848, directed to

---

[65]Mother Teresa Gerhardinger, S.S.N.D., trans. Sister Margarita Schneider, Personal letter, n. 714.

Father Siegert who was her spiritual counsellor in Europe, reflects her persistent interest in Enclosure and the maintenance of religious property.

> ...From Rochester we went to New York. There 3000 girls await us and in the city of Williamsburg which is divided by a river, and where the Bavarian Consul Simon lives whom I visited, there is also a girls' school. But there is no dwelling with garden for us...we can never scandalize the people or even give the Sisters and the Fathers any possible opportunity of contact with each other. A difficult situation--the priests and we are totally dependent on the people of the congregation. 66

Mother Teresa continued to make innumerable contacts with the hierarchy in America--Bishop Henni of Milwaukee one of the most notable of them. It was to Milwaukee, that she had taken Sister Caroline, one of the most promising young women from the small original group. In the span of one short year, the highest SSND superior satisfied herself that this missionary territory held great promise. In 1848 Mother Teresa left for her return trip to Europe. She appointed Sister Seraphine as vicar-general in America in deference to her age; Sister Caroline was charged with the further development of schools and educational policy.

Back in Munich Mother Teresa realized anew that the controversies over her rule still seethed. Nothwithstanding, she was stalwart in facing ecclesiastics, and persistent in her admonitions to the sisters regarding "other worldly"

---

[66]Mother Teresa Gerhardinger, S.S.N.D., trans. Sister Frances Therese Jungwirth, Personal letter from America, June 18, 1848.

mentality. Excerpts from several of her circular letters are indicative of her attitude:

> To preserve our hearts pure, it is absolutely necessary for us to observe the Enclosure with zeal and diligence. Why do we not carefully close our eyes and ears, our mouths, our hearts, our house against the world? Until now I have found to my great joy that those convents were most blessed which were the quietest and most hidden.
>
> ...Those God loving Sisters who preserve their inner and outer Seclusion from the world as the Holy Rule so strictly demands will remain pure of heart... 67

In the construction of convents and schools she was steadfast in keeping a watchful eye on the physical aspects of the plant to insure cloister. One of her many letters to church and government dignitaries reveals her concern. On April 2, 1850, Mother Teresa petitioned the Royal Bavarian County Court in Freising for some alterations in the building in the interest of Enclosure:

> ...the obedient undersigned respectfully petitions that the grill and turn may be built into the middle wall, which separates the refectory from the outer portress room.... It is absolutely necessary because without it the wooden partition at the entrance is of no use. Visitors who want to speak to and discuss matters with the Sisters now must be admitted into the interior of the convent. This would unnecessarily rob the Sisters of time and, as has happened on occasions, would leave them without protection against insults and demands from rude and suspicious people, who must be admitted if they ask to speak to the Sisters.... The Royal Government has clearly approved the alteration necessary to insure the Enclosure... 68

---

[67] Maria Liobgid Ziegler, Mother Theresa von Jesu Gerhardinger, trans. Sister Frances Theresa Jungwirth (Munich: Verlag Schnell and Steiner, 1950), p. 275.

[68] Mother Teresa Gerhardinger, S.S.N.D., trans. Sister Margarita Schneider, Personal letter, n. 845.

In another instance, in March, 1850, Mother Teresa was negotiating in matters concerning the installation of sisters in a small village named Rain. The honourable judge of the county court had extended hospitality to the sisters until such time as they could conveniently settle themselves in their own quarters. Mother's reply to him reads:

> ...Your exceeding kindness in extending to us the invitation fills us with shame, indeed. Please do not take it amiss if we decline it. The Sisters will establish themselves immediately as well as they can in their own dwelling. They do not want to be a burden to anyone or to be in public view as residents of a guest house. For this reason we shall send tomorrow, the 19th, the Candidate who will keep house for them. She can prepare the house, and especially heat some rooms if a little firewood can be provided. For her identification I shall send a ticket along for your Honor... 69

Thus it was that Mother Teresa supervised the development of the European foundations. She was at the same time writing and re-writing the rule which would be consonant with her vision for committed women in the SSND order, and religious sisters in service of the church.

Paradoxically there were other circumstances in America of equal, if not greater, consequence. As the work of the sisters got underway in the parishes it became apparent to them--as well as to bishops, priests, and parishioners--that the sisters' Enclosure was too strict and not practical in the United States. This exigency was interpreted more critically

---

[69]Mother Teresa Gerhardinger, S.S.N.D., trans. Sister Margarita Schneider, Personal letter, n. 868.

by some than by others. The position of several important clergymen was at variance with several representatives of the order as is reflected in the following account:

> ...To build a parish church, the school-house and Sisters' dwelling, in such connection that the teaching Sisters could attend to all their duties, without leaving the enclosure, would have proved an impossibility in most cases. The Redemptorists, particularly such enlightened men as the Rev. Father Neumann and Helmprecht, often remonstrated with the Sisters, urging them to effect a mitigation of their enclosure, in order to adapt themselves to the peculiar circumstances of this new country, and thus engage in the great work of Christian education without too much restraint. Mother Theresa, Sister Seraphina, and others were on the strict side of the question, choosing rather to forego the founding of new missions than to avail themselves of such modification... 70

Sister Caroline Freiss

There was also one Sister who held a singular view in opposition to that of Sister Seraphine, the local leader in America, and to that of Mother Teresa, who had already returned to Munich. This was Sister Caroline (Josepha Freiss)--the young Sister who had accompanied Mother to Milwaukee in the original pioneer effort. Although she realized that Mother Teresa was really a contemplative at heart, Sister Caroline also knew that there was a more pressing consideration than Mother Teresa's personal interpretation. This was the realization that the rule for the order had not yet been approved, and no one was more aware of the need because of this to conform to the mandates of the Holy See in regard to Enclosure.

---

[70] P.M. Abbelen, M. Caroline Freiss (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1893), p. 106.

In spite of this perception Sister Caroline saw that the mitigation of Enclosure rules was essential in America where cultural patterns were at variance with those of European countries. A frank exchange of correspondence across the ocean did little to convince either side toward resolving the question. Finally, three years from the time she had arrived in New York, Sister Caroline set sail on a return trip to Europe to personally present the case in favour of relaxed cloister norms for American sisters. Crossing the ocean without a sister companion was precedent enough to make her suspect, and her reception at the motherhouse was cloaked with ambiguity.

For weeks and months the dialogue over Enclosure ensued. Mother Teresa was dismayed and heartsick at the thought of this innovation. The spiritual director at the motherhouse took a different point of view:

> ...Father Siegert advocated the opinion of Sister Caroline, whom he esteemed so highly; and still more decidedly did Archbishop Reisach adopt her views. It was clear to him that too strict an enclosure would be an unnecessary and dangerous drawback to the spread and prosperity of our congregation in America... 71

Mother Teresa remonstrated that she felt a great obligation to be true to the spirit of the founders. In answer to this the Archbishop of Eichstaett urged her to interpret the rule with the flexibility that Bishop Wittmann and Father Job had provided for in their original deliberations:

---

[71] Ibid., p. 109.

> ...If branch houses are established wherein you have no chapel or service of your own, there will be no other alternative than to cross your threshold, in order to attend divine service in your parish church. Love of religious modesty, that should everywhere accompany you, will then serve as a substitute for the enclosure. 72

Ultimately Mother Teresa yielded, although she remained ambivalent in doing so. With the climax of Enclosure being partially resolved for the American sisters, there was also a decision made to establish a motherhouse in Milwaukee. Before her return to the United States Sister Caroline was appointed the Mother-Vicar in America to be in full charge of that branch of the order. "A decree of her Superiors...was ratified by Archbishop Reisach, October 10th, 1850."[73] She returned to America as Mother Caroline.

While the members of the religious organization were engrossed in the internal and governmental affairs, the church dignitaries continued to study the Outline of Mother Teresa which was, in essence, the nucleus of the rule for the Notre Dame sisters. Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Munich had not altered his viewpoint regarding the jurisdiction of the sisters. He had never been convinced that the governance of the order should be retained in its own appointees--even if elected. His position was so authoritative, and his displeasure so intense that he would not grant Mother Teresa permission to

---

[72]Mast, p. 187.

[73]Abbelen, p. 109.

leave the Enclosure to go to Rome to present her position in person. Instead, her "case" had to be introduced through the instrumentality of a trusted friend of the order. It was only in 1865 that her long cherished dream came to fruition.

> ...The history of the year 1865 closes with the record and event of supreme importance, the final approbation of the Constitution by His Holiness, Pope Pius IX. The struggle to obtain this approbation had lasted thirteen years, from 1852-1865, and had entailed many hardships, especially on Mother Teresa. 74

The Rule of 1865

The Constitution of 1865 contained definitive maxims relative to two points which were at the core of the controversy, government and Enclosure. By profound conviction Mother Teresa believed that the greatest solidarity and continuity of spirit could be sustained among the members if the government of the order were situated in its own superior general. Four sisters, with delegated functions, would assist her in handling conventual matters. The overall plan suggested that the mother general would make visitations to individual convents within a five-year period. In this manner the religious discipline of the houses might be assessed, and a spirit of mutual trust encouraged. In her far-reaching vision Mother Teresa saw the wisdom of establishing geographical provinces in the order to be administered at the regional level by a

---

[74] A School Sister of Notre Dame, Mother Caroline and the School Sisters of Notre Dame (Saint Louis: Woodward and Tiernan Co., 1928) I, 175.

provincial superior. It was a prudent and effective manner of coordinating the affairs of an international congregation; the heritage of the order would thereby be preserved through and "inside" mechanism without undue control from "outside" forces.

The second point which Mother Teresa structured into her rule was that of Enclosure, and maintenance of the cloistral concept. In the chapter of the rule on this topic, she stated explicitly that the Enclosure for the Soeurs Professes--sisters with final vows--be that of episcopal enclosure. This stipulated, in effect, that no one without episcopal permission could enter their quarters; it likewise meant that the Soeurs Professes could not leave the enclosure at will, but only under extraordinary circumstances. In order to implement these strictures, the religious house was ideally built with immediate access to the school and church. (Tradition relates that Mother Teresa was constantly concerned about the physical aspects of the property which would be acquired for the sisters. She always wished to select several women from the parish as "externs" to take care of the sisters' needs so that they would not have to go out into the secular world. In some cases the Soeurs Religieuses--sisters with temporary vows--were sent out if no direct connection between the convent house and church existed.) The intent of the entire section on Enclosure in the rule was that retirement from the external world was a precious trust for all sisters

who wanted to preserve their sacred commitment and the integrity of the order.

The original rule was approved for a period of six years; final approbation was concluded in 1865. Mother Teresa died in 1879, necessitating the election of a successor. It was in September of that year that six American sisters set sail from New York to be present for the election. Presumably in the deliberations following the election of Mother General Margaret of Cortona they were again able to draw attention to the unique set of circumstances existing in America. Mother Teresa had permitted the American sisters to function under certain exceptions which were not stipulated in the formal rule and constitutions approved in 1865. The American sisters possibly asked that this be formally stated in the rule. The result of this petition was that while there was no direct alteration in the rule, an Appendix was formally approved in 1880.

> ...The Congregation of Bishops and Regulars issued a decree by His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, March 20, 1880, embodied in an appendix, and added to the constitution of the congregation. By virtue of this decree, the government of the American branch of the Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame is committed to a Commissary General, who receives from the Superior General comprehensive powers to act in her stead in things affecting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the sisters on this continent. The Commissary General has four assistants to aid her in fulfilling the duties of this responsible office. 75

---

[75] Rules and Constitutions of the Religious Institute of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame, 1865, With an Appendix approved in 1880, p. 50, n. 4.

The commissary general was given therein delegated faculties by the superior general to execute all affairs of the order in America. This authorization imposed an obligation to render an annual report to the European motherhouse with an account of convent and school matters. Inasmuch as the commissary general made personal visitations to the missions now and then, she could also relate messages which concerned the sisters themselves.

In reality, the underlying spirit of Enclosure remained virtually unchanged for a fervent member. Only in the interest of spiritual advancement, physical health, or the fulfillment of her teaching obligations was she authorized to leave the cloister. The fact that there was a structural change legitimatized, however, was functionally important to the American sisters.

While the rule contained definitive statements outlining the customary practices insuring Enclosure regarding the departures of the sisters, it also safeguarded entry to their premises. This restrictive measure had a twofold purpose. It kept the world out when this was a coveted ideal, and it protected religious women from persons cynical and antagonistic.

The consitution indicated that there was an Outer Portress and (in larger houses) an Inner Portress in the European houses; at night the superior kept the keys. The American appendix indicated that the houses in America might employ a sister as portress, a point consistently followed in the

motherhouses.

Canon Law and the Revised Rule of 1925

The subsequent development of the rule was affected by the revision of canon law in the early decades of the twentieth century. Although the Roman church is not infrequently depicted as an exacting, judicial, legislative institution, it was not until 1317 that an official collection of laws was promulgated. It was a synthesis of "bits and pieces" from singular papal bills, and from the decrees of synods and councils issued intermittently. This official collection became recognized universally as canon law, and provided the legal framework for legislative action over a period of six hundred years. In this long interim many of its directives became outmoded, and in some instances dysfunctional. Priests, prelates, cardinals, and popes were gravely aware of the situation. Several papal reigns came and went without anyone undertaking the insurmountable task of revision. Finally, in 1904 Pope Pius X announced his plan for a new codification. The general responsibility for its revision and implementation was assigned to a commission of cardinals, who set up a council of consultors presided over by Pietro Gasparri, named a cardinal in 1907. Gasparri became the prime mover in pushing the task ahead. Bishops, scholars from Catholic universities, and selected members from religious institutes were invited to share their expertise in updating the obsolete code. The work was completed by Pope Benedict XV and published under the title

Codex Iuris Canonici in 1917. It went into effect on May 19, 1918.[76]

Following this updating on the part of the church it became necessary for all religious orders to revise their constitutions according to the new codices of canon law. As each order finished the revision of its documents, it submitted them to Rome for formal approbation. The SSND Constitution was sent to Rome in 1919; it was returned in 1924. Mother General M. Bruno wrote a circular letter to all of the sisters at the time of its approval.

> During the quiet days of the holy season of Advent it is fitting that I transmit to you the Holy Rule of our Order, revised according to the new Canon Law of Holy Church, and repeatedly approved by Rome. Accept this book as the will of God and Mother Church, with holy reverence, according to the example of our sainted founder, Peter Fourier. At its perusal always treat it with becoming care and attention....
>
> The new edition of Holy Rule does not essentially differ from the former. It is adapted to the circumstances of our times and contains many mitigations. Do not refer questions of doubt that may arise, to men of learning or priests who have no adequate knowledge of the obligations of religious, but to the Superiors of the Order. Remarks from the missions or Sisters are to be noted on a separate paper and are sent to the Generalate by the end of February, 1925, under the title "Pertaining to our Holy Rule." The solution of the doubts will be explained by circular. 77

However, the American translation of this revised rule

---

[76] R. Metz, 'The Code of Canon Law to the Present', Part 7 in "Canon Law, History of," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), III, 499-50.

[77] Mother M. Bruno Thoma, S.S.N.D., General Circular, November, 1924.

was only ready for the sisters in 1925. Mother Stanislaus Kostka, commissary general, sent a circular letter to her sisters in June of that year explaining that they could expect to receive a copy of the revised rule shortly:

> After weeks of strenuous labor we have succeeded in conscientiously translating our Holy Rule from German, and with the approval of our loved Mother General, making some necessary changes to meet the conditions of our American branch of the Order. As soon as the printed copies come into our possessionwe will send a book to each house. 78

Hereafter, this rule will be referred to as the "Revised Rule of 1925," since at that time all School Sisters of Notre Dame were expected to read and abide by it instead of by the long-standing Rule of 1865.

General Chapters

Already in the ninth century, when trying to devise an ideal blueprint for handling the affairs of religious life, Abbot Benedict of Aniane "proposed that the customs in all monasteries be the same: as they (the members) acknowledged only one profession, there should only be one tradition binding on all."[79] This unity has been fostered by a conventual mechanism known as a general chapter. For the School Sisters of Notre Dame, a chapter is viewed as an assembly of lawful representatives of the sisters, who legislate in formal session for the congregation. Some sisters are members of the general

---

[78]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, June, 1925.

[79]Hilpisch, p. 58.

chapter ex officio; the majority are elected by the membership at large. General chapters are held within six months after the death of the superior general, or regularly every six years. They have elective and legislative functions. During the general chapter the election of the superior general and her assistants is by secret ballot. The sister who receives the majority of votes becomes the lawfully elected superior general. Following her election the delegates vote for her assistants.

As legislators, chapter delegates may propose any subject which they consider necessary or important for general discussion, or which other sisters have proposed to them for consideration. Because the SSND is an international order with great cultural diversity in its membership, the rule clearly states the overarching philosophy which should guide the deliberations of chapter delegates:

> The most important function of the General Chapter is to guard, as a precious treasure, the unity of the Order, to propogate the spirit of charity, and promote regular observance...and to decide whether any necessary innovations ought to be made, or existing customs modified. [80]

In the course of each chapter, a number of legislative decisions are promulgated. Subsequently they are printed and distributed to all of the members under the title, "Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Chapter."

---

[80] Rule and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1925), p. 21, n. 287.

The seventh general chapter met in April, 1922, at the motherhouse of the congregation in Munich, Germany, and reelected the then incumbent superior general for a second term. In their legislative proceedings, the chapter delegates had intended to draw up a summary of all of the ordinances and resolutions of the preceding chapters including the deliberations of the current one. It was implied that such a summary would reduce needless repetition, and abrogate legislative directives which had become obsolete.

However, the copy of the rule which had been reviewed according to the new canon law, the rule sent to Rome in 1919, had not yet been returned to the order at the time of the general chapter. It was, therefore, impossible for the delegates to draw up the desired summary.

With the implementation of the Revised Rule of 1925, the delegates to the eighth general chapter were able to prepare the desired summary for the members. It was formulated according to several recommendations which they had suggested:

> 1. That the points which had been altered in the course of time be omitted;
>
> 2. That these points, which in consequence of the rulings of previous General Chapters have been inserted in the new Holy Rule, shall not be mentioned in this Summary, except in cases where the rulings of the General Chapter of 1922 necessitate an explanation. 81

Basically, the purpose of the summary was to provide the sisters, and especially the local superiors, with a clarified conception

---

[81]Mother M. Bruno Thoma, S.S.N.D., General Circular, May, 1927.

of the intentions of the rule and constitution as expressed in the ordinances and resolutions of the general chapters held in 1879, 1885, 1894, 1900, 1906, 1909, 1922, and 1928.

Comparative Pattern of Enclosure Observance

The legislation of the Catholic church has traditionally defined cloister or Enclosure as: (1) that part of a religious house, as well as the gardens and recreational areas, reserved for the exclusive use of the religious members; (2) that body of laws governing the entry of nonmembers into the cloister of the non-cloistered areas of the religious house (church or chapel and its sacristy, guest quarters, parlours and public offices); and (3) those laws pertaining to the exit of the religious members from the Enclosure.[82] Beyond the legislation of the church, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, through their rule and constitutions, and their customary observances, have expanded the understanding and practice of Enclosure. From the founding of the congregation in 1833 to the ninth general chapter in 1934--one hundred years later--Enclosure norms were developed and altered by both external and internal change agents.

Enclosure Perspectives

Against the general framework of Enclosure practice as specified in canonical legislation, and including those

---

[82] W.E. Ryan, "Canonical Rules for Cloister," New Catholic Encyclopedia (1967), III, 959.

relevant chapters from the rule and constitutions of SSND, Enclosure change in this research design will be studied according to a five-point schema.

A. Life Within the Enclosure

For the members, certain functions always took place until recently within designated areas of the religious house, i.e., meals in the refectory, study and recreation in the community room, formal prayer in the chapel, and rest in the cells or dormitories. A daily order (horarium) charted the rising and retiring time, and detailed the community and apostolic functions which would occur during the course of the day. All of this formalization of structure was so regulated in order to establish priorities for the committed person to fulfill the sacred and profane obligations of her daily life. It provided a calm, well-ordered environment oriented to spiritual and communal growth.

B. Admission of Nonmembers to the Enclosure

The religious were circumscribed in the number of and occasion for visits, as well as to the places where interaction with lay people might be carried out. The parlour was not considered part of the cloister; usually it was designed to be a place apart. The length, privacy, and substance of the conversational visit were also prescribed in the Enclosure rules of the congregation. Gradually visitors were permitted to enter the chapel, business offices, and guest quarters of

the convent. Overnight hospitality was rarely extended to nonmembers, and then only to female relatives or to religious women of another congregation. These limitations were nurtured so as to safeguard the committed women from developing an undue interest in the wider society from which she had freely withdrawn.

C. Secular Influences Within the Enclosure

Limitations on the written and oral communications of the members among themselves and with nonmembers were enforced to safeguard the commitment of the religious. Secular publications and current market books were taboo; usually they were only read in the interest of the sister's professional pursuits and then with the permission of the superior. Few members were encouraged to publish any material. In the earlier days of the congregation, the work of a sister was not published under her personal name but was issued under the auspices of the order. These regulations intensified group loyalty, and tended to keep the members constantly vigilant against secular encroachments.

D. Religious Garb of the Members

For centuries in the Catholic church, it was customary for female religious with vows to wear a veil and uniform attire, called a habit. This garb was considered a sign of one's personal dedication to God. It established a group identity for the members; it exemplied a bond of heritage; it served as a

deterrent to worldly vanity; it attested a spirit of poverty. The religious habit was always worn within and without the Enclosure. Members were exhorted to consider the habit, particularly the veil, as representing the confines of the Enclosure which accompanied them when they were abroad in the wider society. It was thought that the veil, which was often so designed as to shield full vision, was an aid in avoiding worldly distractions.

E. Exit from the Enclosure Premises

Canonical legislation on Enclosure has always permitted, even to the most cloistered religious, certain conditions under which they might leave the Enclosure. The occasions for leaving were always relative to the degree of cloister maintained in a contemplative order. Apostolic religious, particularly the School Sisters of Notre Dame, were permitted to leave the Enclosure at certain times; these included personal reasons relating to spiritual direction, health, and apostolic matters of their concern. Certain rules governed their conduct outside of the cloister and reminded the sisters that their stay in the secular sphere was temporary.

An understanding of the increasing number of Enclosure directives which the sisters were expected to observe in their functioning as School Sisters of Notre Dame may be found in an examination of the main legislative documents of the congregation. These include:

1. The original rule and constitutions approved by Rome in 1865;

2. The revised rule and constitutions approved in 1924 and implemented in the congregation in 1925;

3. A summary of the general chapters of the congregation covering the period between 1897 and 1934.

A review of all prescribed regulations on this continuum suggests a dual pattern in their presentation. Some norms were stated negatively; e.g., "The Sisters are prohibited from visiting sick school children either in their own homes or in the hospital."[83] Other norms were stated positively; e.g., "Whenever they are obliged to cross the threshold of their Enclosure they shall the more exactly observe the rule of religious retirement."[84] Many points contained a negative and a positive aspect within a single directive; e.g., "Ordinarily no Sister may have more than two habits at the same time; however, a third one, already quite worn, may be kept for house work."[85] In all of the legislative directives, there were some statements not clearly worded, and their interpretation admitted a subjective decision.

For comparative purposes, each document was carefully examined for directives in the five research areas relative to

---

[83] Summary of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Chapters of the Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame (1934), p. 15, n. 19.

[84] Rules and Constitutions of the Religious Institute of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1865), p. 55, n. 19.

[85] Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1925), p. 66, n. 233.

Enclosure as they pertained to the School Sisters of Notre Dame. These stipulations were also scrutinized for the thrust of their expression. Was the statement presented positively or negatively? If there was not a clear-cut position, what seemed to be implied? It must be indicated that, however stated, the directive was a limitation of action in regard to Enclosure observance.

TABLE II

SUMMARY OF SSND ENCLOSURE LEGISLATION

Dichotomy of Enclosure Change	Negatively Stated Directives	Positively Stated Directives	Total of Enclosure Directives
A. Life within Enclosure			
Horarium	26	39	65
Functions	105	105	210
B. Admittance of Nonmembers			
Visitors	33	19	52
Sharing	11	4	15
C. Secular Influences			
Communications	43	23	66
Mass Media	29	7	36
D. Religious Garb			
Habit	65	29	94
Veil	22	18	40
E. Exit from Enclosure			
Personal Reasons	100	70	170
Professional Reasons	33	28	61
Total	467	342	809

Table II presents the total number of statements, dichotomized for each research area, as culled from the formal

legislation of the order. It is pertinent to note that more directives are stated negatively than positively, and that there is a significant difference between the two positions. The information in Table II will be subsequently analyzed in greater detail in Figures 1 to 5.

At any given time it was incumbent upon the religious to observe all of the Enclosure norms, positive or negative, in the rule and constitutions, as well as in the customary observances initiated by the general chapters. The revised rule of 1925 replaced the original rule of 1865. This meant then, that in 1935, the members were expected to abide by all of the Enclosure directives of the revised rule, as well as the prescriptions of the general chapters. That these goals were not always met is evidenced through the Enclosure admonitions from the superiors of the order. This is particularly manifested in the circular letters from the mother commissary to the Sisters in North America.

A. Legislative Directives for Life Within the Enclosure

Figure 1 presents a comparison of the three documents in which negative and positive statements are found pertaining to the members functioning within the convent Enclosure. These have been dichotomized into those statements which pertain to directives relating to the daily horarium, and those pertaining to community functions. The horarium was prepared for each local house according to its specific needs. It was reviewed, approved, and signed by the provincial superior; its observance

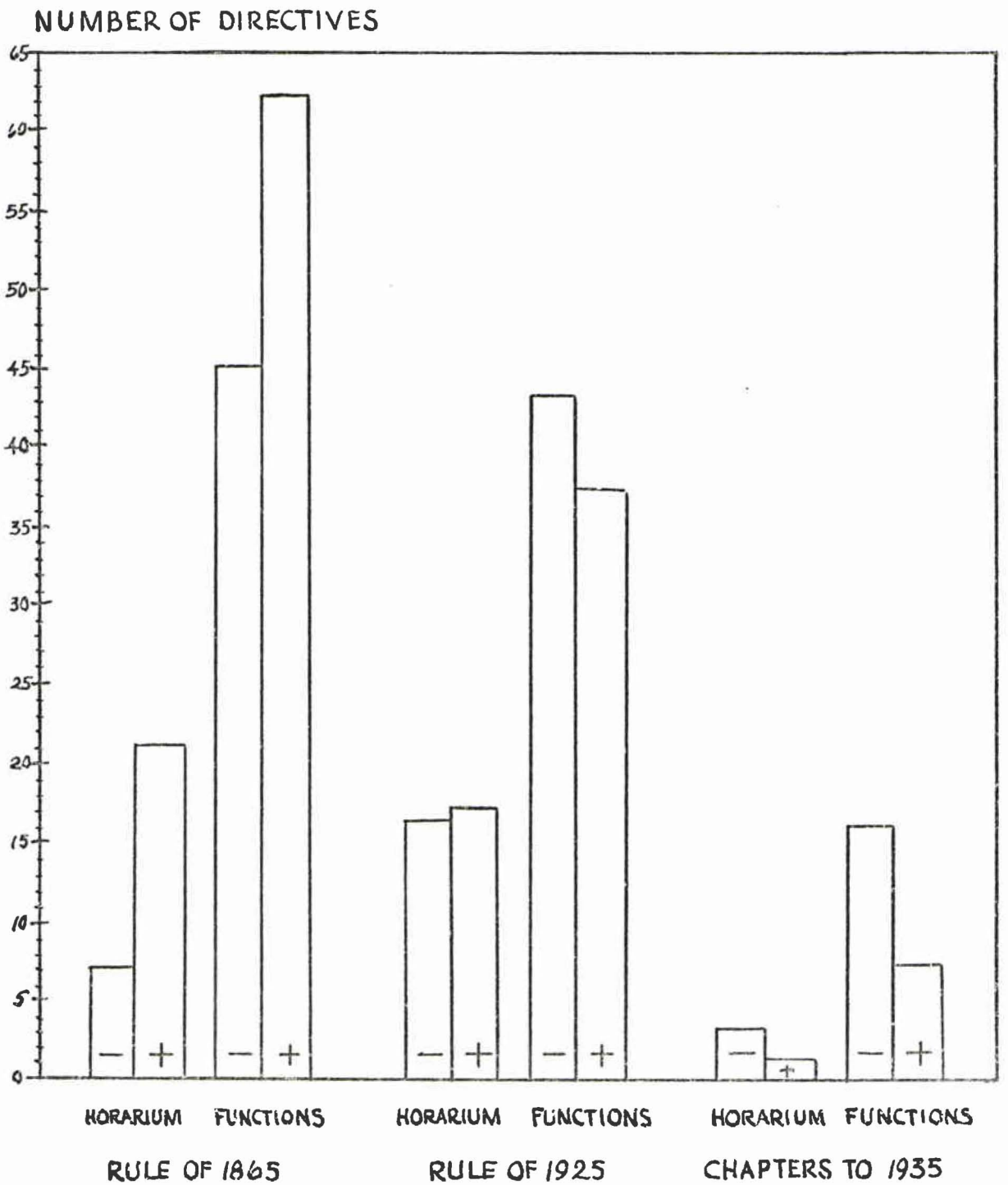

FIGURE 1

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR LIFE WITHIN THE ENCLOSURE

was discussed with her whenever she made a formal visitation to a convent. The daily order was a constant sacred bond uniting the members together in their common endeavours.

A comparison of rules of 1865 and 1925 shows that positive statements exceed the negative in both. This is due in part to the number of statements which describe the rewarding effects of a well-planned communal life. An important horarium exception was incorporated in the 1880 appendix to the rule: "The Sisters in America rise at a quarter to five in the morning."[86] For all of the other convents in the congregation the uniform time for rising was four o'clock. Inasmuch as the chapter summary had only minimal directives pertaining to the daily order, it would seem that this aspect of Enclosure was never a point of particular conflict in the organization. This is also substantiated by the fact that only one commissary circular mentioned the horarium and that was done indirectly. By 1935 there were 33 legislative directives which pertained to the observance of the daily order.

The second aspect of life within the convent Enclosure, functions, constitutes all of the legislation related to the role performance of the members in specific areas of the religious house. Most of these norms were not included in either rule, or in the chapter summary under the title of "Enclosure." They were given in other chapters entitled Abode,

---

[86] Rules and Constitutions of the Religious Institute of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1865), With an Appendix approved in 1880, p. 155, n. 17.

Food, Silence and Retirement, etc. It is understandable, then, that there were more proscriptions for functions than for horarium.

From an examination of Figure 1 it is evident that the rule of 1865, in detailing directives for the members in their convent home, did so in a positive way. It is possible that a reversal of this pattern in the later rule and chapter summary reflects the efforts of the order to conform both to canon law and to church approbation for its legislation. By 1935 the members were expected to observe 103 norms; 44 were stated positively and 59 were stated negatively.

Examples of the implementation of specific particular observances may be found in several circular letters of the mother commissary to her sisters in North America. In September, 1920, she suggested "...that to make Christmas time more cheery, a small tree may be placed in the community room, if this can be done without extra expense for the tree and ornamentation."[87] In the circular for December, 1926, this permission was given to the sisters: "On Christmas day and during the Octave the Sisters may partake of sweets and fruit in the community room."[88] Regarding the celebration of the centenary of the order in 1933, the following suggestions were given:

---

[87]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, September, 1920.

[88]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, December, 1926.

> The Motherhouse in Milwaukee has arranged a Triduum on December 7, 8, and 9 consisting of a solemn High Mass and evening devotions. The Sisters on the missions may select three days either consecutive or separate--when convenient--and spend them partly in prayer and also in a true family spirit with recreation at table, but not by making visits to other missions. 89

B. Legislative Directives for the Admission of Nonmember to the Enclosure

Figure 2 compares the legislative directives which pertain to the relationship of the members with nonmembers who frequented the religious house for business or visiting purposes. The positive and negative forms of these have been dichotomized into those directives pertaining to visitors and those related to the sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers. Both areas of this aspect of Enclosure show more negative than positive statements, a fact which no doubt reflects both the value system of the church and the religious order in allowing as little contact as possible with external society.

The three legislative documents contain more directives for visitors than for convent sharing. This is due to the fact that both rules explicitly detailed who could be admitted to the Enclosure. This permission included authorities of the church and government, doctors, the priest confessors, repairmen, benefactors of the religious house, and parents of boarding pupils. However, there was also a stipulation that all non-

---

89 Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, November, 1933.

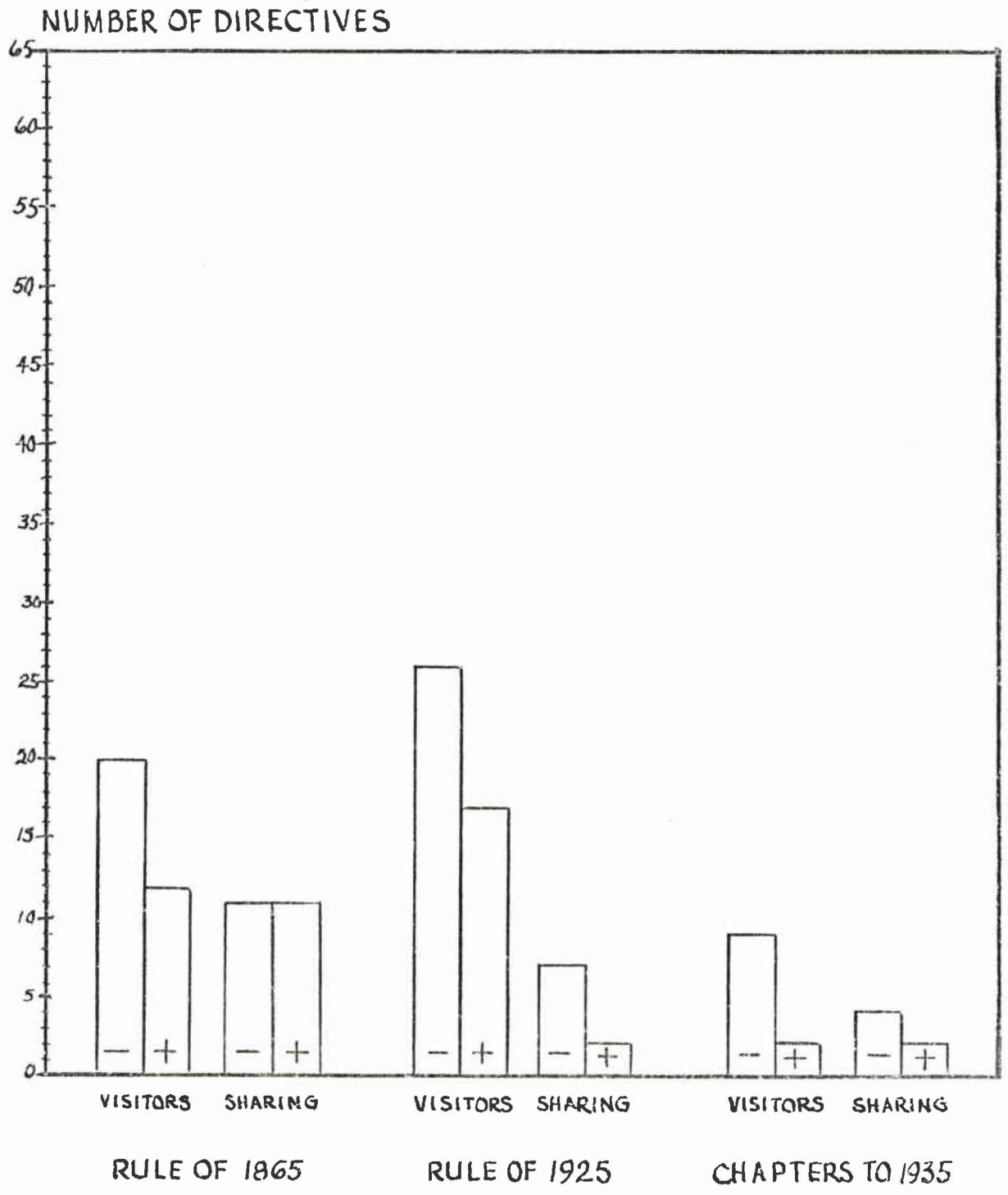

FIGURE 2

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR THE ADMISSION OF NONMEMBERS TO THE ENCLOSURE

members be accompanied by two sisters while tending to their business within the Enclosure. There was little encouragement for social visiting, as evidenced in the following directive: "The Sisters shall not encourage their relatives to visit them frequently or give occasion for such visits but shall prudently arrange that they do not occur more than three times a year: Christmas, Easter, and during vacation."[90] All social visiting took place in the parlour. The rule of 1865 stipulated that the sisters were to be separated from their visitors by an iron grate known as a grille. The revised rule abolished the grille, but legislated that a member have a companion while visiting in the parlour; there was an exception when it involved a sister's relatives.

Inasmuch as the original purpose of the SSND order was to teach, increasingly the committed educators themselves had to matriculate at institutions of higher learning in order to conform to the social mores of the countries where they resided. Becoming educated sometimes strained the Enclosure principle, and engendered tension in conventual discipline. The sisters in Europe had a long period of formation after their entrance into religious life; they were expected to finish their required education in preparation for teaching before they were formally received into the order. The American sisters were the recipients of limited college training during their formation period; after their profession of vows they continued to work

---

[90] Chapter Summary, 1934, p. 15, n. 37.

toward a degree in summer school sessions on Catholic college campuses. They were also expected to make an annual retreat of eight days; this was most often scheduled during the summer months. It was during this season that greater relaxation in the observance of certain aspects of traditional Enclosure prevailed. The letters of the commissary general reflect concerns over this situation.

> Every year we hear from some source or another that Sisters inform their relatives when and where they expect to make their retreat, attend Summer School, or spend their vacation. They invite them for a visit which sometimes lasts a whole week, though the Constitutions specify three days as the time allotted for such visits; or they make known to them at what time their train will pass through the city that they may have an opportunity of meeting them that way. This, my dear Sisters, is strictly forbidden.
>
> Sisters who make their retreat in their hometown for the sake of meeting their relatives are not imbued with a true religious spirit and the retreat seems to be a secondary phase of the trip. Circulars warning the Sisters against this breach of the Rule of Enclosure have been sent out in previous years by our lamented and sainted Mothers Commissary. The Sister Superior will kindly look up the circular issued by Mother Clara dated February 2, 1903, and the last one of our late Mother Marianne dated March 24, 1916, and have these read in the refectory so that the younger Sisters may profit by having these brought home to them. 91

The substance of the following message became a yearly exhortation in the annual commissariat circular pertaining to the summer functions of the North American sisters.

During the summer session, prospective students

---

[91]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, March, 1920.

> and friends of the College are welcome to visit the College and will be taken care of by the Sisters appointed by the Superior; the Sister students are not permitted to have visitors, friends, and relatives visit them during the session, from June 28 to August 5, 1933. 92

In the light of these admonitions, it is understandable that of the 64 norms related to visitors, 35 of them were stated negatively.

There were more directives concerning the sharing of convent facilities in the 1865 rule than were incorporated in the 1925 revision. The original rule delineated the mode of hospitality to be extended to parents and friends of the boarding pupils. In the early foundations of the order, particularly in Europe, there was usually a boarding school in connection with the convent. It is possible that by 1925 the number of boarding schools had decreased with the increase of day schools. With this transition the extension of hospitality was directed more toward female visitors--or religious friends of the sisters. Because the members were not encouraged to have visitors for any length of time, there were few occasions in which convent hospitality could be extended. It is not surprising, then, that by 1935 there were only 15 norms pertaining to the sharing of convent facilities.

C. Legislative Directives Concerning Secular Influences Within the Enclosure

Figure 3 presents the negative and positive statements

---

[92]Mother M. Stanislaus Kestka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, April, 1933.

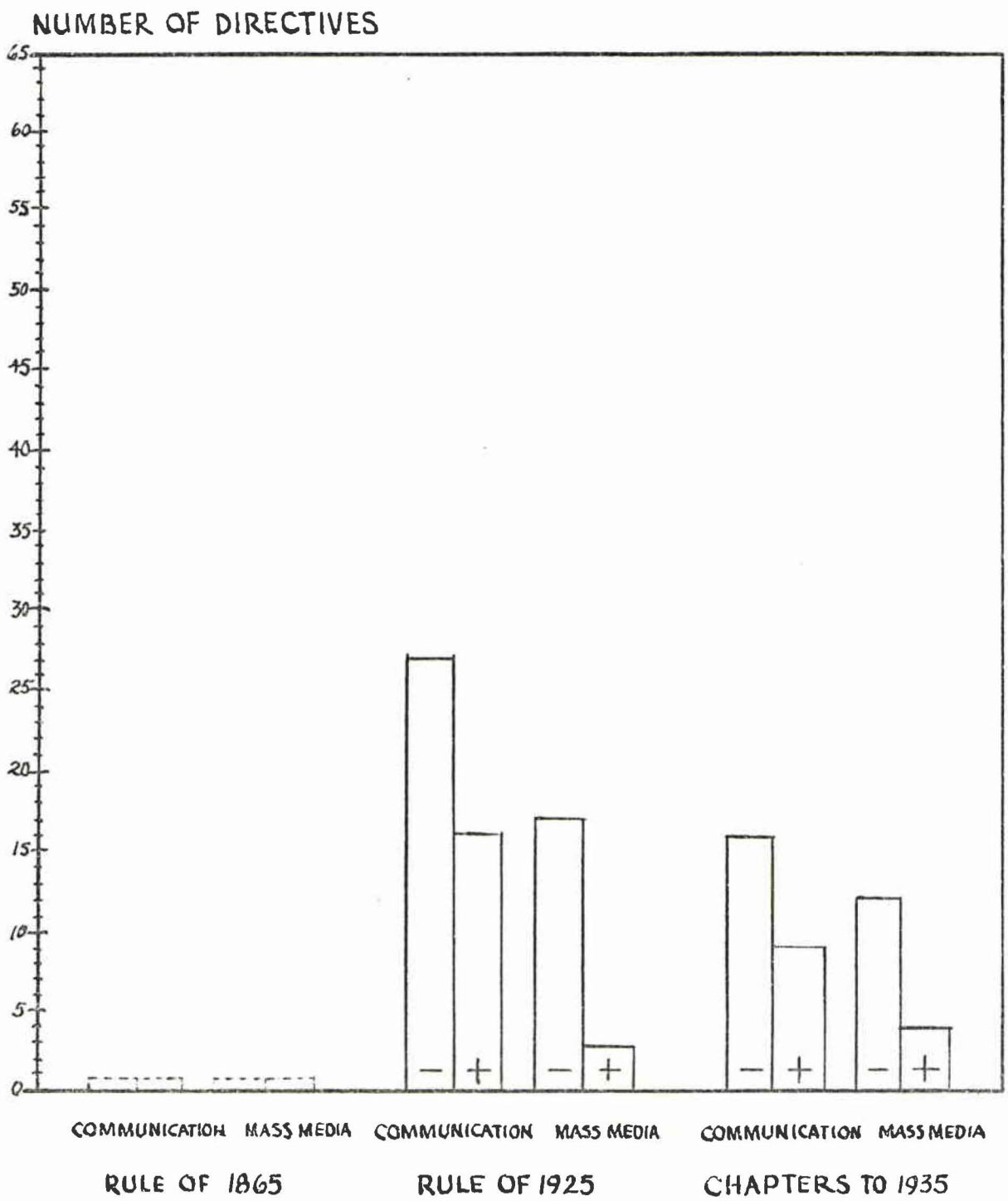

FIGURE 3

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES CONCERNING SECULAR INFLUENCES WITHIN THE ENCLOSURE

for this aspect of Enclosure. These directives have been dichotomized into those which pertain to personal communications of the sisters, and the use of mass media in the convent.

Personal communications refers primarily to the private correspondence of the members, as well as to any formal writing they might do for publication. Letter writing was strictly curtailed to certain seasons of the year. All mail, both outgoing and incoming, could be opened and read by the local superior if she wished to do so. For many years the mail was distributed once or twice during the week, and rarely during the penitential seasons of Advent and Lent. This practice in the congregation continued well into the fifties. By 1935 there were 66 directives--43 negative and 23 positive--which mainly pertained to the personal correspondence of the members. Excerpts from the circular letters of the mother commissary indicate the problems which were inherent in such rigid circumscriptions.

In 1903 the mother commissary observed:

> The correspondence of some Sisters is very frequently carried to excess. In the Constitution mention is only made of letters to parents, relatives, and to those Priests and benefactors to whom Sisters are greatly indebted for special benefits. Many Sisters have the habit of writing to Sisters at other Missions, to former pupils and seculars, often in a style quite at variance with the Holy Rule. 93

The circumstances of summer months often suggested more liberal

---

[93]Mother M. Clara Heuck, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, February, 1903.

interpretations of the rule to the members, but the admonitions concerning correspondence were rigid. "No letters are to be written and mailed without special permission, and those received are to be opened and read by the respective Superior.... Let us not forget that our obligations as religious continue throughout the year; there is no vacation in the religious life."[94]

Mass media in the religious house included secular newspapers, periodicals, and books which were both of an entertaining and professional nature. The latter were more admissible because of the educative work of the congregation. The media category also included the radio, phonograph,--and in the forties--the record player as well as the tape recorder. It can be seen in Figure 3 that there were more legislative directives for personal communications than there were for mass media. This may be due to the fact that the economic depression of the '30's limited the use of these luxuries for the majority of Americans.

In the early Thirties the radio emerged as a major problem in mass communications. The commissary circular for January, 1932, explored the ramifications of the issue in North America:

> Allow me to draw your attention to a subject which is beginning to trouble the Superiors of our Order on account of the abuse which it may involve and which threatens to become prejudicial to the bodily, mental, and spiritual welfare of the Sisters.

---

[94]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, June, 1932.

> No one can deny that the Radio is a wonderful invention of this century and that it affords much joy and also great business advantages to the public--but it is nevertheless a luxury--one not necessary for the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame...
>
> ...After seven o'clock in the evening the Sisters are to devote their time exclusively to preparation for school duties; at 8:00 or 8:15 night prayer must be said in common, and at 9:00, at latest 9:30, all must retire, unless they have special permission from the Motherhouse to prolong the hour. This is the time when the Radio renders the best and most attractive programs. By listening in at the Radio an hour or more, the mind becomes distracted and unfit for a serious preparation of the next morning's meditation.
>
> It is not my intention to compel the Sisters to prohibit the use of a Radio in the High School where it is used in connection with the classwork, nor to forbid the Sisters to listen to an instructive sermon, lecture, or the like during leisure moments. However, I desire to exhort them to consider the time prescribed by our Holy Rule and by the Daily Order for our spiritual exercises, for study and bodily rest, more sacred than that we employ in our school and house duties. 95

The international centenary of the founding of the order took place in 1933. During that year Mother General M. Almeda Schricker, and one of her assistants spent eight months in America visiting the motherhouses and convents in all of the North American provinces. At the conclusion of her visit she addressed a long circular letter to all of her sisters, but with singular reference to those living in America. There was a recurring theme running throughout the message: religious women in the congregation of SSND should renew their sacred concerns. One way in which this could be done was through a

---

[95]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, January, 1932.

discreet use of the radio. Her expressed points in this area were synopsized later in directives from the general chapter:

1. At present radio in a Sisters' convent is not recommended. Neither is every Sister permitted to turn it on or off at will; instead, the Sister appointed by the Superior will have charge of tuning in.

2. The Superior shall entrust the selection of radio programs to a reliable Sister. With the approval of the Superior she shall select whatever may be necessary or suitable for an audience of religious.

3. Should there be an occasional need or call for something extraordinary; the Superior is to be consulted. After due deliberation she will decide.

4. During the Sisters' prayer time the radio may not be heard. Neither may the daily order be changed on that account, nor any encroachment made on the time for rest of night. 96

D. Legislative Directives for Religious Garb of the Members

Figure 4 shows the dichotomization of religious attire into those positive and negative statements which pertain to the habit and those which concern the veil. "Habit" is an inclusive term covering the long black dress, the cincture around the waist from which a long rosary was suspended, and the white linen cloth which covered the head and shoulders (wimple). The professed sisters wore a black veil lined with a piece of starched linen. When leaving the Enclosure, and for special religious ceremonies, they also wore a second light-weight black veil referred to as the "face-veil" or "over-veil." In the early days of the order this second veil was drawn over

---

[96] Chapter Summary, 1934, p. 7, n. 15.

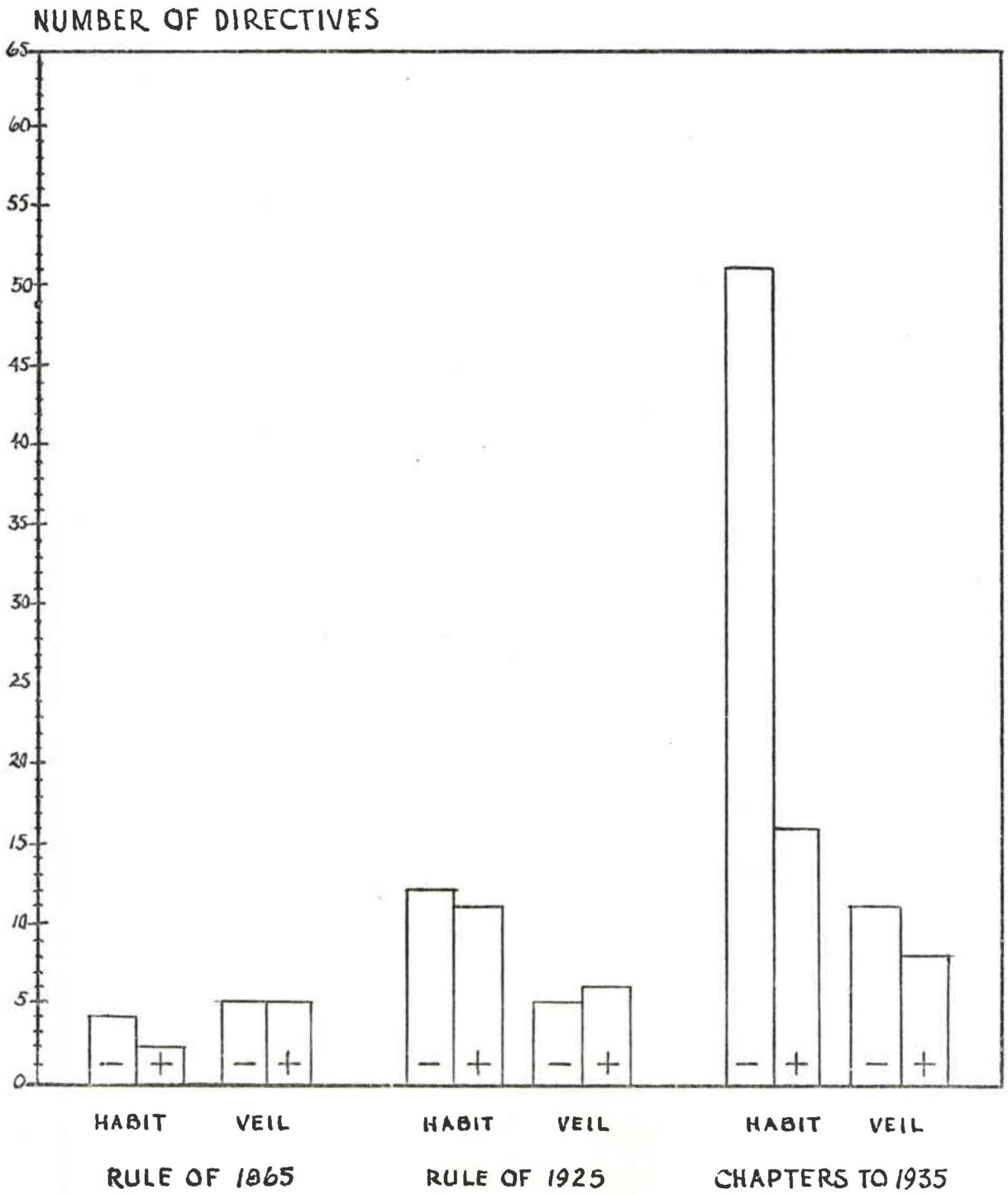

FIGURE 4

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR RELIGIOUS GARB OF THE MEMBERS

the face in the presence of seculars, and for certain communal spiritual exercises.

Inasmuch as the habit included more articles than the veil, it is understandable that Figure 4 reflects more directives related to this part of the religious garb. In comparing the two rules, the increase in habit directives for the 1925 rule was related to the proscriptions for the care of the garments by the individual religious as well as the congregation. The dramatic increase in habit legislation in the chapter summary is related to many precise directives concerning the dimensions for each article of the habit and veil. This was most indicative of an increased attention to detail. Exact measurements were also specified to enable the superior and seamstress, who were responsible that religious garments be authentic, to do so uniformly. An example:

HABITS

Facing	12 inches wide
Length of Sleeves	To cover finger tips
Width of Sleeves	24 inches around
Cuffs	12 inches deep
Pleats	10 front; 10 back

Silk Braid for habits is prohibited [97]

The negative and positive statements concerning the veil are about equalized in both editions of the rule. The increased number in the chapter summary may be accounted for by the precise directions relative to the dimensions of the garments. By 1935 the members were expected to observe 88

---

[97] Ibid., p. 53, n. 66.

directives pertaining to the religious habit, and 28 specifications concerning the veil.

In the absence of significant admonitions regarding abuses in this sphere of Enclosure, after a perusal of archival material, it may be deduced that attire was cherished as a sacred area by the members. The habits and veils were blessed in a solemn ceremony before the woman was "clothed" in reception of religious life. Thereafter she daily recited appropriate dressing prayers as she put on each part of the habit, which became her symbol of commitment and witness. It is also important to note that severe sanctions were imposed on those members who did not adhere closely to those norms relating to the religious garb. The 1925 rule stated, "No Sister may make any alteration whatever in the form of the conventual dress. Should any Sister do this, she would deprive herself of the right of active and passive vote and of the black veil; and if in office, she should be deposed."[98]

E. Legislative Directives for Exit from the Enclosure Premises

In Figure 5 the various reasons for which members might leave the Enclosure premises have been dichotomized into those of a personal nature and those which pertained to professional duties in the interest of education. Both rules stipulated the ordinary reasons as to why members would, on occasion, be allowed to leave the Enclosure. It is apparent in Figure 5 that the personal reasons were more frequent than the professional.

---

[98] Rule and Constitutions (1925), p. 95, n. 209.

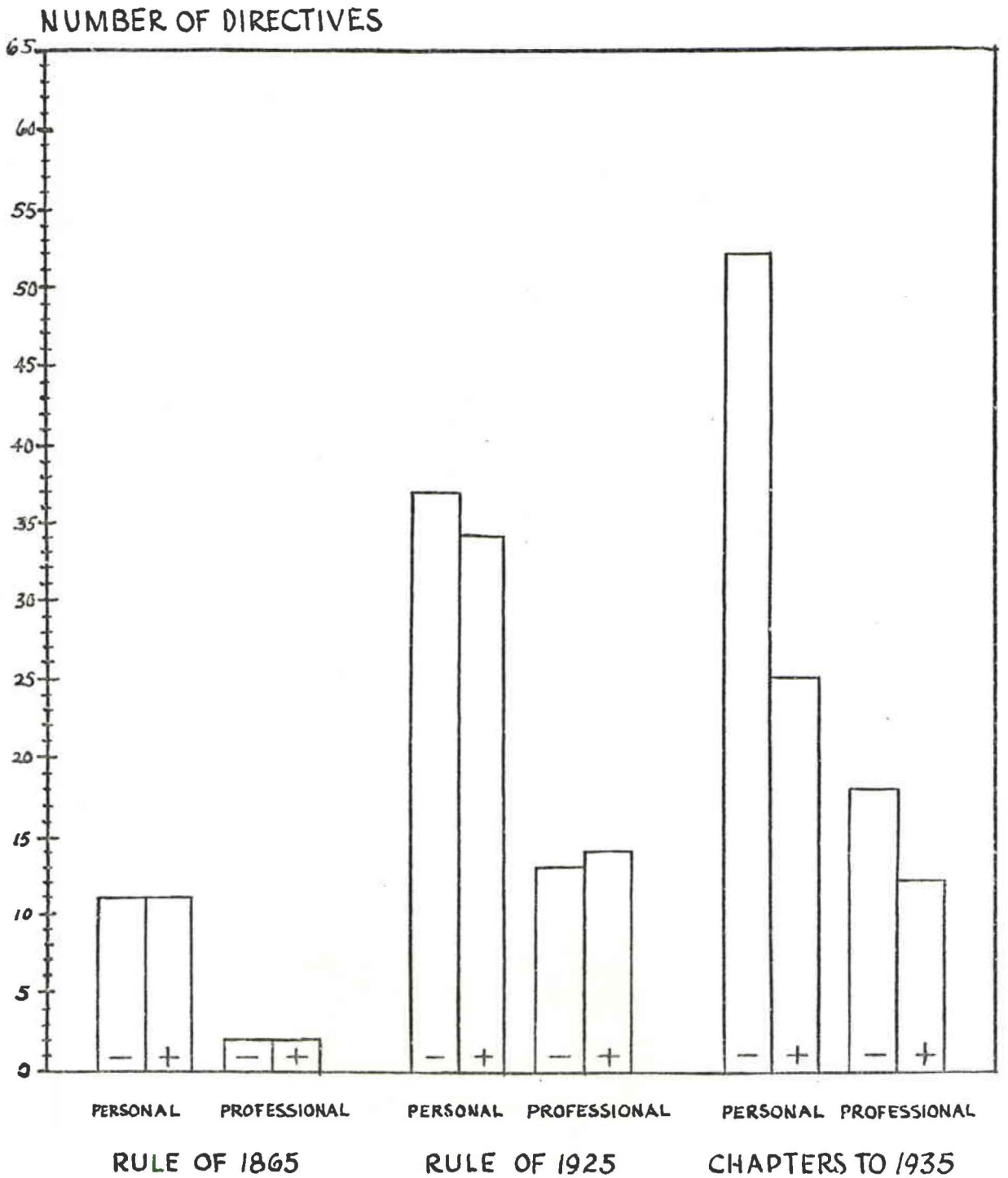

FIGURE 5

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTIVES FOR EXIT FROM THE ENCLOSURE PREMISES

By implication, the personal reasons embraced more categories of permissions, e.g., spiritual exercises which were conducted in the parish church, the health needs of the members, and home visits in given instances. At a much later date members were permitted to attend funerals of relatives in the immediate family if they lived in the vicinity. To circumvent any undue relaxation in either category of permission to leave the Enclosure, the 1934 general chapter introduced the use of the record book: "Every house of the order should have a durable blank book in which to record the names of the sisters every time they leave the Enclosure. This book is to be shown to the Mother Provincial and to the Mother Commissary at their visitations."[99]

The revised rule of 1925 was much more permissive about members leaving the cloister. Personal reasons were expanded to include attendance at more spiritual ceremonies, and reasons of health. However, the sisters were not given much leeway to visit parents and relatives, or to fraternize with friends. Neither were the members allowed to do their own shopping. "Every Sister who is desirous of keeping the Enclosure will find ways and means to attend to the business without going into the stores--a thing that lowers the religious state and makes recollection difficult."[100] By 1935 the Enclosure directives regulating the personal reasons as to why a member

---

[99] Chapter Summary, 1934, p. 8, n. 18.

[100] Ibid., p. 35, n. 39.

might leave the convent premises rose to 170; 100 of these were in negative terminology.

Although the record indicates that there were very gradual mitigations in many Enclosure regulations, the area of home visits remained at a point of fixation for years. Several excerpts from a number of commissary letters, which addressed themselves to this issue, are revealing. In February, 1903, Mother Clara wrote:

> Regarding home visits at the request of parents, very aged or dangerously ill--These visits are not in accordance with the Rule, and the exceptions granted are only in favor of parents, not of her relatives. The permission must always be obtained from the Motherhouse, and, in no case, should Sisters urge or even request parents to ask for such visits.
>
> Every Superior is herewith notified to send a list of the names of all those Sisters in her Community, who have visited their home since their reception, stating date of visit and name of place, where the parents reside. 101

In June, 1909, Mother Marianne lamented:

> Of late years, we are fairly overwhelmed with requests for home visits, vacation trips, and other privileges not in accordance with Holy Rule and with the spirit of holy poverty and religious retirement.
>
> I am sorry to say the Sisters themselves prompt and encourage such requests, instead of checking them. Home visits are not allowed except to parents in case of illness, for their Golden Jubilee, and for the First Mass of a brother. 102

In April, 1918, Mother Stanislaus Kostka remarked:

> Much as I would like to acquiesce in their desires

---

[101]Mother M. Clara Heuck, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, February, 1903.

[102]Mother Marianne Hass, S.S.N.D., Community Circular, April, 1918.

> and grant them the dispensations they ask for, my better judgment warns me that they are unconstitutional and would undermine the spirit of our Holy Rule which I have solemnly vowed to endeavour to keep intact.
>
> I therefore beg you, my dear Sisters, to desist from asking permissions which you know I cannot consistently grant--for instance making home-visits to see lonely brothers and sisters, jubilee visits to your home city... 103

In spite of repeated requests by the sisters for a more relaxed interpretation of Enclosure rules, particularly in reference to family home visits, there was no alteration in this legislative policy until 1950. The rationale supporting the rigid position is implicit in Mother Kostka's circular of 1929:

> Change in the mode of living and in educational requirements for teachers and pupils are numberless, and while we must conform in part to twentieth century progress, we should not forget that though we are in the world we may not be of the world; like the chosen souls that have preceded us, we may question certain innovations and ask ourselves, "What will they profit me for eternity?"... 104

Traditionally the apostolic work of the congregation was directed toward the education of the young in schools and orphanages. As the sisters functioned in the apostolate as educators they became aware of the benefits that field trips would provide for the children. The rule of 1925, then, listed general occasions when the members could leave the Enclosure for professional reasons. The general chapters extended these

---

[103] Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, April, 1918.

[104] Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, December, 1929.

permissions with certain reservations; they are contained in the negative statements of the directives. By 1935 the sisters were functioning under 57 norms which were related to professional reasons for Enclosure exit; this was about one third of the number pertaining to personal reasons. These legislative documents were not sufficiently broad in scope to encompass all extenuating circumstances of professional departure. The problems entailed in legislating for the unforeseen are apparent in a commissary circular, July, 1933:

> Some of the Sisters have written for the permission to attend the Century of Progress, or the World's Fair. When Mother General was asked, who among the teachers should be allowed to visit the buildings, we were told the Supervisors or School Directresses might be permitted.
>
> Those who have been there until now were very much disappointed because at least 75 per cent of the buildings were either places for amusement or of no educational value, and religious should not visit these... 105

Summary and Conclusion

A comparison of the three legislative documents formulated in the congregation within the first hundred years of its existence demonstrates that in 1865 the members functioned under about 225 Enclosure regulations. By 1935 the Enclosure directives had increased to about 809. This reflects the growing complexity of life, both within and without the religious houses, and the efforts of the congregation to deal with the phenomenon. The fact that there were about 125 more

---

[105] Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, July, 1933.

negative than positive statements in the directives, suggests that the religious organization dealt with social pressures in a cautious manner. At times necessary adaptations in Enclosure norms were permitted, but these were laced with precautionary limitations.

The increased emphasis on Enclosure directives over the years also mirrors the influence of the church on its religious subsystems. The new codification of canon law placed a great stress on details of human conduct for all members of the Catholic church. In light of this, adaptations in the rule and constitutions, as well as in the resolutions of the general chapters, had to be tailored to the legislation of the 1918 code and papal approval. The fact that the negative Enclosure directives outnumber the positive ones, all of which norms conformed to ecclesiastical judgment, indicates an acceptance of a negative orientation on the part of both the church and its religious subsystems. This negative orientation on the part of both the church and its religious subsystems was directed toward the wider social order which the members were entering increasingly for personal and professional reasons. It also applied to the advent of secular influences into the religious social order via correspondence, publications, mass media, visitors, and to mitigations of the conventual horarium and community functions. These reserved adaptations suggest a continued aloofness from worldly concerns, and an involvement in the religious sphere of life. The value system

of the church and its religious subsystems supported it.

An examination of the development of Enclosure in religious orders of women, particularly the School Sisters of Notre Dame in relationship to the approval and sanction of the Catholic church, supports the first hypothesis of this study. Likewise, a comparative analysis of the main legislative documents of the School Sisters reveals a church-approved increase of Enclosure directives, predominantly negative in substance. It can be concluded, therefore, that the three historical patterns of Enclosure observance traced in chapter III confirm the first hypothesis: The church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world has affected the structure and function of its religious subsystems.

The status of Enclosure in SSND underwent no major alterations from the 1934 general chapter until a subsequent one held in Munich, Germany, in 1950. Political conditions in Europe, which culminated in World War II, substantially account for the maintenance of the status quo--particularly in the practice of Enclosure during the sixteen-year interim. Chapter IV documents the diminution of norms related to the traditional aspects of SSND Enclosure under the influence and impact of internal and external change agents.

CHAPTER IV

ENCLOSURE NORMS AND AGENTS OF CHANGE

SSND ENCLOSURE CHANGE: PRE-VATICAN II ERA

As the Notre Dame order is an international religious system, its organizational equilibrium is wholly affected when any part of its structure is impinged upon from an outside force. In this respect the conflicts of World War II had direct and indirect effects on the sisters and their work throughout the congregation.

Although much communication was curtailed, if not cut off entirely in some areas, there were sufficient circulars from the mother general and other European convents to substantiate a documentary explanation of what it was the order underwent during this sixteen-year interim between general chapters. The bond of unity which was manifested speaks for itself. In October, 1936, Mother General Almeda wrote:

> And today after three years, it seems that at least for our Bavarian Province, entirely changed times have come upon us. With great consternation you have undoubtedly learned from the press communications of October the fourteenth that in the year 1936 about six hundred religious teachers of the public schools are to be substituted by secular teachers. We have learned that this will affect about 300 teachers of our Order and will go into effect by January 1, 1937... [1]

---

[1]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, October, 1936.

Three months later, in January, 1937, the ominous prediction came to pass.

> Undoubtedly you know what the last days of the old year meant to thirty missions of our Bavarian Province... Everywhere the grief of the Sisters, of the children, and of the parents were indescribable. Touching were the demonstrations of gratitude and sympathy on the part of the people...
>
> Some of the Sisters were provided with a house and with work with our Sisters outside of Bavaria, in Westphalia, Silesia, Hungary, Roumania, Gorizia, also in North America. In Juliusburg near Breslau we were offered the management of an asylum for homeless boys which we accepted... 2

It was in the same letter that Mother spoke devotedly about the idealism and the courage of the young sisters, which gave promise to the future work of the congregation. It seems a paradoxical position, for in January, 1938, the conditions previously alluded to left little reason for hope. The Bavarian State officials issued a decree, dated December 29, No. VIII, 69, 613, which laid down more stringent controls on schools which were under religious auspices--particularly by appointing a secular principal over each school.

> ...At the end of this school term our schools in Heidingsfeld, Schillingsfuerst, and Precious Blood will be closed. This last named Institute and the lyceum in Weidan, Freising, and Rosenheim will go into secular hands and will be converted into State schools.... Eighty-two religious teaching communities are affected by this decree, sixty-four Orders of women and eighteen of men. 3

---

[2]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, January, 1937.

[3]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, January, 1938.

The consequences of these procedures were inevitable. It became imperative for the School Sisters to seek an apostolate elsewhere. A September letter in 1938 describes this move:

> A long list of zealous missionary-minded Sisters left the homeland in order to labor in another country...seven Sisters began their work in the Seminary at Rijssenburg at Utrecht...seven Sisters went to Goeteburg in southern Sweden. Unfortunately the dear missionaries who had all things even to the smallest detail in readiness for sailing to Argentina and Brazil on September 1 were unable to obtain their visas because of new emigration laws. 4

The following year, January, 1939, perpetuated a continuance of the dispersal pattern. This was particularly true in the area of Jugoslavia where many sisters necessarily had to leave. A letter from a superior in England suggests that new missionary fields were being opened elsewhere.

> ...Mother Isidore, with the help of the American and Bavarian Sisters has opened a new mission, **Faversham,** almost thirty-five miles from Woolwich.... In the last two years three new missions have been opened on the Island of Sardinia: Cossoine, Domusnovas, and Chiaramonte. 5

While it is apparent that the order was trying desperately to make every accommodation to the drastic circumstances of war and displacement, a matter of great concern was the pressing need to acquire new recruits for the organization. By April, 1940, this anxiety was openly expressed.

> ...Our Candidates have dwindled down pitifully.... There is a great dearth of teachers....The outcome

---

[4]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, September, 1938.

[5]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, January, 1939.

> for the future is dark...but we shall not be pessimistic. 6

Between the years 1940 and 1944, the general tenor of the generalate circulars was constant, for these were difficult war days: schools were usurped; national boundaries were closed on some fronts; emigration was not permitted; frequently the sisters had to wear secular clothes, and often had to accept demeaning positions. All of this preluded the catastrophic events of 1944 which climaxed in the demolition of the Munich motherhouse, headquarters of the mother general. Mother Almeda gave this account.

> ...When I was about to retire, the siren roared for the third time that day. The last Sisters had hardly reached the air-raid shelter when bombs struck in their immediate vicinity...
>
> When about thirty minutes later the most terrific rain of bombs subsided, our air protection corps began its round of control. A few minutes later our Air-Warden returned and announced to me in trembling voice: "Reverened Mother...Our Mother house is demolished."
>
> An aerial mine had been sent into the vault wing. It demolished the chapel, the prayer and relic room, and my private cell. The air pressure did the greatest damage to the church and all the convent buildings. Instantaneously immense conflagrations arose in the church and in almost every wing which rapidly spread over the entire group of buildings...
>
> The catastrophe had claimed no victim: not even one Sister suffered an injury. Certainly only some of the Sisters appeared in full convent clothing... some had even lost their religious veil; not one wore a face veil.
>
> Despite the efforts of the Sisters, the greater part of the Motherhouse furniture was lost, the beds, the linens, the clothing of the Sisters. Important documents of the Generalate were saved from the flames... 7

---

[6]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, April, 1940.

[7]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, December, 1944.

It was in response to this complete devastation and deprivation which occurred not only in Germany, but in other European provinces as well, that the sisters in the United States responded with warmth and charity. Gratitude for this generosity was expressed by Mother Almeda at intervals over the war period:

> ...From (your) parcel we took fine coffee, a a product unknown to us for years... 8
>
> ...How can we thank you sufficiently? All the necessaries we were unable to obtain, came in the packages your kindness sent us: material for habits, for veils and for over-veils, even veils ready made. Even this very day I shall go out to Weichs to our fifty-five who are to take their Perpetual Vows on August 8. For them we had no veils... 9
>
> ...I know that you, dear Mother Fidelis, and all your Sisters are truly loyal to the Order and its Superiors. All your letters go to prove it. I have experienced how you share in our cares and interests, in our joys and sufferings. There is something grand about unity... 10

There were occasional letters, too, from local superiors in various European missions. In the following excerpt, it is apparent there was great concern among them about the habit.

> ...And black material can not be purchased for years. Our entire store of it is used and we can not obtain any. Because the Silesian Sisters who came in crowds along our home had hardly anything to wear, we gave up much of our remaining material. For a long time we can not buy anything for headwear. May I recommend these needs to your maternal heart? 11

---

[8] Mother Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D. General Circular, March, 1946.

[9] Mother Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, July, 1946.

[10] Mother Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, August, 1946.

[11] The Community of S.S.N.D. in Weiden, Poland, Personal Letter, September 24, 1946.

A Provincial Superior from Szeged, Hungary, interjects a poignant note in her letter:

> The package dated April 15 arrived. We were deeply moved to see the day caps, the neckerchiefs...all according to the same pattern we use. What an evidence of our unity in community life, in Holy Rule. 12

The year 1948 marked the centennial of the arrival of the first School Sisters of Notre Dame in America. The commissary general in Milwaukee extended an invitation to the mother general and an assistant to visit America for the celebration. Preparatory to going, Mother Almeda sent a short account of her difficulties in leaving occupied Germany.

> ...Now the question was to get permission from the American military occupation authorities to leave the country. Both in February and in April the American Consul refused to grant permission. Finally through the good offices of an English lady...who was a friend of the authorities, the permission was granted.
>
> Above all they required a recommendation from the most Reverend Cardinal Faulhaber. Ven. S. Sanctina was obliged to interview eight different authorities in Munich in this matter. The most effective aid, however, came to us through the recommendation of the Most Reverend Bishop Muench, Bishop of Fargo, North Dakota, who was appointed by the Holy Father Ecclesiastical Visitator in Germany... 13

The American sisters welcomed their mother general joyously. There were innumerable events held throughout the United States to commemorate the centenary--particularly in

---

[12]Sister Mary Piorska, S.S.N.D., Provincial Letter, June, 1946.

[13]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, November, 1947.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin, the headquarters of the American commissary general. Every effort was made to have each sister who could possibly do so meet the mother general. Before returning to Europe Mother Almeda wrote a farewell letter of gratitude, singling out specific points of primary concern to her:

> ...Holy Mother Church recommends the Enclosure as one of the best safeguards for the preservation of Chastity...Our Holy Rule recommends most earnestly the observance of Enclosure...Particularly here in America, the Notre Dame Sisters owe their wide expansion, their reputation with the Hierarchy and with the people to the faithful observance of Enclosure...
>
> Sad to say, the spirit of the times is trying to break down this strong defense. I have received a number of letters in which I note that some Sisters are advocating frequent, even regular home visits...
>
> I have discussed this matter in detail with Reverend Mother Commissary and the Provincial Superiors. We have agreed to seek some concessions. But to change such a fundamental Rule, we must follow the method given in our Holy Rule. Therefore, patience, my dear Sisters, till the final decision is made. 14

Mother Almeda and Sister Sanctina returned to Europe shortly. Slowly the convents there were rebuilt; traditional patterns of religious life were gradually reintroduced; substantial financial and material help was forwarded again and again from America; new recruits were interested in the apostolic work of the order. The long, tedious task of reestablishment was intensive and continuous. It was against this panoramic picture that the 1950 general chapter of the order was summoned after

---

[14]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, March, 1948.

an interim of sixteen years.

The General Chapter of 1950

The incumbent Mother General M. Almeda Schricker was reelected for her fifth term in office. In her circular letter to the congregation at the conclusion of the 1950 chapter she revealed that church authorities, whom she had consulted before the chapter...

> ...urged us to adhere firmly to the Holy Rule approved by Rome, and, on several points where changes had been suggested, they warned us to be conservative until the Church herself has given decisions and directions. 15

Under these guidelines, the eleventh general chapter formulated legislative directives to handle issues which had arisen in the extended period between chapter sessions. The delegates thought it expedient to revise the former chapter summary and to incorporate all chapter regulations from 1879 to 1950 into one coherent whole. An examination of Table III affords a comparison of Enclosure directives as they were formulated in both summaries. This table suggests that the 1950 chapter increased the Enclosure legislation already existent in the congregation. However, the 28 negative and 92 positive statements may not, in and of themselves, be outcomes of chapter deliberations only, but may reflect the clarification and organizational aspects of this summation.

---

[15]Mother M. Almeda Schricker, S.S.N.D., General Circular, May, 1950.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF GENERAL CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Dichotomy of Enclosure Change	1934		1950	
	Negative Statements	Positive Statements	Negative Statements	Positive Statements
A. Life Within Enclosure				
Horarium	3	1	2	2
Functions	16	7	42	46
B. Admittance of Nonmembers				
Visitors	9	2	4	4
Sharing Facilities	4	2	6	4
C. Secular Influences				
Personal Communication	16	9	24	22
Mass Media	12	4	16	14
D. Religious Garb				
Habit	51	16	56	18
Veil	11	8	12	10
E. Exit From Enclosure				
Personal Reasons	50	25	38	38
Professional Reasons	18	12	18	20
Total	190	86	218	178

The greatest increase in Enclosure directives in the 1950 summary related to functions of the members within the religious house. The major functional change pertained to the spiritual exercises. The time allotted to vocal prayer was reduced and more prayers were said non-vocally, although the custom of praying in common with other members of the local house in the chapel was retained. The mother general explained the reason for this important change: "It is our hope that

the Sisters will find some relief in the abridgment of vocal prayers approved by the General Chapter, and will perform those now prescribed with even greater fervor and devotion."[16]

The desire to make reasonable adaptations to technological media and to countenance an increased exchange in personal and social communications is apparent in the number of directives included in these areas. New norms permitted daily, rather than weekly, distribution of mail except during the penitential seasons of the church year. The members were also given increased opportunities to write to their parents. Beyond the general regulations pertaining to the restricted admittance of secular books and periodicals into the religious house, there were added stipulations concerning the use of the radio and TV:

> Conventual discipline and our manifold duties necessitate some regulation as to the use of the radio and television. As profitable and fascinating as they can be, just so dangerous and harmful can they become. Let us not allow the television and the radio to bring worldliness into our convent, otherwise we shall lose the spirit of recollection and be deprived of numberless blessings. 17

The 1950 summary explained that if a television set were installed in school through lawful authority, it should only be used for educational purposes. A custom arose whereby sisters went to school to watch those TV programs which were

---

[16] Ibid.

[17] Summary of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Chapters of the Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame (Milwaukee, Wis., 1950), p. 45, n. 222.

related to their apostolic work, or which were of national significance, such as the inauguration of a president. In time, convents rented a TV for an evening so that the sisters could remain there for viewing a program of consequence. Eventually most convents were presented with a TV set through the courtesy of a parish organization, but its use was restricted.

An increase in negative directives pertaining to religious attire in the 1950 summary related to a number of personal articles which the members were cautioned against acquiring. These included clothing of silk material; fancy trim, embroidery and lace; and highly scented powder, soap, creams, and lotions.

In the summary of 1950, as depicted in Table III, the positive and negative directives were equalized when the sisters were permitted to leave the Enclosure for more personal reasons. Those instances were particularly related to participation in family affairs, which most often included sacramental functions--baptisms, confirmations, and attendance at funerals of immediate relatives. A dramatic change permitted through the 1950 general chapter was a special dispensation extended to the American sisters: thereafter they could have four, instead of the traditional two home visits to their families. There was also an increased number of positive norms which permitted a sister to leave the Enclosure for professional reasons.

The Roman Catholic Church as Change Agent

Parallel to the SSND General Chapter in 1950, which was oriented specifically to the affairs of one religious order, was another meeting of greater scope and wider consequence. The First International Congress of Religious met in Rome in 1950 under the auspices of the Sacred Congregation of Religious. It attracted some four thousand committed women. The Holy Father had urged its convening to review phenomenal changes in secular spheres which were causing unprecedented strains and tensions within all orders.

The challenge to adapt was but another segment in the cyclic history of religious orders as each century ushers in a new set of societal circumstances. The adaptation theme is almost a continuous change pattern, for "as the oldest continuing social organization in the history of the world, the Church has had centuries of forming its own personnel."[18] This was true as monasticism carved out its blueprint, and later apostolic orders charted a more fluid course of action. The modern counterpart of adaptation is this sociological reality: religious functionaries must modernize in those areas which do not alter the essential character of religious life; residual antiquated customs tied to the mores of another era are to be obliterated; interest/change and value/change orientations of individual members must be assessed.

---

[18]Joseph H. Fichter, Religion as an Occupation (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 89.

In view of the diversification of cultural customs in different societies Rome suggested that the major superiors be organized as an entity in various countries. The First National Congress of Religious of the United States was held at the University of Notre Dame, in 1952. The Sacred Congregation of Religious in Rome sent four representatives to the congress. The discussants reviewed the spiritual ideals of religious life and the various avenues through which these ideals might be attained. They reviewed the possibility of adding lay professionals to their school staffs on a proportionate basis, and alternate ways of altering formation programs.[19]

Scarcely had the National Congress of American Superiors in the United States concluded their deliberations in August, 1952, when Rome called the superiors general of institues of religious together again. Pope Pius XII gave these directions to them:

1. With vocations in their critical state, see to it that religious habits, the manner of life, of the asceticism of religious families, do not form a barrier;

2. Superiors should exercise a motherly spirit in the direction of Sisters;

3. Sisters should be professionally prepared for their work; continuous in-service training courses ought to be provided;

4. Higher studies are necessary for those destined

---

[19]Jerome Breunig, S.J. and Others, "The First National Congress of Religious of the United States," Review For Religious, XI (September, 1952), 225-230.

> to occupy positions of importance in their Communities especially those who are to train the young Sisters. 20

Following these historic meetings, the mothers general moved immediately to implement concrete measures for resolving their dilemmas. Realizing fully that group ideology can only be fostered when the members themselves are drawn into the decision-making process, religious sisters were asked directly, either through a questionnaire and/or interview, which areas of community life were consonant with the times, and which customary practices were irrelevant. The perceptive analysis of the sisters provided feed-back with a frank quality about it. They suggested:

1. Special preparation for superiors and formation personnel;
2. A change in the daily horarium of the sisters to meet the pace of modern living in a nocturnal society;
3. Continuous in-service training of the professional religious;
4. An extended pre-professional training period for all Sisters prior to their regular work in the community;
5. A change in the Enclosure rules to allow the Sisters more professional contact with their peers;
6. More periods of relaxation, including a summer vacation, and outings with relatives and friends;
7. An assessment of the present religious habit and its relevance to the current conditions of the present epoch;

---

[20]Pope Pius XII, "Address to Religious Superiors," Review for Religious, XI (November, 1952), 305-308.

8. A re-evaluation of the work of religious women, and an exploration of new fields of service. 21

In the Nineteen-fifties the sisters and superiors had already anticipated a position taken by Margaret Mead, who assessed the role of contemporary religious functionaries from this point of view:

> There seems to be a need for more diversity in works and hence in membership within Communities. Religious communities should reflect the diversity of the Church which in a broad historical dimension has proved capable of absorbing all of mankind... religious women must use all of their inventive and innovative powers to foster conditions under which many different works and talents can flourish and interact... 22

Religious communities planned to implement the necessary changes over a period of time. They would be introduced on two levels: first, within each religious congregation through the instrumentality of general chapters; second, in an external manner, through a number of organizations which were established after the historic meetings in Rome. These organizations encompassed members of most women's religious communities working together to accomplish the aims set forth by Pope Pius XII, who specifically wished religious communities to do away with insularity and to adapt to the needs of the contemporary world.

The decade of 1950-60 marked the advent of dynamic

---

[21]Sister Bertrande Meyers, D.C., Sisters for the 21st Century (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965), pp. 64-65.

[22]Sister Jenifer Oberg, "Margaret Mead Looks At the Modern Sister," The New Nuns, ed. Sister M. Charles Borromeo (New York: The New American Library, 1967), p. 63.

changes in the active apostolic orders of women. After three centuries of existence in which communities perpetuated an ethnocentric identity, religious women began to collaborate with each other in various apostolates. In a sense this convergence reflected a corporate responsibility.

Several programs and organizations which emerged to meet the new situations and problems relative to aggiornamento are reviewed below. These joined forces at some points to assist and encourage religious institutes to make necessary adjustments and modifications.

The first emphasis in renewal pertained to the spiritual revitalization of the sisters. Up until World War II, theology was a realm for priests to pursue; sisters had ordinarily only been given segments of it in religion courses. Finally it was recognized that they, too, should be provided with academic programs in ascetical theology. Superiors and novice mistresses were in the vanguard of this innovation. The University of Notre Dame, through its Relgion Department, initiated a degree program in theology. Sisters who could not attend regular sessions had the option of taking intensive one-week Institutes of Spirituality which usually centered around one significant theme.

An organization of great import was the first Institute of Spirituality at Notre Dame, Indiana in 1953, attended by 990 sisters who represented 159 sisterhoods in the United States

and Canada.[23] By 1959 the attendance had reached the thousand mark, and far exceeded this level in subsequent summers. Other Catholic colleges moved to establish theological institutes to meet the growing demand for courses which would serve sisters teaching at the primary and secondary levels.

Sister Formation was another organizational strategy, organized in 1952. The term "Sister Formation" was used to express an all-encompassing preparation of a young sister for her field of service in the church. As a movement it was sponsored by the Major Superiors of Women in the United States and by the National Educational Association. It utilized the regional divisions of the NCEA to implement its work. The first series of regional conferences, 1954-55, were planned around the topic, "The Mind of the Church in the Formation of Sisters."[24] The 1955-56 regional conference centered on "Spiritual and Intellectual Elements in the Formation of Sisters," emphasizing that both elements should begin in the formation period of a sister; and that the gradations of "formation"--postulant, novice, sister--must be conceptualized as a unified, cohesive plan. Sister Formation continued to develop its scope of activity, publicizing its work in issues of the Sister Formation Bulletin.

---

[23]Joseph E. Haley (ed.), Proceedings of the 1953 Sisters' Institute of Spirituality (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953), p. 5.

[24]Sister Ritamary (ed.), The Mind of the Church in the Formation of Sisters (New York: Fordham University Press, 1956), pp. xx-xxvi.

In 1954 Canada inaugurated the first Canadian Religious Conference at Ville Saint-Laurent. Because of the bi-lingual composition of the audience, both French and English sections were authorized. A major resolution emanating from that organizational meeting was a decision to form an association of major religious superiors in Canada, and that it be done without delay.[25] Since 1954 the Conference has met annually. According to its statutes a plenary session is held for both men and women. At these sessions more than 130 superiors general have met for consultative purposes and cooperative effort.

A general thrust toward formal organization of religious activity in the United States was manifested in the creation of the Conference of Major Superiors of Women Religious in 1956. To the present date it has continued to function effectively at the local, regional, and national levels. The aims of the CMSW are broad in scope, but in essence they are concerned with the spiritual welfare of women religious in America. The superiors feel that ultimately service to the church can be achieved through the cooperative effort of the hierarchy, clergy, religious orders, and the laity taking leadership in Catholic associations.[26] To coordinate their efforts and sustain continuity an annual meeting is held. Frequently a number of

---

[25] Donum Dei (Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference, 1959), p. 6.

[26] John C. Haughey, "U.S. Sisters Organize," America, CXXII (April, 1970), 388.

specialists are invited to insure a certain amount of objectivity. The guest lecturers or facilitators represent a wide spectrum of interest.

Representatives from the School Sisters of Notre Dame were involved intensively in the local, regional, and national meetings of all these organizations as they were formed through the Fifties and Sixties. In the long run new ideas crystallized. There was an urgency to exchange and share, to risk new ways for old, to coordinate and expand. From the continuous flow of dialogue, individual orders were inspired to find creative measures to serve their own needs within the larger framework of aggiornamento. One example follows:

The School Sisters of Notre Dame on the North American continent created the SSNDEC, (School Sisters of Notre Dame Educational Conference), a professional-communal type of organization, designed to sponsor an educational conference annually, on a rotational basis, in each North American province. Delegates from other provinces of the order are invited as participants, for the constitution of the SSNDEC stipulates that each School Sister "belongs" and is to be represented at the annual conference through a ratio delegation.[27] In the plenary sessions, as well as at the higher education, secondary, and elementary sectional meetings, a setting is provided for broad educational themes to be explored.

---

[27]"A Tentative Constitution for the S.S.N.D. Educational Conference," Article I, p. 1.

The benefits derived from this conference over an eighteen-year period have been multi-faceted. While its main focus has been directed toward the professionalization of educators, indirectly the SSNDEC took on the role of an internal change agent. The central meetings afforded an avenue for interprovincial contact which had not been previously experienced by the rank and file of sisters. Prior to the time of its organization there had been an official organ of communication, the Inter-Provincial News Letter, issued several times each year, beginning in the year of 1931. Mother Kostka wrote to the North American sisters shortly after its inception:

> ...You, dear Sisters, no doubt are as pleased as I am with our Inter-Provincial News Letter. Will you kindly reserve the reading of the welcome paper for Sunday at supper? God grant that every item contained therein conduce to the glory of God and the welfare of our loved Community. 28

While the IPNL rendered a distinct service in building esprit de corps, its influence was limited and formal.

A unique second benefit derived from the SSNDEC: the innovative opportunity provided the sisters at the local or regional levels to hold follow-up meetings. It was a professional circumstance where "leaving the Enclosure" was not only permitted, but endorsed by the superiors. Sisters were notified in advance of convention details and were sent an agenda. Sister Mary Basil records:

Mother Provincial granted general permission for

---

[28]Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka Schilling, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, November, 1931.

> the travelling involved in these group meetings. Announcements of every meeting and its program were sent to the Superior of the area, and also to the Provincial Executive Member... 29

The goal of the SSNDEC, ideally, was to provide a corporate channel through which professional competency of the members might be enriched since the School Sisters' "ecclesiastical occupation" had always been that of education.

If the order was to perceive its nexus of schools more specifically as an institutional system, it was requisite that it assess its accommodative functions. Increasingly higher standards for teacher certification had to be met in each of the states where members taught; greater areas of specialization had to be pursued; higher degrees in education had to be acquired as the general shift in level of educational attainment spiraled; new technological media had to be incorporated into regular instructional procedures. In assenting to these demands, it became incumbent on the members that they view adaptation to societal forces as an ongoing process.

Several instances, drawn from the recommendations of an annual meeting of the SSNDEC in 1965, are illustrative of the foregoing:

1. In view of the critical shortage of Sisters on the college level a "Teacher Exchange" be formed among the Provinces.

2. Sisters should be permitted to apply for grants and fellowships in foreign countries.

---

[29] Sister Mary Basil Roeser, S.S.N.D., Executive Letter-SSNDEC, January, 1956.

3. Sisters should be permitted to teach adults in the evening and in areas where there is a serious need; to participate in dialogue with adult groups on current problems. 30

This general awareness for the religious educator to adapt to circumstances conditioned by change could not become functional in the SSND network of schools until certain modifications in the structural norms of Enclosure were realigned.

Patterns of Enclosure Change from 1956 to 1965

At the annual meetings of the SSND Educational Conference, the North American provincials met in private consultation with the mother general. In these sessions they discussed and reviewed current petitions and recommendations from the sisters in regard to modernizing existent legislative directives--many of which pertained to Enclosure. Very often they served as facilitators, for numerous changes suggested by the American sisters and their provincials were later incorporated into the observances and resolutions of the next general chapter. Through this avenue the EC functioned as an internal catalyst in the congregation-- both in the professionalization and communal adaptation of its members.

Munich, Germany, was the locus for the eleventh general chapter of the School Sisters of Notre Dame which was held in October, 1956. At this general chapter, an American assistant in the generalate was elected to the highest office, Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein. This woman, originally from the Milwaukee

---

[30]SSNDEC Educational Recommendations (Wilton, Conn., August, 1965), Nos. 1, 5, 10.

province (now Mequon), brought to the position a perceptive understanding of the two predominant cultures in the congregation--the European and the American. The legislative decisions of this chapter appeared in a small handbook for individual distribution, initiating a new mode of communication.

In the fall of 1962 the twelfth general chapter was also held in Munich. The incumbent mother general was re-elected for a second term of office. The legislative deliberations of this chapter were likewise printed in a small handbook for ready reference.

The SSNDEC was a vital change agent inasmuch as it furnished a setting for the annual review of Enclosure directives operative in the North American provinces between the official general chapters. The emergent patterns reflect directional change until the close of Vatican Council II in 1965.

In charting the patterns of Enclosure change from 1956 to 1965, the directives of two general chapters, as well as the resolutions of the SSNDEC, are incorporated illustrating the role of these internal change agents.

A. Legislative Directives for Life Within the Enclosure

The change in the horarium began with a coveted day without adherence to scheduled community functions. Some years later this change was extended from several "free days" annually to a "free" evening each week.

General Chapter 1956

No new horarium directives.

SSNDEC 1958 and 1959

Each year the Sisters may have three community days of relaxation in which the Horarium may be suspended. This includes: 1) Rising at a later hour, but all Spiritual Exercises together. 2) No scheduled community functions during the day. Sisters will prepare their own noon meal so that the housekeepers, too, may have a free day. 3) All must retire by 9:30p.m.

General Chapter 1962

The local superior may regulate the places of members in the Chapel and Refectory, but these may be rotated from time to time with the consent of the members.

The Sisters may study in their bedrooms instead of the Community Room in accordance with regulations of the local Superior.

SSNDEC 1964 and 1965

Friday evening each week may be free from scheduled activities with the community. Evening recreation may be later in the evening, if the community agrees to it. Meditation may be made privately on every Sunday and Community "free days".

From 1956 to 1965, community functions within the Enclosure became considerably more relaxed in the hope of alleviating the tensions of increased professional demands on the members. These changes were closely related to traditional aspects of the sacred--prayer and silence.

General Chapter 1956

Parts of the Breviary may be non-vocal at community prayers. At the community meditation, each member may use her own book.

The customary table prayers are to be revised and shortened. About fifteen more days may be added to those which permit conversation at meals. The Sisters

may converse at one meal each Sunday, otherwise strict silence is to be observed in the refectory.

SSNDEC 1961

One meal on Sunday need not be served formally, but instead the sisters may serve themselves. There may be no TV watching during this "pick up" meal.

General Chapter 1962

Several parts of the Breviary need not be prayed in common. On Sunday the afternoon prayers may be prayed privately.

Two more feast days are added to the "talk days" at meals bringing the total to about 34. During the noon meal on school days, the Sisters are permitted conversation instead of table reading or silence.

SSNDEC 1962-1965

It is recommended that an intellectual climate prevail in our community living, reflecting itself in the quality of our conversation and social contacts, and in our friendly consideration for differences of opinion.

The Sisters may take their meals outside of the Refectory on one of the Carnival days preceding Ash Wednesday. Table prayers are to be recited in the vernacular hereafter.

B. Legislative Directives for the Admission of Nonmembers to the Enclosure

Restrictions pertaining to visitors, particularly the family and relatives of a sister gradually decreased; close friends were welcomed on special occasions. Visits could take place in non-cloistered areas of the religious house, on the grounds, and in the school.

General Chapter 1956

A Sister's relatives may visit her three times a year for three days, or they may come for a few hours nine times a year. Sisters who are very ill may be visited by their family and nearest relatives.

General Chapter 1962

No change in directives pertaining to visitors.

SSNDEC 1964

> Vistors may not be taken to the Sister's bedrooms nor to the Community Room. The Novices may have visitors once during the year of their canonical novitiate. Each Province may select its own date for visiting.

In the sharing of convent facilities, the rules which limited the members from eating with nonmembers in the convent or outside of it were slowly modified to permit more social interaction.

General Chapter 1956

No new directives pertaining to this aspect of Enclosure.

SSNDEC 1961

> Supervisors of other Congregations may eat with SSND Sisters in their Refectory.

General Chapter 1962

> All Sisters of other Congregations may eat with SSND Sisters in their refectory. Members of SSND may partake of light refreshments at faculty meetings and at group gatherings where other religious are present.

SSNDEC 1964 and 1965

> Sisters may eat with their relatives when they are served in the guest dining room of the Convent. While travelling and with the permission of the Provincial, a Sister may take a meal in her home, if it is nearby.
>
> Lay teachers may eat with the Sisters at noon where the school facilities are limited and no other arrangements can be made. Sisters may participate in a faculty banquet.

C. Legislative Directives Concerning Secular Influences Within the Enclosure

The changes in these norms pertained to the extent and frequency of the Personal Correspondence of a member, as well

as the more frequent distribution of mail to the community.

General Chapter 1956

> Sisters may write to parents and relatives oftener, and cards may be sent to parents for feasts of Easter and Christmas. With permission they may write to friends and former pupils if duty and gratitude demand it.

SSNDEC 1961

> Nameday and birthday cards may be sent during the seasons of Advent and Lent.

General Chapter 1962

> No new directives about this aspect of Enclosure.

SSNDEC 1964

> Mail may be distributed every Sunday during Advent and Lent. The Sisters may write home once a month during the month that they have no visitors, except during Advent and Lent. If a Sister has many brothers and sisters, she may obtain permission to write two or three letters a month so that each brother and sister may hear from her about two times a year. This is in addition to letters written at Christmas and Easter.

General Chapter 1956

> The Superior controls the use of the radio and television. The Sisters may not buy a TV nor may they urge their friends to buy one for them. No Sister may use a private radio unless she is bedridden or otherwise confined to her room and this only with permission.

SSNDEC 1959

> Sisters may be encouraged, with proper permission, to contribute articles to educational magazines and learned journals.

General Chapter 1962

> In the use of TV, the following is permitted: 1) Daily news for fifteen minutes; 2) One half-hour recreational program permitted once a week; 3) one educational or cultural program permitted weekly; 4) Exceptional programs for very special events and occasions may be

viewed in addition to the above. If such programs extend beyond 9:00 p.m., they may be viewed to the end; 5) The Sisters are not obligated to watch any of the TV programs or movies, and permission to work elsewhere may be given to them; 6) The local Superior or Sister delegated keeps a record of all programs viewed; 7) The Sisters do not partake of food while viewing TV programs or movies.

SSNDEC 1964

TV regulations remain the same as announced after the last chapter. The Superior may permit more programs during the holidays, but these should be recorded on the TV report sent to the Provincial.

These strict norms pertaining to the use of television accorded fully with the official rules and regulations sent out by the Holy See through the Sacred Congregation of Religious and bound superiors everywhere. Excerpts are given here:

Religious of the Active Life

a) No religious may be permitted to have a private radio set, much less a television set, to be used at his own discretion without the direct control of the superior.

b) Radio and television sets must be placed exclusively in some kind of community room, in plain sight of everyone, under the direct supervision of the superior or his delegate.

c) Superiors must be watchful that the time used for television and radio does not interfere with the work of the religious community nor with the individual task of the religious, the apostolate, the practices of piety, and exercises of community life, the hours of rest as specified by the individual communities.

d) Superiors must forbid the watching of television shows or listening to radio programs which are contrary to the religious spirit either because of their moral tone or worldliness. Except for news programs, instructive and religious programs, superiors must or at least can consider all other programs to be contrary to the religious spirit, especially if they are watched merely for recreational purposes.

e) If there be sufficient reason based on the clear help that some programs would give to religious in certain concrete cases, judgment on these exceptional cases is reserved to the superior, who conscientiously (graviter onerata conscientia) will see to it that the danger involved be as remote as possible, because of the wise selection only of those religious who by their solid piety and wealth of experience can distinguish well the danger to the religious themselves and to any who may be watching that particular program. 31

D. Legislative Directives for the Religious Garb of the Members

Many sisters were disappointed with the delay in the change of the traditional habit and veil by the General Chapter in 1956. In the interim, some modifications were introduced to make the garb more comfortable.

General Chapter 1956

> There may be a change in the religious garb. Pictures of models will be sent to all of the Sisters so that each one will have an opportunity to express her opinion relative to the change. We will appreciate any sample styles or suggestions. At present the undersleeves may be shortened and facing at the bottom of the habit may be shortened to nine inches. The heavy habit sleeves may be without lining and be detachable.

Generalate Survey 1958

> In this survey, 74.8% of the Sisters in the European Provinces and 69.5% in the North American Provinces cast affirmative votes for the retention of the present religious garb with some approved modifications.

General Chapter 1962

> There will be a change in the religious garb. Each Provincial Superior will carry out the change in her Province according to the instructions received. The official date for the change in habit will be March 25, 1963.

SSNDEC 1964 and 1965

> Sisters may not go to the Chapel or answer the doorbell

---

[31] P.A. Larraona, Letter from the Sacred Congregation For Religious, Rome, August 6, 1957.

> without wearing the long sleeves of the habit. The habit need not have three widths of material in it, but there should be the correct number of pleats in front and back. As much as possible it should be three inches from the floor.
>
> Sisters may use colored towels and wash cloths. In case of need they may wear plain and simple pocket or wrist watches.

A number of changes concerned the traditional SSND veils.

General Chapter 1956

> All Sisters receive a black veil at the taking of their vows. They may wear a white veil when they do heavy housework. The Novices wear a white veil. The face veil is to be worn only when leaving the Enclosure and at Confession, when it is drawn over the face.

SSNDEC 1958 and 1959

> Since the last General Chapter, all kinds of liberties have been taken regarding the wearing of the face veil. To recapture uniformity throughout the Provinces, we will adhere strictly to Holy Rule No. 211 as revised. A uniform style of veil to be worn by those Sisters who are driving cars will be determined by the Provincials.
>
> The Sisters may have a small mirror for personal use, but wall or cabinet mirrors are not permitted in the bedrooms.

General Chapter 1962

> The change in the religious garb will include the veil. The Sisters will no longer wear the face veil.

E. Legislative Directives for Exit from the Enclosure Premises

A significant breakthrough was the additional personal reason for which a member might leave the Enclosure: to visit the sick and needy in a spirit of service. This was later extended to include social visiting of relatives and close friends on special occasions.

General Chapter 1956

> Each Sister after taking Final Vows may make a home

visit of five days every five years. She is also allowed two extra visits--one for the sickness or death of each parent. They will complete a form for the Provincial--both before and after the visit. Every Sister not working in her native land may have at least one home visit. (See Appendix II for Provincial Reports.)

Sisters may visit sick relatives, benefactors, and pupils in hospitals, but not in private homes. They may attend funerals, if courtesy or gratitude require it. They may attend the First Mass and Reception or Profession of relatives. All of these must be with permission, and in the same city where the Sister lives.

General Chapter 1962

Home visits will be five days as heretofore. Relatives may be visited and the Sisters may enjoy an outing with the family or may visit a shrine or other religious areas. Permission for visiting neighbors, close friends, etc., shall be obtained from the Provincial Superior.

Provided it is not too distant, Sisters may attend funerals of brothers and sisters, and that of parents, even though they have returned from a visit during their illness.

SSNDEC 1963 to 1965

An annual vacation is recommended for all of the Sisters. They may take a ride on a yacht or excursion boat, and in a row boat, providing they wear life preservers.

The Sisters may swim at Catholic college pools during summer school, at a time set aside for them, but not after nightfall. Off-campus swimming is permitted twice a month with permission of the Provincial. They may not swim in private family pools.

The Sister Superior may permit general shopping for needs of the Provincial. Meals may not be taken in peoples' back yards nor on their porches.

Permission is given for Sisters to attend the Nuptial Mass, as well as the College and University graduations of brothers and sisters, if they are in the same city in which the Sister resides. Permission of the Provincial is needed to attend the funerals of "in-laws", and to participate in parish or school anniversary banquets.

In the performance of their apostolic role, the members

were increasingly permitted to participate in professional activities for their own advancement, as well as to accompany their students to sites for educational enrichment.

General Chapter 1956

No new directives were issued relative to Enclosure.

SSNDEC 1956 to 1962

> It is recommended that there be a follow-up meeting of each annual meeting of the EC. Each Province should arrange to hold small group meetings among a number of SSND schools within the confines of an area or region. The frequency of the meetings and the program may be decided regionally.
>
> Sisters may attend PTA meetings oftener than twice a year if their presence is desired. After having attended conventions, workshops, and other professional experiences the Sisters should share their benefits with each other.

General Chapter 1962

The Enclosure Book is discontinued.

SSNDEC 1964 and 1965

> With Provincial permission the Sisters may attend educational and cultural lectures in the evening, but not dramatic or musical performances. They may drive to and from these if necessary. Likewise, they may visit the homes of underprivileged children, and occasionally attend an interracial meeting in a private home.
>
> Sisters may attend basketball games on the home campus, and high school dances when they are held on parish or school grounds...but they are not permitted to skate with the students, nor to do tutoring in private homes.

Conclusion

In the fifteen years preceding the close of Vatican Council II (1950-1965), it is obvious that changes in the SSND Enclosure norms were occurring at a steady and significant pace. This can be attributed to the influence of internal and external

change agents. While many of the Enclosure regulations were nullified or modified, the religious system did not abandon or abdicate its traditional control over the members' role performance. Many Enclosure adaptations could only be implemented with the explicit permission of the local or provincial superior; others had to be recorded and tabled for future deliberation.

The satisfaction of the members with the rate and extent of change taking place in the congregation is suggested by the population statistics. In 1950 the number of professed members was 6,028; by 1965 the total number had risen to 7,057 sisters in North America.[32] Possibly reasonable modification in Enclosure change was one important variable in substantiating membership growth.

SSND Enclosure Change: Post-Vatican II Era

On December 8, 1965, Pope Paul VI solemnly concluded the Second Vatican Council on the steps of St. Peter's Basilica. The council passed into history, but it left the church a blueprint for renewal which will continue to present challenges far into the future. Shortly after the closing of the momentous council, the SSND mother general asked all of the members in the order for their suggestions to help formulate a plan of action in accordance with the "Decree of Adaptation and Renewal

---

[32]Directory of the North American Provinces of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, 1950 and 1965.

in Religious Life."[33] This was not unanticipated, for already in June of that year she had declared, "We must be ready to move with the current of renewal in accordance with the spirit of the Church."[34]

New Internal Change Agents

The suggestions which the members of SSND were privileged to submit were to be based on two vital documents of the council in their reference to religious--those of Lumen Gentium and Perfectae Caritatis.

> On the basis of these texts, my dear Sisters, let us examine our religious life: vows, customary practices, community living, apostolate. Compare the commands of the Council with the precepts of our Constitutions and the conduct of our daily life. What changes in our Constitions, in our manner of living do you suggest? In our environment, how could our apostolate of education be adapted and extended in keeping with the mind of the Council?...35

The sisters were invited to present their written memoranda to the generalate or provincialate prior to the feast of Pentecost, 1966. The mother general felt that the gratifying response to this request was tangible evidence of 1) a vital general interest in the work of adaptation and renewal; 2) an honest ambition to establish or retain proper values; 3) a determination to

---

[33]Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, December, 1965.

[34]Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, June 1965.

[35]Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, February, 1966.

understand and live, through the spirit of our Constitutions, the role of the sister in the Church today...[36]

Ultimately, there was such an overwhelming reply to this summons that it was necessary to set up a special committee to review and collate the suggestions of the members. This interprovincial committee met at the motherhouse of the Milwaukee province (now Mequon) for a week in the summer of 1966. The summary booklet they prepared was formally titled "Suggestions for Renewal and Adaptation of our Constitutions and Customary Observances." Copies of it were forwarded to the generalate, provincialates, and to all SSND convents in North America.

In the fall of 1966, the provincial superiors met in Rome for the dedication of the new generalate building. In subsequent weeks they gave weighty considerations to all of the suggestions formulated by the members. They necessarily had to differentiate between those adaptations which could be introduced immediately, and those which might be postponed for review at the general chapter in 1968. Their final deliberations were conveyed to the members in a booklet entitled "Experimental Changes in our Constitutions and Customs Toward Renewal and Adaptation."

In regard to these proposed experimental changes, the mother general pointed out the rationale which should guide their implementation:

---

[36]Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, June, 1966.

> That the principles established by "Perfectae Caritatis" and other Church documents about religious life pervade our efforts we are asked to conform to the criteria set forth by the Church:
>
> a) fostering intense study of and meditation on the Gospels and the whole of Scripture;
>
> b) investigating and explaining the various aspects (canonical, theological, historical, etc.) of the doctrines on the religious life;
>
> c) striving for genuine knowledge of the original spirit and purifying it from elements that are alien and obsolete. 37

Table IV presents a comparison between the suggestions submitted by the members, and the experimental changes initiated by the SSND hierarchy in relation to the five traditional areas of Enclosure in the congregation. The remarkable characteristics visible in both works is the positive emphasis in the statements; rarely are they specified with some form of limitation, the pervasive note of Pre-Vatican directives. In assessing this project, Mother Ambrosia commented, "Surprising and revealing was the fact that the thinking of the Sisters in Europe, in North and South America, in the Far East, was very similar."[38]

Due to the limitations of the legislative authority of the superiors meeting informally in Rome, it is understandable that only about one-fourth of the members' suggestions could be implemented at that time. The area of change in which the greatest number of mitigations was permitted by the superiors

---

[37] Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, November, 1966.

[38] Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, January, 1967.

was that of personal reasons for leaving the Enclosure; this had been ranked second by the members. The changes permitted clustered around a sister's visits to her family: the traditional five-day visit every five years was extended to an eight-day visit every three years. The members were also allowed to visit the families of sick and needy children; they could assist those in need of spiritual and physical care in the parochial districts and mission lands.

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF ENCLOSURE CHANGE BOOKLETS

Dichotomy of Enclosure Change	Members' Suggestions		Experimental Changes	
	Negative Statements	Positive Statements	Negative Statements	Positive Statements
A. Life Within Enclosure				
Horarium	5	37	0	10
Functions	9	43	0	10
B. Admittance of Nonmembers				
Visitors	5	17	0	3
Sharing Facilities	1	14	0	2
C. Secular Influences				
Personal Communication	2	26	1	3
Mass Media	1	14	0	5
D. Religious Garb				
Habit	2	26	0	0
Veil	1	3	0	0
E. Exit from Enclosure				
Personal Reasons	1	35	6	26
Professional Reasons	0	19	0	3
Total	27	234	7	62

The second Enclosure aspect in which there were a great number of experimental changes was one specified by the members. Their primary recommendation relative to change within the Enclosure centered around the daily order of the religious house. They suggested a more flexible horarium, and a concerted endorsement of keeping Sunday as a free day for spiritual exercise and personal relaxation. They also anticipated an annual vacation. Subsequently the experimental changes incorporated many of these recommendations.

In regard to community functions customarily enacted in designated areas, the members expressed the wish for fewer spiritual exercises in common. They also welcomed an opportunity to converse more frequently at meals, and indicated that there should be less rigidity in maintaining Enclosure strictures regarding the traditional "sacred" confines. The experimental changes continued to endorse a community Mass and the obligation of reciting together two breviary hours--Lauds and Vespers. Other so-called "community" prayers could be said privately and in the vernacular.

The third largest number of experimental changes were related to the use of mass media, particularly TV, in religious houses. There was appreciable latitude; the viewing of all television programs of an educational, professional, and cultural nature was left up to the discretion of the members themselves. It was no longer necessary for each convent to submit a quarterly report to the provincial superior. With these

modifications, the use of the TV lost its controversial stance; it was accepted as a profitable activity for educators, and a relaxing form of entertainment if selective choices were made.

About this same point in time, the whole concept of the role of Enclosure in contemporary religious life loomed large for debate. Due to the frequency with which members made recommendations on this subject, the Suggestions' Committee questioned the advisability of including a chapter on Enclosure in a revised (or new) rule and constitutions:

> As presently formulated, the spirit of Enclosure in SSND is a negative one--avoidance of and isolation from the world for an unrealistic, ivory-tower "sanctity of separation." The positive obligations of faith and charity, incumbent upon the religious by virtue first of her baptismal commitment and then of her vows, to be a visible witness of Christ, and to bring the "good news" to all the poor, are not treated in this chapter, and should be so treated in accord with Conciliar, 20th century thinking. The emphasis of the chapter, then, should shift from legalistic, prohibitive prescriptions to the purposes of Enclosure--charity, more effective apostolate--and the true spirit of Enclosure, which is only briefly mentioned. 39

Such articulated expressions provided a climate for more honest and frank appraisal of what had always been guarded as a sacrosanct subject.

The First International SSND Questionnaire

As a preliminary preparation for the general chapter

---

[39] Report of the Interprovincial Committee, "Suggestions for Renewal and Adaptations of Our Constitutions and Customary Observances" (Mequon: Interprovincial Committee, 1966), Part 3, p. 1.

in 1968, the generalate distributed a questionnaire to each member in the international community. A cover letter explained its purpose:

> Questionnaires, because of their frequency, might prove irksome. Despite this fact, I feel urged to appeal to you to help ascertain more clearly the mind of all of our Sisters. We are confident that your answers to the points we are submitting will contribute to the work of the coming General Chapter.
>
> In our desire to give all Sisters an equal opportunity of expression, we ask for returns from each Sister. Intensive study should reveal the thinking and findings of the Sisters... 40

The questionnaire was divided into eight major sections, with a number of questions relating to each topical section. The survey questions were drawn up against the thematic content of Perfectae Caritatis, a papal directive. One of the points was germane to the present study, i.e., ENCLOSURE.

> ...They should...maintain the kind of cloister required by their Constitutions.
>
> Perfectae Caritatis: Art. 16, n.2.

Question 23- How can "enclosure of the heart" be observed and maintained?

Question 24- Do you suggest any changes in No. 29 to No. 37 of the PAX Booklet? If so, send recommendations.

The Pax booklet, issued earlier, listed previous modifications in SSND rules and regulations. Again, the response of the members was so gratifying it was thought appropriate that a committee be formed to review the data. To accomplish this task the sisters from each province were given an opportunity to nominate and vote for a provincial delegate who would take

---

[40] Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., Cover letter on SSND International Questionnaire, June, 1967.

up residence for one year at the generalate in Rome. The goals of the Constitution Committee were clearly outlined--to tabulate and analyze all of the questionnaire responses, and to draw up a tentative outline of a revised (or new) rule and constitutions. Ultimately a synthesis of the study, and proposals based on the data, were to be discussed at the general chapter in 1968.

During the course of the year the Constitution Committee (residing at the generalate in Rome) released findings from the questionnaire as the questions and their inferences were interpreted and validated. Inasmuch as most of the questions were open-ended, it was necessary to summarize the trend of thinking indicated in the responses. In reference to question 23 of the SSND questionnaire, the finalized study suggested that, rightly understood, "Enclosure of the heart" signifies that in the center of our being God dwells--our interior life is reserved for Him alone. To the degree that this belief is internalized and spiritualized by each sister, it is sufficient to direct her conduct in time and place; to govern her demeanour in interpersonal relations in dealing with all types of people; to bolster her strength in encountering problems which confront her. Potentially it reinforces an openness toward, and a love for mankind, essential requisites for the apostolate.

While this was the sincere conviction of the majority of the respondents, there was a segment of sisters who retained

the traditional meaning of Enclosure: that is to say, they endorsed Enclosure as the practice of withdrawal in cloistral settings under strict, disciplined circumstances. A number of the sisters were of the opinion that in the new constitutions the term "Enclosure" should be more clearly defined, or that a new one be formulated which would not retain all of the residual meanings of its conventional implications.

In general the predominant response to question 23 indicated a marked change in attitude toward the primordial practice of Enclosure with its emphasis on separation from unnecessary secular influences. The further recommendations for question 24 from the community's questionnaire are presented in the following pages aligned with the numbered statements from the PAX booklet, which contained the experimental changes of 1966.

PAX Booklet - 1966	Summation of Questionnaire-1967
No. 29 Sisters from other Congregations may be admitted to our Enclosure for meals and recreation.	On the whole, the Sisters are agreed that the cloistered areas should still not be open to everyone, but that in some emergencies, e.g., long years of lingering illness, where love and urgent necessity requires it, generous exceptions should be granted.
No. 30 Sisters may leave the Enclosure with the permission of the local superior.	
a. To visit families of pupils in cases of sickness or distress.	a. These changes were principally and generally accepted but with a few reservations. Some wished an extension of the

permission to visit sick priests, colleagues, benefactors, and sick or suffering parents of our Sisters whose homes are in the vicinity of the convent.

b. In mission areas and parishes to assist people in need of spiritual and physical care where no other help is available.

b. This permission requires a very thorough conscience formation. In general, required visits for purposes of the apostolate or charity should be granted to the Sisters.

c. To attend lectures of a religious, cultural or pedagogical nature.

c. Attendance should be open to all the Sisters at these evening lectures, for every Sister has the right to further her education. It was generally stressed that some guide or measure should be held.

No. 31
Sisters may leave the Enclosure unaccompanied for a reasonable cause in the judgment of the Superior. Naturally, in the evening they will have a reliable companion.

The members suggested that in every case the Sisters should be able to leave the Enclosure without a companion whenever the present situation requires it, but not in the late evening. Every Sister should report whenever she left the Enclosure.

a. In case of too great distance from home, the time and duration of the visit may be doubled.

3. Some Sisters wish a shortened home visit or a combination of visits.

b. Home visits should be so arranged that unusual family events are included then.

4. When travelling through the home town a visit or overnight lodging with relatives should be permitted or when near for conventions, or for some other reason.

c. During her home visit a Sister may visit friends and acquaintances.

5. The question has been asked whether Sisters on a home visit could have permission to visit nearby places, even though it requires riding alone with relatives in the car.

6. Sisters should be permitted to take convenient, educational trips from places of vacation.

7. It has been requested that when an invitation has been extended by a home parish for a general meeting of all members of religious orders, that SSND Sisters may attend and not have to subtract this from their time with the family.
8. Regulations concerning home visits of the Sisters who live at a very great distance should be stated as a permission, not as a command.

The numerous recommendations about this topic indicate that the sisters wanted a more flexible regulation in regard to parents and relatives who were sickly or living alone.

No. 33 Sisters may visit their neighboring convents with the approval of the local Superior.	The permission to visit neighbouring missions and to attend one-day conferences was welcomed. It was requested, though, that the latter be held to activate the permission.
No. 34 Eating with relatives and nonmembers: Permission only given to eat with relatives--light refreshments or one full meal a day.	Sisters were grateful for the permission to eat with their relatives when they visit the convent. It was suggested that in boarding schools or the Sisters' orphanages the Sisters be permitted to have this "community of the table" with the young people and the children, both for practical and pedagogical reasons.
No. 35 Incoming and outgoing mail will pass through the hands of the Superior: she has the right to open and read it. Sisters give their mail sealed and receive it as a rule unopened.	Another wording for this directive is urgently requested--a wording which specifies which letters the superior may open and read in an emergency. This will prevent the arbitrary violation of the personal rights of the Sisters.

No. 36 Correspondence of an apostolic nature is governed by the Sister's conscience.	This decision was also gratefully received. It was asked if the Sisters could have stamps in their possession.
No. 37 TV quarterly report is discontinued. TV programs of an educational, cultural, and professional nature are left to a Sister's conscience.	This directive was generally accepted, but it was asked if the Sisters could be permitted to have a radio in their bedrooms for professional advancement or during times of illness.

Conclusion

A deduction can be drawn from examining this comparative parallel outline of Enclosure directives and recommendations for additional changes. Focalized points of dissatisfaction cluster around personal reasons for leaving the convent premises, and personal communication of the sisters. There is a demand for more mature functioning of the individual in decision making.

Preparation for the 13th General Chapter

A more immediate preparation for the thirteenth general chapter, 1968, was purposely designed to involve all of the members directly. With the approval of the provincial superiors, an Inter-Provincial Self-Study Steering Committee was formed in August, 1967. The purpose of this group was to assist the North American provinces toward renewal through self-study, and in turn to forward the evolving insights to the American delegates working at the generalate in Rome. The general climate of receptivity among the team is reflected in a letter from the Constitution Committee directed to the members at large:

> Our first greeting and communique to you from Rome! The eight of us began our work yesterday by meeting with Mother Mary Ambrosia and her Councilors. It was an encouraging and rewarding experience in mutual exchange of ideas, hopes, and common visions.
>
> Reverend Mother and Councilors were sincerely interested in the formation of the Inter-Provincial Self-Study Steering Committee in any way that we deem feasible. 41

The Inter-Provincial Committee set up 18 topics which related to renewal and adaptation in religious life, from which the members of each province were to elect an area of interest. Through reflective prayer, study, research and discussion, each group was responsible for developing a proposal or position paper pertaining to a designated sphere. Enclosure, per se, was not a topic for discussion. However, within the context of Number 13, "Physical Extension of the Religious Person," the garb and the use of media were included. Topic Number 14, "Formation Required for Our Times," also incorporated secular contacts and communication.

Each study group was urged to formulate a proposal or a position paper according to the following considerations:

1. What has Vatican II, and especially Post-Vatican II life, said about this topic?
2. What does serious Scripture study reveal about it?
3. What has it meant in our community from the time of our foundress?
4. What is the relationship between our present experience of this topic and the needs of the time--especially the needs of the next 5, 15, 20 years?

---

[41] Sister Jean Marie Neuman, S.S.N.D., Letter from Constitution Committe, Rome, Italy, September, 1967.

5. What have the most responsible scholars said of this, in direct comment, or through indirect statements? (It is not enough that we exchange our unenlightened opinions.)

6. What is the Church, what are our Sisters and society generally asking of us in this regard? How can we effectively change in this area, if change seems imperative. 42

In the course of the important year preceding the general chapter, it became clear to both the Constitution Committee and the Inter-Provincial Steering Committe, that the original 18 topics could be profitably combined into broader comprehensive areas. The schema then introduced embraced four categories: Government, Community, Apostolate, and Formation. In the spring and summer of 1968 the position papers, based on these topical classifications, were collected from all of the provinces. Four summation booklets representing the refined reflections of the collectivity were then circulated at large.

In pursuing the interest factor of the present study, the two booklets issued under Community and Apostolate were closely examined by me. The directives contained in both of them, which pertained to the five areas of Enclosure as consistently explored in this paper, were studied. Table V presents the number of proposals relative to further adaptations in the SSND Enclosure patterns. They ware suggested by study groups in North American provinces.

---

[42] Report of the Interprovincial Steering Committee, "Suggestions for Study and Research" (Mequon Provincial Committee, 1967), p. 11.

TABLE V

FORMAL PROPOSALS FOR ENCLOSURE CHANGES

Dichotomy of Enclosure Change	Inter-Provincial Study Groups	Constitution Committee in Rome
A. Life Within Enclosure		
Horarium	32	19
Functions	64	22
B. Admittance of Nonmembers		
Visitors	4	2
Sharing Facilities	6	2
C. Secular Influences		
Personal Communication	8	15
Mass Media	2	10
D. Religious Garb		
Habit	36	3
Veil	0	0
E. Exit from Enclosure		
Personal Reasons	25	25
Professional Reasons	5	6
Total	182	104

The preponderance of responses--(64 statements re/functions; 32 statements re/horarium) indicated a mandate to further modify directives relating to these two aspects of Enclosure. Members also expressed changing expectations in reference to maintaining the cloistered areas as tradition-bound. Some sisters took an extreme position in going so far as to say cloister should be abolished; in other cases a degree of tolerance was expressed. The following examples demonstrate the divergent viewpoints:

- Have a more flexible, open Enclosure, particularly in relationship to our co-workers
- All Enclosure rules should be eliminated
- Limit Enclosure to bedrooms
- Delete Enclosure from the Rule and set up committees to formulate directives for each Province
- General Chapters should include regulations on Enclosure in a Directory and not in the Constitution 43

The members of the Constitution Committee working in Rome compiled a "Pre-Chapter Study Guide" in addition to coordinating the suggestions of the North American provincial study groups. They envisioned a new legislative document for the congregation which would contain a constitution and a general directory. The constitution would embody three principal statements about traditional Enclosure centering about "A Call to Witness...A Messenger Sent...and A Joy Shared."[44] Table IV contains the number of Enclosure proposals which were deemed appropriate for incorporation in the general directory. They were fewer in number than those explicit in the study group outlines, but they reflected similar trends. The interpretation of the factual material suggests that the committee did not feel that Enclosure should be abolished.

Long-range plans for the first session of the thirteenth

---

[43] Report on the Interprovincial Steering Committee, "Summaries of Proposals in North American Position Papers" (Mequon Provincial Committee, 1968), Part III.

[44] Report of the Constitution Committee, "Proposals for Possible Incorporation into Experimental Constitutions" (Rome: Constitution Committee, 1968), Part II.

general chapter were vast and diversified within the SSND international congregation. While working in Rome for a full year, the Constitution Committee prepared basic materials to assist the chapter delegates in their deliberations. In conjunction with this committee, sisters on three continents engaged in some form of study, and took preliminary steps in anticipation of drafting a new rule. In Europe and South America, members participated in workshops, lectures, and absorbed themselves in private study. In North America self-study groups, organized by a steering committee, exchanged ideas, read widely, and wrote position papers relative to the renewal of SSND life and apostolates.[45]

Concurrently at the generalate house in Rome there were preparations of a unique character. Foremost among these was the installment of an electronic system for voting. Booths were set up for simultaneous translation of speeches and debates given in English and German. An unprecedented innovation at the general chapter was the presence of a communications personnel team which formulated briefs of all important discussions and issued weekly bulletins to the congregation around the world. This instrumentality was significant in that it kept all members in touch with each other and generated personal interest in the progress of the chapter.

---

[45]SSND Rome Chapter Communications, "On Three Continents--Year's Efforts Produce Varied Preparations" (Rome: Communications Committee, 1968), Vol. I, No. 11, p. 3.

The general chapter was faced with two important tasks over and beyond the usual procedural matters of the religious organization:

1. The election of a superior general and her six councilors;

2. The formulation of the guidelines for the revision of our "Rule and Constitutions" according to the mind and mandate of Vatican Council II. 46

During the three days prior to the opening of the chapter, eighty delegates discussed the rules of order to be followed, and the format of the meetings.

The basic plan of the thirteenth chapter was to break down in divisional groups to explore the ramifications of the topics that had been prepared. At certain intervals plenary sessions convened to consider the proposals which study commissions had submitted. The delegates also accepted a basic plan for voting on proposals brought to the legislative body. Chapter legislators hammered out the issues relating to eight main topics--particularly in their relationship to the renewal of religious life. Enclosure was not explicitly named, but facets of it were implied in the topic of community.

There was a consensus reached among the delegates that the documents drawn up in the thirteenth general chapter should not be incorporated under the title of "Constitutions," but under that of "Interim Directives." They would be a temporary

---

[46]Mother M. Ambrosia Roecklein, S.S.N.D., General Circular, January, 1968.

(but binding) replacement for the 1925 rule and constitutions until 1970, when the second session of the chapter would meet. The interim directives pertinent to the eight topics examined by the chapter delegates, were intended to embrace broad principles, and to present specific guidelines for implementation.

In December, 1967, as mother general traveled across the United States, she found many sisters concerned about a possible abolition of the religious garb. The general chapter, however, did not deal with the issue formally in its deliberations, but, toward the conclusion of the first session, the delegates authorized a change in the garb. This transition in style was to be implemented through habit commissions established on a provincial basis, and coordinated within given geo-cultural areas. The model(s) adopted by the provinces were based on a norm expressed in Perfectae Caritatis: "Since they are signs of a consecrated life, religious habits should be simple, and modest, at once poor and becoming."[47]

That the interim directives did not have an entire chapter on Enclosure can be readily understood if the general tenor of movement toward apostolic work in the service of the church is recognized and underscored. It did not mean that the traditional concept of Enclosure was completely ignored; rather it was re-defined in the 40 positive directives asso-

---

[47]Pope Paul VI, "Decree On the Appropriate Renewal of the Religious Life," The Documents of Vatican II, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: The America Press, 1966), p. 478, n. 17.

ciated with various aspects of Enclosure as schematically incorporated in the present study. The formulation of a new constitution consonant with the mind of the church in the latter part of the twentieth century can only be fully grasped by examining passages from the directives. They create a climate for a modern apostolate.

> ...Further, it (SSND spirit) is definitely influenced by the recommendations of the Vatican Council II regarding Christian commitment of the people of God in a contemporary society which necessitates responsible evaluation, experimentation and change. 48

> ...With loving patience and availability, they serve all people who are in need, whether it be materially, psychologically, culturally, spiritually or academically. Sisters encourage and console those who need it, and when it is necessary, endeavor to counteract and minimize the effects of hatred, bitterness and prejudice from which many persons suffer. 49

> ...We seek to remove, therefore, any structure or attitude in ourselves or others which implies that we become strangers to our fellow men (L.G. 46). On the contrary we embrace as our own the joys, and the hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the men of our age.... Because of our religious profession we participate in a special way in other human communities-both as members of the people of God, and as School Sisters of Notre Dame. 50

> The Congregation as a whole and each separate community be to the Church whatever the people of God in any given area need. It is our community which should adapt to the needs of the larger community. 51

---

[48]Report of the 13th Special General Chapter, "Interim Constitution and General Directory of the School Sisters of Notre Dame" (Rome: General Chapter, 1968), p. 4.

[49]Ibid., p. 7.

[50]Ibid., pp. 18-19.

[51]Ibid., p. 20.

> Penance today will be characterized more by acceptance of the world than flight from it... 52
>
> Through our simple manner of living, our sharing spiritually and materially with one another in community, our availability for service to all, we bring to the poor of the world a share in the richness of the gifts of God... 53
>
> She will keep herself informed of conditions in the world, where so many are hungry and destitute of spiritual, social, and economic goods, so that she can help to alleviate those conditions. Some Sisters will do this directly through their apostolate. Others will achieve this indirectly but no less effectively, by educating to social justice those who will be able to serve and to eradicate the underlying causes of the human indignities that prevail in the world. 54

Second Session of the 13th General Chapter

In the sixteen-month interval between the two sessions of the thirteenth general chapter, the North American provinces collaborated more closely, and involved their resource personnel more directly than had been done heretofore. The commissions which had been recommended in the first general session functioned productively. The Inter-Provincial Self-Study Steering Committee was replaced by an Inter-Provincial Response Committee, whose goals were to direct an in-depth study of the chapter documents and to coordinate the responses of the sisters. Contrary to expectation, the membership at large in most provinces did not respond vigorously to this project.

---

[52] Ibid., p. 42.

[53] Ibid., p. 56.

[54] Ibid., p. 58.

The work of the Inter-Provincial Habit Commission was apparently more successful. Within six months following the termination of the first chapter session, a consensus was reached in the acceptance of several alternate styles to replace one traditional habit of uniform cut and colour. A slate of habit guidelines was drawn up for all SSND members so that liberal interpretation might be curtailed. The commission surveyed the sisters in the summer of 1969 concerning their attitudes toward the current guidelines; they also invited suggestions for additional alterations. Derived from the interview and questionnaire responses, a second set of revised habit guidelines was issued to the members in November, 1969.

The provinces also coordinated the topic of changing SSND apostolates; houses of prayer; human relations; communication; exchange of personnel; and experimental initiatives. The aggregate of this intensive scrutiny was all supplemental to the work of the second session of the general chapter, which was charged with casting a new constitution for the School Sisters of Notre Dame.

In the spring of 1970 this goal was accomplished. Eighty-five chapter delegates representing all provinces of the congregation met at the generalate in Rome. For seven intensive weeks they weighed the pros and cons of each pivotal topic in juxtaposition to the proposed documents. When warranted, delegates assembled in plenary sessions for clarification of issues prior to voting on proposals related to the

constitution or general directory. So that the delegates might be enriched with wider perspectives, there were occasions when experts from diversified backgrounds were invited to address the group. Usually they were men or women who had acquired certain expertise from their previous experiences in renewal work. This procedure provided the delegates with a solid framework upon which they could initiate their own formulations. During the last plenary session of the thirteenth general chapter, a change in the constitutions for the School Sisters of Notre Dame was formally introduced on May 2, 1970.

> ...The Thirteenth General Chapter officially approves the Acts of the Chapter by which the Constitution and General Directory replace the former Rule and Constitutions. All books of customary observance and decrees of previous General Chapters, as well as the interim documents published for use between the first and second sessions of the Thirteenth General Chapter are now abrogated. Articles in the former Constitutions which are already expressed in Canon Law are not included in these documents... 55

The great majority of the current members of the religious organization have functioned under two SSND constitutions in their lifetime. A comparison of selected divergent characteristics, drawn from each of them, suggests the extent of the change-orientation demanded of them while adjusting their attitudes and altering their behaviour patterns to conform to the changing normative guides.

---

[55]Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter, <u>You Are Sent</u> (Rome: General Chapter, 1970), p. 13.

REVISED RULE AND CONSTITUTION (1925)	CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL DIRECTORY (1970)
I. Division of Contents	
Part I: Admission, Novitiate, Profession	Part I: Constitution
This consisted of five chapters which pertained to the socialization of members into the order.	This consisted of a general apostolic theme, and the principles which were to guide and motivate the members.
Part II: Sisters' Obligations	Part II: General Directory
This part contained 19 chapters dealing with the three vows, the daily order, and life within the convent Enclosure.	This section suggested the implementation of the principles for the eight chapter documents on community living.
Part III: Government of the Order	Part III: Appendix
The ten chapters in this part detailed the rights and duties of those holding office in the congregation.	This section included much supplementary material which was intended to explain, clarify, and illuminate the constitution and general directory.
II. Presentation of Material	
Symbolism: The cover of the rule book was black, plain, and hard; a cross was superimposed on it.	Symbolism: The cover was of green paper and pictured an evening traffic scene of a city expressway, connoting the sense of "mission" to all the world.
Format: The directives were printed in fixed paragraph form; each point was numbered consecutively within each part. Both sides of the paper were printed; the visual image was one of "rule."	Format: The directives were in short paragraphs printed on one side of light-weight paper. The opposite page was left free for the inclusion of

REVISED RULE AND CONSTITUTION (1925)	CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL DIRECTORY (1970)
	inspirational pictures and quotations. The prevailing tone was one of charismatic dedication.

III. Enclosure Directives

There was a special chapter entitled Enclosure.	There was no separate chapter entitled Enclosure.
There was a total of 201 negative directives, and 157 positive directives.	There were no negative directives; there were 51 positive directives.
Often these directives were related to sanctions and were incorporated into common practice; few were left up to an individual's responsibility.	Sanctions were never alluded to in any of the directives. Although they implied "community functions" they were the personal responsibility of each member.

IV. Sample Enclosure Directives in Each

A. Within the Convent Enclosure

"To the Enclosure belong those parts of the house which are exclusively reserved for the Sisters, namely cells, dormitories, refectory, and community room."	"Harmonious community living is facilitated by: ...a schedule sufficiently flexible to meet the needs of the Sisters and the requirement of the apostolate
"All houses of the Congregation must follow a definite daily order sanctioned by the Provincial Superior."	...a silence of consideration ...a respect for the privacy of the Sisters."

B. Admission of Nonmembers to the Enclosure

"The Superior must strictly guard the Enclosure against unauthorized entrance. Prohibition to enter...is not limited to men, but excludes women, children, and... boarding pupils."	"While safeguarding community life and the human need for privacy, we share generously whatever we have: self, home, goods, knowledge, time, whatever it is of use with whoever is in need."

C. Secular Influences Within the Enclosure

"The Sisters may neither receive nor send letters, cards, written, printed or telephoned	"Therefore in the exercise of personal freedom and responsibility, each Sister bears in mind that she

REVISED RULE AND CONSTITUTION (1925)	CONSTITUTION AND GENERAL DIRECTORY (1970)
messages, except through the agency of the Superior."	lives and works within the larger framework of the Congregation and its objectives."
"Sisters may not write articles for the papers conducive to their own interests, nor to those of others."	"Keep ourselves informed and attuned to the conditions of the world, ready and willing to serve others."
D. Religious Garb of the Members	
"The religious habit affords the Sisters a powerful protection against fashion, as it preserves the love of the interior and celestial beauty which should characterize the daughters of our Lady..."	"Each Sister has the freedom to continue wearing the traditional garb of 1962 in original or modified form or to decide in favor of contemporary dress."
"All the Sisters wear the prescribed clothing which in material and form is the same for all.... No Sister may make any alteration whatever in the form of the conventual dress."	"Our clothing as religious women is simple, modest, and adapted to the needs of the apostolate. It is a witness to our religious consecration and follows the guidelines set up by the cultural area or province."
E. Exit from the Enclosure Premises	
"As seculars are prevented from entering the Enclosure, so the Sisters are forbidden to leave it except at the call of duty."	"Our response to Christ in others is a response of witness and service to family and parish and to the wider communities--professional, civic, and ecumenical--both as members of the people of God and as School Sisters of Notre Dame."
"Whenever outside the Enclosure, ... the Sisters must conscientiously adhere to the following regulations..."	
V. Attitude Toward the Wider Secular Milieu	
"If a religious community desires to observe its vows faithfully it needs certain protection. One of the most excellent of these is Enclosure. This consists in that retirement from the external world which is necessary to preserve the spirit of the Order in its purity and banish all pernicious worldliness."	"We see our world torn by anguish in which man is in conflict with himself and his neighbor. Wars persist, poverty becomes more widespread and racism tears at the very heart of our common humanity. We School Sisters of Notre Dame take as our own moral mandate to 'build the earth'. Individually as well as corporately we re-dedicate ourselves to social awareness and social concern."

Summary and Conclusion

An examination of the change process which took place in one religious congregation, in the area of Enclosure observance, during the span of years from 1950 to 1970 substantiates the first hypothesis of this study: The church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world has affected the structure and functions of its religious subsystems.

The concern of the church for committed women, and the lack of relevance in some spheres of their lives in the modern secular world, initiated an unprecedented stimulus for change in the early Fifties. Renewal and adaptation were fostered by the church through the ensuing years as it urged sisters to make radical changes in their life-styles. In activating and implementing the council documents, religious women were advised to modify existing structures to permit more flexible functioning; involvement in extended interpersonal relationships was encouraged.

In a decisive manner sisters were urged to abandon withdrawal practices; their redefined mission was that they were to be of greater service to the church by serving humanity in its widest extension. The church, taking the lead as a change agent, conditioned the adaptive process for the subgroups of religious orders. Both assumed a more positive attitude toward profane contacts or redefined them in a new interpretive context which necessarily altered the circumscriptions of Enclosure. This process has been documented in a

detailed examination of internal and external change agents affecting the observance of Enclosure in the international congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The gradual change from isolation to involvement within the secular milieu further substantiates a second hypothesis of the present study: changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women.

Chapter V assesses the questionnaire responses obtained from a sample of SSND's residing in North America, to statements revolving around modification of the five traditional areas of Enclosure. The survey research also examines the effects of Enclosure change on the life styles of the members--particularly those which relate to the customary sacred-secular dimensions of the religious life.

CHAPTER V

REACTIONS TO CHANGE IN ENCLOSURE NORMS

The primary goal of social research is the understanding of social life through the discovery of new facts, the utilization of old ones, the tracing of interrelationships between events, the testing of hypotheses and the formulating of generalizations. A major step in the research process is the collection of information relevant to the research problem and its hypotheses. Thomlinson[1] refers to this as the performance phase of a sociological study because it follows the design phase and its success is dependent on the experience and intelligence of the director in collecting information, either alone or with the assistance of helpers.

The performance phase may be carried out by collecting one's own data or by making use of the data that someone else has already collected. Such pre-existing data is referred to as documentary material and may be taken from primary or secondary sources. Preceding chapters in this study have extensively utilized documentary materials of both types. Many of these have been obtained from the archives of the religious organization. The remaining chapters will continue to use

---

[1]Ralph Thomlinson, Sociological Concepts and Research (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 43.

documentary material in order to substantiate the data from other research procedures.

The social scientist who collects his own data has a number of research methods he may choose from. They are based on considerations related to the research design. Francis[2] proposes that if correctly considered, the hypotheses of the study suggest what data the scientist should gather. Many problems call for more than one source of data, particularly as the problems get to be more complex. In the present study, both survey and observational methods were utilized for the testing of hypotheses related to an analysis of the problem of structural change in a religious social system.

The Survey Method

Diesing[3] explains that statistical survey research was introduced to circumvent some of the problems in the experimental method. Scientists devised the survey method to help them overcome the difficulty of dealing with large and complex sets of variables in their natural setting. This has been accomplished through the use of sampling and by substituting statistical controls for experimental ones. However, survey research has developed far beyond this original purpose and became a method in its own right. The social survey has many purposes. It

---

[2]Roy G. Francis, "The Nature of Scientific Research," An Introduction to Social Research, ed. John T. Doby (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 17.

[3]Paul Diesing, Patterns of Discovery in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1967), p. 5.

provides one way of studying social conditions, relationships and behaviour through description, explanation or the testing of hypotheses. Moser believes that the "sociologist should look upon surveys as a way, and a supremely useful one, of exploring the field, of collecting data around as well as directly on the subject of study, so that the problem is brought into focus and the points worth pursuing are suggested."[4]

To do this social surveys employ a number of techniques in the gathering of data; one of the most common is the questionnaire. It can be distributed and collected by mail or administered to large groups by a non-interviewing supervisor. The questionnaire lends itself to quantitative social research. For this study, circumscriptions of time and money determined the choice of a mailed questionnaire as one technique to be used for the collection of data relevant to the research design. The questionnaire was to be sent to one-third of the active members residing in the eight geographical provinces of the congregation in North America.

Careful preparation went into the development of this research instrument so that it would obtain not only the data that was needed, but in the form that would prove helpful to the testing of the basic suppositions of the research design. The observations of Oppenheim were kept in mind in the selection and formation of questions:

---

[4]C.A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigation ("HEB"; London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1967), p. 4.

> A questionnaire is not just a list of questions or a form to be filled out. It is essentially a scientific instrument for measurement and for collection of particular kinds of data. Like all such instruments, it has to be specially designed according to particular specifications and with specific aims in mind, and the data it yields are subject to error. We cannot judge a questionnaire as good or bad, efficient or inefficient, unless we know what job it was meant to do. This means that we have to think not merely about the wording of particular questions, but, first and foremost, about the design of the investigation as a whole. 5

The first part of the questionnaire gathered background data generally related to the following aspects of the social structure: (a) provinces, local houses and group membership (questions 1-10); (b) primary and secondary socialization factors (questions 11-17); and (c) status and roles of the members (questions 18-25). This information, while valuable in presenting characteristics of the sample in relationship to the given population, was of utmost importance in ascertaining which members were characterized by specific attitudes toward change and its effect on their current degree of commitment and participation.

The second part of the questionnaire focused on information relative to change in various aspects of traditional Enclosure in the SSND congregation:

A. Life-styles within the convent Enclosure (questions 26-32)

B. Visitors to the convent and use of convent facilities (questions 33-39)

---

[5] A.N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966), p. 2.

C. Personal communication and use of mass media (questions 40-49)

D. Change in religious attire (questions 50-56)

E. Leaving the convent premises (questions 57-63)

For each of the specific areas of change, the respondents were presented with several statements pertaining to actual changes in Enclosure, several questions relating to possible changes in Enclosure, and a final query about the amount of change which had generally occurred in selected areas. In responding to each statement, the sisters were asked to choose the answer which best described their attitude toward a given Enclosure change.

The last part of the questionnaire was designed to have the respondent assess her attitudes toward change in other related areas: (a) the degree of satisfaction felt toward various aspects of the sacred-secular relationships in her life in comparison with five years previous (questions 76, 81, 85, 88, 91 and 99); (b) the amount of change occurring in other sacred-secular dimensions of the religious life (questions 73, 79, 82, 86 and 89); (c) her degree of participation in secular activities (questions 64-72); (d) the effect of secular participation in secular activities (questions 64-72); (d) the effect of secular participation on her sacred commitments (questions 77, 78, 80, 84, 87 and 90); (e) the effect of secular participation on membership (questions 92-98); and (f) the relationship of Enclosure changes to secularization (questions 101-106). It was expected that different "types" of members

would vary in their responses to the change orientation suggested by the sacred commitment and secular participation dichotomy presented in this section of the questionnaire. Such a variety of attitudes and opinions can affect the individual, the local house group, and the larger religious system planning for renewal and adaptation.

About 2100 questionnaires were mailed to 234 religious houses and eight motherhouses in the North American provinces--about 37 percent of all the North American convents in the congregation. While it was desired that all active members in each religious house would answer the questionnaire, realistically it was assumed that returns could be expected from about 1800 members at the maximum. Actually 200 religious houses replied--an 86 percent response rate. However, not all the active sisters answered the questionnaire, for only 1,442 answer sheets were returned. This was an 80 percent response from the 1800 members who had been expected to participate in the survey.

The survey research investigated the general hypothesis that members in a selected religious system (SSND) are not polarized in their attitudes toward changes which have occurred in the traditional sacred-secular dimensions of their lives. The sociological definition of polarization is "a situation-process in which opposing and competing ideas, interests, and antagonisms in a total group situation are becoming clearly contrasted, and two conflicting modes, or subgroups, or

rallying-points are observable."[6] In this study, polarization refers to the negative or positive attitudes of the members toward changes which have occurred in the traditional sacred-secular dimensions of the SSND social system. The sacred structures of the system examined were the three vows, spiritual exercises in both common and private practice, role in the local house group, and the traditional areas of Enclosure. The secular dimension probed was increased participation in different types of secular activities for personal, professional, social and recreational purposes.

Support of the Central Hypothesis

What could be construed as some of the reasons for this proposed lack of polarization among the members? From the historical and archival research of Chapters III and IV, it is evident that the traditional stance of the SSND system has been a conservative one toward change in the Enclosure and its ramifications. It was only in response to papal initiatives, and in conjunction with other religious congregations, that changes in religious life--particularly those pertaining to Enclosure--were gradually implemented within the organization. Since many of the present members have been socialized in this conservative tradition, it is plausible that a moderate pace of change within the congregation will be

---

[6]Henry Pratt Fairchild (ed.), "Polarization," Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences (Totama: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1970), p. 223. An ideal type of polarized response was established which would never occur in reality, but against which statements could be measured. This was 50-0-50.

reflected in the neutral responses of the members.

Inflexibility of structure, which can also lead to a polarization of attitudes, has been circumvented by the dictum that all religious rules and constitutions are no longer formally approved for a long period of time. Members of SSND who had functioned under the revised rule of 1925 were presented with a new legislative norm in 1970. This new constitution will be re-evaluated periodically to ascertain whether it is still meeting the needs of the members. In general chapters, their suggestions for adaptation will be accepted, evaluated, and implemented with due consideration for cultural and social differences present in an international religious social system.

Another factor which would seem to contribute to the neutrality or lack of polarity among the members is their increasing participation in the change process itself. As presented in Chapter IV, the sisters have more and more begun to function within the orbit of change occurring within the congregation. They have been surveyed about their attitudes and opinions toward present and future changes. Most members have participated in self-studies and discussion groups related to pending constitutional alterations. They have been asked to nominate and vote for delegates and alternates to legislative and elective assemblies. Through an improved system of written and oral communication, members have been informed about developments and changes at the local, provin-

cial, national, and international levels of the congregation.

Change in the growth patterns of an organization may also be a causative factor in the lack of polarization found among the members. It is possible that by 1971, at the time of the survey, many dissatisfied sisters had left the order. Had they remained, their responses might have contributed to a polarity of attitudes. As one religious leader has suggested, "The liberal majority of sisters eventually go into the secular world."[7] This study has not attempted to ascertain statistically the number of members in the North American provinces who have left within the last ten-year span. However, in comparing the population data given in the annual directory of the congregation for a current school year, it is possible to make comparisons which will indicate significant signs of a demographic shift which is related to an attrition of members. Tables VI and VII present population data for the congregation immediately prior to and following Vatican Council II.

Pre-Vatican Membership Patterns (1956-1961)

Table VI clearly illustrates that before Vatican II the congregation was growing yearly, mainly through the admission of novices into the sisterhood. In a five-year comparison, it seemed to reach its membership peak--6,671 sisters with 230 novices in training--just before the opening of the council. This would lead one to assume that attrition in a

---

[7]"Priests and Nuns: Going Their Way," Time XCV (February 23, 1970), 69.

religious organization is stemmed by the addition of new members. Decline is related to the number of members who die each year, are dismissed by the higher superiors, or leave of their own accord.

TABLE VI

SSND POPULATION BEFORE VATICAN II

Provinces Estbl.	5 year Comparison		1 year Comparison	
	1956-1957	1961-1962	1960-1961	1961-1962
Waterdown, Ont.1927	6 n 338 1 d	9 n 347 4 d	5 n 348 0 d	9 n 347 4 d
Mankato, Minn. 1912	33 n 756 6 d	27 n 852 6 d	23 n 838 6 d	27 n 852 6 d
Baltimore, Md. 1876	54 n 1711 22 d	47 n 1013 14 d	36 n 1010 19 d	47 n 1013 14 d
Wilton, Conn. 1957		41 n 789 12 d	31 n 763 3 d	41 n 789 12 d
St. Louis, Mo. 1895	49 n 1384 10 d	47 n 1205 13 d	79 n 1491 15 d	47 n 1205 13 d
Dallas, Tex. 1961		18 n 342 1 d		18 n 342 1 d
Mequon, Wis. 1850	29 n 2173 36 d	41 n 2123 49 d	44 n 2125 26 d	41 n 2123 49 d
Total novices (n)	171	230	218	230
Total membership	6362	6671	6575	6671
Total deaths (d)	75	99	69	99
Membership difference		+309		+96

In the years preceding Vatican II, these diminishing factors were offset by the number of novices received into the congregation who ultimately pronounced temporary vows.

In comparing the population parameters for all of the North American provinces from the Fall of 1960 to the Fall of 1961, one finds in Table VI an increase of 96 members. But what hidden facts lie behind this number? During this year 218 novices were preparing to become professed members in the congregation. It is possible that not all of them did so. Let us suggest that about 200 were added to the membership through their profession of temporary vows. If the total increase in membership was only 96, then the 200 new members must have replaced (200-96) another 104 members who died, were dismissed, or dropped out during the scholastic year.

The researcher does not have any data which explains the reasons for the decrease of members in the congregation. However, it is possible to calculate the number of deaths each year by an examination of the interprovincial booklet which lists the sisters who died in each province during a current year. If the number of deaths is subtracted from the total decrease, the remainder will be the number of sisters who left the congregation. What is still unknown is whether these members were dismissed, left of their own accord, or have sought a temporary leave of absence from the religious organization.

The analysis will seek to ascertain the number of deaths.

As the congregation publishes a directory for each current school year, locating the members in their provinces and present local convent, so it has published a yearly obituary of deceased members. The Obituaries, prepared for each calendar year, gave the vital statistics of a sister's life. In narrative form, each member's obituary described her family background and often her reasons for choosing the SSND congregation. It highlighted her work-roles and responsible positions in the organization and the circumstances surrounding her final illness and death. It was customary to have the current edition of obituaries read in the refectory during November. The lives of the departed members were not prepared for the obituaries after 1965. The traditional practice of sending death announcements to every convent in the congregation continues.

Figure 6 shows that the number of deaths in the North American provinces from 1956 to 1965 fluctuated from year to year. The author is unaware of any special reason which might explain the high number of deaths which occurred in 1956. From 1956 to 1962, the years which would be related to the data given in Table VI, the average number of deaths is 77. However, there is some discrepancy in aligning this data with that of the directory, which dates information about the order with the Fall of each year. The exact number of deaths can be found for Table VI, by checking the obituaries for 1956 and 1961 and placing the mortality numbers within the current school year for those dates. The average number of deaths from September,

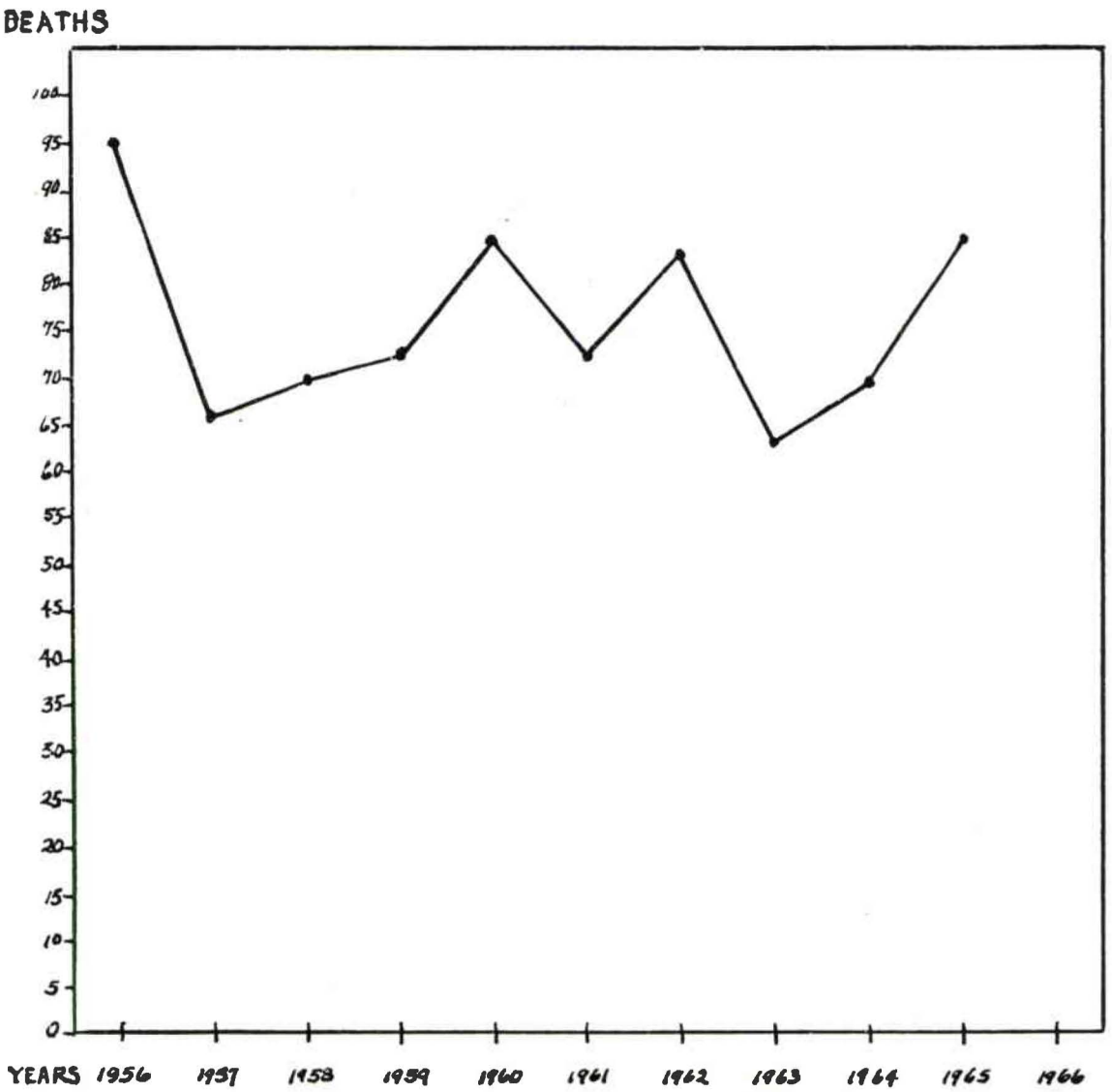

FIGURE 6

TOTAL DEATHS IN NORTH AMERICAN PROVINCES (Calendar Year)

1956 to September, 1961 then becomes 65. The discontinuance of the obituaries after 1965 was met with mixed reaction by the members. The introduction to the last edition is of interest to the present study:

> ...For 85 SSND's 1965 was the year of their death--an event with which no earthly changes could even begin to compare.
>
> We who are left to cope with the implications of post-conciliar aggiornamento know that our Sisters, who have had their status changed from that of members of the Church Militant to members of the Church Triumphant, are still with us in the example of their lives.
>
> From them we can learn that change--be it welcomed or dreaded, pleasant or painful--need not make one lose her spiritual balance. 8

Table VI shows that during the school year 1960-61 the number of sisters who died in all the North American provinces was 69. Subtracting this number from the 104 who were part of the general loss, means that 35 sisters, or about .5 percent of the total membership, left the organization during that school year. Thus, the addition of about 200 new members in one year offset the loss of 104 sisters and contributed to an overall increase of 96. Table VI presents a picture of an organization with a growing membership, despite the withdrawal of some sisters who were dissatisfied with the organization or their life in it.

Post-Vatican Growth Patterns (1965-1971)

Signs of a shift in the growth and decline patterns is seen in Table VII. In comparing the population parameters

---

[8] "Introduction," Obituaries, 1965, p. 2.

for all the North American provinces from the Fall of 1966 to the Fall of 1971, there is a decrease in total membership of 803 and a concomitant decline in novices of 119. These facts support the assumption proposed in examining Table VI, that attrition in a religious organization is stemmed by new membership.

TABLE VII

SSND POPULATION AFTER VATICAN II

		5 year Comparison		1 year Comparison	
Provinces	Estbl.	1966-1967	1971-1972	1970-1971	1971-1972
Waterdown, Ont.	1927	2 n 365	2 n 345	3 n 350	2 n 345
Mankato, Minn.	1912	19 n 883	27 n 792	19 n 814	27 n 792
Baltimore, Md.	1870	38 n 1068	8 n 934	16 n 943	8 n 934
Wilton, Conn.	1957	25 n 910	7 n 785	5 n 809	7 n 785
St. Louis, Mo.	1895	39 n 1338	17 n 1226	24 n 1246	17 n 1226
Dallas, Tex.	1961	21 n 417	5 n 374	5 n 395	4 n 374
Mequon, Wis.	1850	41 n 1725	15 n 1437	13 n 1508	15 n 1437
DeKalb, Ill.	1965	8 n 332	1 n 338	1 n 357	1 n 338
Total Novices (n)		201	82	87	82
Total Membership		7034	6231	6422	6231
Membership Difference			-803		-191

The North American provinces seem to have reached their highest membership level (7,034) in the year following the close of the Council, (1966). The 201 novices preparing for religious profession were probably a sign of the general positive attitude toward the Catholic church which emerged from the sessions and documents of the Council. However, in the succeeding years there seems to have been a gradual decline in new members resulting in a minimum of 82 novices in 1971. This was related to a drop in the membership, which was 6,231 at the time of this survey.

A closer examination of the data for the school year 1970-71 given in Table VII will afford some insights into the implications of the population change occurring in SSND. The total membership in the Fall of 1972 was 6,231. During the preceding school year, 87 novices were preparing for admission into the congregation. Since many young people now question their ability to make a commitment for a prolonged period of time, it is possible that only about 70 of this number (87) were professed. The directory indicates that the membership loss for that year was 191. However, without the addition of about 70 new members, the total decline would have been (191 + 70) 261 sisters instead of 191.

The average number of deaths in the five years preceding the Council was 65. Since there are no published statistics about the yearly deaths in the five years after the Council, this study will assume the same average of 65 for computation

purposes. It is true that the membership totals are lower during these years, but the number of elderly sisters has increased. Subtracting the supposed number of deaths (65) from the total decline (261-65) would mean that 196 sisters, or about 3 percent of the population, left the congregation in the school year 1970-71. This is a definite change in dropout patterns for the congregation, but is not too surprising during this period, when a general exodus is occurring among religious men and women. (One Vatican official estimated that in 1969 about 6,500 nuns out of 1,175,000 in the world, left their orders.[9] There have always been defectors from the ranks of the committed, but there have never been such large numbers or group defections as those occurring in the last few years.) Dropout is an inherently interesting fact in itself but of no immediate interest to the survey because I have no factual data and can only estimate the probable number from the statistics on death.

The loss of 261 members through death and defection in one school year was not markedly offset by the addition of about 70 new members. With more careful screening of recruits and longer formation periods before temporary profession, there is little possibility in the forseeable future that the annual growth rate will again reach pre-Vatican II levels. Moreover, the decline of members may exceed previous ratios

---

[9] Time, p. 63.

because of the increasing number of aging and infirm sisters. There is also no certainty that changes in the religious system will contribute to the commitment and continued stability of professed members. If it does, the attrition will be somewhat limited, but not exceeded by the addition of new members. Table VII implies that sharply increased attrition rates are taking place in this religious organization. There is reason to believe that among the dissatisfied members who left are those with strong attitudes toward organizational change. Their withdrawal has increased the number with moderate attitudes toward change.

In summary, it is expected that an analysis of the data will not reveal a polarization of attitudes toward certain changes which have taken place in the SSND religious system. Some of the reasons for this would appear to be: the traditional stance of the congregation; the increasing flexibility of institutional structure; the participation of the members in the change process itself; and the loss of some dissatisfied members whose views might have contributed to polarization. As a consequence of these factors, an examination of the research data will also endeavour to test the following related hypotheses in regard to the effect of selected changes taking place in a religious organization:

1. The majority of members will feel that the amount of sacred-secular change which has occurred in the congregation is "about right."

2. The majority of respondents will be quite positive in evaluating the effects of these sacred-secular changes in their lives.

3. The majority of respondents will be undecided about the effects of the sacred-secular changes on membership growth and decline.

Presentation of Survey Data

The strategy employed in examining the attitudes of the members toward selected changes which had occurred in the congregation was to construct hypothetical tables similar in format to the actual tables derived from the data. The preparation of these suppositional tables was based on a consideration of the general hypothesis and its related propositions. Information for the tables was also related to the author's role as a member of the SSND congregation, which had socialized her in its traditional values and beliefs pertaining to isolation from the secular milieu and involvement in the sacred concerns of the religious system.

Information was likewise derived from her role as community participant and observer. It was assumed that these personal and social experiences had made her aware of the reactions of her fellow members to the social differentiation happening both within and without the religious system. However, it was understood that these observations would also unwittingly reflect her personal bias. The sociological description of the survey data will be related to these suppositional tables, which will be referred to in terms such as an "expectation" or an "assumption." The suppositional tables will not be presented but their relationship to the actuality present in the findings was often a surprise to the investigator.

Satisfaction With Amount of Sacred-Secular Change

How have the members felt about the changes which have taken place in the sacred observances of the cloister? Table VIII presents their reactions to the amount of change generally occurring in the five research areas of SSND Enclosure.

TABLE VIII

AMOUNT OF ENCLOSURE CHANGE IN GENERAL

Enclosure Areas of Change	*TM	AR	TL	Total
Within the convent itself.....	23%	62%	16%	100%
Visitors and convent facilities....	13	66	21	100
Communications and mass media.....	8	84	8	100
Religious attire.....	23	52	25	100
Leaving convent premises.....	18	69	13	100

*Too much About right Too little change

It had been expected that the vast majority, possibly around four-fifths of the members, would feel that the amount of change which had generally occurred in all five areas of Enclosure would have been "about right." It was also anticipated that a very small number of the respondents would be dissatisfied with these changes. Surprisingly, these expectations were only met in one area of Enclosure change--that which related to personal communications and mass media. It is understandable that most members (84%) would welcome less restrictive measures in reference to their personal communica-

tions, and a latitude of freedom in the use of mass media in the religious house because of past restrictions.

While a smaller majority of the members (66%) agreed that the changes which the congregation had permitted for three of the other Enclosure areas was "about right," a larger percentage than had been expected was not in agreement with these changes. About one-fourth of the respondents felt that there had been too much change within the convent itself; an almost equal number (21%) affirmed that there had been "too little" change concerning visitors and the sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers.

However, the most controversial area of Enclosure change pertained to the attire of the members. Since barely half of the respondents (52%) agreed that the change here was "about right"--and the remaining half were split in their negative and positive assessments of this change--it is apparent that a degree of polarization exists among this half of the membership. This could become a predominant force if the neutral majority realigned themselves with either stated position. In effect, the members seem to be saying: In evaluating the amount of change which has taken place in the various Enclosure areas, change in religious attire has not yet reached a complement which would be satisfying to at least two-thirds. The problematic issue is that the dissatisfied are pulling in both directions.

The concern of the North American provinces about the

question of attire is reflected in the following instances. The international self-study included four statements about the habit in the questionnaire which was given to the entire membership of SSND. These probed the personal significance of the religious garb, attitudes toward the present habit, the wearing of the veil, and the reaction to the present regulatory guidelines. The Habit Commission for the North American provinces requested the data abstracted from the nine questions in the present survey which pertained to changes in religious attire. In the Spring of 1972, the Habit Commission itself administered a brief "Position-Aire" to all members in North America, with selection categories centering around two foci: (1) the type of attire they are now wearing, and (2) the type of religious attire they would like to wear.

The reaction of the respondents in the present study was also sought concerning the amount of change which had taken place in other areas pertaining to the sacred (spiritual exercises, vows, community living) and secular aspects of their lives.[10] There was an expectation that in these areas the members would show a consistency of opinion, and that a large majority--perhaps as much as 80%--would agree that the changes permitted by the congregation had been "about right." However, the assumptions were not borne out; a pattern emerged, similar

---

[10]The decision was made to present only certain questions in tables during the analysis. Related questions will be explained in connection with an associated table.

to that depicted in Table VIII. Again, over two-thirds of the members adopted a neutral position, and a somewhat larger number expressed their dissatisfaction with the amount of change taking place in the sacred aspects of the religious life.

Of the majority of respondents who agreed that change was "about right," an almost perfect consensus (80%) was reached on those changes which related to an increase in private spiritual exercises for the religious. One reason for this may be that most of the members are teachers. Due to articulate demands of their profession, it is possible that they welcome additional time for private prayer. Over two-thirds of the members in the sample were content with the amount of change which had taken place in other sacred functions: the observance of the vows (68%), fewer spiritual exercises in common (65%), and changes in group living within the local religious house (64%). About 70% of the members agreed that the increased opportunities for secular participation afforded them currently has been "about right." While this was the second highest area of change which met group approval, it still was not as high as had been estimated. Certainly, it is related to disagreement among the respondents concerning their attitudes about secular activities, inasmuch as 18 percent indicated that there had been "too much" change and 11 percent thought that it was "too little." This divergence of opinion does not imply the same potential for conflict

as does the habit issue, but it does suggest that the traditional SSND value of isolation from secular involvements has not changed for about one-fifth of the members.

The evidence, then, presented in Table VIII--and extrapolated from other related questions--supports the central hypothesis: Members are not polarized in their attitudes toward the secular and sacred changes which have already taken place in the congregation. It also supports the first related proposition that the majority of the members feel that the amount of change which has occurred has been "about right."

Patterns of Secular Participation

The church's re-definition of its relationship to the secular milieu has resulted in an alteration of traditional behaviour patterns for religious women. Actions which were based on limited psychological isolation from worldly concerns have been re-ordered to permit an unstructured but prudent involvement in secular affairs. Table IX presents the responses of SSND members to questions about increased opportunities for secular participation.

It had been assumed that all areas of secular activity would show a definite increase in participation. It was also expected that the greatest increase (70-80%) would be related to social visiting, shopping, and entertainment because of previous curtailment in these areas. A lesser degree (50%) was expected to occur in the area of a secular work milieu: this preference was related to the traditional parochial

mentality prevalent in the church and its religious sub-systems.

TABLE IX

CHANGE IN SECULAR PARTICIPATION

Types of Secular Participation	*Dec.	Same	Inc.	Total
Attend secular educational institutions.	17%	31%	52%	100%
Attend cultural events for enjoyment....	12	21	67	100
Participate in action/cultural groups...	17	48	35	100
Active in professional organizations....	14	51	35	100
Secular work milieu/full or part time...	19	60	21	100
Visit with relatives and friends.....	5	8	88	100
Service visiting/living and deceased....	8	28	65	100
Visit stores and restaurants.....	7	10	83	100
Take trips and vacations.....	9	19	72	100

* Decreased Same Increased Participation

One unexpected pattern emerged: not all areas of secular participation showed a definite increase among the SSND membership. However, the number of respondents who were currently engaged in social visiting was higher than expected--that is, 88 percent; about 83 percent frequented stores and restaurants. An annual vacation and visits with one's family and friends, which are both recent innovations in the congregation, testify to the use of these privileges by the sisters, While there was an increase in activities for personal enjoyment (67%), and for service visiting (65%), it was slightly less than had been expected. Personal interest, time element,

and opportunity may well limit these forms of involvement for some respondents.

One surprising fact indicated in Table IX was the relatively small increase (35%) of members who participated in professional organizations, as well as in action and cultural groups. However, since almost half of the members declared that they had retained their level of participation in these groups, perhaps it was unrealistic to expect that all areas of activity would show an increase of 70 percent. Inasmuch as a sister has limited time to devote to any increased participation beyond her religious and professional functions, it is plausible that the greatest increases might take place in those areas which were related to her personal life. The meager increase of involvement (21%) in a secular work milieu is indicative of the large number of members who are probably still engaged in some form of parochial education. It also suggests that about one-fifth of the members have already transferred to a full-time secular work milieu, or are engaged in this on a part-time basis, perhaps in direct preparation for complete involvement at a later date.

There is outlined in Table IX a larger percentage of members than had been supposed who have decreased their participation in certain activities. Obviously, it is somewhat higher in those activities which are akin to professional and cultural pursuits. In involvement pertaining to personal and social enjoyment with relatives and friends, the average decrease is in the range of 7 percent. Of course some members are in

retirement--semi or full--and thus are more limited in their opportunities for certain types of pursuits in the wider society. As well, some active sisters must have merely declined to take advantage of the new opportunities offered them by the congregation.

The import of Table IX is that the majority of members now feel freer about exercising their role as a religious functionary in the secular order, and interrelating with non-members in diverse ways. Their major reasons for doing so are secularistic--enjoyment and enrichment; although they also isolate service as paramount. All of this is indicative of the adaptation process taking place within religious groups: it resides in the acceptance of the autonomy of the individual, and the increased pluralism of roles in social and professional circles.

Effect of Secular Participation on Sacred Commitments

In view of these considerations, a further question was a natural consequence: How has increased involvement in the secular order affected the members' commitment to their sacred responsibilities? Table X answers this. It was assumed that the majority of respondents might have indicated a neutral position in their replies, or would have been somewhat reluctant to admit that influences from the secular environment were negativistic. Replies to four basic questions provoke others about which one might speculate in reference to the secularization phenomenon.

TABLE X

EFFECT OF SECULAR PARTICIPATION ON SACRED COMMITMENTS

Area of Commitment	*Less	Nei.	More	Total
Secular participation and communal prayer	30%	47%	23%	100%
Secular participation and private prayer	25	43	32	100
Secular participation and vow observance	11	51	39	100
Secular participation and group living	17	59	24	100

*Less commitment Neither/nor More commitment

It was surmised that those who would acknowledge a diminution in their sacred commitments might be more traditional in their attitudes toward change in the organization, and its effects on the lives of the members. It was expected, too, that the one area which might reflect the least degree of commitment would be that related to group living among the members. It was supposed that increased secular involvement would limit the amount of time allotted to sacred pursuits and that the sacred dimension which would feel the greatest impact would tend to be interaction with the local group, rather than the practice of the vows or the performance of spiritual exercises.

However, Table X shows that while the majority of members indicated a neutral position in regard to the influence of the secular on the sacred in their personal lives, the per-

centages were much lower than expected. More members, too, declared definite positive and negative attitudes about their present degree of commitment. It is an interesting development that 30 percent of the sisters now felt less committed to communal prayer, and 32 percent stated more commitment to private prayer. This finding is consistent with other questions pertaining to changes in spiritual exercises which have indicated satisfaction with fewer communal exercises and more private ones.

Furthermore, few members indicated that secular participation had lessened their commitment to their vows (11%) or to their local house group (17%). However, this last finding seems to be in contradiction to another question (not in Table X): "If you have increased your participation in secular activities, what has been the major change in your schedule which has permitted this?" Twenty-four percent of the membership in the sample answered that less time was now spent with the local house group. It is readily admitted that the amount of time spent with any given group is not the only indication of commitment or level of participation. For many, it may be the intensity of the interrelationships which is a key factor in associations. The "We" feeling becomes a propelling force for each committed member. The regulatory hour formerly spent in the community room for recreational purposes each day has been supplemented by conversation at meals and spontaneous group dynamics among members in the local house group.

Neither the central hypothesis nor its second related hypothesis were substantiated in the data tabulated in Table X. The members are neither polarized in their attitudes nor quite positive in assessing the effects of secular participation on their sacred commitments. If the respondents had been given the opportunity to define the term "commitment", it might have served to clarify their attitudes about the interrelationship between the two functions. As far as the sacred-secular spheres of their lives are concerned, the sisters would probably place them within the context of the following frame of reference: "The reality of Christ and His relevance is not met in an exclusive way in prayer, but the more particularized word of Christ and the more particularized meeting with Christ in this deeply interior and immediate way give us the sensitivity to hear the word of Christ aright as it is spoken through the mouth of the secular world."[11]

Effect of Secular Participation on Membership Patterns

Having evaluated the effects of participation on personal commitment, the respondents were asked what they thought would be the effect of increased participation on the growth and decline patterns of the religious organization. Their responses may be summarized thus:

Increased Secular Participation	Yes	Undecided	No
Withdrawal factor of members	55.2%	21.6%	23.2%

[11]Killian McDonnell, "Religious Life in Low Profile," America, CXXII (January 11, 1970), 19.

Increased Secular Participation	Yes	Undecided	No
Major withdrawal factor	28.8%	35.7%	25.4%
Attraction factor of recruits	31.3	36.2	32.5

A little over half of the sisters felt that increased participation in secular concerns had been a contributing factor to the withdrawal of members from the congregation. This finding may be explained by the involvement of members in numerous activities of an out-group nature. For some this may have caused them to lose interest in and frequent contact with members of their in-group. Presumably they could have felt on the periphery of the religious institute and would have gradually withdrawn and ultimately sought full-time membership in the out-group--secular life.

There was more diversity of opinion among the respondents in regard to increased secular participation as being a major factor in the withdrawal of members. A slightly larger percentage (36%) indicated that they were undecided as to the major importance of increased participation influencing a member's decision to leave the congregation. This diversity of opinion may be explained by the fact that there is little empirical evidence to substantiate the reasons why an individual member leaves religious life. A provincial commented to the researcher that often a sister gives general reasons which pertain to dissatisfaction with the organization when openly stating her reasons for withdrawal, but to the provincial administrator she reveals the deeply personal conflicts which are at the root of her dissatisfaction.

In 1966, Sister Molitor conducted an empirical study of droupout and non-dropout sisters in one religious congregation. The 92 respondents had entered religious life between 1950-59. The dropout sisters left the community between pronouncing temporary vows, and taking their final vows. Sister summarized the reasons for the withdrawal of some members as: difficulties related to authority and obedience; a kind of impersonalism in life within the convent; a realization that they had entered to escape a home situation; a desire for marriage and a family; serious personal problem; a real questioning of vocation per se; an admission that they were too young to know what they were doing when they entered.[12] These were the confidential reasons advanced by the young sisters who left their order before Vatican II.

SSND respondents were also asked if they thought increased participation of members in secular activities would serve to attract new members to the congregation. While 36 percent were undecided about this there was an almost equal decision among those who agreed (31%) and those who disagreed (33%). A fourth item questioned whether changes in traditional Enclosure norms, which have permitted alteration of life styles in the communal living of the sisters, will attract new members to the congregation. The largest number (38%) felt it would.

---

[12]Sister M. Margaret Ann Molitor, R.S.M., A Comparative Study of Dropouts and Non-Dropouts in a Religious Community, Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 107.

However, 33 percent were undecided and 29 percent did not believe that Enclosure changes would serve to attract new recruits.

The attitudinal diversity here may well have a marked relationship to a factor discussed earlier. In 1961, when the sisters functioned under strict Enclosure, which allowed only certain professional types of secular participation, the total membership was 6,671; there were 230 novices preparing for profession. When the survey was conducted in 1971, the total membership had decreased to 6,231 and there were only 82 novices in the North American provinces. These figures, when related to change in the secular dimensions of the religious life, may account for the diversity of opinion so evident in the responses. Perhaps a second question would have resolved the dilemma, or increased the polarization, if the members had been asked, "Do you think that changes in traditional Enclosure norms, which have permitted increased secular participation on the part of the members, will be a major factor in attracting new members to the congregation?"

An examination of these four items in the questionnaire has shown that the members are not polarized in their attitudes toward the effects of increased participation and Enclosure change on the membership patterns of the religious organization. It can be concluded that responses to these questions support the major hypothesis in regard to polarization. However, they do not substantiate the third related hypothesis: The majority of respondents will be undecided about the effects of the

sacred-secular changes on membership growth and decline. In two of the four questions the majority of respondents were undecided about the effect of these changes--one question pertained to withdrawal of members and another to the attraction of new members. In regard to the other two items the majority of members agreed that increased secular participation had contributed to a decline in membership and that changes in Enclosure would serve to attract new recruits to the congregation.

Reactions to Specific Enclosure Changes

For religious groups to firmly attain their new goals of renewal and adaptation, it is necessary to alter official norms which have been a visible and invisible force in delineating the sacred and secular dimensions of the dedicated life. Legislative assemblies in the congregation have gradually initiated changes in traditional Enclosure norms. This has resulted in new patterns of interaction; it has revamped the life-styles of the sisters both within and without the convent dwelling. What has been the attitude of the members toward a number of specific changes in Enclosure per se?

It was anticipated that the majority of the sisters would express strong positive attitudes toward these changes. At least there was a supposition that this would have been particularly characteristic of those realms where change was allied to concerns of a personal nature. Table XI presents the five areas of Enclosure pivotal to the study. Three

TABLE XI

ATTITUDES TOWARD SPECIFIC ENCLOSURE CHANGES

Selected Changes in Enclosure Norms	*Neg.	Neut.	Pos.
A. Enclosure Changes Within the Convent			
Community rooms for business functions only	65%	22%	13%
Conversation at most meals	21	-	79
Weekly suspension of schedule is adequate	37	17	46
Inter-Community membership in SSND convents	25	30	45
Members live in non-religious houses	66	-	34
Periodically plan personal schedule	38	20	42
B. Changes in Visitors and Convent Sharing			
Visitors eat in sisters' refectory	15	-	85
Male guests tour all convent areas	50	14	36
Rarely adapt schedule for nonmembers	26	12	62
Convent a Christian-living center	32	15	53
Nonmember use empty convent rooms	33	19	48
Share convent facilities with the needy	15	-	85
C. Changes in Personal and Social Communications			
No superior interference with personal communication	23	9	68
Important messages in sealed envelopes	57	22	21
Member free to produce original work	13	39	48
Sisters write for secular publications	13	-	87
Each sister have a radio	10	38	52
Convent have several TV sets	24	33	43
Trained members in media work	29	14	57
Convent subscribe to secular periodicals	10	24	66
D. Changes in Religious Attire			
Sisters dress differently from lay women	15	5	80
Habit guidelines permit creativity in dress	28	5	67
Special wardrobes for professional-social duties	45	29	26
No veil for some secular activities	60	-	40
Slacks for recreational attire	43	23	34
No veil in questionable situations	41	12	47
E. Changes in Leaving Convent Premises			
Participation for enjoyment and service	16	11	73
Acceptable for sisters to travel alone	17	26	57
Enough time given to one's family	21	31	48
Participate in local area planning	16	22	62
Sisters work in secular milieu	38	-	62
Some sisters active in government programs	31	22	47

*Negative Neutral Positive

different types of response pattern were used for the 32 statements about specific changes related to Enclosure observance in the congregation. To facilitate comparison and presentation of the data in a table, the responses were synopsized into categories entitled "negative", "neutral", and "positive" attitudes toward these changes. As may be seen in Table XI, the response pattern for six of the statements did not admit a "neutral" category. There will be an analysis of the data for each area of Enclosure as shown in Table XI.

A. Changes Within the Convent Enclosure Itself

In four out of the six items, the positive response of the majority to specific changes which have taken place within the convent itself suggests that the members quite strongly favoured those changes as compatible with the traditional sacredness reserved to the religious dwelling. On one question, 65 percent of the members were opposed to using the community room for business purposes only, but preferred its use for social gatherings as well. In an associated question pertaining to the refectory, 79 percent of the sisters agreed that replacing the traditional silence with conversation at most of the meals was an acceptable change. The members, then, seemed quite pleased with these alterations associated with community functions in the convent.

There was some polarity in the attitudes of the majority of members in two questions related to the observance of the daily schedule within the religious house. Forty-six percent

agreed while 37 percent disagreed that suspending the daily schedule (horarium) one day a week was an adequate break from conventual routine. In a similar question, 42 percent would be satisfied and 38 percent dissatisfied if all sisters could periodically plan their own schedule and let any functions of a group nature evolve spontaneously. It may be remembered that in Chapter IV documentary data was presented which showed the suggestions and requests of the members for a more flexible schedule, and that the general chapters gradually permitted this. There is evidence in these two statements that suggestions of continued change in the horarium has polarized a sizable number of the sisters. The polarity seems to imply that some members fear additional change will weaken the cohesion of the local group.

If sisters of different religious congregations were to live in SSND houses, the majority of the sisters, but less than half (45%), would be satisfied with this arrangement. In a related question, over half of the respondents (66%) stated that it would be too great a change in Enclosure if some sisters were to move to apartments or houses central to their full-time work. For some of the sisters, it appears that having members of various religious groups living in SSND houses is no problem. On the other hand, having their members leave the religious house to live in a secular dwelling is unacceptable and too drastic a change. This seems to indicate that for these respondents task orientation and dwelling are closely related to religious identity.

B. Admittance of Nonmembers to the Enclosure

The intent of the questions about changes pertaining to visitors could have personal relevance for each respondent, but it is more likely that the questions were interpreted in terms of the effect of these changes on all sisters of the local house. SSND members have traditionally been limited in regard to visitors and the areas for visiting. The convent has customarily functioned as a closed society in regard to sharing its facilities with nonmembers, since such actions would have been considered violations of Enclosure legislation.

The happiness of the members with specific changes in this aspect of Enclosure is reflected in Table XI in five out of the six questions. When asked about having relatives dine with the sisters in their refectory, an overwhelming 85 percent of the members welcomed this change. In the sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers, 85 percent stipulated that this would be acceptable whenever an important need arose. The majority of the sisters reacted positively to the suggestions that the convent adapt its schedule for visitors or those seeking to use its facilities (62%), and that the religious house become a center where non-members can experience Christian community with the members (53%).

However, there is a strong suggestion of polarity occurring among a majority of the members on two of the questions pertaining to sharing convent facilities with nonmembers. The data shows that 48 percent agree and 33 percent disagree

that empty rooms in the local house should be used for small group meetings with the people of the local area. Likewise, 36 percent agreed and 50 percent of the respondents disagreed with the suggestion that outside of the chapel and the parlour, male guests of the sisters should not be allowed to visit all areas of the convent. This polarity of opinion, no doubt, stems from strong prohibitions against these actions in the past, as well as the members sense of propriety and their need for privacy.

In general, however, responses to change in SSND which permit more sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers indicate new trends in religious sharing and are in accord with a future community orientation which Sister Neal describes:

> The religious communities of the future must be in a very special sense communities without walls as must be all Christian living-together groups. In this sense, though the residential group be specified by some form of selection within the congregation, the worshipping group for Mass and office should welcome the visitor, the wayfarer, or the local secular community resident with joy and expectation. Travelers must find a welcome stopping-off place at which their news and views will be readily and eagerly shared and responded to. 13

C. Secular Influences Within the Enclosure

The statements pertaining to change for this area of Enclosure were viewed from a variety of perspectives and all elicited favourable responses from a majority of the members. Changes of such private items as non-censorship of correspondence

---

[13]Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., "The Value of Religious Community," Vows But No Walls, ed. Eugene Grollmes (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1967) p. 159.

(68%), confidential treatment of messages (57%), and personal possession of a radio (52%), were particularly acceptable. The respondents were equally positive in their response to changes more concerned with all the members, such as exemption from teaching for a sister writing a book (48%), engagement in educational broadcasting and television for specially trained sisters (57%), subscription to Catholic and secular publications by the local house (66%). However, the respondents were divided in their opinion toward the suggestion that there should be several TV sets to care for program conflicts among the members of a convent. The majority, but less than half (43%) agreed with this suggestion. The conflict may be due to the fact that some may consider several television sets in one house a contradiction to the observance of poverty as well as a lack of generosity among the sisters.

The positive response of the members to changes in communication reflects the personal and social limitations in these areas prescribed for religious well into the 1960's. These limitations were particularly difficult for mature professional women whose personal communications were circumscribed, and who were permitted the use of mass media for educational purposes, but were limited in their use within the confines of the religious house. It appears that the sisters do not view the use of non-Catholic publications and mass media as secularizing influences within the religious dwelling. Instead they have felt that deprivation of these forms of communication have

estranged them from the cultural innovations taking place in their society.

This does not mean that sisters uncritically accept the presentations of mass media, particularly in its concern with religious women. An example of this occurred a few years ago. Several religious leaders who were attending the Conference of Major Superiors of Women in 1969 were interviewed about changes in religious life. One of the questions pertained to both the press and media coverage of sisters. When asked about this, the superiors responded that they felt the press had given a very adolescent picture of the sister, even in her process of renewal and adaptation. They also observed that the TV program, "The Flying Nun," was to them an unrealistic presentation of the role of the contemporary religious woman.[14]

D. Changes in Religious Garb

Previous questions have given some insight into the members' feelings about alterations in the traditional habit and have suggested that this aspect of Enclosure change has controversial overtones. A closer look at specific statements about attire should provide added insights as to the causes of possible conflict. Table XI shows that fully 80 percent of the respondents agreed that there is still a need for sisters to be dressed somewhat differently from lay women. While this

---

[14]Margaret M. Carlon, "Superiors Reflect Diversity Present in Religious Life," St. Louis Review (October 3, 1969), Sec. 2., p. 9.

would seem to indicate overwhelming agreement, there would probably be controversy among the members in defining the phrase "somewhat differently." A lesser number, but still the majority of the members (67%), assented that the present habit guidelines permit SSND sisters ample creativity in dress. The present guidelines allow each member a dress and/or suit as well as a choice of colour--blue and/or black. These are always worn with a short black veil, unless exceptions are granted. However, the members need not wear the veil when recreating in the exclusive company of the sisters. The large percentage who agreed with the above statements would probably share a consensus as to the type of religious garb to be worn by SSND members.

However, difficulties appeared when the respondents were presented with suggestions about garb which exceed the present habit guidelines. Less than half (45%) would be dissatisfied if each sister had a special wardrobe for her professional and social obligations. In two of these suggestions a tendency toward polarization is apparent among the majority of the members in regard to wearing the veil, and in recreational attire. Thirty-four percent would be satisfied and 43 percent dissatisfied if sisters' attire for recreational purposes would include slacks. While 47 percent would agree and 41 percent disagree that when engaging in any activity which laymen might misunderstand,sisters should not wear the veil. In a related statement that "the veil should not

be worn while participating in some secular activities," the following responses were elicited: 49 percent of the members considered this too great a change, 40 percent thought it would be about right, and 11 percent considered it too little change in attire.

While these are responses to hypothetical situations, they also exist in reality for some of the present members. The polarization, and its possible ensuing conflict, will increase if such situations become a reality for an increasing number of sisters. As given in another response, in Table XI the present feeling of the majority about not wearing the veil while participating in some secular activities was: 40 percent satisfied, and 60 percent not satisfied. It is evident in the questions pertaining to the veil that there is strong feeling about it among the members. These are related to the many SSND regulations concerning religious garb in the past. Attire has apparently become an overwhelmingly important issue around which attitudes have crystallized.

The question of religious attire has been a controversial one since the end of Vatican II, when sisters began to shorten their hemlines, show their hair, adopt contemporary dress, and gradually abandon the veil. Periodically the Vatican Congregation of Religious has been asked to comment on changes in religious attire, particularly for women. A recent communique was published on February 4, 1972:

> As a matter of principle it can be said that the garb prescribed for the Religious Institutes, even if modified and simplified, will have to be

> such that it permits one to distinguish the Religious person who wears it.
>
> On the other hand, a purely secular garb, without any external distinguishing sign, can be allowed, for particular reasons and by the competent Religious Superior, in the case of those Sisters who find that the use of the religious garb would impede the normal pursuance of their activity in determined surroundings.
>
> Nevertheless, even in this case the garb worn by the Religious ought to reflect the spirit of poverty, simplicity and modesty which is proper to the religious state; indeed it ought to be different in some way from clearly mundane dress. 15

It is to be noted that this is not a legislative document, and therefore carries no sanctions for religious institutes, or for individual religious who do not comply with its intent. It will probably be subject to a variety of interpretations, depending on the attitudes of religious toward the attire which they consider relevant for contemporary times.

E. Exit from the Convent Premises

Statements which suggest reasons for leaving the Enclosure premises are closely related to the types of secular activity which the members indicated they were participating in at the time of the survey. Traditionally, SSND members were permitted to leave the convent for spiritual, health, and educational reasons. The formal changes in this Enclosure area are related to additional personal reasons for leaving the premises, although very few of these were presented in the question-

---

[15]Guido Del Mestri, "Letter to Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Canada and President of the Canadian Religious Conference," Ottawa, February 4, 1972.

naire. A large majority (73%) agreed that their present participation should be for both enjoyment and service. Over half (57%) were in favour of members traveling alone at times. There were also a large number (62%) who felt that sisters should be involved in events taking place in the local area in which they live.

There was less agreement among the respondents about other reasons for leaving the Enclosure, though 48 percent were satisfied with the present restrictions about the amount of time members could give to their immediate family, and 47 percent favoured sisters becoming more active in government programs. A surprising 62 percent felt that if sisters were to be encouraged to work in secular institutions as faculty or staff members, this change would be "about right." This is in contrast to previous responses which did not favour sisters living in non-religious houses or dressing like secular women. Again this statement may be interpreted as an honest appraisal of an hypothetical situation, since the majority of respondents (60%) indicated earlier that they had not increased their own participation in a secular work milieu.

There is evidence in Table XI that certain statements pertaining to change in various areas of Enclosure have resulted in a strong tendency toward polarization among a majority of the respondents. This polarity of attitudes has been manifested toward: schedule changes within the religious house; the use of empty convent rooms by nonmembers and free-

dom of male guests to tour all parts of the convent; the wearing of slacks for recreational attire and not wearing the veil in any activity which laymen might misunderstand and therefore discredit the convent. The central hypothesis to be tested in the survey research has not been verified in these specific alterations of traditional Enclosure.

The second related hypothesis has been supported by the data presented in Table XI. The majority of members will be quite positive in evaluating the effects of sacred-secular changes in their lives. The respondents were most satisfied with Enclosure changes related to personal communications, the use of mass media in the religious house and with additional reasons, of a personal and professional nature, for leaving convent premises. Their satisfaction extended to altered life styles within the convent, but not to schedule changes. There was limited satisfaction with some aspects of sharing convent facilities with nonmembers and with present guidelines for religious attire now accepted in the North American provinces.

Secularization of Religious Women

Religious institutions have official norms and undergo both internal and external differentiation from other institutions in the social system. Religious institutions have functions which can often be fulfilled as well, or better, by other institutions. Fenn[16] describes these structural-functional

---

[16]Richard K. Fenn, "The Secularization of Values," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, III (Spring, 1969), 113.

changes as the process of secularization developed within the conceptual framework of functionalism. An example of this is the secularization process taking place in the church and its religious subsystems in their relationships to the wider secular order in which they are situated. This change has been based on a transposition of values, norms, attitudes, and behaviour patterns in the Catholic social system and has been internalized in its religious subsystems. The present study views the secularization of religious women as a process of change in terms of relationships in which the initial emphasis has been on rules guarding the religious from any unnecessary contacts with the "world" to a gradual acceptance of activities, as well as formal and informal associations within the secular milieu.

Other chapters have attempted to validate, through historical and archival research, a second central hypothesis of the present study: that changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women. The concluding statements of the questionnaire sought to ascertain the attitudes of the members toward selected structural changes in the congregation and their contribution to the secularization of religious. In the question immediately preceding these evaluations, the sisters were asked how they thought secularization had affected the relationship between God and man. It was anticipated that the answer to this question would be helpful to them in responding to the related

questions which followed.

The majority of members were polarized in their attitudes toward this effect of secularization. About 40 percent of the respondents thought that secularization caused the relationship between God and man to be either closer together or farther apart. Only 14 percent felt that the relationship would remain unchanged. It is questionable at this time whether the polarization is an indication of the presumed effects of secularization or of nebulous knowledge about the nature of the secularization process.

The reactions of the respondents to the questions which followed the foregoing are presented in Table XII. In these items the respondents were asked whether they agreed with statements suggesting that selected changes in the religious organization had contributed to the secularization of its members.

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP OF SELECTED CHANGES TO SECULARIZATION

Areas of Change	*Dis.	Nei.	Agr.	Total
Increased secular participation..	21%	28%	51%	100%
Changes within the convent.....	22	27	51	100
Visitors and use of facilities...	35	30	35	100
Communications and mass media....	31	28	41	100
Change in religious attire.....	26	19	55	100
Leaving convent premises.....	25	25	50	100

*Disagree Neither/nor Agree with statement

There was a presumption that the majority of respondents would be quite positive in their assessment of general changes in the sacred and secular aspects of their lives, and the relationship of these changes to secularization. Additionally, there was an assumption that the degree of association between change and its effect would vary from one change area to another. Table XII discloses several contradictory points. In four out of the six areas of change, about 50 percent of the respondents agreed that this particular change had contributed to the secularization of religious women. This was a smaller majority response than had been expected. It was also surprising to find practically no variation in agreement for four areas and no great variation from the other two. The respondents agreed that increased secular participation, changes in life-styles within the religious house, changes in religious attire, and additional reasons for leaving convent premises had contributed to the secularization of the members. Three of these pertain to involvement in the wider society so this is not an unexpected finding.

There was a diversity of opinion among a majority of the members in regard to two other areas of change. In these two, there was a polarization of attitudes among the respondents. A similar number (35%) of the sisters disagreed as to whether visitors and the use of convent facilities contribute to secularization. Likewise, 31 percent disagreed and 41 percent agreed that personal communications and the use of

mass media were related to secularization of sisters. It is apparent in Table XII that the members are not so sure that secular influences coming into the convent are as closely related to secularization as are changes which permit the members freer access to the secular milieu.

For purposes of comparison a parallel tabulation has been prepared which shows the expected rank order and the actual order of response given in a consideration of sacred-secular changes contributing to secularization among religious women.

Expectation	Reality
1. Leaving convent premises	1. Change in religious attire
2. Change in religious attire	2. Increased secular participation
3. Increased secular participation	3. Changes within the convent
4. Communications and mass media	4. Leaving convent premises
5. Visitors and sharing facilities	5. Communications and mass media
6. Changes within the convent	6. Visitors and sharing facilities

It is apparent that the expectations were not met. Three changes which were expected to be strongly related to secularization were ranked as less so, although they were not markedly different from the expectation. These changes were related to leaving convent premises, communications and mass media, as well as visitors and sharing convent facilities. The most surprising difference pertained to changes within the convent as contributing to secularization. Could the members be suggesting that less time is given to sacred concerns within the religious dwelling?

It is obvious that the majority of sisters consider change in religious attire as the most important contributing factor in the secularization of religious. This response may be compared with one presented in Table VIII in which 52 percent of the members felt that the amount of change in garb had been "about right." However, since the remaining 48 percent disagreed with it, one may deduce that there is a potential conflict among the members over the habit issue. Prior to Vatican II, religious women were often reminded of the dangers of "worldliness," which results from careless observance of the safeguards of Enclosure. Worldliness may be described as a set of values based on material or worldly ends, as opposed to the idea of spiritual and other-worldly goals in life. It is plausible that many members may associate secularization with worldliness and have related both terms with present and future changes in religious attire. This may have singular application to wearing or not wearing the veil in public places.

Another development posited in Table XII is the fact that half of the members consider changes in secular participation, as well as changes taking place within the convent itself, as contributing equally (51%) to the secularization of religious. This is subject to much speculation and subsequent analysis. It is likewise noteworthy that only half of the members felt that leaving the convent premises for greater involvement in a secular milieu encouraged secularization.

This is less than had been expected, and does not reinforce the traditional exhortations which stipulated that a dedicated religious woman did not become involved in pursuits outside the cloister. There is a clear indication that secular influences which permeate the religious dwelling via visitors, communications, publications, and mass media, are considered less influential sources of secularization. Yet, when they were actually presented they gave rise to a diversity of attitudes among the members.

One of the major hypotheses of the whole study is supported. The findings summarized in Table XIII indicate that the majority of the respondents agree that changes in the general areas--the gradual encroachment of the secular on the sacred, or the gradual extension of the secular to the sacred--have contributed to the secularization of religious women. What is not apparent at this time is the respondent's understanding of secularization. One sister sent back the following comment with her answer sheet: "Secularization can mean worldly or involved in secular affairs but not worldly. It is possible to be involved in secular affairs for religious reasons. However, your question seems to indicate the 'worldly' meaning, and so I answered it in that sense."

The central hypothesis of the survey research is not verified in two of the questions in Table XII in which the majority of the members were polarized on those areas of change relating to visitors, sharing of convent facilities, personal

communications, and the use of mass media as contributing to the secularization of religious women.

Summary and Conclusion

In Chapter V, the marginal distributions of the mailed questionnaire have revealed a variety of reactions among the respondents toward structural changes which have taken place in a religious social system. The chapter was designed to continue, through the instrumentality of a survey, the sociological analysis of structural changes which have occurred in the life-styles of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The central hypothesis tested in the empirical research was: members in a selected religious system (SSND) are not polarized in their attitudes toward changes which have occurred in the traditional sacred-secular dimensions of their lives.

The general conclusion which emerged from that portion of the survey data which dealt with reviewing the amount of change which had generally occurred in various aspects of the sacred-secular spheres was that the majority of the members were not polarized in their attitudes toward these modifications. Nor was there any polarization in the attitudes of the members in their assessment of the effects of secular participation on their commitment to the sacred concerns of their lives. However, a majority of the members did manifest a polarity in their thinking about some of the changes pertaining to traditional Enclosure norms, e.g., schedule alterations in the local religious house, the use of convent facilities by nonmembers,

the wearing of the veil in secular situations, and recreational attire for the members.

It is obvious, then, that there is evidence which suggests that the central hypothesis was not completely corroborated in the findings of the survey research. Inasmuch as there was an 80 percent response from the selected sample, the 1972 general chapter will have to review again whether or not to maintain the status quo, or to continue the endorsement of changes in favour of contemporary modification.

Several related hypotheses were also tested in Chapter V. These pertained to the non-polarized attitudes of the members toward multiple aspects of structural change and its effect on the membership. The first related hypothesis proposed that the majority of the members would feel that the amount of change which had occurred in the congregation was "about right." An examination of the relevant evidence substantiating the amount of change which had generally taken place in the five areas of traditional enclosure, as well as other aspects of the sacred and the secular, validated the first related hypothesis.

The research findings did not completely support the second related hypothesis: The majority of respondents would be quite positive in evaluating the effects of these sacred-secular changes in their lives. In regard to the present degree of increased participation in most secular areas, the greater degree of acceptance was in favour of social and service

visiting as well as for enjoyment. The respondents were likewise not strongly positive, but only mildly neutral in evaluating the effects of secular participation on their sacred commitments.

The third related hypothesis proposed that the majority of respondents would be undecided about the effects of sacred-secular change on membership growth and decline. Four questions in the survey dealt with these issues. In two out of the four questions, the members were undecided about the effects of secular-sacred change on membership patterns. The third related hypothesis was thus only partially verified through the research findings.

Another central hypothesis of the present study assumed that changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women. In four out of six statements dealing with change and its effects, the majority of members agreed that change in attire, in the convent itself, in secular participation, as well as departure from the convent premises all contributed to the secularization of religious women. However, there was a polarity of attitudes among a majority of the respondents about change in communication, mass media, visitors, and sharing of convent facilities in relationship to secularization. It could be concluded, in light of the foregoing facts, that this central hypothesis was upheld in the survey research inasmuch as two-thirds of the questions elicited agreement among the respondents as to the effect of

the proposed change.

In chapter VI a more complex analytic procedure will be used in a continuing analyses of the survey data. The research will seek to determine the consistency of attitudinal responses to normative changes and their effects on the individual members as well as on the organization. The findings will be enriched by the use of additional research techniques.

CHAPTER VI

THE ATTITUDE SCORE AND SACRED-SECULAR CHANGES

The Observation Method

Realizing that the survey method combines well with other methods, survey researchers have utilized a variety of clinical and quasi-clinical techniques, such as the focused and unfocused interview as well as projective devices and participant observation to enrich their data. On the other hand, participant observers have utilized sample surveys to extend the range of their observations. The variety of combinations in use among the various research techniques is so extensive that Diesing suggests "survey research and participant observation can now be seen as two ends of a continuum, rather than as two distinct kinds of methods."[1] (Not all scientists would agree with this suggestion; some favouring observational methods view them as distinct from data gathering.) Becker and Geer express their genuine satisfaction with participant observation thus:

> The most complete form of sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it. An observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence. Such a datum gives us more information about the event under

---

[1]Paul Diesing, Patterns of Discovery in the Social Sciences (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1967), p. 5.

> study than data gathering by any other sociological method. Participant observation can thus provide us with a yardstick against which to measure the completeness of data gathered in other ways, a model which can serve to let us know what orders of information escape us when we use other methods. 2

There are a number of observational techniques. Two of these are utilized in the present analysis: participant observation and interviewing. It has been stated that the hallmark of the survey method is standardized data gathering; whereas a major characteristic of observation and interviewing in the field is its non-standardization.[3] This permits the interviewer or the participant observer to change the direction of the research as he sees fit in order to collect more critical data for the testing of his hypotheses. Each field situation can then be approached in a relaxed manner to gather helpful information, with no undue concern about its comparability for statistical purposes.

The primary subject matter of the participant observation method is a single, self-maintaining social system. The researcher constructs hypotheses about this social system and tests these against the data he has collected through a variety of research techniques. A basic hypothesis of this

---

[2]Howard S. Becker and Blanche Geer, "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison," Issues in Participant Observation (Ontario: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969), p. 323.

[3]John P. Dean, Robert L. Eickhorn, Lois R. Dean, "Observation and Interviewing," An Introduction to Social Research, ed. John T. Doby (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), p. 275.

study pertains to the relationship between two social systems and the influence of the major system (Catholic church) on its subsystem (The School Sisters of Notre Dame). The attitudes of the church and the congregation toward secular society have been tested in preceding chapters through the use of pre-existing documentary material. It will be further validated through survey and observational methods.

Two other hypotheses are related to structural changes within the social system and the attitudes of the members toward these. Through a process of external and internal differentiation,the religious social system has changed from an almost total withdrawal from the secular world to a willing involvement within it. This process of change is delineated in the study as the secularization of religious women, with the main contributing factor being alteration of the traditional norms of Enclosure. Hypotheses related to this process are:

> Changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women.
>
> Members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives.

These two hypotheses have been tested in an examination of the survey data. In succeeding chapters there will be a more extensive analysis of the survey findings through a variety of statistical tests. Observational methods will contribute additional insights to the continued validation of the major hypotheses.

The mailed questionnaire contained only closed mutliple

choice questions which facilitated communication and provided an established response pattern. However, it did not permit the respondents an opportunity to comment or explain their position on a given question. To offset these limitations, observational methods were introduced to complement the survey information. The researcher assumed the roles of participant, observer, discussant, and interviewer, mindful that "Every field work role is at once a social interaction device for securing information for scientific purposes and a set of behaviors in which an observer's self is involved."[4]

Some social researchers have suggested four theoretically possible roles for sociologists conducting field work. They range from the complete participant at one end to the complete observer at the other.[5] Since this investigator has been a professed member of her congregation for over twenty years, she could easily assume the role of complete participant in each convent she visited. This meant that she followed the daily schedule of the members with its allotted times for spiritual exercises, meals, professional and recreational activities. She found as she moved from one geographical province to another, that the schedule of activities differed very little in each religious house.

As an observer, she noted the attitudes of the members

---

[4]Raymond L. Gold, "Roles in Sociological Field Observation," Sociological Methods, ed. Norman K. Denzin (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), p. 371.

[5]Ibid., p. 370.

toward selected changes in the sacred and secular dimensions of their lives. There were definite manifestations of differences between the provinces and within them, in regard to change. Some provinces were initiating changes in work, government in the local house, and religious attire more rapidly than were others. Likewise, within the provinces these adaptations were being implemented more quickly in some houses and more slowly in others.

In her role as discussant, the researcher presented selected findings of the questionnaire to a meeting of the local house group. They were encouraged to react to this data and to conjecture as to why the members were not polarized in their attitudes. Valuable information concerning change in the five areas of traditional Enclosure was obtained at this time. Following the discussion in both personal and group contacts, the sisters shared personal reactions and information with her. These provided additional insights into the ramifications of change at the local and provincial level. Some members also gave suggestions about possible sources of attitude formation among them.

The participant observer experience was a fruitful one for the researcher. During the field research, she kept in mind the comments of Greer:

> One of the major ways of exploring social situations is through interacting with protagonists. Whether one is a participant observer or an observing participant, his chances of intuiting the rationale of behavior are increased by playing a part in a game. Through his imaginings of the

> imaginations of others he gains awareness of their expectations, learning like any participant, but analyzing in another frame of reference. This kind of understanding (verstehen, Max Weber termed it), is an intense and realistic effort to see the situation from the point of view of the actors in it. 6

Her findings will be used to supplement those of the survey method in the remaining chapters.

The Interview Technique

It has been pointed out that a major characteristic of observation and interviewing during the field research is its non-standardization. A second characteristic of these techniques is that they make effective use of the relationships the researcher establishes with informants in the field for the purpose of eliciting data.[7] In her roles as participant and discussant, the researcher endeavoured to establish herself as a member who was interested in the congregation and who believed it had made great strides in the processes of adaptation and renewal according to the decrees of Vatican II. The informants appeared impressed with the research data as it presented the changing roles of the congregation--formerly as a preserver of tradition and now as an agent of change. The participant felt that she gained the confidence of the sisters in the religious houses she visited, both as a researcher and as a member of the congregation.

---

[6]Scott Greer, The Logic of Social Inquiry (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 167.

[7]Dean, et al, p. 275.

Personal interviews[8] were obtained with the superior of the convent, the principal of the school, if she was home at the time; and with at least one sister who had been a member of that local group, preferably for an extended period of time. Some sisters in many convents voiced their disappointment that time did not permit more of them to be interviewed. Instead, the interviewer had to settle for personal or small-group comments. The unstructured interview guide followed at these sessions dealt with the effects of Enclosure change on the secular participation and sacred commitments of the members. It also probed the effects of adaptation on the growth pattern of the organization. The interviewer was particularly interested in the interviewee's understanding of secularization and its effect on religious women. As a participant observer she studied each house group for manifestations of secularization in their life styles.

In her role as interviewer, she used an unstructured interview schedule. In this type of interview she could be quite flexible in adapting her approach to whatever appeared to be most fruitful for a given respondent. Phillips[9] believes that if the interviewer is not confined by the limits of a

---

[8]Authors of research texts seem to differ in their categorization of the interview technique. Some include it in an explanation of survey research. Others list it with observational methods, while others treat it as a distinct method in itself. This study will include the interview as related to observation methods, but as a distant technique of this type of research.

[9]Bernard S. Phillips, Social Research: Strategy and Tactics (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), p. 129.

standardized interview, he will be able to develop new ideas about the phenomena under investigation. This will enable him to go considerably beyond the original formulation of the problem. In the interview situation, it was found that superiors differed from school principals in their assessments, and subjects differed from administrators. The interviews often lasted longer than the researcher had planned because of the flexibility of questions, and the cooperative interest of the interviewee. However, this fact limited the number of sisters who could be interviewed in each religious residence. The experiences of the interviewer prompt her to concur with Benny and Hughes who say "...the interview is still more than tool and object of study. It is the art of sociological sociability, the game which we play for the pleasure of savoring its subtleties."[10]

Value of Several Methodologies in One Study

In the performance phase of the sociological study, the researcher collected her own data through the use of the survey method and the observation method. Informal notes taken during the discussions and interviews were added to the personal observations of the participant. This data will be added to the survey findings as the analysis progresses.

Research texts and scientific publications point out

---

[10]Mark Benny and Everett C. Hughes, "Of Sociology and the Interview," Sociological Methods, ed. Norman K. Denzin (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970), p. 190.

the advantages and disadvantages of the different methodologies. For example, Phillips[11] states that at the present stage of development in social science, very little is known about interview and questionnaire situations. Some individuals feel that researchers will never have the degree of knowledge needed to control what goes on in these situations. In that case, questionnaire construction and interview techniques would always be something of an art, in his estimation.

The investigator believes she has enriched her study by employing different types of methodologies. She has not favoured one over the other, but has utilized each method when it was suitable for answering a particular research question she had in mind. The survey method presented findings which pertained to the members' attitudes concerning structural changes in the religious system. Because the data was collected anonymously, there is every indication that the members were sincere in their assessments of these changes. The field research provided information about the sources of the members' attitudes and their effect on the life styles of the individual and the local group of which they were members. In using survey research, the investigator assumed that the study of attitudes and behaviour would produce knowledge about the social life of committed women in the process of change, and that the use of additional research techniques in the field would yield an understanding of these attitudes and behaviour patterns that

---

[11]Phillips, p. 128.

could only be achieved by actively participating in the life of the observed. As she continued the analysis,basing it on the interrelationship of these research methods, she had to be aware of their limitations, as has been pointed out by Diesing:

> ...all methods are fully self-corrective. There is nothing in science that is immune to change, no hypothesis so completely verified that it is beyond question, no completely perfected technique, no one ultimate model. 12

Attitude Toward the Amount of Change Score

A major purpose of the research instrument was to solicit different degrees of attitudinal response. To do this, the question asked had to be such as to give that kind of information on which judgments of degree could be based. The items did not ask the individual to make a direct judgment about her attitude. Rather, she was asked to indicate her agreement or disagreement with a series of statements pertaining to changes in the sacred-secular dimensions of her life. From her replies to these statements, a score could be computed which would indicate her position on a scale of favourable or unfavourable attitudes toward these changes in the religious organization.

There are different types of scales that can be used for the measurement of attitudes. Of interest to this study is the summated scale,chosen in preference to the rating scale.

---

[12]Diesing, p. 296.

A summated scale consists of a series of items to which the subject is asked to react. The respondent indicates his agreement or disagreement with each statement, rather than checking only those statements with which he agrees. The responses to each item is given numerical scores and these are summed to give the total score for each individual. The total score is interpreted as representing her position on a scale of favourable or unfavourable attitudes toward the research topic. Selltiz explains the rationale for using total scores as a basis for placing individuals on a scale:

> The probability of agreeing with any one of a series of favorable items about an object, or of disagreeing with any unfavorable item, varies directly with the degree of favorableness of an individual's attitude. Thus, one could expect an individual with a favorable attitude to respond favorably to many items...an ambivalent individual to respond unfavorably to some and favorably to others; an individual with an unfavorable attitude to respond unfavorably to many items. 13

There is no set pattern as to how many response categories should be used for a summated scale. The Likert-type scale is the one most frequently used in the study of social attitudes. Likert used five categories of agreement-disagreement, but other researchers have used a smaller and some a larger number of categories. Many summated scales simply ask the respondents to agree or disagree with an item and have no other categories.

---

[13]Claire Selltiz et al. Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1959), p.366.

In a Likert-type scale, the subjects are asked to respond in terms of several degrees of agreement or disagreement; e.g.,(1) strongly approve, (2) approve, (3) undecided, (4) disapprove, (5) strongly disapprove. These responses are scored in such a way that a response indicative of the most favourable attitude is given the highest score. The researcher then scores all the responses consistently in terms of the attitudinal pattern he has decided upon. The total score for each individual is computed by summing his item scores.

Compilation of the Score

The second and third sections of the survey questionnaire contained many statements which elicited different degrees of attitudinal response. However, not all of them were designed for use in an attitudinal scale. The scale was to include only those items which pertained to the extent of change in Enclosure and other sacred-secular aspects of the committed life. Into the survey research design was then built a sequence of questions to measure the respondents' attitudes toward selected changes in the religious social system. A Likert-type response pattern was employed which asked SSND members to respond to the selected items as being: (1) definitely too great a change; (2) too great a change; (3) about right; (4) too little change; or (5) definitely too little change. It was presumed that these responses might also be characterized along a "Conservative-Liberal" attitude continuum.

To test whether these apparently different areas of

change were inter-related, the responses were given the following weights: response (1)=1, response (2)=3, response (3)=5, response (4)=7, and response (5)=9. The highest scores favoured "too little change." Each item was then scored and all were summed and averaged to obtain a total score. It was labeled "Attitude Toward the Amount of Change Score." In the course of the research this title was shortened to "Attitude Score" or the "Score"; and since it is an important part of the analysis, it will be capitalized. In the Attitude Score, an average from 1 to 3 would indicate that the respondent felt there had been "too much change." A Score from 4 to 6 would place the respondent among those who thought the changes were "about right" or it could suggest a rejecting of half and half, which would admit a balanced response pattern. A Score from 7 to 9 would indicate the respondents felt there was "too little change." The various items comprising the Attitude Score are presented in Table XIII.

The researcher who employs a Likert type scale is not only interested in having respondents place themselves on an attitude continuum for each statement, but is also concerned with the unidimensionality of the measurement tool. This means that the Score should relate one idea, in this instance the amount of change which had taken place in selected sacred-secular dimensions of the committed life. It is expected, then, that the manifest contents of the items should be a sure guide to what the items actually measure. The initial selection of

items was based on similarity of phrasing and a personal judgment of their theoretical significance; that is to say, the items were carefully selected to cover all domains of change in which these interests centered. Correlation techniques werethen introduced to examine the unidimensionality of the Attitude Score. To do this, the researcher correlated the score for each of the ten items with the total Score.

TABLE XIII

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMOUNT OF CHANGE SCORE

Selected Variables for Score	r
Enclosure changes pertaining to life within the convent	.79
Enclosure changes pertaining to visitors and to the use of convent facilities	.73
Enclosure changes pertaining to the personal communications of the members and the use of mass media in the convent	.62
Enclosure changes pertaining to religious attire	.77
Enclosure changes pertaining to reasons why sisters may leave the convent premises	.77
Increased opportunities for secular participation permitted to the sisters	.74
Schedule changes which provide for times when the members participate in spiritual exercises together	.65
Certain daily spiritual exercises have become the responsibility of the individual religious	.62
In the light of the documents emerging from Vatican Council II, there have been changes in the understanding and observance of the vows	.72
According to the suggestions in the new SSND Constitution, there have been changes in community living patterns.	.51

Pearson's r, which is often referred to as the "product moment correlation," measures the amount of spread about the linear least squares equation. If all points are exactly on the straight line, r will be 1.0--either positive or negative. The better the fit, the larger the magnitude of r. Table XIII shows that six of the Score items have a correlation of .70+ and three items have a correlation of .60+. The magnitude of these numbers, indicates a high positive correlation between the Score and the items within it. The high correlations between the variables are indicative of the unidimensionality of the Attitude Score.

Since each item was included in the total Score and these were later crosstabulated with it, a correlation measure of .32 would indicate that the relationship was spurious. Table XIII has no correlation which is less than .51; most are much higher. It is also apparent that the more the items dealt with an altering of the life styles of the members toward a this-worldly orientation (convent living, attire, leaving the premises), the higher the correlation. All items in the Score pertain to the sisters' traditional life styles, which have changed considerably since Vatican II. Many of these changes have oriented the religious toward more secular involvements within and without the religious house. Others have sought to preserve those life styles with an other-worldly orientation--spiritual exercises, vows, community living. These latter do not have as high a correlation with the Attitude Score.

If any item were to be dropped from the Score, it would be the one pertaining to change in community living patterns (.51), which had the lowest correlation. It was retained because, while much lower than the other nine correlations, it was much higher than the correlation level (.32) established as a measure of internal consistency. Contrary to expectations developed earlier (see Chapter V), no break in internal consistency occurred relative to religious attire (r=.77) or increased secular participation (r=.74). It appeared, rather in secular influences within the religious house (r=.62) and community living patterns (r=.51), as well as in the members' spiritual exercises both communal (r=.65) and personal (r=.62).

Table XIII, then, displays a high level of internal consistency which is interpretable. Substantially, this means that despite the apparently different topics measured in the questions--vows, spiritual exercises, community living patterns, traditional Enclosure observance, and secular participation--most respondents reacted similarly to all of them. There is evidence here that a general acceptance or rejection of the changes in the traditional sacred-secular life styles of the members typically occurred in the North American Provinces of the School Sisters of Notre Dame.

Distribution of Sample on the Score

The purpose of the Attitude Score is to assign individuals to numerical positions in order to make distinctions of

degree possible. This is in relation to their generalized attitudes toward the amount of change which has occurred in the sacred-secular dimensions of their life. The Score cannot provide us with subtle insights about the individuals themselves; it is only a technique for locating the members on a continuum in relation to one another. This is in relative and not in absolute terms. Table XIV presents a distribution of the respondents on the Attitude Score, both in general findings and according to age categories.

In the general distribution of the respondents on the Attitude Score, the largest numbers are found in the "About Right" category. This means that 83% (1,203) of the members agreed that the amount of change had been acceptable to them. Among the other respondents, more indicated that "too much" 11% (154) rather than "too little change" 6% (85), had taken place in selected areas of their life. This general distribution suggests that about four-fifths of the members are satisfied with the amount of sacred-secular change which has occurred in the congregation.

This finding was also supported by the field research. In both formal and informal discussions with the members, their positive acceptance of these sacred-secular changes was expressed. They emphasized that the new freedoms from the restrictions of Enclosure, made them feel more human, more relaxed, and more mature. Such changes provided opportunities to be of greater service to their relatives, associates, and others with specific

needs. These experiences enriched their lives and deepened their sense of personal and social responsibility. They felt that increased contacts with the world beyond the convent had broadened their outlook on life and made them more aware of social change.

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ON SCORE: IN GENERAL AND BY AGE

	Attitude Score	In General		Under 40		From 40-60		Over 60	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Too much change	1	11	.8	--	--	2	.4	9	2.4
	2	42	2.9	1	.2	9	1.6	32	8.4
	3	101	7.0	2	.4	19	3.4	80	21.0
About right	4	227	15.7	15	3.0	95	16.9	116	30.4
	5	790	54.8	280	56.2	371	66.1	138	36.2
	6	186	12.9	129	25.9	54	9.6	3	.8
Too little change	7	58	4.0	49	9.8	6	1.1	3	.8
	8	20	1.4	16	3.2	4	.7	-	-
	9	7	.5	6	1.2	1	.2	-	-
	Total	1442	100.0	498	100.0	561	100.0	381	100.0

Who are the satisfied in the survey? Table XIV shows that there are members of all ages in the "about right" category, but the middle-aged sisters (93%) appear to be the most satisfied with the amount of change. In this category more

of the younger members (85%) are satisfied than are the older (67%). Since almost all of the middle-aged sisters felt that the changes had been "about right," this leaves the dissatisfied sisters in the other age categories. But their perspectives are different. Among the older members the predominant attitude was that there had been "too much change" (32%) rather than "too little" (.8%). Conversely, among the younger sisters the stronger feeling was that there had been "too little" (14%) rather than "too much" (.6%) change.

The information presented in Table XIV again supports a major hypothesis of the present study since it clearly shows that the members are not polarized in their attitudes toward selected changes. This difference in attitudes, as related to age, is not an unexpected finding in the study. It will be examined in greater detail as the research analysis progresses. The factor which was unexpected is the large number of younger members (62%) who were satisfied with the amount of change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their life.

Some of the preceding chapters have suggested major reasons why the majority of the present members would feel that the amount of change in these areas of the committed life had been "about right." These were further substantiated in the field research. They were: the traditional stance of the congregation toward Enclosure observance and gradual modification of it; increasing flexibility of institutional structures; participation of members in the change process itself; and loss

of some dissatisfied members whose views might have contributed to polarization. In addition to these, the members contributed a number of other suggestions about satisfaction with current changes. These were related to: the leadership in the congregation; the example of other religious institutes; the influence of nonmembers; the age range of the present members; the areas of the country in which the order functioned; and the major nationality groups in the organization.

In regard to leadership, many discussants felt that superiors on all governmental levels of the congregation tended toward a moderate approach to change and its implementation. They believed that this position was reflected in a similar attitude on the part of many members. A number cited the example of other religious groups who had initiated sweeping changes. These were said to have suffered from polarization and conflicts among their members. It was felt that they had served as an example to SSND to pursue a more moderate course of change. Others felt that the comments and criticisms of the laity, who often spoke openly of their reactions to the changes taking place among religious women, served as a deterrent to more drastic change.

The age range of the present members was likewise noted as a major contributing factor toward moderate response. With fewer recruits, the median age in each province is increasing. This means that most sisters who have functioned under stricter norms would be happy with the mitigations, and would tend to

adopt a moderate position toward change. In that case, liberal minded recruits would hardly be attracted to the congregation, and thus the status quo would be maintained.

Still others pointed out that areas of the country in which the organization functioned were relevant factors in maintaining the status quo. Most SSND houses are located in the Eastern, Southern, and Mid-western sections of North America--areas with conservative leanings. Likewise, the nationality backgrounds of the members, which are predominantly German and Polish, were given as influences toward attitude formation. These are considered to be nationality groups with strong traditionalist orientations. Later analysis will test the strength of geographical location to the Attitude Score.

Discussions with the sisters made it possible to check the validity of the Attitude Score along a Conservatice-Liberal continuum. These terms were not defined by the members, but were used according to popular implications. The discussions usually began by seeking to characterize the central position on the Score. Some members questioned the connotation of "about right." Did it mean satisfaction with the present amount of changes or fear of additional changes in these areas? However, the vast majority agreed that "about right" could best be interpreted as an attitude of satisfaction among the members. Many also agreed that this position could be labeled a moderate one on the attitude continuum.

However, some sisters questioned the use of the

traditional terms for categorizing those who were left or right of center as Liberals and Conservatives. They wondered if those SSND respondents who believed that there had been "too much change" would be voicing a conservative position? Few discussants were acquainted with or had heard of any members who wished to preserve the sacred-secular traditions in the order as they had been before Vatican II. Nor were they aware of any members who were resisting or opposing changes introduced after the Council. Rather than resist authority, they had accepted the changes initiated by the general chapters and implemented by provincial administrators. The consensus seemed to be that sisters who were saying there had been "too much change" were referring to local convents in which some members had not shown prudence in their implementation of these changes. This had led them to feel dissatisfied with the amount of change occurring in certain aspects of their life.

Likewise, the discussants were hesitant about labelling members of the congregation as Liberals. In seeking to assess why some had responded that there was "too little change," it was assumed that this, too, might point to a local situation in which some members felt they were not able to fully enjoy the adaptations permitted them. There was some talk of sisters who had received permission to live in nonreligious houses, to work in a secular milieu, and to wear secular attire or go without their veil on some occasions. However, the discussion

groups felt that most of these SSND members had not done this to challenge tradition or established institutions, but to satisfy the needs of an individual or a group. Would this then characterize them as Liberals?

The discussions with the members offered additional insights about the characterization of the major categories on the Attitude Score. Their responses were summarized and compared with formal characteristics of conservatism and liberalism in an effort to come to some understanding of these typologies. Sargent has recently published a comparative analysis Contemporary Political Ideologies, in which he defines ideology as...

> a value or belief system that is accepted as fact or truth by some group. It is composed of sets of attitudes toward the various institutions and processes of society. It provides the believer with a picture of the world both as it is and as it should be, and, in so doing, it organizes the tremendous complexity of the world into something fairly simple and understandable. 14

In his discussion of the ideology of democracy, Sargent speaks of liberalism and conservatism. He views these two entities primarily as attitudes toward change, resting uneasily between reaction and revolution, within the democratic tradition.

Conservatism tends to differ from place to place and time to time. It is hard to generalize about conservatism, but the following are basic characteristics as described by

---

[14]Lyman Tower Sargent, Contemporary Political Ideologies (Ontario: Irwin-Dorsey Limited, 1972), p. 1.

Sargent:

1. Resistance to change
2. Reverence for tradition and a distrust of human reason
3. Rejection of the use of government to improve the human condition--ambivalence regarding governmental activity
4. Favouring individual freedom but willing to limit freedom
5. Anti-egalitarian distrust of human nature [15]

Being basic, these characteristics do not seem to change much over time.

SSND members in the category of those who thought there had been "too much change" could not be considered as true conservatives because they do not reject the use of government to change conditions in the congregation. It is true that they are prone to resist change and have a reverence for tradition; but when lawful authority in the church or in the congregation promulgates modification of traditional mores, they are among the first to accept them. They will not agitate for change. They may lament innovations, but their reverence for higher authority will motivate them to redefine their subjective reality in favour of the changes being implemented.

Liberalism possesses one of the problems of conservatism: it changes from time to time and place to place. However, it can be characterized in ways that demonstrate its difference from conservatism. Sargent also outlines liberalism as...

1. Having a tendency to favour change
2. Possessing faith in human reason

---

[15] Ibid., p. 98.

3. Being willing to use government to improve the human condition
4. Favouring individual freedom
5. Being ambivalent regarding human nature [16]

Liberals want more change, but within the framework of the social system. They are not radicals seeking to change, independent of structure.

Some of the characteristics of liberalism would apply to those members who said there was "too little change." They would have a strong tendency to favour change and would put their faith in the leadership of sisters suggesting continued modifications. However, only to a limited degree would the dissatisfied be willing to use governmental authority to improve conditions. Such members feel those in authority function too slowly and only after considerable pressure has been put on them. For this reason, the Liberals would be ambivalent about formal authority as an agent of change and would instead be more trusting of human nature. Not from authority, but rather from among innovative members would they seek endorsement for change and solutions to their problems.

The additional information gleaned from discussion and observations clarified somewhat the meaning of the categories of the Attitude Score. Those members who felt there was "too much change" possessed some but not all of the characteristics of conservatism. They were not against change as such, but against continued change in selected areas of religious life. In the study they will be referred to as "Conservatives," to

---

[16] Ibid., p. 101

indicate the limitations of this connotation. The same procedure will be followed for those members who replied that there was "too little change." They, too,do not possess all the designated characteristics of liberalism, but their basic attitudes are oriented toward continued change through the use of human reason and personal freedom. They will be labelled "Liberals." The satisfied members, those who thought the changes were "about right," will be referred to simply as Moderates.

Perusal of the research data revealed the attitudes of the respondents toward the selected changes in terms of the Attitude Score. Additional discussions with members substantiated the general findings that there were degrees of difference in their attitudes toward change. The field experience did not completely clarify the direction of additional characterization of the respondents. An examination of the characteristics of liberalism and conservatism as attitudes related to the ideology of democracy helped the researcher to decide that the members were not completely conservative nor liberal in their attitudes toward change, but that they possessed some of the characteristics of these polar types. The meaning and labels finally given to the different groups of respondents was indeed clarified through the field research.

Relationship of Attitude Score to Questionnaire Items

It has been established, through the test of internal consistency, that the ten items forming the Score are highly

interrelated and may be said to largely "measure the same thing." But this alone does not suggest that the Attitude Score has great theoretical or analytical significance. Only if it can be demonstrated that the Score is related to a larger number of other questions that were asked can one be sure of its usefulness. Table XV presents the relationship of the Attitude Score to items in the questionnaire. These have been organized into five categories. Three of the five categories pertain to the traditional sacred-secular dimensions of the study--Enclosure norms, secular participation, and sacred commitments. The other two categories include items which concern the effects of these sacred-secular changes in regard to--membership and secularization.

TABLE XV

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Categories of Items	V = .25	V = .25+
Enclosure norm changes	11	21
Secular participation changes	12	2
Sacred commitment changes	9	2
Membership pattern changes	1	7
Secularization changes	0	7
Total	33	37

Cramer's V was selected as the measure of association, for it is one of the association measures based on chi square.

The upper limits of V are unity; when the variables are independent, its lower limits are zero. V is particularly appropriate to this study because it eliminates the influence of large numbers in the sample.[17] It was arbitrarily assumed that any item having a V of .25 or more would be closely related to the Attitude Score. Those items which are found to have substantial relationships to the Score may be considered as measuring the general response pattern of either accepting or rejecting change. They would then become less important for further analysis.

General Relationship of Score to Items

It is apparent in Table XV that all items related to Secularization and most to Membership are functioning within the shadow of the Score. Although the majority (21) of Enclosure items have a V of .25 or more, there are a substantial number (11) which do not. These Enclosure items, then, as well as variables in categories pertaining to Secular participation and Sacred commitments warrant further analysis in the study.

Through personal interviews with some of the members in each convent visited during the field research, it became evident that the majority of interviewees did not have a clear understanding of the term "secularization." It was therefore difficult for them to relate changes in Enclosure to the secularization of religious women. It appeared as though they

---

[17] Hubert M. Blalock, Social Statistics (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), p. 230.

were responding in terms of their own attitudes toward change generally. This is verified in Table XV.

Would it have been wise to have included in the Score these items related to the categories of Enclosure changes, Membership patterns, and Secularization effects? Probably not, because they would have reduced the theoretical value of the Attitude Score. These items are representative of what is known in statistics as a "general factor." In answering apparently different questions which have been posed, the respondents have demonstrated an unusually strong and consistent pattern in their responses. This has been a pattern which varied from satisfaction-dissatisfaction toward selected changes. One respondent will tend to give a Moderate reply to virtually all questions, another a somewhat Conservative answer to most, and still another a somewhat Liberal response to almost all the questions.

To some degree this means more questions were probably asked in the survey than were really necessary. On the other hand, it means that the Attitude Score is a powerful representative of opinions held by the respondents on a variety of issues. Thus, as we understand what makes some have higher and others lower scores, we are effectively gaining an insight into a large number of attitudes and behaviour patterns of the members.

The Score and Selected Enclosure Changes

Since the Attitude Score has, by normal statistical

standards, high internal consistency, crosstabulations and some field experiences suggested that it would be "powerful Score. The extent of this has been demonstrated in Table XV, wherein 37 out of 70 items in the questionnaire have an association value (V) .25 or more. There were 32 items in the questionnaire pertaining to specific changes in the traditional observance of Enclosure for the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Twenty-one of these items had a value of .25 or more. The strength of the association between the score and specific changes in Enclosure observance is presented in Table XVI.

Generally speaking, the Score relates strongly to all Changes within the Convent itself, as well as to those changes concerning Visitors and Sharing Convent facilities. The relationship between the Score and Communications suggests that additional information is needed in order to understand why particular changes related to Personal Communications and the use of Mass Media are weakly related to the Attitude Score.[18] However, this is consistent with a comparatively low correlation value (r=.62) for Item 151 in the Score itself. This pertains to the amount of change which had generally taken place in

---

[18] In the field research the investigator found little diversity of opinion toward change in this Enclosure area. Many discussants gave examples of their satisfaction with the changes which had occurred, and a few questioned what more could be altered in regard to communications. There seemed to be a consensus about the need for change in regard to personal communications of the members. However, some sisters suggested that the unrestricted use of mass media should be handled more circumspectly.

TABLE XVI

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SPECIFIC ENCLOSURE CHANGES

Specific changes in traditional Enclosure norms	V	Answer
A. Enclosure Changes within the Convent:		
Community room for business functions only	.16	3
Conversation at most meals	.40	1
Weekly suspension of schedule is adequate	.27	3
Have inter-community living patterns in SSND convents	.25	2
Members may live in non-religious houses	.45	1
Plan personal schedule every so often	.30	2
B. Changes in Visitors and Convent Sharing:		
Visitors eat in the sisters' refectory	.37	1
Male guests not permitted in all areas of the convent	.28	3
Should rarely adapt schedule for the needy	.30	3
Convent should be a Christian community center at times	.26	2
Empty rooms should be used for local area meetings	.23	3
Share convent facilities with the wider society	.34	1
C. Changes in Personal and Social Communication:		
No superior should interfere with personal communications	.18	3
Important messages delivered in sealed envelopes	.14	3
Members given time off to produce original work	.15	2
Members should also write for secular periodicals	.34	1
Each sister should have a radio	.14	3
If necessary, convent should have several TV sets	.09	2
Specially trained members should be in media work	.17	3
Pleased that convent subscribes to secular periodicals	.13	2
D. Changes in Religious Attire:		
Sisters need to dress differently from lay women	.37	3
Present habit guidelines permit creativity in dress	.36	3
Sisters have special wardrobes for professional-social duties	.31	2
Veil should not be worn for some secular activities	.47	1
Members may wear slacks for recreational attire	.38	2
Members should not wear the veil for questionable activities	.22	3
E. Changes in Leaving Convent Premises:		
Secular participation should be for enjoyment and service	.27	3
It is acceptable for sisters to travel alone at times	.25	2
Members satisfied with amount of time given to immediate family	.22	2
Sisters should help plan local area events	.25	3
Sisters should be encouraged to work in a secular milieu	.41	1
More members should be active in government programs	.27	3

Communications. The Score generally relates well to changes concerning Religious Attire and to additional reasons for members leaving Convent Premises. In view of the findings of Chapter V, it was surprising to discover that items pertaining to Religious Attire did not show independence from the Score, while most of the items pertaining to secular influences within the religious house did. These findings were anticipated in Chapter V.

It is apparent in Table XVI that the strength of the relationship between the Score and specified Enclosure changes varies from one Enclosure area to another and within each area itself. In general, the relationship alternates from a high V of .47 to a low V of .09. How can this variation be explained? One answer pertains to the type of response pattern used for a question. To maintain the interest of the respondent, three different responses were employed for the 32 questions which related to adaptations of Enclosure. They are given in Table XVI next to the association measure. The first pattern utilized the same responses which characterized the items in the Attitude Score;--the amount of change which had taken place. The two highest V's are related to statements with the first response pattern in Enclosure areas A and B. In Enclosure area C, D, and E, the highest measures are likewise related to this pattern, which ranged from "definitely too much change" to "definitely too little change." It is apparent in Table XVI that the association measures for items with this pattern are all high.

In the second response pattern the attitudes expressed could vary from "deeply dissatisfied" to "deeply satisfied." Of the ten statements utilizing this pattern, two had a V of .30+, five a V of .20+, and three a V of .5 or less. There was more variation in the association measures using this pattern with none reaching a high of .40 or more. The third pattern differed from the others in both wording and direction since it moved from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The 15 items which utilized this pattern also varied in their association measures--four had a V of .30+, six a V of .20+, and five a V of .4+. These two response patterns have more variation in their association measures than does the first pattern, and they never achieve as high a value. Type of response, then, would account for one difference in the strength of the relationship between the Attitude Score and specific changes in traditional Enclosure. That the form of the response pattern offered in a questionnaire can so substantially influence the magnitude of association has perhaps not previously been adequately considered by survey researchers.

A second explanation may be related to the substance of the items themselves, particularly those 11 which had a V below the acceptance level of .25. All Enclosure changes pertain to modifications in life styles of the sisters. In their implementation there is a danger that more emphasis will be placed on the needs of the individual religious rather than on the local group of which she is a member. An examination

of the items showing the least amount of association with the Score may provide further insights. Table XVI shows that in Enclosure Area A, the V of .16 is related to the suggestion that the Community room in the Convent should be used for business functions rather than for social gatherings of the members. A V of .23 in Enclosure Area B suggests that empty rooms in a religious house should be used for small group meetings with people of the local area.

In Enclosure Area D a measure of .22 pertained to sisters not wearing the veil when engaging in activities which laymen might misunderstand and therefore discredit the convent. In Enclosure Area E a V of .22 was related to restrictions on the amount of time a sister gives to her immediate family. Enclosure Area C, in which all the measures had very low values, the statements pertaining to Personal Communications of the members concerned letter writing, personal messages, and a sabbatical leave in which to do creative work. In the items relating to the use of Mass Media there were suggestions concerning personal radios, several TV sets in the religious house, and specially trained members to work in the field of mass communications.

From an appraisal of these items, it is apparent that the Enclosure changes which have the least relationship to the Attitude Score are associated with activities which can draw some members away from interaction with the local house group. This may be an important finding. It also brings to mind the

fact that the lowest correlation on the Attitude Score itself (r = .51) was related to the amount of change which had occurred in community living patterns. These weak relationships seem to reflect the anomalies related to a change of goals in the organization. In the past, individual needs had been subservient to the common good and to group coordination of religious and apostolic functions. The trend toward personalism in the larger society has slowly been incorporated into the changing religious organization. The individual sister is freer to take her own needs into consideration as she makes personal decisions which may at the same time affect the corporate body. The rationale for this was presented in the Directory of the Interim Constitution (1969-70), in a section entitled "The Person in Community":

> It is within the community and because of the community that she can become the fully integrated person God has created her to be.
>
> The Sister has responsibility for decisions which concern herself. In the work assigned her, she assumes responsibility, conscious of the rights and freedom of others.
>
> A community is as strong as the individual members who constitute it. Each sister sees it as her duty, therefore, to contribute in every way to the peace and harmony of her house. [19]

Experiences in the field seem to substantiate the observations about the anomalies of change. During the months of gathering additional information, the topic of Enclosure modifications was often discussed. The spontaneous reaction of the sisters was a satisfied one as they cited changes in

---

[19] Report of the Thirteenth Special General Chapter, "Interim Constitution and General Directory of the School Sisters of Notre Dame" (Rome: General Chapter, 1968), p. 97.

each of the five traditional areas of SSND Enclosure which had proved beneficial to them, both as individuals and members of the group. Deeper probing was often necessary to encourage the members to expose their dissatisfactions with Enclosure changes. This was accomplished by asking, "What do you think some of the sisters meant when they said that there was Too Much or Too Little change in a particular area of Enclosure?" The conflict between individual need and the common good was apparent in many of their responses to this question.

Some of the examples cited by the sisters as being indicative of Too Much change in Enclosure observance centered upon the functioning of the members within the religious house. A number lamented the noise, the informality, and the lack of privacy which now characterizes their convent. They thought that visitors should remain in the main areas of the house and that an individual member should consult the group about any unusual visiting arrangements she was planning, i.e.,having a sick parent convalesce at the convent. Many sisters wished to use their dining facilities, particularly in the evening without being joined by nonmembers. Some suggested that a meal, perhaps breakfast, be eaten in silence once every so often.

It appeared that the lack of peace and quiet in the convent stemmed from general conversation patterns in all areas, and routine use of the radio and TV. Many felt that some silence should still be observed, perhaps in certain convent areas or at stated times. There was dissatisfaction with

the daily schedule. Some members thought it was too flexible while others wanted weekends free from all scheduled activities. It was remarked that the attire and posture of some sisters was not always decorous and professional. These sources of dissatisfaction could be summarized in the comments of many, "We miss the silence, cleanliness, daily order, and close community living of the past." Others questioned, "Is the convent now a hotel, a drop-in center, or a private home?"

Still other dissatisfactions pertained to the exodus of members from the religious house. There was a feeling among many that the sisters were now too much on the move, particularly over weekends and on holidays. Community tasks often fell to those who remained at the convent. Sisters who had no relatives to visit were experiencing great loneliness when most of the community were absent from the religious house. It was likewise felt that some members had more opportunities to visit, to travel, to take vacations,etc.,than did others. Some lacked prudence in the places they visited, their choice of companions, their attire, and the time of their return. This increased mobility of the members presented problems of transportation. Sisters who do not drive are at some disadvantage in using the convent car for transportation. To adapt to the increased exodus of members, different check-out systems have been inaugurated in the local houses.

In regard to items which reflected <u>Too Little</u> change in traditional Enclosure observance, some of the dissatisfaction

of the members centered on the sharing of convent facilities. There were suggestions that nonmembers be invited to join the sisters at their communal and liturgical prayers and services. The convent should be used for meetings of the parish and for people of the local area. New neighbours should be invited over to meet the sisters. The empty rooms in a convent should be shared with the needy, particularly girls and women who have no other place to live. Some members felt that they would like to do more for nonmembers, but they could not because of social pressures within the religious house.

Other sisters wanted to become more involved in activities outside the convent, but they were not encouraged to do so. Many discussants felt that the congregation placed too much emphasis on things and not on persons. Some suggested that there should be more flexible schedules to permit more rest. Likewise, there should be additional use of mass media for recreational and professional reasons. Members should be given the freedom of choice about continuing to wear the religious veil, sport clothes, and/or secular attire. Those who wish to live in smaller groups and in non-religious houses should be encouraged to join these value groupings. Some suggested that there should be more travel and vacation privileges and larger budgets.

This information gathered during the field research clearly shows that the group living patterns of the members have been affected by the changes in the norms of traditional

Enclosure. The local house group is now less cohesive because of the increased sharing of convent facilities, the outside demands on a member's time, and a more flexible daily schedule which permits increased personal choice in daily functioning. This life style is contrary to the former goals of the organization, which emphasized withdrawal from the wider society and involvement in the religious group, as well as emphasizing the good of the corporate body and an almost total accommodation of the individual to its demands.

The Score and Secular Participation Changes

It has been established in Table XV that only two out of fourteen items in the questionnaire pertaining to various aspects of secular participation were related to the Attitude Score at a level that had been called strong (V=.25). Because this fact warrants further analysis, the 14 selected items are presented in Table XVII. The upper part of the table lists various types of secular activities in which members are now free to participate. Their response to these items was to indicate whether they had increased or decreased their participation in each type of activity within the last five years. The lower section of Table XVII includes selected items from the questionnaire which provides other considerations directly related to the present degree of involvement in secular concerns.

The measures of association are not as strong in the upper part of the table as in the lower section. This is no doubt due to the fact that the first set of items is directly

TABLE XVII

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SECULAR PARTICIPATION CHANGES

Extent of Secular Participation Through:	V
Attendance at: classes, lectures, workshops in secular institutions	.12
Attendance at: concerts, theaters, movies, cultural events	.13
Participation in: social or political action groups, cultural affairs	.11
Participation in: local or national professional organizations	.12
Participation in: secular work milieu, either part or full-time	.12
Social visiting: parents, relatives, friends	.15
Service visiting: needy, problem homes, deceased persons	.14
Shopping and eating in restaurants	.14
Taking trips and vacations	.11
Association of Secular Participation With:	
General attitude of local house government	.15
Major alteration in daily schedule	.10
Comparative personal satisfaction	.25
Wearing the veil and being accepted by others	.21
Wearing the veil and personal feelings about this	.32

related to behaviour, while the second set deals with attitudes about behaviour related to participation. It is also apparent that the relationship is stronger for those statements which pertain to a traditionally sacred aspect of the committed life, e.g.,the veil, which has been part of the religious garb (V=.21 and .32). There is also a difference in the association values

when the perception is more subjective in nature, e.g., general satisfaction with change in norms related to secular participation (V=.25) and general attitude of local house government toward increased participation (V=.15).

Generally speaking, all the items pertaining to adaptations of life styles to include new forms of secular participation show about the same pattern of relationship to the Score. As given in the upper part of Table XVII, this is a very weak association. There is a slight increase in value for those activities of a more personal, rather than a professional nature, e.g., visiting nonmembers for social (V=.15) and service (V=.14) purposes, as well as shopping (V=.14) and attending cultural and entertaining (V=.13) events.

While these personal areas of participation seem more strongly related to the Score than do the professional ones, this was further clarified in the field research. In group discussions or in personal conversation, members rarely mentioned personal activities as primary examples of their increased secular involvements. Their main itemizations usually related to the incessant demand of numerous meetings they were called upon to attend. These included meetings related to their apostolic work, which for most sisters embraced some form of educational endeavour. There were likewise general meetings for all province members, which were usually held at the motherhouse. There were smaller group meetings with provincial administrators, which convened in local convents or at the mother-

houses.

Many sisters were also involved in parish meetings sponsored by their own or by neighbouring parishes. The only acknowledgement of this aspect of their participatory role is related to item 211 in Table XVII, which states "Participation in local or national professional organizations" and records a V of .12. It is possible, that due to the organizational emphasis of this statement, some of the respondents did not associate it with the numerous professional meetings they were frequently asked to attend.

It became evident then during the participant observation period that items related to an increased involvement for personal reasons of a social and entertainment nature did not adequately characterize the major focus of the activities of the members. Professional participation on the local level was a primary concern of most, particularly during the academic year. It was likewise apparent that the many demands on the sisters' time not only arose from these secular sources, but from increasing participation in Catholic ones as well, e.g., provincial meetings of the congregation and parochial activities of the Catholic church. Neither of these latter areas were included in the questionnaire because they were not primarily secular in nature. In the pursuit of these, many sisters were often absent from the local house and consequently community living patterns were felt to be negatively affected.

The matter of proper religious attire is closely related to participation in activities outside the local religious

house. In Table XVII items 221 and 222 are both concerned with the wearing of the religious veil on these occasions. A sister's appraisal of her attitude toward the veil (V=.32) is more closely related to the Attitude Score than is her assessment of the feeling of nonmembers (V=.21) about the veil. These two considerations about the appropriate attire of religious, from both a subjective and objective point of view, are central to an examination of a controversial issue. The survey data indicated that there was polarization among a minority of the members concerning religious garb (see Chapter V). Table XVII indicates that a member's attitude toward wearing the veil is strongly related to her general attitudes toward change in the congregation. The field experiences confirmed both findings. In all convents visited, it was found that any possible change in religious attire was of paramount importance to the members and was often a topic of discussion. The conflict particularly centered about the question of continuing to wear the religious veil. Opinions about this seemed to vary from: to always wearing it-- to sometimes doing so-- to never wearing it.

In general, most members seemed to favour wearing the veil as part of SSND religious attire. They agreed that there could be occasions when it would be better not to, but these should not occur too often. It was felt that most nonmembers with whom the sisters associated preferred that they wear the veil. The most frequent reasons given by the laity seemed to

be: the veil identifies sisters as religious women, it is a sign of their consecration to God, it brings respect to the sister, and it instills a feeling of security in others amid the numerous religious changes taking place around them. The discussants felt that these opinions reflected the views of many lay people in their parishes, of those with whom they associated, and of people in the areas in which they lived.

If a large number of sisters were in favour of continuing to wear the veil as part of the habit and if many of their lay associates urged them to continue to do so, how could the controversy continue? The opposition appeared to be a small number of sisters in each province who no longer wore a veil and another group who did not wish to continue to do so. These groups, while somewhat small in number, were articulate and influential. They cited the example of many other congregations of sisters who functioned well as religious women while wearing secular attire. It was feared that the opinions of the opposition would influence the thinking of the delegates to the forthcoming general chapter, perhaps to such an extent that the present norms regarding religious garb would be extremely modified or abrogated, particularly in the North American provinces.

This controversial topic was not discussed in plenary sessions when delegates to the fourteenth general chapter of the School Sisters of Notre Dame met in Rome in the fall of 1972. During the weeks the chapter was in session, the North

American delegates held several private meetings to discuss religious attire. Their deliberations centered around five different categories of proposals presented to them by sisters from all parts of North America. These proposals tended toward: (1) returning to a uniform habit and veil; (2) retaining present habit guidelines; (3) putting the decision for the habit question on the provincial level; (4) exercising options on the veil on occasions; and, (5) accepting the nine conclusions of the North American Study Commission as a basis for decision.[20]

There was great diversity of opinion among the chapter delegates and none of the five proposals seemed acceptable to the majority. However, at a final meeting of the North American delegates the following motion was accepted:

> ...in order that the North American provinces may better implement action plans for simplicity of life reflected in their clothing, all decisions pertaining to clothing be placed on a provincial basis. Any such actions will, of course, be in accord with You Are Sent and the principles presented in paragraph twenty-two of the Apostolic Exhortation. 21

This motion received 40 affirmative votes, 2 affirmative votes with reservations, and 12 negative votes. Its passage meant that any further changes in SSND garb would not be in a uniform manner as in the past, but according to the decisions of the

---

[20]"Habit Question Remains Unsettled," Rome Reflex: Chapter Communications (Rome: Communications Committee, 1972), Vol. III, No. 4, p. 11.

[21]"Habit Question Placed on Provincial Basis for North America," Rome Reflex: Chapter Communications (Rome: Communications Committee, 1972), Vol. III, No. 5, p. 4.

members of a province. The European provinces settled the matter of garb on a provincial basis. The decision seems to have proved satisfactory to their members who are likewise increasingly involved in activities of a secular nature.

It has been shown that information gathered during the field research provided additional insights into the independence of selected behaviour items (participation) from the Attitude Score. The discussion also contributed to an understanding of why several other items related to secular participation did not show independence from the Score. These findings were again related to changing goals of the organization and their effect on the group living patterns of the members.

The Score and Sacred Commitment Changes

What has been the effect of increased participation in a secular milieu on some of the traditionally sacred aspects of the religious life? How satisfied do members feel now about their sacred commitments? Items pertaining to these aspects of the religious life in relationship to the Attitude Score are presented in Table XVIII. A previous table (XV) has shown that eight of these ten items were not strongly related to the Attitude Score. Reasons for their independence from the Score will be sought in subsequent analysis of the data.

The traditional sacred commitments of the religious life investigated in this study were: spiritual exercises, which included various forms of prayer and liturgical service, either in conjunction with the local house group or as personal

devotion; observance of the religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; and daily patterns of interaction with members of the local house group. A number of items in the questionnaire dealt with various aspects of these sacred commitments. The Attitude Score itself included variables which were related to the amount of change which had taken place generally in these sacred areas.

TABLE XVIII

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDE SCORE TO SACRED COMMITMENT CHANGES

Sacred Commitment Variables	V
Effect of secular participation on:	
Spiritual exercises with local house group	.23
Personal responsibility for spiritual exercises	.12
Personal observance of religious vows	.21
Personal role in local house group	.19
Relationship of sacred-secular aspects of life	.34
Comparative satisfaction with:	
Spiritual exercises with local house group	.25
Personal responsibility for spiritual exercises	.15
Personal observance of religious vows	.17
Personal role in local house group	.20
Relationship of sacred-secular aspects of life	.21

The upper part of Table XVIII gives the association measure for the felt effect of secular participation on each sacred commitment, as related to the Score. The response to

these statements was in terms of an increase or decrease in one's commitment. In this part of the table, it appears that there is not a strong relationship between the Score and the four sacred commitments as influenced by secular participation. The two items showing the most independence from the Score are personal responsibility for spiritual exercises (V=.12) and personal role in local house group (V=.19). The strongest relationship with the Attitude Score in this column pertains to a general question (V=.34) about "the possibility of religious women increasing their participation in secular activities while preserving their commitments to the sacred aspects of religious life." A pattern which has been apparent in previous findings is also present here; namely, that attitudes about behaviour in general show a stronger association with the Attitude Score than do those items which pertain to attitudes about particular types of behaviour.

The lower section of Table XVIII presents the association measure derived from a general assessment of satisfaction with sacred functions now, in comparison with five years ago, and in relationship to the Attitude Score. The response to these statements was in terms of an increase or decrease of satisfaction. As in the upper section, four of the five items here are not strongly related to the Score. In both sections personal responsibility for spiritual exercises, vow observance, and role in local house group show more independence from the Attitude Score than do items pertaining to spiritual exercises

of a communal nature. This is consonant with other items in the questionnaire, particularly those which were related to changes in Enclosure norms. In these the weaker relationships to the Score were associated with those changes which draw the members away from the local house group.

Items 242 and 243 in Table XVIII pertain to an assessment of a shift in goals which has occurred as a consequence of organizational change. Instead of separation, there is now a merging of the sacred and secular dimensions of the religious life. Item 242 asks if such a change in goals is possible, and item 243 questions "In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel about the relationship between the sacred and secular aspects of your life now?" There is an amazing difference in the association measures for a general assessment of the statement of this relationship (V=.34) and a personal (V=.21) one. One reason for the difference may be due to the fact that the item referred to in the upper section is purely attitudinal, whereas that in the lower is related to an attitude about a specific behaviour pattern. Generally speaking, an examination of items in the questionnaire as related to the Attitude Score, has consistently shown that there is a stronger association when the items have dealt mainly with attitudes and not with attitudes in relationship to behaviour.

The implications of these findings from Table XVIII will be pursued in an examination of the data collected during

the field experience. At the time it was only possible to gather all members of each convent together for one formal group discussion, principally on the main focus of the study--changes in the traditional observance of Enclosure in the congregation and the members' reactions to these changes. As a follow-up to the discussion private interviews were held in each religious house with several sisters. One purpose of the interviews was to probe the effects of the changes in Enclosure observance and increased secular participation on sacred commitments.

The sisters interviewed represented different age groups. The majority were middle aged (40-60), some were older (over 60), and a few were younger (under 40). In general, the local leaders were more positive but less specific in their assessment of the effects of change on the sacred commitments of the local group than were those members who had lived in that convent for some time. The younger sisters were quite positive in their evaluations. The comments of those interviewed have been summarized according to the various areas of sacred commitments analyzed. They will afford insights into the data presented in Table XVIII.

In regard to the spiritual exercises of the members, the comments about the effects of change were both negative and positive. Likewise, many were of a general nature and others referred to specific changes in behaviour. A number of sisters were not happy with the reduction in times for formal group

prayer in their daily schedule. Others did not like the new forms of communal prayer that had been introduced on certain occasions. It appeared that for some members there was a decrease in time set aside for personal prayer each day. There was the assumption that this was due to a daily schedule that was making too many demands on the individual and that it should be changed in favour of spiritual priorities--but by whom?

On the other hand, some members interviewed felt that the sisters were praying more. They were now praying privately or in groups because they wanted to do so and not because it was part of their daily schedule. Some believed that contemporary religious were more prayerful, but not all in the same way. While there were fewer times for formal group prayer, there was now a greater emphasis on personal prayer at the convenience of the individual. Many sisters were enjoying this new freedom in the performance of their spiritual exercises.

Attitudes toward specific patterns of behaviour in regard to personal and group prayer were likewise of both a positive and negative nature. It was indicated that some members did not always attend daily Mass. Others noted that the chapel in the convent was empty a great deal of the time and, that the older sisters were usually the only ones who prayed there. However, many members welcomed the newer forms of prayer, which they referred to as "shared" prayer. They did not seem to mind that these devotions were not held in the chapel. A number conceded that the younger sisters had many

creative ideas for communal prayer. Many members participated in spiritual renewal programs in their parish, at ecumenical gatherings, and with religious of other orders. In was pointed out, though, that time devoted to spiritual experiences outside the convent limited the time members could allot to prayer within it.

There were very few comments from the interviewees pertaining to the observance of the vows as affected by changes in Enclosure and secular involvements. These assessments, too, can be divided into those which reflect more general attitudes and those pertaining to particular examples of vow observance. Generally speaking, younger members felt that they had a better preparation for and understanding of their vows. They appreciated the fact that they themselves could participate in the decisions concerning the first pronouncement of vows as well as for their final profession of vows in the congregation. In this respect there was a feeling that the taking of vows now reflected a more mature decision on the part of the sisters. Many interviewees said that it was hard to tell the effects of change on the observance of vows because this is such a personal matter. It was felt, though, that it was more difficult to observe the vows in contemporary times because there are more temptations to violate them. One young member pointed out that to faithfully observe them one must be strong in her personal convictions and defenses.

Most of the attitudinal comments on the specific prac-

tice of the vows were related to the vow of poverty. It was observed that formerly the members were urged to sacrifice and to save for the congregation and that now money was spent quite freely. Some felt that sisters were not careful enough about their personal or community belongings. There were some who were not poverty-conscious nor did they have a sense of thrift. Some interviewees believed that the members learned the value of money and were better able to observe poverty when they voluntarily limited themselves to a monthly budget. While there were very few comments pertaining to present vow observance, it is noteworthy that none of the interviewees suggested that the changes had positively affected their observance. This had not been apparent in an assessment of other sacred commitments.

It may be remembered that the weakest value in the Attitude Score (r=.51) pertained to the amount of change which had taken place in community living patterns in the congregation. Some insight into the nature of the satisfaction and dissatisfaction of the members with these changes was furnished through personal interviews. In summarizing their remarks, it was found that some referred to general attitudes--both positive and negative toward community interaction. Other remarks were related to positive and negative attitudes toward particular community living patterns which seemed to have developed with the adaptation of Enclosure norms.

General comments of a negative nature stressed that

the increased involvement of the members in activities outside the convent had splintered community life, lessened the togetherness of the members, and disrupted community morale. There was a general feeling that some sisters were overextending themselves. There was likewise the problem of the sisters who remained at home and who had to adjust to the disruption of the normal flow of daily activities. If there were not sufficient members left to socialize with, they had to seek ways of entertaining themselves usually by watching TV.

There were very few general comments about community living which reflected a positive attitude toward these changes. The source of some of the positive comments came from interviewees who lived in small, compatible groups. These members had been able to engage in a number of corporate undertakings, both within and without the convent, which did not sunder the cohesion of their group. Practical factors allowing for this happy state were that all members could be accommodated in the community car at one time and that the members were willing to attend the same extra-mural activity together--at certain times. Other sisters who did not live in communities like this pointed out that while members were often absent from their own community it was usually for reasons of service.

Attitudes likewise varied in regard to specific examples of change in community living patterns. On the negative side, many sisters lamented that there were now few feast-day celebrations in the convent, since so many sisters

spent these occasions with their families. Others were unhappy about the few daily activities all members could participate in together. Many remarked about the increasing difficulty of having all members present for a formal or informal meeting of the local house group. There was an acknowledgement of tension and sometimes conflict of opinion between those of different ages about these changes.

On the positive side, a number of interviewees cited instances in which members were seeking to adjust to these changes in community living patterns. More problems were now settled at the local level with the members of the house. Sisters who had no relatives to visit were invited to join other sisters' families. Some members might invite sisters from other convents to visit them or go to their convent for a few days. There was an effort to make weekends more relaxing and restful within the convent. Many observed that since sisters might now choose their full-time occupation, they could also take into consideration at that time the local group with whom they would be living. It was felt that this should help to develop more compatibility among the members. Residents of a local house are also free to choose the form of government under which they wish to function. They may have an elected or appointed leader or they may decide to have no formal leader but to share the responsibility for local maintenance. In this trend toward more personal autonomy for the individual and within the local group, new patterns of

cohesiveness may well develop. These will replace the traditional ones in which all members are expected to be present for certain functions at prescribed times each day.

The suggestion that changes in Enclosure had presented religious women with a new challenge--how to balance sacred commitments with secular participation--seemed to surprise many sisters. They pondered this before answering a further question, "How are we meeting this challenge?" The vast majority of responses, given during interviews or informal contacts, pertained to a renewal of spiritual values and practices. Many sisters indicated that they were seeking new types of retreat and wished to devote more time to these. Others planned to spend several weeks during the summer at a center for spiritual development. Many were pleased with the work of their province's Spiritual Development Committee, which had scheduled lectures, workshops, weekends, and special days for in-depth experiences of a spiritual nature for the members. All these were efforts toward spiritual renewal in the congregation. The thirteenth general chapter (1970) passed a motion to...

> endorse a center or centers for spiritual development that accord with our charism and that implement post-conciliar spirituality. The Generelate will assist in implementing such a provincial or interprovincial center or centers. 22

From this spiritual renewal, the sisters believed they

---

[22]Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter, You Are Sent (Rome: General Chapter, 1972), p. 163.

would gather inner strength for the many external demands made on them by members and nonmembers. As committed women, they felt that whatever they did, it was as a witness for Christ. Through patience, kindness, service, and an adjustment to the attitudes and actions of others, they hoped to be able to balance the sacred and secular dimensions of their lives, now. They recognized the challenge. Many felt that they were not always performing according to their expectations, but they were intent on maintaining their values and goals by means of spiritual renewal in the process of altering some life styles.

Table XVIII has presented the relationship of selected aspects of sacred commitments to the Attitude Score. An examination of the association measures and the data collected during the field experience has shown that general attitude statements show a stronger relationship to the Score than do those of a more specific nature. The research has also indicated that items pertaining to personal activities, rather than group interaction patterns, show more independence from the Score.

To summarize: the usefulness and the power of the Score has been tested in an examination of questionnaire items related to selected changes in a religious organization. Out of the 70 items examined, 37 have an association value (V) of .25 or more. These were accepted as functioning within the influence of the Attitude Score. The other 33 items were further analyzed to seek reasons for their independence from the Score. It was found that type of response pattern and

attitudinal implications of the statements were important factors. The findings of the field research were utilized in substantiating the import of the survey data. The next section will deal with an analysis of the relationship of background items in the questionnaire to the characteristics of the sample.

Background Variables and Characteristics of the Sample

The opening section of the questionnaire is the last to receive attention in this study because it logically follows the others in the process of analysis. However, questions eliciting background data were placed at the beginning of the questionnaire in order to grasp the attantion of the respondents and to gradually lead them into the main foci of the research. This is an atypical procedure from that usually followed in many surveys which place factual items at the end in order to avoid crowding the opening section with personal questions.[23] The research analysis thus far has examined attitudes and behaviour of the respondents in relation to selected aspects of change in a religious system. The emphasis now will be on the sources of these attitudes. They are expected to derive from the background items in the opening section of the questionnaire.

A number of deliberations guided the selection of factual items to be utilized as background variables. Among these was an appraisal of data which would be pertinent to an understanding of social influences on the respondents. There

---

[23]Moser, p. 219

was likewise a consideration of which interpersonal relationships associated with normative structures would most likely be correlated with attitudes toward religious change. The 23 items ultimately selected as background variables elicited information pertaining to both of these considerations. For analytical purposes they can be grouped into the following categories: (1) Socialization Processes; (2) Religious Life Styles; and (3) Role Assessments. They deal with the past, the present, and future functioning of the members. There was the realization that some of the background items would be more directly related to the Attitude Score than would others. Indications of this began to appear in the marginal distributions of the factual variables for the sample. The general characteristics of the respondents will be presented according to the three categories suggested above.

(1) Socialization Processes

Through the process of socialization each person learns certain norms and behaviour patterns which will fit him into an organized way of life. The socialization process begins in infancy and continues on into adulthood as one learns the expected behaviour appropriate to new social situations. Many groups and institutions play a part in socializing the person, but the primary group is the most influential. Cooley was the first to describe relationships in the primary group:

> By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly

> in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideas of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. 24

Primary socialization involves cognitive learning in situations having emotional overtones. In socialization the child identifies with significant others, usually members of his family. As he internalizes the objective reality about him he gradually establishes his own identity.

The family, then, was considered the primary socializing agency in the lives of the respondents because of the pervading influence of primary relationships. Only several family characteristics could be selected,however,as background variables in order to limit the length of the research instrument. Besides age, the relevant family variables pertained to: the number of children in the family including the respondent, the size of the city or town in which she was raised, and the occupational group to which the head of the family belonged while she was growing up. Family characteristics of the sample can be summarized accordingly:

Family size			Present age	
Small	(1-3 children)	20.8%	Under 40	34.6%
Medium	(4-6 children)	25.0	40-60 years	38.9
Large	(6+ children)	54.2	Over 60	26.4

---

[24]Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization (New York: Scribner's 1909), p. 23.

Family income (occupation)		Family location	
Professional group	4.3%	Large city/suburb(over 500,000)	42.3%
Retail group	24.7	Small or medium city/suburb	29.7
Farmer group	20.3	Small town (under 2,500)	10.7
Worker group	50.7	Rural area	17.3

It appears that the majority of the respondents belonged to families with a large number of children (over 6). They were raised in urban areas with populations over 500,000, and the occupational group of the head of the family was that of worker. Likewise, over one-third of the respondents were under 40 years of age and another third were between 40 and 60. About one-fourth were over 60 at the time of the survey. This is an expected age distribution since the questionnaire was to be answered primarily by active members, that is, those having a full-time occupation in the North American provinces of SSND.

Socialization is an ongoing process. Experience with significant others continues to shape and develop personal identity throughout life. This is part of the secondary socialization process. Berger and Luckmann characterize it as "the internalization of institutional or institutional-based 'sub-world'."[25] Secondary socialization always presupposes a preceding process of primary socialization; that is, it must deal with an already formed self and an already internalized world. It has been observed that adult socialization is most intensive

---

[25]Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality ("Anchor Books"; Chicago: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 138.

during critical periods when adjustment to new situations must be made.[26] One such situation is entrance into the religious life.

Although most members who enter the congregation are from a Catholic family, a unit which has similar beliefs and value systems as does the religious group, there are numerous adjustments to new life styles and practices which they are expected to make. At times these are in contrast to the already internalized modes of primary socialization. In the past, new recruits were isolated from the larger community during the new socialization period. Their role performances were confined to closely supervised interaction with their peers and supervising personnel. It was felt that the younger the recruit, the more responsive and receptive she would be to the demands of the new socialization.

In addition to province membership, the secondary socialization factors selected for the religious groups were: age at joining the congregation, present seniority of membership, and highest level of education attained by the Summer of 1971. These are the congregational characteristics of the sample:

Age at joining		Seniority in congregation	
18 or younger	62.7%	Less than 15 years	25.8%
19-20 years old	23.0	15 to 35 years	39.6
21 or over	14.2	Over 35 years	34.5

---

[26] Ibid., pp. 140-141.

Educational attainments		Province membership	
8th grade to high school	6.1%	Baltimore, Maryland	12.3%
Some college/B.A. degree	32.5	Ontario, Canada	5.8
Some graduate studies	24.3	Dallas, Texas	7.4
Master's degree or more	37.1	DeKalb, Illinois	5.5
		Mankato, Minnesota	14.4
		Mequon, Wisconsin	29.6
		St. Louis, Missouri	13.2
		Wilton, Connecticut	11.8

It is evident that the majority of the respondents were 18 years old or younger when they joined the order. Over two-thirds have been members fifteen years or more and about one-fourth have been in the congregation for fewer than 15 years. It appears that most of the members have obtained their Bachelor's degree and that over one-third have a Master's degree or have done post-graduate work. The educational work of the North American provinces demands such academic qualifications.

Within the last ten years three of the largest provinces have divided. When this happens the members are usually given a choice of identifying that province where they wish to reside and work. The Wilton, Connecticut province is a daughter province of Baltimore, Maryland. During the field research the sisters informed the observer that they did not have a choice of provinces. Gradually, though, the sisters of the Baltimore and Wilton provinces have been able to transfer to whichever province they wished to hold membership. An exception to this has been the younger sisters, who have been expected to remain in the Baltimore province where they

completed their early socialization process. New recruits to the Wilton province now enter that one directly, since it has its own motherhouse and training facilities. The Dallas, Texas province is a daughter of the St. Louis, Missouri province. While the sisters were not free to join the new province at its inception, that freedom has materialized within the last years. The researcher met some older sisters in the Dallas province who were planning to return to the St. Louis province for permanent residence. One reason was that their families were in that geographical area.

The latest division of province occurred between Mequon, Wisconsin and DeKalb, Illinois. Here the sisters in both geographical areas were given the choice of province in which they wished to hold permanent membership. Some sisters who had worked for many years in Illinois, but who would geographically belong to Mequon, decided to join the new Illinois provinces. This was also true of sisters working in the state of Wiconsin who decided to remain in that province where they had many friends.

Sisters do not freely transfer from one province to another. If there is an important reason for the transfer, it is done on an exchange basis. The researcher is a case in point. Because her family lived in Illinois and she was teaching there, it was logical for her to become a member of the new province (DeKalb). Several years later she was asked to teach in a college in Milwaukee and to become a full time

member of the faculty. Since this would necessitate residence and a professional assignment in the Mequon province, her request to transfer provinces had to be withheld until a sister from the Mequon province asked to be transferred to the DeKalb province. Shortly after the transfers were completed, the researcher took a leave of absence from the college to obtain a higher degree at a Canadian university. She still retains membership in the Mequon province while being a guest member of the Canadian province.

(2) Religious Life Styles

Up until 1968 new recruits to the order were socialized into a way of life based on SSND Rules and Constitutions of 1925. Within the last 20 years this uniform pattern of functioning has gradually begun to change. Since Vatican Council II, different life styles have emerged among religious women. Some of these have been introduced into the North American provinces. Many are based on the principle of collegiality or shared responsibility. This principle was defined in the Interim Constitution (1969-1970) of the SSND congregation: "Collegiality,the principle by which each person in the community shares responsibility for the decision-making process; shared responsibility stresses interdependence, unity, and dialogue in the search for the common good and the will of God."[27] Since not all members have wished to adopt these

---

[27]Interim Constitution, p. 97.

changes, a number of different living patterns have come to exist in all the North American provinces. These might be characterized as Traditional, Transitional, and Emergent. They are based on the amount of shared or personal responsibility a member chooses to exercise at certain times in her various roles in the congregation. They are also related to old and new forms of group living among the sisters. The Emergent allows the most exercise of collegiality and initiates newer forms of participation.

A change in life style is particularly evident in regard to the apostolic work of the members and in certain characteristics of the local house in which they reside. A number of items in the opening section of the questionnaire sought to establish the proportion of members who were participating in these options. It is possible to classify the responses for most of the questions pertaining to work and some of those for residence as oriented toward Traditional, Transitional, or Emergent life styles. Table XIX shows the degree of participation among the respondents for some of the questions related to work and residence.

An appraisal of this table shows that the majority of sisters have chosen to continue in Traditional life styles in regard to their work and their residence. Smaller percentages are participating in Transitional life styles. About one-third of the respondents have chosen to exercise collegiality in regard to their house and work assignment, an option negotiated through the provincial administrators. Very few respondents

are participating in Emergent life styles in these two areas because this innovation is still in an experimental stage in the order. About an equal number of the members have exercised collegiality in regard to the government in their local houses.

TABLE XIX

PARTICIPATION OF SAMPLE IN DIFFERENT LIFE STYLES

Selected Items	Traditional	Transitional	Emergent
Work milieu	Catholic 82%	Part Catholic and secular 12%	Secular 5%
Present work	Educational 86%	Some educational and some non 13%	More non-educ. 9%
Work assignment	Appointment 52%	Negotiated 36%	Free choice 12%
House assignment	Appointment 58%	Negotiated 30%	Free choice 12%
House government	Appointed leader 55%	Elected leader 23%	Shared responsibility 22%
Type of residence	Convent 80% Motherhouse 12%		Secular house or apt. 8%

There were seven questions pertaining to the local house which could not be included in Table XIX since the response did not contain choice of living or collegiality implications in them. These items referred to: location of present residence, number of years lived in it, number of persons living there, and length of time it would take to drive from the religious house to the motherhouse of the province. Mem-

bers are permitted some selectivity in regard to these living patterns, but no clear alternatives have yet emerged from them. Characteristics of the sample in regard to certain residence items may be summarized in this manner:

Years in residence		Location of residence	
Less than 1 year	24%	Large city/suburb (over 500,000)	43.6%
From 1 to 4 years	44	Small or medium city or suburb	37.5
From 5 to 9 years	19	Small town (under 2,500)	9.9
10 years or more	13	Rural area	8.9

Number in residence		Distance from motherhouse	
From 2 to 9 sisters	42%	1 hour or less	47%
From 10 to 20 sisters	21	2 to 4 hours	32
Over 21 sisters	37	5 hours or more	21

Some newer trends in living patterns are apparent in several of these residence characteristics. This is particularly true for the large percentage who state that they have lived in their present residence only one or more years. It also applies to those members who are living in small groups numbering from two to nine sisters. Mobility and the inclination to small group living are trends emerging among committed women in all congregations.

Many small groups of sisters live in convents, but there have been groups in many congregations who have moved from religious residences into apartments or houses. A number of reasons are given for this exodus, usually held suspect by the more traditional-minded. Groups of any size whose members live together for a period of time face certain problems. Many sisters feel that the problems of group living are

minimized with smaller numbers. These settings allow for more intimate interpersonal relationships among the members. Sister Judith Tate recently examined the problems encountered by sisters living in small groups in a secular residence. However, she feels her comments could apply to any appointed community of sisters in any congregation. She concludes her assessment on a hopeful note:

> When one considers the rapidity of the development of small-group communities and the lack of contemporary precedence or preparation, it seems all the more remarkable that they have succeeded as well as they have. Right now, the time seems to have arrived when we can catch a second wind and move with more assurance, and greater faith--as well as some good hindsight--into the necessary style. 28

The more traditional characteristics still prevail in regard to the location and type of religious house. This can be seen in the large percentage of respondents who live in urban areas or their suburbs, who are located quite close to the motherhouse, and who live in convents or motherhouses. One reason for the large number of convents in urban areas is that the motherhouses of the older provinces--Baltimore, Mequon, and St. Louis--were located in urban areas. These motherhouses were built in the latter part of the nineteenth century when transportation facilities did not allow for long trips beyond the settled areas of the city. Many of the older convents were built in these sections so the sisters could get back to the

---

[28]Sister Judith Tate, "Second Thoughts on Small Group Living," Sisters Today, XLIV (October, 1972), p. 94.

motherhouse for religious and professional meetings, and conferences.

(3) Role Assessments

Five items in the opening portion of the questionnaire were concerned with various aspects of role assessment. The assessment was to be done by evaluating current roles with past or future ones in order to determine what trends might be taking place in selected aspects of the social structure. It was recognized that such evaluations might prove significant, but that there was a high risk of attitude projection in them. Thus, while providing additional information, these assessments were not to be considered as relevant to the analysis as were those variables related to the actual functioning of the members at this time.

In several questions the respondents were asked to project themselves five years into the future and to state what type of role they felt they would be assuming at that time. Future role preferences of the sample are given in comparison with their present role:

Work milieu	Present	Future
Predominantly Catholic	82%	53%
Mixed Catholic/secular	12	38
Predominantly secular	5	10
Type of work		
Traditional	86	57
Transitional	13	24
Emergent	.8	6

Preferred house group	Present	Future
From 2-9 members	42%	56%
From 10-20 members	21	29
Over 21 members	37	16

These comparisons show that fewer numbers will choose traditional work and group living patterns in the future. The trend is toward heterogeneity in types of milieu, transitional types of work which are somewhat education-related, and to small living groups.

In addition to projecting into the future, the respondents were also asked to look into the past in order to assess their degree of satisfaction with their present work role in terms of similar feelings about this role five years ago. This assessment may have proved a more difficult one because of the inaccuracy of the remembered past. In the responses to this question about 50 percent of the members stated that they were more satisfied with their work now in comparison with five years ago. About 34 percent felt that there was no difference in their feelings and 14 percent were less satisfied now.

Four of the five questions in this category focused on role assessments of the members in terms of their past or future functioning. One other item asked that they assess the role of their province in the process of change. An examination of the responses indicates no consensus about provincial role performance:

It is not changing at all	.4%	It is changing slowly	10.3%
It is changing too slowly	5.1	It is changing moderately	66.7

It is changing rapidly 12.7% It is changing too rapidly 4.8% While there is no consensus about change in the provinces, the majority of the members agree that the rate of change is a moderate one. It is interesting too, that about an equal percentage disagree with the moderate response and instead they believe that the rate is either too slow or too rapid.

Summary and Conclusion

The survey questionnaire was so constructed that selected items in it could be used to form an attitude scale. All these items had the same Likert-type response pattern. In the formation of the scale, the responses were weighted, summed and averaged and the respondents were located within the nine categories of the scale. It was arbitrarily labeled the "Attitude Toward Amount of Change Score." It included items pertaining to changes in the five areas of Enclosure, secular participation, and sacred commitments. The majority of respondents agreed that the amount of change in these areas had been "about right." The minority, who disagreed with this assessment, indicated instead that they felt there had been either "too much" or "too little" change.

High correlations for most of the items in the Score indicated that it was a powerful score and had a high degree of internal consistency. To test its strength, it was correlated with variables in the second and third sections of the questionnaire. It was found that items pertaining to secularization, membership, social control and some Enclosure altera-

tions had a response pattern consistent with that of the Score. However, questions related to secular participation, sacred commitments and certain Enclosure modifications displayed some measure of independence from the Score. These latter findings warranted further analysis.

A second data-collection phase was inaugurated when field research methods were employed to clarify and substantiate the information obtained from the survey research. To do this, the investigator assumed the roles of either participant, observer, discussant, or interviewer during her visit to selected convents in the eight North American provinces of the congregation. During her stay in each religious house, she gathered information from the members through the use of these additional research techniques. The field experience contributed supplementary and valuable insights into the findings of the survey data during various stages of its analysis.

The use of several methodologies supported the validations of two hypotheses of the study. It had been hypothesized that:

> Members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their life.
>
> Changes in traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women.

It was apparent to the researcher that the members were not polarized in their attitudes toward most of the changes which had taken place in regard to Enclosure, sacred commitments, and secular participation. The reasons members gave for this

were not only similar to those posited in the study, but showed additional insights into the explanation of this phenomenon. The lack of polarization seemed to stem from the sisters' expanding patterns of interaction both with members and non-members.

The field research also supplemented the findings of the survey data: many members were not conversant with the term "secularization" nor were they aware of its effects in their lives. However, the investigator found many evidences of secularization during her visit to each convent. Her operational definition for secularization viewed it as a process of change from withdrawal to involvement in the secular world. Many of the instances cited as examples of excessive change in religious life appeared related to the process of secularization. A number of these were the result of alterations in traditional Enclosure norms.

The first section of the questionnaire contained factual items which could be grouped into three categories associated with the past, present, and future functioning of the sisters. Chapter VI presented this factual data as related to the background characteristics of the sample. Chapter VII will examine these variables as possible correlates of attitude formation among the members.

CHAPTER VII

MAJOR CORRELATES OF ATTITUDE FORMATION

An attitude is a complex tendency within an individual to respond consistently in a favourable or unfavourable way toward social objects in the environment. The response may be a negative or positive one, depending on whether the person accepts or rejects the social object. The significance of an attitude lies in the fact that it gives meaning to the social milieu in which one functions. Personal attitudes are sustained and strengthened because they are shared by members of a reference group.[1]

The present study reveals that some SSND members are concerned about there having been too much change in selected aspects of the religious system. The traditional term "conservative" has been used to distinguish their attitudes from those of other respondents. Because these sisters are not against change as such, but against precipitous change in the congregation, their position has been defined as a moderately conservative one. It is characterized in the study as "Conservative."

Other members favour additional change in those sacred-secular areas of congregational functioning which have been

---

[1]Harold Proshansky and Bernard Seidenberg, Basic Studies in Social Psychology (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 97.

analyzed in the study. Because they advocate not a radical change, but a consistent adaptation of norms in accord with more innovative thinking in the church and the order, their position has been accepted as a moderately liberal one. In the study they are referred to as "Liberal" members.

Between the Conservatives and the Liberals are those sisters who appear satisfied with selected changes which have taken place in the organization. They react to certain normative adaptations in the religious environment with less dramatic attitudinal response. They are neither favourably nor unfavourably disposed, but feel that the extent of change in these areas has been about right. They are referred to as the Moderates.

It has been found that SSND members respond differently to the various changes taking place in their religious organization. How have these attitudes been developed and how are they maintained? A person does not absorb attitudes indiscriminately. Rather, she responds selectively in terms of her own unique needs and values. The development of her attitudes may be a function of various kinds of motivation in her life. Many attitudes, likewise, may be traced to the normative influences of group interaction situations.

The major correlates of attitude formation in this study are expected to be associated with the twenty-three background variables found in the opening section of the research instrument. Seven of these pertain to the early social-

ization experiences of the respondents. The influence of primary interpersonal relationships in the family as well as conformity to the normative demands of socialization in the congregation are felt to have contributed to the development of attitudes toward religious change.

Besides early socialization experiences,the formation of attitudes in the individual are also related to her ongoing membership in the religious organization. Ten items in the background variables pertain to her face-to-face contacts with other members both in her work role and her participation role in the religious house. The normative structure in these has been altered and the social pressures to conform have been decreased. Her participation in changing life styles associated with work and residence are now more of an expression of her underlying values and her self concept. The background variables pertaining to membership roles and personal motivation patterns are expected to be strongly correlated with attitudes toward religious change in SSND.

In the formation of attitudes, there are other instances in which individuals are influenced by groups with whom they do not identify or from whom they do not wish to gain acceptance. According to Kelly,[2] attitude change in these instances arises out of the fact that individuals use other groups as

---

[2]Harold H. Kelly, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," Readings in Social Psychology, eds. G.E. Swanson, T.M. Newcomb, and E.L. Hartley (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952), p. 413.

standards for comparison in evaluating their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. If this is applicable to change in attitudes, the present study will attempt to examine the possibility that such instances are conducive to the directional development of attitudes also.

Five of the background items are based on comparative role assessments. Three of these deal with future evaluations in which the members state their preferences for the future in comparison with what they have now and with what is possible for them as members of this organization. One item is a self comparison of past performance with present performance in terms of degrees of satisfaction. One other item is an analysis of the role of their province as an agent of change. The individual in this instance uses other provinces in the congregation as well as other religious congregations as standards for comparison. It is expected that some of these variables pertaining to comparative behaviour will have contributed to the development of attitudes among the members.

The continuing analysis of the survey data will be supplemented with observations from the field and documentary materials from the congregation, whenever either or both of these are relevant to the analysis.

The Attitude Score and Background Variables

The background variables will be examined in terms of the three categories established in the preceding chapter. Among the 23 factual items pertaining to (1) Social-

ization Processes, (2) Religious Life Styles, and (3) Role Assessments, which of these will emerge as the strongest correlates of attitude formation among the members? The initial step in the search was to correlate the background items with the Score. Table XX presents these relationships.

This table shows that 20 out of the 23 items are significantly related to the Attitude Score. Most of these variables are far above the significance level ($p = < .05$) established for this study. As a result of this, a second measure of association, Cramer's V, was again selected to demonstrate the strength of the relationship between variables. Previously a V of .25 was considered the minimal level at which a relationship could be asserted because it was examining items associated with attitudes. Now that the consideration pertains to a relationship between attitudes and behaviour, a much lower V can be considered an important one. In the search for correlates, a V of .07 or more would be considered as significant.

Significant Relationships

In Table XX, 19 of the 23 items have a V of .07 or more, a further indication of the strength of the relationship between the Score and selected background items. In regard to Socialization Processes, the only primary socialization variable which shows independence from the Score pertains to the area in which the family lived; otherwise all the other variables are strongly related to it. The secondary socialization items are all

TABLE XX

RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES TO ATTITUDE SCORE

Item	Categorization of Variables	V	Signif.
	(A) Socialization Processes:		
121	Present age	.43	.001
118	Family size	.12	.001
119	Family location	.06	.20
120	Occupational group of father	.09	.01
122	Age at joining	.10	.001
123	Membership seniority	.39	.001
124	Educational attainments	.10	.001
115	Province membership	.15	.001
	(B) Religious Life Styles:		
125	Present work milieu	.03	.90
126	Present work type	.14	.001
128	Assignment to work	.13	.001
108	Type of residence	.07	.01
109	Location of residence	.06	.20
110	Years in residence	.15	.001
111	Number in residence	.10	.001
113	Assignment to residence	.10	.001
114	Government in residence	.13	.001
117	Distance from motherhouse	.06	.05
	(C) Role Assessments:		
132	Future work milieu	.25	.001
130	Future work type	.21	.001
112	Preferred house number	.18	.001
129	Satisfaction with work	.14	.001
116	Province change rate	.46	.001

related to the Score also. Among these items, two have outstanding measures of correlation: age (V=.43) and seniority of membership (V=.39), which has some considerable element of age within it. The data related to socialization suggests that both the family and the congregation, the major socializing agencies in the lives of the members, have influenced

the formation of their attitudes toward religious change.

In a further examination of Table XX, it is apparent that most of the variables pertaining to Religious Life Styles are also significantly related to the Attitude Score. Eight of the ten items pertaining to present forms of life style now participated in by the members demonstrate a significant correlation with the Score. However, one item pertaining to the milieu in which a sister works, shows the least relationship (V=.03) of any of the background items. Likewise, one variable associated with the area in which the religious house is located is independent of it (V=.06). Among the house and work characteristics, there are two which are most strongly correlated with attitude: number of years in the religious residence (V=.15) and type of full-time work (V=.14). These findings indicate that present forms of selected life styles in the congregation are positively correlated with attitudes towards change since they have a strong association (V) with the Score.

The five items pertaining to Role Assessments are also strongly related to the Score. This was an expected finding because of the projection of attitudes implicit within these questions. Among the five variables in this category, rate of change in one's province (V=.46) has the highest correlation. This variable has the strongest measure of association of any of the 23 items. Variables pertaining to future work (V=.21) and future work milieu (V=.25), as well as preferred number of

residents in local house, (V=.18) are also all strongly related to the Score. The data presented for this category indicates that attitudes toward change are related to perception of roles in different time periods.

The major import of Table XX has been to show that the majority of factual items selected as background variables are strongly related to the Score. Likewise, that from a continuing analysis of these items the major correlates of attitude formation will emerge. This table has indicated that age, province membership, years in residence, present type of work, as well as the five attitude-projection variables, are significantly and strongly associated with attitudes toward change.

The Significance of Age

There had been an overwhelmingly strong and expected relationship between the Score and the variable of age. However, it would have been premature to say that age also was related to the other background items until this fact had been established. This possibility led to an examination of age as related to the other background items. The significance of these relationships may be seen in Table XXI.

The major finding of this table is that age is significantly related to 17 of the 22 background variables. This had not been anticipated when these items were selected for the questionnaire. Again, because of the very high level of significance for most of the relationships, Cramer's V was used to test the strength of the association. Accepting .07

as the same determining level, it is clear in Table XXI that 17 variables display a strong relationship to age.

TABLE XXI

RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES TO AGE

Item	Categorization of Variables	V	Signif.
	(A) Socialization Processes:		
118	Family size	.16	.001
119	Family location	.07	.10
120	Occupational group of father	.08	.05
122	Age at joining	.20	.001
123	Membership seniority	.73	.001
124	Educational attainment	.25	.001
115	Province membership	.17	.001
	(B) Religious Life Styles:		
125	Present work milieu	.05	.30
126	Present type of work	.24	.001
128	Assignment to work	.09	.001
108	Type of residence	.06	.05
109	Location of residence	.04	.70
110	Years in residence	.23	.001
111	Number in residence	.17	.001
113	Assignment to residence	.06	.05
114	Government in residence	.11	.001
117	Distance from motherhouse	.05	.10
	(C) Role Assessments:		
132	Future work milieu	.23	.001
130	Future type of work	.34	.001
112	Preferred house number	.26	.001
129	Satisfaction with work	.14	.001
116	Province change rate	.31	.001

In the category of Socialization Processes, all primary and secondary items appear quite strongly related to age. Among these, seniority (V=.73) and age at joining (V=.20) were expected to do so. Besides these, however, educational

attainments (V=.25), province membership (V=.17) and size of family (V=.16) are strongly associated with age. In a comparison with the preceding table, family size, age at entrance, seniority, educational attainments, and province membership are socialization variables which appear more related to age than to attitude.

In the category pertaining to present Religious Life Styles, two out of the three work items and three out of the seven residence characteristics were quite strongly related to age. Among these variables, present type of work (V=.24), years in present residence (V=.23) and number living in residence (V=.17) are most strongly related. From a comparison of Tables XX and XXI, the fact emerges that present work, years in residence, and number living in residence are more associated with age than with attitude.

The last category, entitled Role Assessments, has four of the five variables very strongly correlated with age. These include the three items pertaining to future role assessments: type of work (V=.34), preferred number in residence (V=.26), and future work milieu (V=.23), as well as rate of change in province (V=.31). In a similar comparison with the former table, it appears that two of these five items--future type of work and preferred number in residence--are again more bound to age.

It is noteworthy that in a comparison of Tables XX and XXI ten of the background variables are more strongly related

to age than to attitude. The age relatedness is most apparent in five out of the seven items associated with Socialization Processes. It is least apparent in the category pertaining to Religious Life Styles, where only three out of ten items are more strongly correlated with age than with attitude. There is some association with age in the variables found in the Role Assessments category, but not as comprehensively as in the first category. The influence of age, then, seems to be more strongly related to the past, rather than to the present or future functioning of the respondents. These findings lead to the conclusion that although it has emerged as an important correlate of attitude formation among the respondents, the relationship between age and attitude has to be further substantiated. How significant is the relationship between age and the attitude of the sisters concerning changes in Enclosure and the effects of these on selected aspects of the committed life? Some of the information sought in these questions is summarized in Table XXII.

It is apparent in this table that age is significantly related to 65 out of the 70 questionnaire items pertaining to changes related to attitude and behaviour. However, age is strongly correlated (V=.25+) to only 26 of the 60 questions pertaining to attitudes and to none of the behaviour ones. It appears that age is more strongly related to the effects of Enclosure change than to the change items themselves. Among the effects of change, age-relatedness is most strongly

associated with secularization (5 out of 7 items), membership patterns (2 out of 4 items), and forms of social control (1 out of 2 items). It is least related to sacred commitment practices (1 out of 9 items). About half of the items pertaining to Enclosure change are strongly age-related. The data in Table XXII further supports the strong association between age and attitude consistently present in the study.

TABLE XXII

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE TO QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS

Attitudinal Questions	Number	p= .001	V=.25+
Enclosure changes	32	31	16
Secularization	7	7	5
Membership	4	4	2
Social control	2	2	1
Sacred commitments	11	9	1
Secular participation	4	3	1
Behaviour questions			
Secular participation	10	9	0
Total	70	65	26

Generational Differences

It has been established that there is a very strong relationship between age and the Attitude Score. Age is likewise strongly associated with a number of background variables. Age is also significantly related to 65 out of 70 items in other sections of the questionnaire.

It is too important a variable, then, to be abruptly dismissed without further investigation of its influence.

The study will attempt to analyze why age plays such an important role in the formation of attitudes among the members in the North American provinces. However, it will not seek to determine the type of formal relationship which may exist between age and attitude. In this regard the observation of other researchers may be kept in mind:

> ...the problem of determining why two variables are related to each other is one of the most difficult problems in all of science. At best we can assemble all the evidence that is available and make a considered estimate of the reason. It is practically impossible to identify the reason in a positive and definite manner such that all would agree with the identification. 3

What is the significance of age? It can be argued that it is the age differential among a group of people which affects their interaction patterns. Members of various ages appear to differ in their response to most issues. These differences can produce an atmosphere of hostility or ambivalence in the group. It would seem, then, that any religious system seeking to modify its social structure in order to adapt and maintain itself must take into consideration the age differences among its members.

The investigator had access to two studies dealing with religious orders of men. She was interested in the treatment

---

[3]Theodore R. Anderson and Morris Zelditch, Jr., A Basic Course in Statistics With Sociological Applications (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 166.

of the variable of age in the social research of these groups. The Society of Mary (Marianists) published a final summary report of their comprehensive international study in 1970. In it the age variable was introduced in the beginning with the presentation of general information about the respondents. Throughout the study, age was consistently correlated with the survey data and presented in tables related to the spiritual, associational, apostolic, and administrative functions of the respondents. An example of this relationship pertains to the problems and tensions of the generations in the order:

> Table 4.33 presents a summary of some of the responses, by Provinces, received to Question 28 of the Survey. Those most expressing fears of a dangerous split or those suggesting that such a split already exists, are the two Spanish Provinces, Italy and Cincinnati where 15-25% of the religious see a generation gap. On the other hand, the greatest percentages of responses suggestive of a more ameliorative spirit, of greater harmony between generations, are from religious in the Provinces of Canada, St. Louis, New York and Austria. 4

This research however, did not explain why age was an influential factor on the attitudes and behaviour of the members.

In a sociological study of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, the authors presented a report on the state of the life and work of the Christian Brothers in the English-speaking provinces of North America. In this study, the variable of age was examined in a consideration of demographic characteristics of the Brothers. However, it was not the important factor

---

[4]John G. Dickson, S.M., et al., Final Report of the Survey SM (Rome, Italy: 1970), p. 4-56.

in the interpretation of the data since the authors concluded, "the inferences drawn from the demographic characteristics of Christian Brothers are in a sense speculative. The attitudes toward achievement, career, and change, alluded to in the above paragraphs, are those typical of the social groups from which Brothers come."[5]

The respondents were divided into seven age groups and throughout the study these were used in an analysis of data associated with various factors in their lives. There was no emphasis on age in the interpretation of the results. However, the variable of age was relevant in a consideration of crises that occurred in the religious life. Interviews with some of the brothers revealed crises through which individuals were passing; more of these were being experienced by the younger members.

In the present study, an examination of the age distribution of the sample shows that the range in years is from under 20 to over 80:

Under 21	1	.1%	51-60	333	23.1%
21-30	218	15.1	61-70	244	16.9
31-40	279	19.3	71-80	123	8.5
41-50	228	15.8	Over 80	14	1.0

These eight categories can be collapsed into three distributions which give an overview of the generational differences among the respondents. There are 498 (34.5%) of the sisters under 40 while 561 (38.9%) are between 41-60 years of

---

[5]William Ammentorp and Brian Fitch, The Committed (Minnesota: Saint Mary's College Press, 1968), p. 69.

age, and 381 (26.4%) are over 60. This distribution represents about three generations of religious women in the North American provinces of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. The oldest members were born in the latter years of the nineteenth century while the youngest were born in the middle of the twentieth century. In the motherhouses of the order and in many of the local houses, sisters representing the gamut of age categories live together. This means that members of a local house group are characterized by a number of heterogeneous qualities which stem from the age differences among them.

Some of the heterogeneity arises from the fact that sisters are in different stages of the life cycle, are facing diverse crises in their adult life, have functioned in various roles in the congregation, and have experienced differently the effects of change occuring in society, the church, the congregation, and education. These are individual characteristics which are related to age. Are they also related to differences in attitude? If so, this may afford some understanding as to whether the proverbial generation gap existing in society is also present among members of a religious organization, and more specifically in a local house group.

The so-called "generation gap" is sometimes referred to in another way as the "intergenerational conflict." These terms may be new, but the problems they connote are not. There are evidences of a generation gap when extraordinary changes separate members of different generations. In present times there is a growing difference in mores, values, beliefs,

and goals among the generations. All of these are part of the intellectual ideas accompanying technological advance and an inability of youth to see the potentialities of older persons as they try to adapt to the new order of things.[6]

Traditionally it has been easier for the young to adopt "new" ideas about philosophy, science, and behaviour because of their expanding intellectual abilities and, likewise, because of their lack of experience and wisdom. It is expected that older persons are not so easily taken in by the ideas and fashions of the times. But this, too, may pose problems as is reflected in the following assessment:

> This means that bright old people with a fair memory, having lived with their eyes open, could and ought to be pious in a religious sense but from a secular point of view they should be 'impious' and might even be accused of being cynical and blase. They only too often repel and infuriate the young, who, as a rule, 'religiously' worship the ideas, ideals, and idols of their time and feel outraged about the lack of enthusiasm, the indifference if not the hostility of the older generations. 7

Such antipathy between generations exists in many places in contemporary society. This callous attitude can make the generation gap a negative and damaging force in family relationships--or in the local religious group. If no attempt is made to listen with tolerance, the gap between the generations can only

---

[6]Minna Field, The Aged, the Family, and the Community (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), pp. 27-28.

[7]Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, "The Generation Gap in the Western World," Catholic World, CCXII (October, 1970), 12.

widen. In an era of expanding communications, listening should not be an impossible task.

Hickey[8] believes that there are cohesive forces in religious orders which tend to bridge the differences between generations. Members of all age groups hold similar values and maintain certain types of behaviours, attitudes, beliefs, and interests which can create cohesiveness in the whole. There is also a common bond of collective unity, based on the selection of this specialized way of life, although such cohesive forces were stronger in the past when the great emphasis was on conformity for the common good. With the advent of individualism and pluriformity in life style, the differences may be more manifest between the generations, despite the continued common bond of religious commitment which unites all age groups.

Further analysis of the data collected for Table XXII, showed that there were certain items in the questionnaire which provoked diverse responses from the younger and older members in the congregation. Table XXIII gives the areas of disagreement between the generations. The association measure (V) displays the strength of the relationship between each item and age.

From an appraisal of Table XXIII, it is apparent that the different age groups disagree not on Enclosure changes as

---

[8]Tom Hickey, "Catholic Religious Orders and the Aging Process," The Gerontologist, XII (Spring, 1972), 16.

TABLE XXIII

AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN THE YOUNG AND THE OLD

Controversial Statements	Young	Old	V
Having conversation at most meals is too little change.	21%	2%	.28
Strongly disagree that weekly suspension of schedule is adequate break from routine.	31	6	.27
Satisfied to have sisters of other orders in SSND houses	58	24	.27
Too great a change if SSND sisters lived in non-religious houses	27	91	.39
Would be satisfied if sisters could periodically plan their own schedule and let community plans evolve	62	17	.29
Too little change that only relatives dine in sisters' refectory when visiting the convent	25	2	.25
Agree that male guests not visit all convent areas	19	52	.32
Agree that the convent should rarely adapt its schedule to meet the needs of nonmembers	8	51	.33
Deeply satisfied if the convent became a Christian living center for members and nonmembers	51	10	.27
Too great a change if convent facilities were placed at service of the wider society	8	38	.25
Agree there is still a need for sisters to be dressed somewhat differently from lay women	62	98	.37
Disagree that present habit guidelines allow sisters ample creativity in dress	49	11	.29
Satisfied if each sister had a special wardrobe for her professional and social obligations	40	13	.25
Too great a change if veil were not worn while participating in some secular activities	18	85	.40
Satisfied if recreational attire included slacks	64	8	.40
Too great a change if sisters were encouraged to work in secular institutions	13	60	.30

such, but on the continued extension of these. The major areas of controversy center on the religious house and religious attire. This is not a new finding. What is new is that these changes are related not only to attitudes of the respondents, but to their age as well. Because the convent and the habit have been traditionally held as sacred symbols of the committed life, it is not easy for older members to continue to redefine their meaning in the process of adaptation.

What changes within the religious residence have provoked different responses from the two age groups? It may be seen in Table XXIII that in regard to life within the convent, more of the younger sisters would welcome additional changes. They would appreciate conversation at all meals, more frequent suspension of the daily horarium, having sisters of other congregations living in their houses, and permitting SSND members who wished to live in non-religious houses to do so. Because many of the older sisters would not readily agree with these changes, they are reluctant to open wider convent doors to permit more frequent use of their facilities. More of the older sisters feel that only relatives should eat in the refectory, that male guests should not tour all areas of the convent, and that the schedule should not frequently be adapted for the needs of nonmembers. Nor would they agree that the religious house should become a Christian living center for members and nonmembers.

It was pointed out in a preceding chapter that field

research had verified sharing of convent facilities to be a controversial issue among the members. It can be further substantiated that in the field, it was observed that this issue was age-related as well. A number of older sisters remarked that it was difficult for them to frequently share their house for meetings, lectures, or social gatherings, particularly those held in the evening. The researcher observed that in one large convent the older members had moved to the third floor of the residence. Because there was no elevator, they willingly climbed many flights of stairs to maintain traditional silence and privacy, which they still valued.

Religious attire has emerged as an issue of controversy throughout this study, but now it is seen as an age-related one. Fewer of the younger sisters believe that there is still a need to be dressed differently from lay women. They would agree that a sister could have a special wardrobe for her professional and social obligations and that slacks could be worn for recreational purposes. More of the younger respondents disagreed that the present habit guidelines allow ample creativity in dress and that it would be too great a change if the veil were not worn while participating in some secular activities. During the phase of participant observation, it was apparent that some of the younger members had already implemented the suggestions about additional changes in religious attire. It caused much controversy if they were living in local houses where such practices were not generally accepted. In private conversation

with the researcher, many of the older sisters expressed fear about the continued perseverance of such a member in the religious life. Some also lamented the scandal which the sister might give to lay persons by her non-religious attire.

Table XXIII shows the 16 Enclosure changes which are sources of generational differences among the respondents. These pertain mainly to alterations of behaviour concerning the religious house and religious attire. The adaptations in these areas have been made in the interests of the religious group itself and in its interrelationships with nonmembers. It is clear from a perusal of this table that additional changes in these areas are undesired by many of the older respondents. However, not all Enclosure changes are unacceptable to the different generations. There is evidence in the data which was not presented in Table XXIII that for 15 of the Enclosure changes there is an acceptance or rejection by all members of present changes and those which might occur in the future. This is especially true regarding personal communications, the use of mass media in the convent, and additional personal reasons permitting the sisters exit from the convent premises. These changes afford privileges utilized differently by the various age groups, but their acceptance is nonetheless agreeable to both generations.

One function of aging is to solidify goals within a system. Through the processes of secondary socialization and ongoing membership in the congregation, the older members have

developed a subjective structure of religious reality based on a value system which dichotomized the objective reality into sacred and secular spheres. The subjective reality of the members is maintained by beliefs and goals which stress isolation from the secular world and involvement in the sacred aspects of religious reality. The aging members then, have developed a subjective reality which they value because of the extended length of their personal identification with it.

The analysis in previous chapters has shown that the majority of members have accepted changes in religious life which have been approved by the Catholic social system. Table XXIII does not contradict this fact, it presents 16 items associated with additional changes which were not readily acceptable to many older sisters. What is their rationale for this? Table XXIV provides some insights.

A perusal of this table indicates that older respondents much more than the younger, believe that certain Enclosure changes will have harmful effects on the members as well as on the congregation. They indicate that adaptations related to changes in the religious house, religious attire, visitors, and greater participation in secular events leads to the secularization of religious women. The understanding of secularization among the older members is that it causes the relationship between God and man to be farther apart. For them, this is in direct opposition to a major goal of religious life--a deep personal relationship with God.

TABLE XXIV

GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF CHANGE

Controversial Statements	Young	Old	V
Secularization causes the relationship between God and man to be somewhat farther apart	14%	48%	.36
Strongly agree that increased secular participation contributes to the secularization of religious	5	38	.28
Strongly agree that Enclosure changes within the convent itself contributes to secularization of religious	3	26	.26
Strongly agree that changes in religious attire contribute to the secularization of religious	5	36	.25
Strongly agree that additional freedom to leave the convent premises has contributed to secularization	6	28	.25
It is possible for religious women to increase their secular participation while preserving sacred commitments	54	19	.34
Deeply satisfied about wearing the veil while participating in secular activities	25	86	.34
Personal responsibility is not an adequate control factor in regard to sacred-secular aspects of life	14	37	.28
Enclosure changes which have permitted increased secular participation will attract new members	45	9	.31
Enclosure changes which have permitted alteration of life styles in communal living will attract new recruits	52	10	.36

If sisters believe these changes lead to secularization, then it is logical for the older generation to state that it is not possible for religious to increase their secular participation and still retain their sacred commitments. This is

exemplified for them in those religious who do not want to wear their veil while engaging in secular functions. Older members conclude that personal responsibility is not an adequate control factor in helping to maintain the sacred-secular dimensions of the committed life. Another reason why the elderly do not favour additional changes in selected aspects of their life is that they believe such changes will not attract new recruits to the organization. Because of their long membership, they are concerned over the apparent lack of growth in SSND. Their concern is based on present membership statistics.

An examination of the preceding three tables has shown decidedly that there are major differences between the younger and older generations of SSND respondents. This suggests that the cohesive forces which had been expected to bridge the differences are not as strong as had been expected. This stems from the fact that it has been more difficult for older members to have positive attitudes toward continued changes related to the religious residence and religious attire. Their attitudes toward these are at great variance from those of the younger members. For the older generation, it is increasingly difficult to continue to transform their subjective reality when change will not bring favourable results either to the members or to the organization.

This is not only a phenomenon characteristic of religious orders; it is applicable to other social institutions whose membership includes those of different generations

united by either primary or secondary ties. An example of this is found in The Urban Villagers, a recent study of an ethnic group which settled in the West End of Boston. Three generations of Italian-Americans were dispersed by the advent of urban renewal to their area. In his participant observation study, Gans compared the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the different age groups on issues related to the life of the West Enders. In this "peer group society," as he characterized it, Gans found that the generational differences were greatest between the first generation--the immigrants to America and the third generation--their grandchildren. Gans observed:

> In addition to the changes that have already taken place between the past and present generations, other changes are only now developing. Noticeable among a few West Enders today, they are likely to become more prevalent in the next generation. These changes are the result of processes in the larger society that are creating new opportunities for West Enders. They also will make it more difficult to maintain some of the traditional ways of life. 9

Mol,[10] in his study of changes in religious behaviour of Dutch immigrants, found that certain data seemed to indicate no significant relationship between the age of the respondents and their satisfaction with life and work in New Zealand. This seemed unexpected to him as age is an important factor in the

---

[9]Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962), pp. 213-214.

[10]J.J. Mol, "Changes in Religious Behaviour of Dutch Immigrants," Research Group For European Migration Problems Supplement 8 (July, 1965), 15-16.

assimilability of immigrants. However, it was found that the important factor was not age as such, but age on arrival.

Comparisons were made between those who were 25 years of age and those who were 38 when they came to New Zealand. Those who were less than 25 on arrival expressed greater satisfaction with housing and work; Mol notes that "figures expressing greater satisfaction with life in general in New Zealand were 72% for those who were over 38 at arrival; 87% for those who were less than 25 at the time of immigration."[11] These age groups do not imply generational differences, but they do represent a diversity of attitudes among those who are not separated by extensive age barriers.

Sources of Generational Differences

The preceding analysis has suggested that there is some "generation gap" between the young and the old in their attitudes and behaviour toward certain changes occurring in the religious social system. It appears that each age group defines the situation differently. Structural changes which permit increased involvement in a secular milieu are viewed as a threat by one generation and as an opportunity to serve the people of God by another. This diversity of attitudes is based on different systems of values and beliefs. Sister Marie Augusta Neal, SND, found a similar pattern in her national study of Catholic religious women in the United States:

An alternate explanation of the differences in belief

---

[11] Ibid., p. 16.

> and behavior could attribute all we have discussed to age differences and thus lead to the conclusion that the only difference is that the younger people are learning the new theology and that this along with their greater exposure to social issues, provides them with a greater openness for change and less commitment to the older styles. There is no doubt (though) that age is a determining factor. 12

Evidence has been presented which illustrates the attitudinal differences on certain issues which exist between the generations. Do all members of the same generation respond to sacred-secular change in the same way? Table XXV illustrates the magnitude of the relationship between and among generations in their attitudes toward selected SSND changes.

TABLE XXV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND ATTITUDE AMONG THE RESPONDENTS

Attitude Score	Under 40	40-60	Over 60	Total
Too much change "Conservative"	18 3.6%	125 22.3%	237 62.2%	380 26.4%
About Right Moderate	280 56.2%	371 66.1%	138 36.2%	789 54.8%
Too little change "Liberal"	200 40.2%	65 11.6%	6 1.6%	271 18.8%
Total	498 34.6%	561 39.0%	381 26.5%	1440 100.0

This table shows more variety than unanimity in the attitudes of all age groups. Among the young (those under 40),

---

[12]Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., "Part II. The Relation Between Religious Belief and Structural Change in Religious Orders: Some Evidence," Review of Religious Research, XII (Summer, 1971), 158.

a large percentage have liberal attitudes,which means that for them there has been too little change in some sacred-secular areas of the religious organization. However, the majority of young are not Liberals, but Moderates who feel that the present extent of change in selected areas of SSND is about right. Table XXV also reveals that almost none of the young sisters express conservative attitudes, which means that for them there has been too little change at times.

There is evidence in this table that as age increases, so do conservative attitudes toward change. The largest percentage in this category is found among the old (those over 60). But not all older members have conservative attitudes. Over one-third have moderate attitudes; a very few hold liberal ones. An increase in age, then, in this study is not always related to an increase in conservative attitudes. Nor is an absence of aging always related to liberal attitudes toward change.

The data in Table XXV lends support to the findings that in the present study the relationship between age and attitude is an important one, but it is not the only cause. It must stem, then, from the addition of other variables which are significantly related to age and attitude. A major aim of social research is to isolate these intervening variables. In a continuing analysis of her data, Sister Neal discovered that "age makes more difference in regard to beliefs and behavior, in those religious orders which are open to change rather than in those which are closed to change."[13]

---

[13] Ibid., p. 159.

In an examination of the political characteristics of people in successive stages of the life cycle, Campbell found that there is no natural evolution of conservative attitudes toward politics as people grow older. There are differences among the various age groups in regard to extent of participation, identification with political parties, and expression of political attitudes. His conclusion was that these factors are not directly age-related; they derive from either of two sources: (1) From the experiences people have during their early period of political socialization; or, (2) From their present circumstances.[14]

The present study will endeavour to test Campbell's propositions. It will examine the interrelationship between attitude, age, and other background variables. The analysis will view the background variables as possible sources of difference in attitudes--between and among the generations and members of the same generation. More specifically, it will probe the significanoe of these variables, categorized into three sources, as influencing the young who are either Moderates or Liberals. It will also examine the Conservative and Moderate attitudes of the old as being significantly related to the background items. The attitudes of these age groups will receive extensive analysis: **Under 40:** Moderates (56%) and "Liberals"(40%); Over 60: "Conservatives" (62%) and

---

[14]Angus Campbell, "Politics Through the Life Cycle," The Gerontologist, XI (Summer, 1971), 116.

Moderates (36%).[15]

In terms of the past, which Campbell refers to as the early period of political socialization, the study will examine the influence of early socialization processes in the family and the congregation. It is expected that primary socialization in the family will be significantly related to the differences in attitude among the young because of their continuing relationship with their families as a result of changes in Enclosure. It is likewise expected that secondary socialization factors will be more significantly related to the differences in attitudes among the old. This could be due to the fact that the primary area of interaction among the older members is increasing with their religious organization.

In relation to present experiences, the analysis will seek to determine the effects of participation in religious life styles on the attitudes of the respondents. The present experiences of the members while functioning in their work or residence roles, as they have elected to define them, should be related also to generational differences. It is expected that work variables will be more significant for the attitudes of the young. Those with liberal attitudes would be more likely to select the newer forms of participation now open to them. It is likewise anticipated that variables associated with the religious residence would be more significantly related to the

---

[15]As in a preceding chapter, this characterization of a respondent as "Conservative" or "Liberal" will be continued. The quotation marks clarify that such a respondent did not possess some major characteristics of conservatism or liberalism.

difference in attitude among the old. The more conservative would tend to resist the newer life styles associated with the local house.

Besides these two sources of intervening influence--past socialization and present experience--this study will suggest a third to explain the relationship between age and attitude. It will be posited that attitudes toward change in the congregation are likewise related to projected Role Assessments of the members. The developing patterns of religious life are closely related to the principle of collegiality. In the exercise of this, an increasing number of sisters will choose the type of work they will do, the milieu in which they will function, and the number of associates with whom they can comfortably interact. These future role assessments are closely related to age and attitude toward change. It is expected that future role assessments will be significantly related to the differences in attitude among the older members. Moderates would feel very uncertain about their future because of the approach of part or full-time retirement. This would make them apprehensive about their future work roles in the congregation in contrast to Conservatives who do not anticipate continued active service in the order. It is likewise presumed that among the young, expectations will be more significantly related to the role of their province in the process of change. If it continues to change at a pace acceptable to them, then future role assessments can be important, because

of the possibility of their implementation. The Liberals would then be those most impatient with the present rate of change.

Campbell, then, has suggested that age and attitude differences derive from either past or present experiences. This study proposes that for religious, attitudes toward change are related to three sources--the past, the present and the future. It further suggests that the import of these sources will differ in their significance for various attitudinal groups within a specific age category. The analysis will proceed to a systematic exploration of the three divisions of background variables as sources of attitudinal differences between the young and the old as well as between the two major attitudinal groups in both generations.

Socialization Processes

The search for intervening variables related to age and attitude began with an examination of socialization processes as related to the past experience of the respondents. Table XXVI presents these relationships.

It may be seen in Table XXVI that contrary to expectation, no items of family socialization are significantly related to the difference in attitude between either the younger or older members. This may be due to the fact that there is no great difference between the generations on the family variables included in the study. Both age groups had lived in large cities or their suburbs, although it is more likely that the

TABLE XXVI

RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIALIZATION TO AGE AND ATTITUDE

Item	Family Variables	Young		Old	
		V	Sign.	V	Sign.
118	Family size	.05	.70	.09	.20
119	Family location	.09	.20	.12	.10
120	Major occupation	.12	.10	.15	.10
	Congregation Variables				
122	Age at joining	.09	.10	.13	.10
123	Membership seniority	.12	.05*	.04	.70
124	Educational level	.09	.30	.14	.10
115	Province membership	.15	.10	.26	.001*

younger sisters were raised in suburbs. Older members had more children (6-9) in their family than did the younger (1-5). Both generations belonged to working class families, but there were some differences in categorizations of their fathers' work. For the older generation, these could be ranked as unskilled, skilled, and farm labour. For the younger, they would be skilled, unskilled, farm, sales and clerical.

There was some differences in family characteristics between Moderate and "Liberal" young sisters. The "Liberal" had come from slightly larger families (4-5 children) and none of their fathers was engaged in farm work. The only difference between the "Conservative" and Moderate older sisters was that the "Conservative" members had more children in their families. These similarities in family background may explain why

differences in attitude between and among the generations are not significantly related to certain past experiences of the respondents.

Table XXVI likewise shows that among the variables related to socialization experiences in the congregation, only one was significantly associated with the differences in attitude for members of each generation. For the old it was province membership ($p=<.001$) and for the young, membership seniority ($p=<.05$). The expectation that past socialization in the congregation would be more significant for older members was not met.

This lack of significance for the two age groups may again be related to the fact that the characteristics of secondary socialization do not differ remarkably between them. The majority of respondents in both generations were eighteen or younger when they joined the congregation. The majority of both age groups have obtained their bachelor's degree. Over one-third of the young have completed some graduate studies, while over one-third of the old hold a master's or a doctoral degree.

The main difference between the two generations is the length of time they have been members in the order. For the majority of young sisters, it is less than 15 years, while the seniority of the old extends from 35 years onward. There are no major differences in the secondary socialization characteristics among the younger sisters who differ in their attitudes

toward change. Among the older members, the major difference pertained to educational attainments. Those with "Conservative" attitudes had received their B.A. degree, while those with Moderate attitudes held an M.A. or more. The analysis will continue with the two significant variables related to past experiences of the members.

Province Membership

Why is province membership significantly related to the difference in attitude among the old? An examination of the distribution of these respondents according to provinces and attitude may furnish some insights.

Province	"Conservatives"	Moderates	Province	"Conservatives"	Moderates
Baltimore	14.4%	8.0%	Mankato	13.5%	7.2%
Canadian	.8	8.0	Mequon	28.3	41.6
Dallas	6.3	6.5	St.Louis	9.7	5.1
DeKalb	10.5	9.4	Wilton	16.1	13.8

It is apparent that the difference in attitude varies from province to province. Four provinces--Baltimore, Mankato, St. Louis, and Wilton--have considerably more "Conservative" than Moderate members in this study. This suggests that selected changes which are taking place in these provinces are creating problems for many of their older sisters. On the other hand, the provinces of Canada and Mequon have more Moderate than "Conservative" sisters. The older members in these two provinces would seem to be less disturbed by the changes occurring in their provinces. There is a suggestion of polarization of

attitude among the old in the provinces of Dallas and DeKalb, since about an equal percentage of both attitude groups feel differently about change in their province.

The variation from province to province, then, is indicative of the fact that the rate of change is not taking place as uniformly as in the past. The difference is also due to the type of social structure prevailing in a province while it coped with the forces of change. Some of the North American provinces had more formal and authoritarian structures than others, although these changed at times with the advent of new provincial administrators. Older sisters who have been members of these provinces and who have experienced traditional life styles in such a milieu might view any adaptations as a drastic measure of change. Campbell observes, "It is apparently a general law of group life that the longer a person associates himself with a group the stronger his attachment to it becomes and the more difficult it is to induce him to defect from the group or show disloyalty to its standards."[16]

A province provides life-time care for its members from the early period of socialization through final illness and death. Most sisters have lived their entire religious life in one geographical province of the order. In the past it was easy to develop an ethnocentric identification with the province of one's early affiliation. Ethnocentrism, including the

---

[16]Campbell, p. 113.

feeling that one's own group is the best, was developed directly through loyalty to provincial ties and indirectly in having only limited contact with other provinces. However, provincial ethnocentrism has been on the wane since the thirteenth general chapter (1968), which encouraged inter-provincial sharing of ideas, personnel, and resources.

The fourteenth general chapter formulated a series of action--Commitments to be implemented by the provinces before the next general Chapter as each sees fit:

> Since needs vary from province to province, not all action-commitments will be implemented at the same time nor with precisely the same emphasis in all provinces. Plans will vary, but the General Chapter delegates hope that this long range planning will be of lasting benefit to every Sister in each local group. 17

Whenever appropriate, action-commitments will be cited in the study as indicators of additional changes to be provided within the religious system. These administrative decisions may explain why province membership is not significantly related to the attitudes of the young.

Seniority of Membership

It was expected that seniority would be more related to the attitudes of the older, rather than to the younger generation. An examination of the distribution of younger respondents with different attitudes may help explain the significance of this relationship.

---

[17] Acts of the Fourteenth General Chapter (Rome: General Chapter, 1972), p. 4.

Attitude	Under 15 years	15-35 years
Moderate	69.1%	30.8%
Liberal	79.0	21.0

Seniority may be understood as the length of time one has been a member of the religious organization. It is clear that the largest percentage in both attitudinal groups have been members of the order for less than fifteen years. This means that they have participated in the changes taking place before Vatican II and after it.

One of the major innovations was in their own program of formation during the early years of their membership. After the year of novitiate, these young sisters remained with their religious peer group for two more years instead of being assigned to a teaching position and living in a local house of their province. Their extended socialization period, referred to as the juniorate, enabled the young members to continue with their religious and professional preparation. Especially trained directresses guided them through their entire formation period of postulancy, novitiate, and juniorate. When they joined the other sisters in the teaching profession, it was expected that they were better formed, better educated, and better prepared to assume their duties as religious and professional women.

The younger members who have been in the congregation over fifteen years did not have this extensive religious and professional training period. This may be one explanation

for the difference in attitude as related to seniority. Moderates who have been in the teaching profession for a longer period of time are likely to hold administrative positions. This could make them more appreciative of changes in the congregation which have helped them function more effectively in their administrative work. This was the reaction of one young principal who felt it was important for herself and her faculty to be able now to visit the homes of their students who lived in problem areas of the city. On the other hand, some "Liberal" administrators may believe that there has not been enough change to permit them to attain their administrative goals.

The past experiences of the two generations, particularly those occurring within the family, do not seem to be major sources of difference in their attitudes toward change. An examination of relevant issues associated with present roles is expected to provide additional insights about present experiences as sources of attitudinal differences in the generations.

Religious Life Styles: Present Experiences

One of the basic principles in the new constitutions of the order is that of collegiality. This principle permits each sister to participate in the decision-making process where feasible. In the pursuit of her professional role as educator and her participant role as local house member, she has some opportunity to exercise collegiality. It was expected that

these newer experiences, related to work and residence, would be sources of difference in the attitudes of the two age groups being analyzed.

There was the presumption that older sisters would choose to exercise little collegiality in regard to decisions affecting their personal lives. Having been socialized into and having functioned within an authoritarian structure for most of their religious lives, it would be logical for them to continue in this way. They would see the will of God manifested in the decisions of the elected administrators. The younger members were expected to avail themselves of the opportunities to share in the decision-making process because of the trend toward more personal responsibility and because of the limited time they had functioned under authoritarian structures in the religious system.

Present experiences, associated with collegiality in regard to work and residence, then, were expected to be significantly related to the difference in attitudes between the generations and among them. Table XXVII presents the ten background items pertaining to these two aspects of religious functioning.

Three background items--work milieu, work type, and work assignment--pertain to the work charactistics of the respondents. This table shows that none of these are significantly related to the attitudes of the older sisters, although one, type of work, is meaningful for the young. All

TABLE XXVII

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE, ATTITUDE, AND RELIGIOUS LIFE STYLES

Item	Work Characteristics	Younger		Older	
		V	Sign.	V	Sign.
125	Present work milieu	.05	.70	.05	.70
126	Present type of work	.18	.05*	.11	.70
128	Assignment to work	.07	.30	.11	.10
	Residence Characteristics				
108	Type of residence	.11	.10	.12	.10
109	Location of residence	.07	.50	.07	.70
110	Years in residence	.14	.05*	.06	.80
111	Number in residence	.16	.01*	.14	.10
113	Assignment to residence	.07	.30	.15	.02*
114	Government in residence	.05	.70	.19	.001*
117	Distance from motherhouse	.16	.01*	.08	.30

three items afford an opportunity for the members to exercise collegiality. They are also related to changing life styles in the congregation. A closer examination of the participation patterns of the respondents may afford additional information about the relationship of these work variables to age and attitude. The pattern of relationships is presented in Table XXVIII.

TABLE XXVIII

LIFE STYLES RELATED TO WORK, AGE, AND ATTITUDE

Item	Work Variables	Traditional		Transitional		Emergent	
		Young	Old	Young	Old	Young	Old
125	Work milieu	82%	83%	4%	6%	14%	11%
126	Work type	83	60	9	14	8	10
128	Work assignment	43	59	43	32	14	9

It is not surprising to find that the greater majority of both generations are working in a predominantly Catholic milieu. This means that they are teachers or administrators in Catholic schools as evidenced in the large percentage in both age groups who state that their present work is the traditional type. The unexpected finding of Table XXVIII pertains to the larger percentage (43%) of young who have been assigned to their present work, and the surprising number of old (32%) who have either negotiated (partly appointment and choice) or fully chosen (9%) their present occupation.

There is clear evidence in this table that many of the older members are not afraid to exercise collegiality and to adopt new life styles in regard to their professional role in the organization. There is also the fact that not as many of the younger generation, as had been expected, are exercising collegiality in respect to work assignments. This fact may be related to the present demand on the congregation to continue

staffing Catholic schools in North America. There is also a reasonable probability that when work contracts are extended by more provinces, this innovation will permit more flexible choices.

Present Type of Work

The significance of the relationship between type of work and age suggests that the young differ in their attitudes toward the type of work they are now engaged in. An examination of the work preferences of the younger members projected over the next five years reveals that this variable is even more significantly ($V=.18$, $p=<.02$) related to attitude of the younger generation. How do major categories of present work types compare with future choices of work among the young? Table XXIX presents the relationship between the two.

TABLE XXIX

RELATIONSHIP OF WORK TO ATTITUDES OF THE YOUNG

Major Work Types	Moderates		"Liberals"	
	Present	Future	Present	Future
Elementary teaching	53.5%	36.5%	52.7%	23.9%
Secondary teaching	11.1	10.7	22.8	7.6
Administration	14.3	11.8	9.1	17.3
Newer types	8.6	24.3	6.0	35.7

This table clearly shows that many of the younger sisters do not wish to continue in traditional types of work

in the organization. This is particularly evident among the "Liberal" young. It would seem that many young members are engaged in traditional types of work which do not satisfy them. One-fourth of the Moderates and over one-third of the "Liberals" would like to move from parochial education into newer forms of apostolic service. These newer forms would include Newman Center work at state universities, anti-poverty programs, social work, teaching in special education programs for the needy, conducting surveys and research, as well as working with innovative educational media.

There is every possibility that their desires will be fulfilled in the near future. Chapter delegates, convinced that the congregation ought to be concerned with the poor, established a goal that the order should share the justice and love of Christ with the poor wherever they are. This promises to be implemented by the following action-commitments:

> (1) Ideally, within five years have at least 30% of active personnel working with these groups of poor, oppressed and marginalized in their own provincial areas...
>
> (2) Ideally, within five years have at least 5% of active personnel working with the poor, oppressed and marginalized in developing countries... 18

The chapter delegates probed another important need. Since the congregation was founded primarily as a teaching order, there has always been an emphasis on traditional forms of education. The delegates felt that the time had come to

---

[18] Ibid., p. 40.

define education in its broadest sense with pluriformity of service. This does not mean an abandonment of traditional forms of education, but an acceptance of education-related service to which some members may feel a personal call. That sisters may be encouraged to participate in these new forms of service and that other sisters may know and appreciate their work in these areas, the following action-commitments were agreed upon:

> (1) Where feasible, one day each year, Sisters in broad educational apostolates dialogue and share their experiences with Sisters of their province.
>
> (2) When a sister is to assume a new work, she and supportive associates speak to the people involved in both her former and her future apostolates concerning needs of the Church. The Sister determines the time and place for the dialogue. 19

The rationale for these new approaches to type of work in the religious organization were based on the new constitutions of the order. These direct the sisters to make every effort to help those sisters who, in response to human needs, feel called to another type of work. Education in its broadest sense was felt to be that vehicle which would help persons reach the fullness of their potential.

While many of the younger generation will be seeking newer forms of work associated with broader aspects of education to meet the problems of the poor and needy in many areas of the world, a larger number of the young will elect to

---

[19] Ibid., p. 41.

continue in traditional types of work in the order. Table XXIX shows that while more of the Moderates will continue to do so, members of both attitudinal groups envision themselves as selecting elementary or secondary education. It is an interesting fact in this table that while more Moderates now hold administrative positions (+5.2%), more "Liberals" will choose these (+5.5%) in the future.

Since traditional education has been the major work of the congregation, the chapter delegates also assessed continued needs in this area. They felt that the goal of Catholic education for SSND members should be...

> To call all schools served and reached by SSND's to the fullest possible development of their mission--expressed in Church documents and our Constitution--to be authentic Christian communities reinforcing a vital Church. 20

Chapter delegates agreed that this broad goal could be attained through a number of action-commitments summarized thus :

> To implement a plan of continuing education for faculty, students and others which will foster more Christian interpersonal relationships among them and a common concern for social justice. 21

The faculty is the logical point for creating an environment that encourages the formation of a Christian community witnessing to Christian values. Because the formation of such a group is a long-term process, plans must be made for continuing education, not only for the faculty, but for the students and their parents, so that gradually these values will reach out

---

[20] Ibid., p. 43.

[21] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

to other groups.

To summarize: present experiences, as sources of difference in the attitudes of various age groups, are significantly related to one work variable. However, this is only for the young and applies to the kind of work they are doing. Further analysis reveals that future work types are likewise related to the attitudes of younger members. A comparison of the major work categories pertaining to both the present and the future, shows that many young members will choose newer forms of work. This suggests that some of these members are dissatisfied with the type of work they are now doing, particularly if they have been assigned to it. This fact helps to explain the significant relationship between type of work and attitudinal differences among the young. The same conflict does not exist among the older members. This is probably related to the limited future of many in full-time traditional work roles.

Table XXVII presents the ten background variables related to work and residence roles of the respondents. Out of the seven pertaining to the convent, five are significantly associated with the attitudes of the two age groups. However, the significant variables differ from one group to the other. For the older members, assignment to and government in the religious house are strongly related to their attitudinal differences; while for the younger members, years and number of members in residence, as well as distance from the mother-

house are strongly related to the difference in attitude among them. Present experiences, then, as associated with the religious residence are sources of difference for the attitudes of the two generations. But why are not the same house variables significant for both?

Assignment to Residence

The two residence items associated with attitudinal differences among the old permit the members to exercise collegiality. They are likewise related to changing life styles in the local house group. These two facts are probably related to the attitudinal differences of the older sisters.

Assignment	"Conservatives"	Moderates
Appointment	70.7%	58.0%
Negotiated	20.7	33.8
Free choice	8.7	8.0

A closer examination of the two attitudinal groups reveals that more of the "Conservatives" (13%) have accepted an appointment to their present convent. On the other hand, more of the Moderates (13%) have chosen to exercise collegiality. The large percentage in both groups who negotiated their residence assignment means that they chose to discuss their preferences with the provincial administrators, but left the final decision to them. The equal percentage in both groups who exercised free choice by making their own decision as to which type of convent they would live in is quite surprising.

It is remarkable that so many of the older sisters, no matter what their attitude toward religious change may be,

have chosen to participate in newer forms of decision making in the congregation in regard to work and residence. This explains why assignment to the religious residence is an intervening variable between age and attitude. The freedom to determine where one will live is now given to all members. The actual use of it varies from one attitudinal group to another. "Conservative" members seem more prone to accept the traditional pattern of assignment to a convent home.

Government in Residence

This variable is more strongly related to the attitudinal difference among the old than is assignment to religious residence. The members of a local house group may exercise collegiality by deciding which form of government they would like to have for a certain period of time, which may be no less than one year. The type of government decided upon results in a particular life style for that local group.

An examination of the nature of the differences among the old will provide additional information as to its implementation.

Life Style	Conservatives	Moderates
Appointed superior	66.6%	49.2%
Shared responsibility	22.2	28.5
Elected superior	11.1	22.1

It is noteworthy that older members representing both attitudes are living in convents having different forms of local government. It is not unexpected to see that the majority of both attitudinal groups are functioning under the traditional form

of government in which the local leader is appointed to the convent by the provincial superior. She may be a member of the local group or come from some other group in her province. While members of both groups live in convents with an appointed superior, more of the Conservatives do so (17%).

It is likewise not unexpected to find that more of the Moderates live in convents having newer forms of local administration. One of these forms provides for an elected leader. More of the Moderates (11%) have this life style. This means that after the house group has decided upon the form of government they will have, members of the group are nominated for the role of administrator and one is elected. Her duties are the same as those of an appointed leader. The advantage of an elected leader is that, as a member of that group, she will be more aware of their needs. She also has the expressed confidence of the group when dealing with these needs. Conversely, sisters who choose to have an appointed superior feel that the broader knowledge of the provincial administration will help them to select a superior who can deal objectively with the needs of the house group to which she is sent.

It is surprising to find that about one-fifth or more of the older sisters in both attitude categories are living in groups who have chosen shared responsibility as their form of government. For them there is no definite leader in their group to coordinate individual effort. All members participate in the important decisions which have to be made. Each sister

assumes some responsibility to make sure that the usual functions of the superior are taken care of, i.e.,managing, finances,etc.

Change from the traditional form of government in the congregation was initiated at the thirteenth general chapter (1968). The change reflects the new emphasis on the individual member in contradistinction to the former emphasis on the group for the common good.

> Any consideration of government in religious life begins and ends with the awareness of the dignity and worth of the human person. ...Governmental structures, in whatever way they may evolve, will always be aware of this person, permitting and fostering personal and community responsibility, initiative, and creativity. 22

It is remarkable that so many older sisters are participating in the newer forms of government, despite the problems it may cause for certain individuals, particularly for those who have chosen the residence in which they are now living. During the field research, the observer found the older members satisfied with the type of government in their convent. However, a number did have negative views about shared responsibility. They felt that shared responsibility meant no responsibility! None of them mentioned their confreres who might be functioning in such a situation. The researcher visited several convents which had this form of administration. There seemed to be less coordination of effort in these houses, but the members

---

[22]Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter, "Interim Constitutions and General Directory of the School Sisters of Notre Dame" (Rome: General Chapter, 1968), pp. 97 and 94.

helped together where needed and each spoke appreciatively of the community responsibility which was hers.

In summary, a closer examination of the two residence variables which proved to be sources of difference in the attitudes of the old shows that these are related to collegiality and changing life styles in the local residence. While members of both attitudinal groups are participating in these, it is evident that more members with conservative attitudes have chosen the traditional forms of assignment to and government in their convent. Contrariwise, more of the Moderates have chosen to participate in the newer forms.

For both groups these decisions meant a redefining of their subjective reality as related to their vow of obedience. They have functioned under the traditional interpretation of this vow for most of their religious life. The nature of this difference may be understood when examining this passage from the Rule of 1925:

> To become more perfect in obedience a Sister shall refrain from expressing her wishes to her Superior in regards to occupation, position, or place of dwelling. She may disclose to her that she feels a special aptitude and inclination for this or that employment; but when a Sister has intimated her wishes she must humbly submit all to her Superior with the absolute certainty that what she commands will be for her the will of God, even though it be in conformity with her own inclination.[23]

Now, instead of being restricted in their personal decisions, the older members are urged to participate in the decision-

---

[23]Rule and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1925), p. 13, n. 60.

making process itself. This is also in conformity with their vow of obedience as presented in their new constitutions:

> Because we see a possible manifestation of God's will in our needs and in the needs of those around us, in the necessities that are inherent in our environment or that suddenly confront us, we respond positively to these in obedience, even as we accept, for the same reason, the decisions legitimately made by various persons in community. Obedience thus means to us
> 10. Accepting decision rightfully made, whether they are made by the assembly, the community leader, or the person in charge of a project, in the spirit of faith, even at the sacrifice of personal wishes.
> 11. Positive response to all the demands daily arising from the needs and exigencies of community living. 24

These differences in the interpretation of the vow of obedience afford an insight into the reason for certain residence characteristics being significantly related to the differences in attitude among the older respondents. The experiences which are now present in their lives are closely related to their understanding and practice of the vow of obedience.

The three residence variables which are significantly related to the attitudes of the younger generation are not directly associated with religious life styles or collegiality. This means that for the young their present experiences are

---

[24]Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter, You Are Sent (Rome: General Chapter, 1970), p. 75. The section on obedience in the General Directory of this new Constitution has five explanatory paragraphs which outline theological understandings of religious obedience. Each of these paragraphs is followed by several directives. Any of these would have illustrated this point of the study, but the one selected seemed to afford more of a contrast to the proscriptions of the Rule of 1925.

associated with other aspects of life in the religious house which are more directly related to the differences in attitude among them. Two of these variables are associated with trends in regard to adaptations within the convent but no definite patterns have yet been established.

Years in Residence

Formerly, when members were assigned to their convent, it was customary for the sisters who had not taken their final vows to live under several different superiors. This could be done in the same house or in a different one. The purpose of this procedure was to afford an opportunity for the young member to adjust to different groups of sisters, school situations, and administrators. This helped her to assess her potentialities as a community member and as a professional. It also afforded the religious organization an opportunity to examine her role-performance under a variety of circumstances in order to determine her suitablity for final membership. If the young sister received favourable recommendations from her superiors, she was permitted to pronounce her final vows in the congregation. After final commitment, it was **customary** for a member to remain at one convent for at least three years.

The foregoing explanation may afford an insight into the significance of this variable as a source of difference in the attitudes of the young.

Years in Residence	Moderates	Liberals
Less than 1 yr.	34.7%	34.5%
1 to 4 yrs.	46.9	48.0

Years in Residence	Moderates	Liberals
5 to 9 yrs.	17.9	13.5
10 yrs. or more	.3	4.0

It is apparent that for over one-third of the young sisters, this is the first year they have lived in their present residence. This fact alone does not indicate how mobile this group may be. They may have lived in their former house for any number of years. The largest percentage of young in both attitudinal groups have lived in their present convent from one to four years. This is not too different from the traditional pattern in the North American provinces. About 18 percent of both groups have lived in their present residence for over five years. It is interesting that more of the "Liberal" young have been at the same convent for ten years or more. Among four-fifths of the young, the trend then seems to be not to remain at one residence for more than four years. There is no data available to check this pattern with the mobility rate of the sisters in the past. In general most sisters stayed at one residence for a longer, rather than a shorter period of time. There is talk of more mobility among religious, but currently there is no supportive evidence among SSND members.

In the field research, the members seemed to feel that there is an increased mobility rate among them. They pointed out that this is related to a number of other factors which are changing in the congregation. In some of the provinces, the members may apply for positions they wish to hold, if they are aware of such openings. Or sisters may wish to change

from traditional to newer forms of service which are not always in education. Other sisters have volunteered to participate in an interprovincial exchange program. These changes in work are accompanied by a change in residence. Since some work choices may be of short duration, mobility patterns may increase.

There is no apparent reason why the variable of years in residence is significantly associated with the difference in attitude among the young. An almost equal percentage of both groups have lived the same length of time in their present residence. The major difference is associated with the smaller percentage who have lived a longer period of time (5 to 9 yrs.) in their present convents. If many of the young members prefer mobility, this group may initiate new variations in personnel distribution.

Number in Residence

The second residence item significantly related to the attitudes of the young concerns the number of sisters living in the local house. An examination of the distribution of the sisters affords some insights as to why this is an important variable for the young.

Number in Residence	Moderates	Liberals
2 to 9 Sisters	55.3%	47.5%
10-20 Sisters	20.0	32.3
21-35 Sisters	7.5	9.0
Over 35 Sisters	17.1	11.1

There is definite evidence here that young sisters live in predominantly smaller groups. About 8 percent more of the

Moderates live in communities which number from 2 to 9 members, while about 12 percent more of the "Liberals" are in groups which have from 10 to 20 sisters. More of the Moderates reside in the largest houses, which number 35 or more residents.

How does the distribution of young sisters in their present house groups compare with the size of house group in which they would prefer to live?

TABLE XXX

ATTITUDES OF YOUNG AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN RESIDENCE

	Moderates		Liberals	
Number in Residence	Actual	Prefer	Actual	Prefer
2 to 9 Sisters	55.3%	75.6%	47.5%	78.3%
10 to 20 Sisters	20.0	19.0	32.3	19.2
Over 20 Sisters	24.6	5.4	20.1	2.5

An examination of this table provides additional insights into the significance of the size of the local house group in relationship to the age and attitude of the respondents. While many of the young sisters are already living in small groups, there are many who are not and who would prefer to do so. In fact, three-fourths of the young indicate a preference for house groups which range from two to nine members.

About an equal number of the Moderates would continue to select groups numbering from 10 to 20 members. Not so the "Liberal." The one-third who are presently living in this

size of community would decrease to include only about one-fifth. The largest number of young people who are dissatisfied with their present group size are those in large communities. Only 25 percent of the "Liberals" prefer house groups which number more than 20 members; 5 percent of the Moderates would choose a group this size.

In their preference, the two attitudinal groups have about the same distribution of members in the three categories of choice. The exception to this would be a few more Liberal members in the local residence having the smallest living group. It appears that size of local house group is significantly related to the difference in attitude among the young for two reasons. There are many in both groups who are not living in the size of community which is acceptable to their expectations. The largest number of members who are unhappy with the present arrangement in terms of their preferences are the "Liberals," who have more of their members (8%) in larger groups than do the Moderates.

Distance from Motherhouse

The third residence characteristic significantly associated with difference in attitude among the young is the location of convent in relationship to the motherhouse of the province. It had been expected that the liberal houses would be farthest from the motherhouse, the seat of the provincial government. Neither the survey data nor the field research supports this fact. It probably would have been a significant

factor prior to Vatican II.

The observer visited several convents labeled as avant garde houses of the province and which were quite close to the motherhouse. These sisters did not think that distance from the motherhouse contributed to liberalism, but that the life style of the residents in a particular house did. In this instance behaviour is related to attitudes. It would be expected that members with liberal attitudes adopt the newer life styles. The majority of members adopting these would cause a house to be labeled liberal. It was observed that in these convents the form of government was usually shared responsibility, that there was a generous sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers, that the sisters dressed casually in their convent, and that many of them were engaged in part-time work in a secular milieu.

How close to the motherhouse of the province are the residences in which the young members live?

Distance from Motherhouse	Moderates	Liberals
Less than 1 hour	55.8%	41.2%
From 2 to 4 hours	23.3	36.1
3 hours or more	20.8	22.6

Most of the young are located quite close to their motherhouse. About 15 percent more of the Moderates live within an hour's distance and about 13 percent more of the "Liberals" live within 2 to 4 hours drive of their motherhouse. About an equal percentage (20) of both attitudinal groups live more than 3 hours from the main religious house of the province.

The implication of this variable in its relationship to the attitudes of the young would seem to be that those who are farther away might wish to be closer and that some who are close might wish to be farther removed from the motherhouse. This feeling could apply to both attitudinal groups. In the past ten years, it has been customary for the younger sisters to return to the motherhouse for individual and group sessions with their formation directress. This may be a pleasant and enriching experience for some more than others and may account for the difference in attitude among them.

The motherhouses of all provinces are large multifunctional institutions. In the past they housed the new recruits through the years of their religious and professional formation. They continue to provide health care and other services for the sick and aged who are not in retirement homes of the province. Usually the provincial administrators have their offices and living quarters in the motherhouse. Several motherhouses have educational institutions associated with them and faculty members from these live with the motherhouse community. During the writing of this study the researcher lived with the Canadian sisters in their motherhouse.

A motherhouse, because of its large size and nostalgic memories for the members, is an ideal meeting place for members of the province, who frequently return for provincial meetings, conferences, and workshops. Many sisters also gather for spiritual renewal programs and for retreats. During the field

research it was possible for the observer to visit motherhouses of the different provinces as well as the provinces' homes for retired sisters. In these residences, great care is exercised in meeting the needs of those who have served the religious system for so many years. The unusual feature in the motherhouses at the present time is the visible absence of young recruits. Currently, during the socialization process into the religious organization, new recruits spend alternate periods of time in the motherhouse as well as in local houses with professed sisters.

An examination of background items related to present life styles of the members reveals that six of the ten variables are sources of difference in the attitudes of the two generations. Present type of work is significantly associated with the difference in attitude among the young. It is not the difference per se between traditional and newer forms of work, but the distribution of members in traditional work categories, which accounts for the significance. This is due to the fact that so few young people are engaged in newer types of service.

Five of the six items associated with the present experiences of the members are significantly related to their participation role in their local house group. The difference in attitudes among older members is significantly related to residence assignment and type of government in it. Further analysis reveals that these two variables are closely associated with collegiality and changing life styles in the religious

house. The "Conservative" elderly participate less in the decision-making process than do the Moderate old. The rationale for this appears to be their traditional understanding and practice of the vow of obedience.

Collegiality and changing life styles are not significantly related to the difference in attitude among the young. Rather, their concern is with items pertaining to years in residence, number of members in house group, and distance of residence from the provincial motherhouse. It appears that some of the young in different attitudinal groups are not satisfied with their present residential assignments. Some who have experienced no mobility wish for it; some who are not in small living groups desire them; and some who are not located far from the motherhouse wish to be closer. Likewise, the converse of these three wishes may be applicable to other young sisters.

The type of work one engages in is a major decision for a member. The local house in which she will live while performing this role is a consequence of that decision. In making one choice, the variables associated with the second are difficult to control. This results in certain dissatisfactions which appear to be felt more keenly by the young. It has been found, then, that present experiences in work and residence roles are sources of difference in the attitudes of the two generations. However, what is significant for the old does not have the same significance for the young,

and vice versa. An examination of projected roles of the respondents as sources of differences in their attitudes may reveal a unique pattern.

Role Assessments: Future Expectations

Selected items in the questionnaire dealt with projected role assessments of the members. Three of these were related to future expectations and one to a comparison with the past, functioning in terms of the present. A fifth item pertained to an evaluation of one's province in the role of change agent. Table XXXI shows the significance of these items as sources of difference in the attitudes of the two age groups.

TABLE XXXI

RELATIONSHIP OF AGE, ATTITUDE, AND ROLE ASSESSMENTS

		Young		Old	
Item	Selected Characteristics	V	Sign.	V	Sign.
132	Future work milieu	.25	.001*	.08	.50
130	Future type of work	.18	.02*	.17	.30
112	Preferred house members	.07	.50	.05	.70
129	Satisfaction with work	.08	.50	.10	.30
116	Province change rate	.47	.001*	.28	.001*

It is apparent in this table that two of the variables are significantly related to future role performances of the young--future work milieu and future type of work. It was

expected that type of future work would be more significant for the old because of their approaching retirement. A third variable is significantly related to the function of the province. An assessment of the rate of change in the province is not only strongly correlated with the attitudes of the young, as was expected, but likewise with those of the old. This is the only background variable in which there is a difference in attitude expressed between as well as among the generations.

Future Work Milieu

An understanding of the present milieu of the young workers with their expectations for the future will aid in the understanding of the importance of this variable as related to attitudinal differences.

Work Milieu	Present	Future
Predominantly Catholic	81.9%	32.6%
Combination of both	13.7	55.1
Predominantly secular	4.4	12.3

It appears that four-fifths of the young are now working in a predominantly Catholic milieu but only about one-third expect to be functioning in such a milieu five years hence. Over half of the young perceive for themselves a work milieu which will be part Catholic and part secular. It is interesting to find that very few of the young expect to work in a predominantly secular milieu. How do the attitudinal groups differ in their choice of milieu?

Future Work Milieu	Moderates	"Liberals"
Predominantly Catholic	41.2%	20.5%
Combination of both	51.2	60.5
Predominantly secular	7.5	19.0

In a comparison of the young with different attitudes, it appears that the "Liberals" would wish to become more involved in secular milieu. About nine percent more of this group expect to be working in a milieu which is part Catholic and part secular. This would include types of work which would be predominantly Catholic in orientation, such as a Catholic social work agency; but the staff of the agency would also function in a wider social milieu, i.e.,visiting homes and other places which were not Catholic. About 11 percent more of the "Liberal" project themselves into a predominantly secular milieu. This suggests that they will be selecting work roles in secular institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals, or social agencies.

This variable, then, is significantly related to the difference in attitudes among the young, because more of the Liberals wish either a mixed milieu or a fully secular one. This does not mean that the young do not value their commitment to the sacred aspects of religious life, but that they feel social needs will carry them beyond the boundaries of Catholic institutions with no harm to their religious value system.

In the field research, it was observed that a number of sisters in all age groups were working part-time in a secular milieu or a mixed one. Some of the retired sisters

were visiting the elderly in their homes, apartments, and nursing homes. Some of the middle aged were conducting professional seminars and meetings in secular institutions. Some of the young sisters were working part-time in government programs for the poor and needy. These part-time services could be a prelude to full-time involvements.

A major goal of the 1972 general chapter was to create among the sisters an environment that fosters the integration of closeness to Christ and openness to the world. This is an additional emphasis on the major goals of the religious organization, which have been re-defined as renewal in the spiritual values of the committed life and material adaptation to contemporary demands. Chapter delegates believed that these goals could be met through the following action-commitments:

(1) To release abilities of woman for a more responsive, compassionate service;

(2) To preserve "this small planet which must carry all humanity." 25

Type of Future Work

This variable was discussed in a preceding analysis pertaining to type of present work. Both present and future work types were significantly related to the attitudinal differences among the young. A comparison of the types of work which the two generations expect to be doing five years from now may explain why this variable is not a source of difference

---

[25]Acts, 1972, p. 19.

in the attitudes of the old, as had been expected.

Future type of work	Young	Old
Elementary teaching	31.4%	9.3%
Secondary teaching	9.5	4.8
Higher education	3.2	2.1
Non-teaching work	5.5	9.9
Administration	14.1	7.2
Education-related	7.4	9.9
Newer types	29.1	15.2
Retirement	--	41.8

It is clear that most members of the older generation do not expect to be in traditional types of full-time work in the near future. (Some school systems make retirement mandatory for religious teachers at age 62, others at 65 or some at 70, for exceptional reasons. In other school systems, the religious decides to retire at her own discretion.)

In institutions under the jurisdication of the congregation, it has been the custom that a sister relinquishes her involvement in full-time work gradually. If her health permits, she moves from full-time to part-time teaching on the educational level of her choice. Most members prefer to deal with younger children. This may explain the 9 percent of older sisters who expect to be teaching in elementary schools in the future.

When a member retires from full or part-time work with her own class of students, she may assist other teachers with their classes or render auxiliary services. She may take a small group of children for remedial work in a particular subject, or she may tutor individual students in an unused

classroom or in an empty room in the convent. In the religious house, semi-retired sisters help with the preparation of the meals,with the laundry, and answer doorbells and telephones. Probably the 20 percent of the aging who expect to be engaged in non-teaching or in education-related work in the future will render these valuable services in the school or in the convent. This pattern of continued involvement according to one's capacities and desires is similar to that followed by senior citizens in the wider society who are being urged to prepare for and to retire to action! As Julietta Arthur points out:

> Opportunities abound; and so do good causes. There are small jobs for those with limited capacities or time or strength. There are bigger jobs waiting for those with the energy and desire to carry them out.... Social agencies are increasingly concerned with developing channels to use the growing reservoir of latent talents and increased leisure time created by retirees with a healthy outlook and good stamina.[26]

With these options ahead of her for continued service according to her abilities, an older member may not be extremely anxious about her future work role. Since Vatican II new opportunities are being provided for the elderly to participate in activities beyond the parameters of the congregation. The 15 percent who cite newer works as their service for the future seem aware of and interested in them. These opportunities mainly concern visiting the elderly of any religious tradition, in their homes, hospitals, or nursing homes. They also include

---

[26]Julietta K. Arthur, Retire to Action (New York: Abingdon Press, 1969), pp. 40-41.

attending meetings and social functions sponsored by senior citizens' clubs and other social organizations. The researcher was able to accompany some of the older sisters on their visits to the elderly in their homes or in convalescent centers. Some of the retired members concentrate on one field of endeavour; other combine activities in the school or convent with their service to nonmembers.

The congregation has provided leadership training for members interested in preparing programs for pre-retirement and retirement in each province. These designated sisters attend universities and colleges which offer courses and workshops in social gerontology. At one such workshop sisters were asked to react to the statement, "The retirement years of the older sisters are a precious dividend of time in which she should have many options for achieving her full potential as a member of a religious community."[27] In the discussion which followed a consideration of this statement, the participants agreed that the elderly should have options for continued service according to their interests and abilities as well as the freedom to choose where to live after retiring.

The retirement programs in each province have tried to take into consideration the aforementioned options for the members. It appears from the preceding data that the elderly are satisfied with the service opportunities available to them

---

[27]Woodrow W. Hunter, "Leadership Training for Pre-Retirement Programs in Religious Communities," The Gerontologist, XII (Spring, 1972), 18.

since this has not been a source of difference in their attitudes toward change. However, assignment to residence has appeared problematic. A previous examination of this variable showed that the attitudes of the elderly religious were significantly related to their choice of residence. Different attitudinal groups had members who were appointed to their convent, or who had negotiated with the provincial administrators about it, or who had freely chosen to live where they felt would be the best religious house for their needs.

The preceding analysis has endeavoured to show why the category of future work was not significantly related to the attitudes of the elderly as had been expected. It has shown that the options open to those approaching retirement provide for continued usefulness in the congregation in an environment of their own choosing, if they wish to do so. This concern is based on the premise that

> .....the last stage of life becomes the most important, for it is during this period that the ultimate growth or defeat of the maturation process takes place. ...Therefore, we all need to build the attitudes in society which will enable our elders to add meaningful, spiritual, intellectual, emotional, and fully personal life to these later years. 28

Type of future work is significantly related to the attitudinal differences among the young because as Table XXIX has shown, many young members wish to change from traditional

---

[28]Sister St. Michael Guinan, "Aging and Religious Life," The Gerontologist, XII (Spring, 1972), 21.

to newer works within the next five years. In this group, there are more (11%) with Liberal attitudes who wish to do so. However, the desires of all members in both attitude groups will be realized in the implementation of action-commitments concerned with the poor, with education in its broadest sense and with developing parochial schools as Christian communities.

Province Change Rate

There is only one background variable significantly correlated with the attitudes of both the young and the old. This pertains to an assessment of the rate of change taking place in the province of the respondent. This is an unexpected finding. It was anticipated that the role of the province in the process of change would be significantly related to the attitudes of the young. If the province continued to change at a pace acceptable to them, then their future role assessments could assume importance because of their possible implementation. The "Liberals" would then be most impatient with the present rate of change.

This variable is more strongly related to the difference in attitude among the young (V=.47) than among the old (V=.28). The analysis will begin with a considsration of the younger generation's assessment of the rate of change in their provinces.

Province change	Moderates	Liberals
Slow	15.0%	59.5%
Moderate	80.0	39.5
Rapid	5.0	1.0

An examination of the responses of these two attitudinal groups reveals the source of the significance. As had been expected, over half of the "Liberals" are impatient with the rate of change; they feel that their province is adapting too slowly. Contrariwise, four-fifths of the Moderates appear satisfied with the pace of change, as do about two-fifths of the "Liberals." Both groups believe that their province is changing at a moderate rate.

There is clear evidence here that perception of change is strongly related to attitudes toward change among the young. The majority of "Liberals" assess the rate as too slow and the vast majority of Moderates feel it is about right. Very few members in either attitude group believe their province is changing too rapidly. It was observed that among the young, dissatisfaction with change in the province seems to center on issues related to religious attire, particularly freedom of choice about wearing the veil; more sharing of convent facilities; and more freedom in leaving convent premises. This may be interpreted as increased involvement with non-members.

How do the old differ in their attitudes toward the role of their province in the implementation of change?

Province Change	"Conservatives"	Moderates
Slow	.8%	2.1%
Moderate	50.8	77.3
Rapid	48.2	20.4

It was to be expected that very few of the older sisters would

state that their province was changing slowly. Nor is it surprising to find that many "Conservatives" feel the change rate in their province to be too rapid. It is unexpected, however, to observe that the more "Conservative" feel the pace of change is a moderate one. There is only a small margin of difference (3%), but it was not anticipated. Among members with Moderate attitudes, it was expected that they would agree that their province was changing at a moderate rate. This was likewise true for the young with Moderate Attitudes Toward Change.

Among the old there is not a consistent correlation between age and attitude as there is among the young in the assessment of change occurring in one's province. One source of difference is that existing between the two attitudinal groups. A second source exists among the "Conservatives" who disagree as to whether the change rate is a rapid or moderate one. It was observed that among the older generation in some provinces dissatisfactions with provincial change often pertain to treatment of the young. Many feel that provincial administrators favour the young; that they accede to their wishes and viewpoints over those of older members. It was likewise observed that some members feel that there is not enough leadership provided by those in administrative positions and that the administrators are too permissive, particularly with the younger members. There is evidence here of intergenerational conflict. It was observed during the

field research that this was most evident in houses where sisters of different generations were residing together at that time. One explanation for this may be posited by referring to some data obtained by Kerckhoff. In his study of retired couples, he explored several issues related to family patterns in the retirement period, one of which pertained to morale in retirement. Among his conclusions, one is pertinent to this study:

> ...those couples (both husbands and wives) who espoused norms which made few demands on their children with respect to either propinquity or mutual aid and affection had higher morale. ...wives whose children lived farther away had higher morale than wives whose children lived closer. 29

Some respondents included an immediate assessment of the role of the province; others were more concerned with a long-term view of the process of change. It was not anticipated that an assessment of provincial change rate would be significantly related to the attitudes of both generations. It is, however, related to the attitudes of the young because the attitudinal groups differ in their assessment of the change process. This variable is strongly correlated with the attitudes of the older generation because of the differences in attitude between the Conservatives and the Moderates, and among the Conservatives themselves.

In the implementation of action-commitments, the

---

[29]Alan C. Kerckhoff, "Family Patterns and Morale in Retirement," Social Aspects of Aging, eds. I.H. Simpson and J.C. McKinney (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), pp.191-192.

provinces will be initiating more changes decided upon by the chapter delegates, but they will be freer to initiate these at their discretion. This proviso may alleviate any social pressures among the provinces or their members to keep pace with one another, thereby precluding comparisons. One area in which the province will spearhead change is the need to understand and to live more deeply the apostolate of community. To accomplish this goal, each province is responsible for training teams of sisters, who as core groups, will visit local houses to share their expertise in theology and the skills needed for community goal-setting and evaluation.[30]

Provinces will likewise encourage local house groups to improve their interpersonal relationships and to adopt a program of renewal through a realization of Christ as the center of the faith community. The rate of change in each province will be accelerated by the implementation of the action-commitments below. Results of this study have shown that these have been controversial issues related to Enclosure change and its effects. This study has found that these have been controversial issues related to the sacred-secular changes occurring in the religious system.

5. One day each year, where it is feasible, provinces will hold a provincial day celebrating the Sisters' mission of making one in the local Church. This day will focus on extra-curricular activities undertaken in the parishes (parish council meetings, family liturgies, home visiting, census taking, holding women's discussion days, ...cooperating with neighborhood groups).

---

[30]Acts, 1972., p. 28.

6. ... open house to share its spiritual life by planning ways of inviting the laity to join them in prayer at least a few times a year.
7. ...provide opportunities for Sisters to share discussions, prayer, meals, experiences, and hospitality with Sisters whose life style varies from their own.
...Provincial Chapter or other responsible groups could facilitate the development of smaller groups within convents having large numbers of sisters. ...would provide guidelines to aid Sisters who wish to initiate such variation in life style.
8. Provincialate will encourage local communities to participate in ecumenical endeavors...
...We make our facilities available to other faiths for their services and meetings and we show concern for those children in our midst who belong to other faiths or come from other lands. 31

An examination of background items pertaining to past and future role expectations of the members shows that two variables are sources of difference in the attitudes of the young--future work milieu and type of work in the future. The significance is due to the fact that more of the Liberal young expect to be working in a fully secular milieu in the future or in a milieu which is partly secular. Likewise, more of the Liberals hope to be involved in newer types of service five years hence. These variables are not significantly related to the attitudes of the old, because 42 percent expect to be retired in the near future. Among the non-retired older members, 15 percent expect to participate in newer types of work while the others support more traditional service.

---

[31]Acts, 1972., pp. 29-30.

An assessment of the role of the province is significantly related to both the attitudinal differences between the generations and among them. In their evaluations, members no doubt compare the rate of change in their province with that of other SSND provinces. Perception of change is closely associated with the attitudes of members of both generations. More of the "Liberal" young feel their province is changing slowly and more of 'Conservative' old believe their province is changing rapidly. Rate of change in the province appears closely associated with the role function of provincial administrators, as is evidenced in their leadership qualities and their concern for the needs of the members.

It has been found that future expectations are significantly associated with attitudes of the young. The implementation of action-commitments in the provinces will alter the rate of change and will either widen or narrow the attitudinal differences between the generations and within them.

An analysis of the background variables as sources of difference in the attitudes of the young and the old has shown that 12 out of the 22 are significantly related to attitudinal differences between the generations and among them. Two significant variables are associated with past experiences of the members, six with their present experiences and two with future expectations. One variable, which is an attitude projection of a present phenomenon, is significantly related to the difference in attitude between generations and among

them.

It can be concluded from this extensive analysis of the relationship between age and attitude, that the propositions suggested by Campbell are applicable to SSND members. There is no natural evolution of conservative attitudes toward religious change among the old, nor is there a formidable trend toward liberal attitudes among the young. There is strong evidence to support the fact that attitudes among the members derive from the two sources suggested by Campbell--past socialization and present experiences. It has likewise been shown that they are also related to a third source--future expectations.

Age is a major correlate of attitude formation. There are also twelve other variables which may be considered as contributing to the formation of attitudes among the members. However, they are not directly related to attitude in themselves, but only under certain conditions. These conditions are related to attitudinal differences among the members in various age groups.

The logical status of an intervening variable is that it is viewed as a consequence of the independent variable (age) and as a determinant of the dependent variable (attitude). The intervening variables are not independently related to age and attitude. Rosenberg[32] represents the relationship schem-

---

[32]Morris Rosenberg, The Logic of Survey Analysis (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 56-57.

atically as follows:

Independent Variable ⟶ Test Factor ⟶ Dependent Variable

To establish a variable as intervening requires the presence of three asymmetrical relationships: (1) the original relationship between the independent (age) and dependent (attitude) variables; (2) a relationship between the independent variable (age) and the test factor (i.e. present work); and (3) a relationship between the test factor (present work), here serving as the independent variable, and the dependent variable (attitude).[33]

These three asymmetrical relationships (age, attitude, and work) involve a dominant, rather than an absolute, direction of influence. Age may be responsible for attitudes, but attitudes are not responsible for age. Age is usually responsible for present work (among the young), but it is possible that some (young) may not wish to work. Finally, present work leads to attitudes, but attitudes do not lead to present work. When the dominant direction of influence in the three asymmetrical relationships can be established, it is possible to characterize these variables (test factors) as intervening.

The intervening variables between age and attitude may be accepted, then, as correlates to attitude formation

---

[33] Ibid., pp. 9-10. Rosenberg states that in the asymmetrical relationship it is postulated that one variable (the independent one) is essentially "responsible for" another variable (the dependent one). The core of sociological analysis is to be found in the asymmetrical relationship because they propel the research into the vital scientific area of causal analysis.

among the respondents. The analysis will proceed to a final search for additional variables related to attitudes toward religious change. This will be accomplished through an examination of the Attitude Score in association with the background items while employing a new technique for the control of the variable of age.

The Residual and Background Variables

Thus far, twelve items have been identified as intervening variables in the relationship between age and attitude. A question still remains. Are there any background items quite free of the influence of age and strongly correlated with attitude? Statistical techniques for controlling are well developed for interval scores, but less so for nominal and ordinal data. In an effort to seek a better technique to control the influence of the variable of age and to clarify the relationship between the background items and attitude, an important decision had to be made. The alternate course was to change from nonparametric to parametric statistics in order to make use of regression analysis. Age and the Attitude Score would then have to be considered as interval data. This could be done with some stretching of the sociological imagination. This proved a feasible decision, because the system of computer programs used for this study provided for such analysis. The reason for using regression, then, was to develop as clean and efficient a mode of relationship as possible in order to take the age variable into account.

Each member in the sample was categorized according

to her age and her attitude toward change. Linear regression was the test statistic used to summarize the results of the conditional distributions in these tables. The aim of the test was to find the amount of change in Y (attitude) that accompanies change in X (age). It was known that as age increased the number of members with liberal attitudes would decrease. This could be ascertained by choosing that regression line whose expected values come as close as possible to the corresponding observed values. The observation of X (age) was converted into an expected or estimated value of Y (attitude) through the line of regression. The analysis began with an observation of Y and one of X and ended with an observation of Y and an expected value of Y.

The residual is the difference between the actual value of some variable and an estimated value based on the regression equation. The end product of the regression, the Residual, was computed as a new variable in the study. It will be referred to as a proper noun as was done with the Attitude Score. The Residual expresses how much a member's attitude differs from that which is characteristic of her age group. For purposes of analysis the Residual scores were collapsed into three categories and arbitrarily labeled "Conservative", "Moderate", or "Liberal" in order to represent different dimensions on the attitude continuum. This is also consistent with the labels given to the different categories of the Score. The first category included members who were

more Conservative than others of their age. The second category comprised members whose attitudes were consistent with their age group, i.e.,Conservative or Moderate or Liberal. The third division contained members who were more Liberal than others of their age. This is an application of old labels to a new distribution of members!

Significant Relationships

The Residual was correlated with the background variables to ascertain the strength and significance of its relationship to these items. This can be seen in Table XXXII. In this table only nine of the background items are significantly related to the Residual. This is in contrast to the 20 variables which were significantly related to the Attitude Score in Table XX. It is a further illustration of the influence of age on the attitudes of the respondents.

A closer examination of Table XXXII also indicates that one out of the four primary socialization factors--age--was significantly associated with the Residual. The strength of the age factor (V=.25) is disappointing, but not unexpected. It is disappointing because one of the goals of regression was to control for age and it is apparent that this has not been completely accomplished. However, the strength of the age variable has decreased from -.43 in relation to the Score to +.25 in relation to the Residual. It had been expected that age would fade into insignificance in this latter correlation. However, this finding is not unexpected because controlling

TABLE XXXII

RELATIONSHIP OF BACKGROUND VARIABLES TO THE RESIDUAL

Item	Categorization of Variables	V	Sign.
	(A) Socialization Processes:		
121	Present age	.25	.001
118	Family size	.04	.70
119	Family location	.06	.10
120	Occupational group of father	.05	.70
122	Age at joining	.07	.01
123	Membership seniority	.16	.001
124	Educational attainment	.13	.001
115	Province membership	.12	.001
	(B) Religious Life Styles:		
125	Present work milieu	.04	.50
126	Present work type	.04	.50
128	Assignment to work	.08	.01
108	Type of residence	.05	.10
109	Location of residence	.05	.50
110	Years in residence	.06	.20
111	Number in residence	.06	.10
114	Government in residence	.06	.10
113	Assignment to residence	.07	.01
117	Distance from motherhouse	.04	.50
	(C) Role Assessments:		
132	Future work milieu	.07	.01
130	Future work type	.06	.20
112	Preferred house number	.05	.50
129	Satisfaction with work	.06	.20
116	Province change rate	.17	.001

through regression analysis is a somewhat imperfect technique and perhaps made doubly so with the utilization of ordinal data as interval scores. It still remains the best possible statistical test that could have been used when nonparametric tests were not able to solve the problem.

In addition to age, what other variables are significantly related to the Residual? It can be seen in Table XXXII that in the Socialization Processes category none of the family items are related to the Residual, while all of the items pertaining to socialization in the congregation are. In the second category for Religious Life Styles, one work and one residence variable are significantly associated with the Residual. It is noteworthy that both of these pertain to the same aspect of work and residence--assignment. In the last category of Role Assessments, two variables have significant correlations with the Residual: one is associated with a future individual expectation and the other with a present assessment of the role of a province.

In all, there are nine variables which have a significant relationship with the Residual. But of these nine, seven of them have been identified as intervening variables between age and attitude. The only two items in the table which did not show a strong correlation in the preceding analysis are educational attainment and assignment to work. Of the two, educational attainment is more strongly (V=.13) related to the Residual than is assignment to work (V=.08). Since a V of .07 had been decided as a cut-off point for the background

items in a preceding analysis, these two variables may be accepted as strongly associated with the Residual and thus be characterized as attitude correlates also.

Limitations of space and time do not permit an extensive analysis of the two variables which appear to be more attitudinal than age related. Since neither cross-tabulations nor linear regression have been able to satisfactorily control the influence of age, there is the possibility that further analysis would reveal more about the nature of the relationships of these two variables. The researcher has the suspicion that they may prove to be intervening variables which may be significantly related to attitudinal differences among the middle-aged.

Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the search for correlates to attitude formation through an analysis of background items. The data has repeatedly shown that age is the most important and the most influential of all the background variables. It has also been established that there are 12 of the background items which are intervening variables between age and attitude. The search has concluded with the realization that two of the nine background variables which are significantly related to the Residual appear more related to attitude rather than to the age factor. There are then, 14 out of the 23 items, which may be considered as contributing in some measure to the formation of attitudes toward religious

change among the members in the North American provinces. These fourteen correlates are related to the three categories established in an analysis of background variables. They are likewise related to the past, present, and future functions of the members. They will be itemized according to these characteristics:

Socialization Processes:	Past Experiences
Age	Membership seniority
Educational attainments	Province membership

Besides age, the other correlates are related to early socialization in the congregation. As group members sisters are taught to act in appropriate ways and to conform to the norms of the group. This requires that they think and feel in certain ways relevant to particular objects and events. These past experiences have contributed to the formation of their present attitudes.

Religious Life Styles:	Present Experiences
Years in residence	Type of work
Number in residence	Assignment to work
Government in residence	Distance from motherhouse
Assignment to residence	

These correlates of attitude formation are associated with present experiences in the work and residence roles of the members. Some of the correlates are related to normative changes in the religious structure which have resulted in changing life styles. The correlates express the underlying value system of the different age groups and thus have contributed to the formation of their attitudes.

Role Assessments: Future Expectations

Province change rate	Future work type
	Future work milieu

These correlates are related to the comparative function of group relationships. In their future expectations and their assessments of change in the provinces, the members have been influenced by groups with whom they do not identify or wish to gain acceptance. They are used as standards for comparison in evaluating their own behaviour and have thus contributed to the formation of their attitudes toward change. The next chapter will present the findings of the study in relationship to the basic hypotheses which have been tested in the analysis and the conclusions to be drawn from these findings. It will also propose areas for future research suggested by this study.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study developed from a general concern with the central question of renewal in the Roman Catholic church following Vatican II. It became specified when a decision was made to probe the impact and consequences of adaptation in one religious organization of committed women. The speculative considerations were: 1) To what extent are the norms, values, traditional belief systems, and ideologies modified as sisters adjust their life styles when there is increasing emphasis on a this-worldly orientation; and, 2) which mechanisms deter the process or hasten its accomplishment when active secular involvement is defined as a desirable goal.

Religious orders, as sub-systems of the larger institutionalized ecclesia, operate functionally within an organizational framework. The broader forces of socio-cultural change condition tensions and strains in the operation of all institutional structures. Therefore, the realignment of goals is imperative for the religious social system as it strives to maintain its equilibrium. The mobilization of energy for action is tied closely to the perception of the change process, and to the value system which supports it. Finally, an inevitable consideration is the assessment of the degree of consensus or polarization manifested by members toward the complex change patterns in their reference system.

The purpose of the present study was to analyze one aspect of structural change which has historical and contemporary relevance for women in religious social systems. This change revolves around the cloister, or norms of Enclosure, which have secured and insured separation from the world for those individuals seeking to live a committed life. In general, the cloister means restricted areas for exclusive use of the religious members. In the formal sense, it denotes the body of laws governing entry into and exit from the Enclosure--that part which might be considered the residential quarters of the religious.

In accordance with canonical prescriptions of Enclosure as well as with selected chapters from the formal rule and constitutions of the religious organization, the School Sisters of Notre Dame, norms of Enclosure were operationally defined as:

A. Life-styles within the convent Enclosure itself which pertain to the horarium (daily order) and functions of members in selected areas of the religious house;

B. Admission of nonmembers to the Enclosure, which would include visitors for business or social reasons and the sharing of convent facilities;

C. Secular influences within the Enclosure which would result from personal communications of the members, as well as the use of mass media and the reading of secular publications;

D. The religious garb of the members which would include the religious habit and the veil characteristic of the School Sisters of Notre Dame;

E. Exit of members from the Enclosure premises

which would be for personal or professional reasons either of an individual or a group.

The major hypotheses of the social research were tested through the use of several methodologies. These included the use of documentary materials which were taken from primary and secondary sources; a survey of members residing in one-third of the convents in the North American provinces of the congregation--through the use of a mailed questionnaire; and, the participant observation in which the investigator assumed the roles of participant, observer, discussant, and interviewer as she interacted with members in selected houses within the North American provinces. Inasmuch as the researcher is a member of the religious organization upon which the research centered, she experienced an ideal structural setting for the tasks she undertook. The use of several methodologies helped to control the inherent bias of membership. Likewise, each method was utilized when it was suitable for answering a particular question posed by the social research.

Within the parameters of the sociology of religion, the focus of the research design has centered on the coexistence of the sacred-secular tradition with religious groupings as a reference point. Religious communities have been viewed as sacred entities within the conceptual framework of this study. They were so designated by the nature of their values and goals. The Enclosure norms "enclosed" the members within their sacred spheres so that there was no unnecessary contact with the secular (profane) world. According to the value system

of the Catholic church, mores were established for the laity-- and more strictly for the religious member-- that the secular world was to be avoided as much as possible. However, at times, in the interest of strengthening its sphere of influence, the church permitted partial alteration of norms in favour of the secular society.

The First Hypothesis

Three major hypotheses were formulated as the pivotal framework for the research analysis. The first pertained to the interrelationship between the Catholic social system and its subsystems of committed women. It was hypothesized that the church's attitude toward the secular (profane) world had affected the structure and function of its religious subsystems. In this study, religious communities of women were viewed as subsystems of the Roman Catholic church. Up until the Council of Trent (1545-1563), the church as a forceful control agent was decidedly concerned with the contemplative (monastic) life in the cloister. Following this council the active (apostolic) form of religious life became partially recognized as a valid way for religious to render dedicated service outside of the Enclosure. In the acceptance of the apostolic form of religious organization, the church and religious subsystems had to submit to the painful process of formulating a re-definition of the sacred-secular tradition for those who wished to leave the cloister for service in the secular world. This historical perspective of Enclosure legislation for committed women

validated the first hypothesis.

An examination of the development of Enclosure directives in the School Sisters of Notre Dame, in relationship to the approval and sanction of the Catholic church, likewise supported the first hypothesis. A comparative analysis of the main legislative documents of the congregation revealed a church-approved increase of Enclosure regulations which were predominantly negative in substance. From 1865 to 1935 Enclosure regulations increased from 200 to over 800. Some of these were modifications of the original directives, but they were laced with precautionary limitations.

An analysis of primary and secondary documentary sources revealed a dramatic change in Enclosure observance which occurred in the SSND congregation during the span of years from 1950 to 1970. In contrast to its historic position of strict advocacy of isolation from secular society for religious women, the church took a position of reversed leadership, becoming a viable agent of change. Sisters were urged and mandated to modify their life styles radically, and to accept a new vision of themselves and their service. This clarification of their function as committed members in a new church era further supports the first hypothesis.

"Sacred" and "secular" are words which connote a wide range of interpretations as does the word "secularization" itself. The gradual encroachment and absorption of the sacred by the secular is often referred to as the process of secular-

ization by some authors. In the study secularization was defined as a transposition of religious attitudes, values, and patterns of behaviour toward the secular milieu for all members of the Catholic church. Secularization, as a transposition process, has involved a change in attitude from a customary negative one to a new positive definition of the secular environment. The church and the sub-groups within its fold have moved away from psychological and sociological isolation. Through judicious interaction, the church has fostered among all of her members an enriched perception of secular society. The documents of Vatican II are weighted with strong, endorsing statements of this changed perspective.

The Second Hypothesis

A second hypothesis of the study proposed that changes in the traditional norms of Enclosure contribute to the secularization of religious women. For them, secularization had been operationally defined as a process of change from withdrawal to involvement in the secular milieu. Secularization was based on the transposition of attitudes, values, and behaviour of religious women toward the secular world. An examination of historical reference material on the Catholic church, and detailed documentation of the archival material of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, validated the second hypothesis.

Within the last twenty years religious institutions have undergone both internal and external differentiation; it

was proposed that this process of change has contributed to the secularization of religious women. Traditionally, the initial impetus on the part of the church and the orders had been to restrict the presence and work associations of committed persons in the secular world. The current acceptance, toleration, and encouragement of religious to join formal and informal associations with secular contacts is an alteration of this position. The study views this reality as the secularization of religious women.

In the survey research, the concluding questions of the mailed questionnaire sought to probe the attitudes of the members toward selected structural changes in the congregation, and their influence on the secularization of religious. In four out of six statements dealing with Enclosure change and its effects, the majority of the members agreed that change in attire, in the life styles within the convent,as well as departure from the convent, all contributed to their secularization. However, there was a polarity of attitude expressed among a majority of the respondents on two questions. These pertained to Enclosure changes in reference to personal communications, mass media, and the sharing of convent facilities with nonmembers. It could be concluded in view of the foregoing facts, that this central hypothesis was upheld in the findings of the survey research. Two-thirds of the questions elicited agreement among the respondents as to the effect of the proposed change and its relationship to secularization.

Within this section of the questionnaire, the sisters were also asked how they thought secularization had affected the relationship between God and man--was it closer together or farther apart? A degree of polarization was indicated in the response. It was not clear in the survey data whether or not this polarization of attitudes was an indication of the presumed effects of secularization, or nebulous knowledge about the secularization process.

The utilization of interview techniques during the field research supplemented a number of the findings of the survey data in regard to the second hypothesis. In many instances it was found that members were not too conversant in discussing secularization nor could they readily assess its effects in their personal lives. However, the researcher noted many evidences of secularization during her visit to each convent. Admittedly, this is in relationship to the operationalized definition of secularization--a process of change from withdrawal to involvement in the secular milieu based on a transposition of religious attitudes, values, and patterns of behaviour toward secular society. Most of the changes in participation which were implemented were done so as a result of alterations in Enclosure regulations.

It may be concluded, then, that the field research substantiated and reinforced the second hypothesis in the study. It was increasingly clear to the investigator that Enclosure changes were related to the secularization of

religious women. She had accepted a particular definition of the concept, had operationalized it, and together with the sisters whom she visited defined it as a contemporary phenomenon. By the same token, it was apparent that many members did not have a clear understanding of the term, and could not readily relate its influence in their lives. It would have been more profitable, perhaps, if the researcher had stated her use of secularization in the study with provision made for members to note their agreement or disagreement with it. Secularization, then, could have been related to specific changes in Enclosure and other dimensions of religious life. This would have provided for a more definitive test of the second hypothesis.

The response to the change process in community systems differs appreciably, for there is a direct correlation with each member's attitude toward change. In the totality this takes on a cumulative effect. The attitudes of each religious member are instrinsically interwoven with her socialization experiences, and her theological exposures. The analysis of the data in this survey shows the generational component to be an important facet of the study, and that the age variable is an important correlate of attitude formation. In view of this, it seems that the very perceptions that each age group has of each other will make its own impact in weighting responses toward sacred-secular changes. Likewise, the reactions of the people with whom the sisters interrelate will have

modifying effects.

The Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis proposed that members in a selected religious community are not polarized in their attitudes toward change in the sacred-secular dimensions of their lives. There was a presumption that when the sample of SSND women was presented with questions relating to basic changes in Enclosure, these questions would activate latent attitudes. It was expected that the responses would be closely related to the beliefs and values tangential to their fundamental philosophy of life. It was likewise anticipated that an analysis of the research data would not reveal a polarization of attitudes toward changes which had taken place. Documentary research posited the following reasons for this: the traditional conservative stance of the congregation toward Enclosure change; the increasing flexibility of the institutional structure; the direct participation of the members in the change process itself, and the departure from the congregation of a percentage of dissatisfied members whose views were at variance with prevailing ones in the organization.

Data from the survey generally supported the third major hypothesis of the study. Members were not polarized in their attitudes toward the extent of change in Enclosure regulations, toward the effect of increased participation as an encroachment on sacred commitments, nor toward the effect of sacred-secular changes on membership patterns. In several

other specified realms, there was some polarity demonstrated about schedule changes within the convent itself, and the use of convent facilities by nonmembers; polarity was also apparent in changes pertaining to religious attire, and wearing or not wearing the veil in secular situations.

In an overall accounting the researcher, as a participant observer in field experiences across the provinces in the United States and Canada, found that the members were not polarized in their attitudes toward the majority of the changes which had taken place in reference to Enclosure, sacred commitments and secular participation--facts further validating the third hypothesis of the study. The reasons advanced by the members were not only similar to those supported through documentary and survey measures, but also presented additional insights for a rational explanation of this phenomenon. As perceived by the members, they related to the moderate approach to change which was implemented by the leadership in the congregation; the example and consequences provided by other religious institutes which had suffered from polarization; the comments and critical appraisals of nonmembers; the age-range of the present membership which has not been sufficiently supplemented by an increase of younger members; the conservatism prevalent in certain areas of the country where the order functions; and the major nationality groups, characterized by strong traditionalist orientations, who make up the compositional profile of the organization.

The survey questionnaire was so constructed that selected items in it could be used to form an attitude scale. It was arbitrarily labeled the "Attitude Toward Amount of Change Score." It included items associated with changes in the five areas of Enclosure, secular participation, and sacred commitments. The majority of respondents agreed that the amount of change in these areas had been "about right." The minority, who disagreed with this assessment, indicated instead that they felt there had been either "too much" or "too little" change.

Discussions with the sisters during the field experience made it possible to check the validity of the Attitude Score along a Conservative-Liberal continuum. Thus,responses were summarized and compared with formal characteristics of conservatism and liberalism in an effort to come to some understanding of these typologies. The conclusion was reached that those members who felt there was "too much change" possessed some but not all of the characteristics of conservatism. The same was true of the members who said there was "too little change" and their categorization as liberals. Since the majority of respondents expressed a moderate attitude toward the amount of sacred-secular change, the third hypothesis was further validated in an examination of the Attitude Score in the findings of both the survey and field research.

While there was little evidence of polarization among the members, the social research did reveal generational

differences among the sisters. The older generation is more disturbed by Enclosure changes associated with life in the religious house, visitors, sharing convent facilities, and religious attire. These changes are disturbing to the older sisters because of their effect on both the members and the organization. The old believe that certain Enclosure changes contribute to the secularization of religious women. They view secularization negatively as causing the relationship between God and man to be farther apart. Certain Enclosure changes are also believed by them to be associated with a lack of growth in the organization; it was felt these changes were not attracting new members to it.

An examination of the research data also endeavoured to test the following related hypotheses in regard to the effect of selected changes taking place in a religious organization.

Sub-hypotheses to Hypothesis No. III

1. The majority of members will feel that the amount of sacred-secular change which has occurred in the congregation is "about right."
2. The majority of respondents will be quite positive in evaluating the effects of these sacred-secular changes in their lives.
3. The majority of respondents will be undecided about the effects of the sacred-secular changes on membership growth and decline.

This first related hypothesis was supported as the following figures indicate. The majority (84%) of the members were satisfied with the Enclosure changes related to personal

communications, and to the use of mass media in the convent. A slight majority (52%) were least satisfied with the extent of change in reference to religious attire. Of the majority of respondents who agreed that change was "about right" for participation in sacred commitments, the largest consensus (80%) were concerned with those changes which endorsed an acceptance of more private type of prayer in contradistinction to communal, spiritual exercises. About 70% of the sisters agreed that increased opportunities for secular participation were "about right."

The research data did not completely support the second related hypothesis: The majority of the respondents would be quite positive in evaluating the effects of sacred-secular changes in their lives. Using a span of five years for a hypothetical projective basis, the researcher found the majority of the members only mildly--not strongly positive--about the potential personal effects of change. About half of the sisters (50%) were currently more satisfied with their spiritual exercises, their present full-time work, and their own secular participation. However, fewer members (44%) were more satisfied with community living, and fewer still (38%) with the observance of the vows. The survey data revealed that the majority of the members now feel more permissive about exercising their role as a religious functionary in the secular order, a fact indicative of the adaptive process residing in the acceptance of the autonomy of the individual and

the increased pluralism of roles in social and professional circles.

The survey data also showed that the members were not strongly positive in assessing the effects of secular participation on their sacred commitments (spiritual exercises, vows, and community living) specifically. While the majority of respondents indicated a neutral position in regard to the influence of the secular on the sacred in their personal lives, the percentages were much lower than were expected. Members, too, declared positive and negative attitudes about their degree of commitment. Seven percent more stated they experienced decreased commitment to private prayer as a result of increased secular activities. A few members (11%) indicated that participation had lessened their commitment to their vows or to their local house group (17%). This data reveals that the second sub-hypothesis was not fully confirmed in the survey research.

The third related hypothesis proposed that the majority of respondents would be undecided about the effects of sacred-secular change on membership growth and decline. Four questions in the survey dealt with this issue--three of them related to increased secular participation, and one to change in Enclosure. In reference to secular participation, about 22 percent of the respondents were undecided about its force in contributing to the withdrawal of members. Another 36 percent were not sure that participation in secular affairs had been a major factor

in the defection of sisters. Some 36 percent were undecided about whether or not a sister's involvement in the secular milieu would attract new members to the congregation. In regard to adaptations in Enclosure principles, about 33 percent felt that this modification would be attractive to new recruits. These findings do not substantiate the third related hypothesis inasmuch as about one-third of the members were undecided about selected changes being causative factors affecting membership patterns.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Buehler, Hesser, and Weigert[1] have advanced their preliminary findings on the results of an inventory of classified articles in the sociology of religion which appeared in the American Journal of Sociology, Social Forces, American Sociological Review, Sociometry, American Sociological Review, and the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion from their inception to 1969. In assessing the findings from the quantitative articles, they delineated three impressions:

1. About one-third of the 276 quantitative articles explicitly presented a theoretical framework.

2. Although there is an increase in the number and percentages of quantitative articles in the last fifty years...data show(s) that most analysis is done with percentages and cross-tabulations, with less than one-third of the articles of the last decade using tests of significance, and less than one-sixth using correlational or factor analysis techniques.

---

[1]Charles Buehler, Garry Hesser, and Andrew Weigert, "A Study of Articles on Religion in Major Sociology Journals: Some Preliminary Findings," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, XI (January, 1972),624-625.

3. ...Despite recurrent pleas for more longitudinal and cross-cultural data, of the 276 quantitative studies, only 3 percent were longitudinal and less than 2 percent were cross-cultural. The average sample size averages about one thousand.

In juxtaposition to this three-fold summary, the following observations are pertinent in respect to this thesis:

1. It developed a theoretical model based on the concepts of sacred,secular and secularization.

2. While marginal distributions were utilized in Chapter V, tests of significance were extensively employed in Chapters VI and VII. There was also some use of correlation and simple regression analysis for certain aspects of the social research.

3. The plea for a longitudinal study has been somewhat satisfied. Structural changes occurring in one religious organization (SSND) were extensively analyzed for consecutive periods of time. This pertained to an increase in Enclosure directives from 1865 to 1950; a dramatic decrease in Enclosure obervance from 1950 to 1970; and a study of the effects of Enclosure change on the attitudes and behaviour of present members from 1971 to 1972. The sample used was larger than the one thousand which constituted the average in the five-journal-inventory. This study was not cross-cultural per se. However, since the order is international in scope with 26 provincial regions around the world, it is extremely plausible that the type of research analysis undertaken in North America could be a stepping stone to cross-cultural research. The regional administrator in Guam has suggested a study of the SSND members living there.

This research, then, has circumvented some of the limitations of previous studies and may be considered a positive contribution to the field of the sociology of religion.

Implications For Further Research

The implications for further research proposed here are associated with findings related to the major hypotheses

tested in the analysis. Within the last twenty years the church has been an agent of change, motivating religious groupings to be adaptive in realigning their outmoded structures. There is evidence that some religious organizations have already implemented adaptation beyond church leadership. What control factors could intervene when implementation resides within the prerogative of individual organizations to a large extent?

There is the possibility that in the future some religious groupings may consider themselves independent from the jurisdiction of the Catholic church because they wish to introduce changes which exceed those sanctioned by the documents of Vatican II. Might this situation result in the formation of heretical communities similar to the Beguines (and Beghards) which flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

The thesis has shown that changes in traditional Enclosure norms have contributed to the secularization of religious. Further research could probe other aspects of religious life to ascertain whether structural and/or functional aspects of a given social group are related more or less to the process of secularization.

A provocative research question might well center around the growth and decline patterns of the organization. Data from the present study indicated clearly the deep concern older members of the community had about adequate community

growth. McNeil and Thompson have written on "demographic metabolism" when studying the regeneration of organizations. They say:

> Regeneration involves more than simple replacement or "turnover." The addition of one person to offset the departure of another obviously is an act of regeneration, but a turnover statistic may have quite different significance for an organization which is growing than for one which is shrinking. And an organization with the same turnover statistic at two points in time may be experiencing quite different regeneration problems. It therefore appears desirable to measure regeneration as some ratio of newer to older (in point of membership) members... 2

Since the present study isolated age as a particularly significant factor, this area of research for the SSND order could be meaningful.

Heenan[3] refers to the sociology of religion and the aged as "the empirical lacunae." He says there are limited and sparse studies on the relation of values and the meaning of religion to the aged. A valuable instrument might be designed to measure this phenomenon. Religious might be used for one group, and the same instrument used with a non-religious group.

The present study typed the members as having conservative, moderate, or liberal attitudes toward sacred-secular changes. The designations were based on information obtained

---

[2]Kenneth McNeil and James D. Thompson, "The Regeneration of Social Organizations," American Sociological Review, XXXVI (August, 1971), 624-625.

[3]Edward F. Heenan,"Sociology of Religion and the Aged: The Empirical Lacunae," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, XI (June, 1972), 171-174.

from the sisters through various research techniques. This was supplemented with characteristics of conservatism and liberalism as accepted in political ideology. There is a need to develop characteristics for these three terms through sociological research, particularly in the sociology of religion. The terms could then be analyzed in their implications not only for individuals, but for social groups and social movements.

The thesis found that there was no polarization of attitudes at this time in a selected religious organization. Documentary sources were cited to show that additional changes are expected to be implemented in this congregation within the next few years. Many of the suggested changes were sources of discontent among the present members, particularly for those over forty. In five or ten years there could be an analysis of the effects of continued change in this same congregation to ascertain the possible presence of polarization in the attitudes of the members at that time.

Ultimately, the basic theoretical assumptions of organizational change must have some commonality irrespective of the particular organization being studied. The following questions guided the research in the study of change at New York University.[4] The same set of questions could be utilized in a future study of the SSND religious organization or any

---

[4]J. Victor Baldridge, "Image of the Future and Organizational Change: The Case of New York University," The Sociology of the Future, ed. Wendell Bell and James Mau (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971), p. 273.

other congregation.

1. How do constraint factors and images of the future interact in the empirical situation as the organization changes...?

2. What is the role of critical organizational elites and interest groups in change?

3. How do groups in the organization interact to set the content of the image of the future?

4. How do abstract images of the future become operationalized into concrete policy?

5. Once the image has been operationalized, what kinds of political debate and activity surround its implementation?

6. How are structural adjustments made to protect the new goals and images?

7. What kind of consequences, intended and unintended, flow from the implementation of the image?

These are but a few suggestions for continued research which have emerged from an examination of the major hypotheses of the present study. The analysis could be implemented within the SSND congregation, other religious institutes or in secular organizations. In a comparative analysis, the research problems could be investigated in both a sacred and secular organization.

APPENDIX I

School Sisters of Notre Dame
Waterdown, Ontario, Canada
Date _____

Sister Mary _____
Provincial Leader, _____Province

Dear Sister _____

The last round of my doctoral study in the Department of Sociology, McMaster University in Canada, has begun with work on my dissertation. I am interested in change in Enclosure Norms in religious communities of women, and particularly in the rules and constitutions of the SSND order. As part of my study I would like you to know, that in the near future, I will be sending a questionnaire to the active sisters in your motherhouse and to selected houses in your province.

My Advisory Committee would also like me to have a personal interview with you at a later date, and visit a selected number of houses in your province. I believe this will be sometime in early Spring, but I will contact you in advance to set an exact date at your convenience. I would be happy to share my questionnaire results with you at that time, and to identify the local houses I might visit to obtain additional information to supplement the findings of the survey.

I would want you to know that when I started my studies in Canada I discussed with Mother Georgianne the necessity for contacting the provincials, and other members of the province to obtain the necessary information relative to our congregation in North America. Knowing how busy your schedule is, I do not expect any response to this letter. I will assume that my work will have your encouragement, and the support of the sisters in your province.

Cordially in Notre Dame

_____
Sister Helen Francis Small

Notre Dame Motherhouse
Waterdown, Ontatio, Canada
Date _____

Dear Sister _____,

If my communication has been addressed to the wrong person, it is because I have used last year's directory. Your local community has been randomly selected from all our houses in North America to participate in a study of Social Change taking place in our Congregation. This study is part of my doctoral dissertation for the Sociology Department of McMaster University in Canada.

Due to the exorbitant postal cost between countries, I have sent my questionnaires and answer sheets in two envelopes or a box,to houses with over 10 sisters. If you do not receive your second envelope, or if you need more answer sheets, will you please notify me at the above address as soon as possible. For this same reason, convents with over 35 members will not receive questionnaires for every sister. If your community exceeds 35 sisters, each member will have her own answer sheet, but will be asked to use a questionnaire selected from the number sent to your house.

The questionnaire is designed primarily for sisters who have not retired from a full-time apostolate. However, if there are some semi-retired sisters in your community who wish to participate, their responses will be welcomed. Since the questionnaire is comparatively short, I would request the sisters to answer it within a week or ten days after receiving it. Doing this will help us avoid losing any returns in the rush of Christmas mail. I would be grateful if you would send the envelope or box with the answer sheets in it back to Canada via registered mail, if that is not too demanding on your budget. Please make sure that your return address is on, as that is the only identification I will have that your community has responded. If I do not receive your return envelope or box before Christmas,at the latest, I will notify you.

I am sorry to trouble you and the sisters at this time, but it is necessary that I collect this data as soon as possible in order to carry on the next stage of my research in Spring. I hope that in the future I will be able to share the findings of this study with the sisters.

Gratefully in Notre Dame,

_____

Sister Helen Francis Small

School Sisters of Notre Dame
Waterdown, Ontario, Canada
Date _____

School Sisters of Notre Dame
Convent _____

I am a Ph.D. student in sociology at McMaster University in Canada. While on a leave of absence for study from the Mequon province I am living at the Canadian motherhouse.

As part of my dissertation, you may remember that your community received a questionnaire from me last November. It may have caused some consternation among the sisters because an error was made in the printing directions which later had to be rectified. This was taken care of immediately.

To simplify the computerization of data, the respondents were not given an opportunity to qualify or comment on their answers to the questionnaire when it was distributed. I have now progressed far enough in the processing of the research data to seek that information on an intervprovincial basis. At the moment I have not received confirmation from the various provincial leaders although they are aware of my general intention to make some visits.

I have kept a file on all of the houses which participated in my survey, and have selected several missions in each province which are related geographically. By narrowing my research to one general area, I have been able to minimize my travel budget. From several key-center locations I will rely, to some extent, on the sisters in local areas to assist me in getting from one mission to another. Your house has been one selected for me to visit. I hope it will be convenient for the community if I stay with you from _____ to _____. Please do not think of me as a visitor, but as another Notre Dame joining your community group for a few days of sharing.

I will call to let you know the time of my arrival. During my stay I would like to participate in the ordinary routine of the sisters. Perhaps we could have some informal group discussions, and I would like to interview some of the members personally. Probably the only instance in which I might draw on my visitor's status would be to visit several local educational institutions and cultural environments where the sisters function. I am confident that this will be an enriching experience for all of us.

Cordially in Notre Dame,

_____
Sister Helen Francis Small

School Sisters of Notre Dame
Waterdown, Ontario, Canada
Date _____

Sister Superior _____

Dear Sister:

By this time I presume your Provincial has probably informed you of my request to visit the sisters living at _____ convent this summer season. The enclosed memo will explain the nature and purpose of my stay from _____ to _____. I would welcome the comments and reactions of the sisters to the findings of my study whether or not they personally responded to the questionnaire.

I will be arriving on the _____ Airlines, flight _____, on the date of _____. The plane is due to arrive at _____. I do hope it will not be too great an inconvenience for you to meet me at the airport. This is my first visit to your province, and I am eagerly looking forward to meeting each one of you. I am certain that the analysis of my research will be enriched having had the opportunity to have discussions and interviews with the sisters.

Cordially in Notre Dame,

_____

Sister Helen Francis Small

Home Visit Schedule

Please Post on Bulletin Board

472

For your convenience we have worked out a schedule which may aid you in planning your home visits. Kindly refer to it when asking for one.

Visits begin after Final Vows. If any visit has been made before Final Vows, it is counted.

For the Sisters who have taken Final Vows before or in 1950, there are six possibilities.

A Sister has had the following home visits since 1950:

Case 1 None
Case 2 One, for example in December 1950
Case 3 Two, for example in December 1950, August 1952
Case 4 Three, for example in December 1950, August 1952, April 1954
Case 5 Four, for example in December 1950, August 1952, April 1954, November 1956
Case 6 Two, three, or four. If an emergency or an important unforeseen family feast occurs within a period when a visit was made, another may be anticipated but must be counted for the next period.

Five-year Period	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6
1950—1955	———	December 1950	December 1950	December 1950	December 1950	December 1950
1955—1960	May have two single visits. Not combined.	May have one visit.	August 1952	August 1952	August 1952	August 1952
1960—1965	Next visit during this period	Next visit during this period	Next visit during this period	April 1954	April 1954	Anticipated visit in May 1958
1965—1970	Next visit during this period	Next visit during this period	Next visit during this period	Next visit during this period	November 1956	Next visit during this period
1970—1975	Next visit during this period, and so on	Next visit during this period, and so on	Next visit during this period, and so on	Next visit during this period, and so on	Next visit during this period, and so on	Next visit during this period, and so on

ADDITIONAL VISITS:

One for the serious illness *or* death of each parent. Permission for these visits must also be obtained from the Provincial Superior.

If any Sister has made one or two of these visits, they are not included in the schedule.

December 6, 1956

Home Visits

473

REQUEST FOR A HOME VISIT

Sister Mary . . . . . .
(Religious Name) (Family Name)

Now Stationed at . . . . . .
(Mission) (City, State)

Year of Profession . . . . . .

Month and Year of Home Visits

1950—1955 . . . . . .
(Month) (Year)

1955—1960 . . . . . .

1960—1965 . . . . . .

1965—1970 . . . . . .

1970—1975 . . . . . .

Place of Last Visit . . . . . .

Place of Visit now Requested . . . . . .

Month, Dates, and Year of Visit Requested now . . . . . .

Overnight Hospitality at . . . . . .
(Convent—Give Name) (Home)

Occasion . . . . . .

APPROVED BY . . . . . .

DATE . . . . . .

(Kindly enclose stamped addressed envelope)

REPORT OF HOME VISIT

Sister Mary . . . . . .
(Religious Name) (Family Name)

Now Stationed at . . . . . .
(Mission) (City, State)

Month, Dates and Year of Visit . . . . . .

City, State . . . . . .

Overnight Hospitality at . . . . . .
(Convent) (Home)

Occasion . . . . . .

Please post on bulletin board.

APPENDIX II

Notre Dame Convent,
Waterdown, Ontario,
November, 1971.

Dear Sisters:

This questionnaire is part of my doctoral dissertation for the Sociology Department of McMaster University in Canada. It is very important that every member of a local house selected for the study answer the questionnaire, since any non-response lessens the validity of the entire study. I think you will find it interesting and that it will not take you long to complete. I would appreciate it if you would finish your questionnaire within a week after you have received it and that you would not confer with anyone while answering it.

Your replies to this questionnaire will be completely anonymous. Because of postal expenses, will you place your answer sheet in the large envelope or box provided for the members of your convent. The return address on it will serve to indicate that your local group has responded and the answer sheets will be sent on to Toronto to be prepared for computer processing. Before you begin to answer the questions, please read the directions given below very carefully.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Sister Helen Francis Small, S.S.N.D.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. An optical scanning sheet is provided for your responses. Please ignore the material around the border of this standard form. Please do not bend or fold it.

2. Use only a medium soft pencil for marking the scanning sheet. Please do not use an electrographic pencil.

3. Read each question and its lettered answers. When you have decided which item is your response, mark the whole of the corresponding oval on the sheet.

4. Make your pencil marks heavy and fill the entire response oval. If you want to change your answer, erase the original mark completely.

5. Enter only one mark for each question. If you are unsure, please mark the response that seems to best represent your attitude about that question.

6. Please begin with side 1 of the sheet. Instructions within the questionnaire indicate when to turn to side 2.

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED ON SIDE 1 OF THE OPTICAL SCANNING SHEET

1 In which type of residence do you live at present?

A. Convent
B. Apartment
C. House
D. Residence Hall
E. Motherhouse
F. Different from these

2 Where is your present residence located?

A. Large city (over 500,000) or suburb of it
B. Small to medium city or suburb of it
C. Small town (under 2,500)
D. Rural area

3 How many years have you lived in your present residence?

A. Less than 1 year
B. 1 - 4 years
C. 5 - 9 years
D. 10 years or more

4 How many persons live in your place of residence?

A. 2 - 9 persons
B. 10 - 20 persons
C. 21 to 35 persons
D. Over 35 persons

5 How many persons do you prefer to live with in one residence?

A. 2 - 9 persons
B. 10 - 20 persons
C. 21 - 35 persons
D. Over 35 persons

6 Is the local house group with whom you now live

A. Fully by appointment
B. Partly by appointment and partly your own choice
C. Fully your own choice
D. Different from these

7 What kind of local government do you have?

A. Shared responsibility
B. Appointed local superior
C. Elected local superior
D. Personal responsibility
E. Different from these

8 Of which Province are you a member?

A. Baltimore
B. Canada
C. Dallas
D. DeKalb
E. Mankato
F. Mequon
G. St. Louis
H. Wilton

9 What is your impression of your Province in the process of adaptation?

A. It is changing too slowly
B. It is changing slowly
C. It is changing at a moderate pace
D. It is changing rapidly
E. It is changing too rapidly
F. It is not changing at all

10 Traveling by car and only during the daytime, how long would it take you to reach your Motherhouse from your present residence?

A. One hour or less
B. 2 - 4 hours
C. 5 - 7 hours
D. 8 - 10 hours
E. 1 - 1 1/2 days
F. 2 - 2 1/2 days
G. 3 - 3 1/2 days
H. 4 - 4 1/2 days
I. 5 days or more

11 How many children were there in your family, including yourself?

A. One
B. 2 - 3
C. 4 - 5
D. 6 - 8
E. 9 or more

12 What was the size of the city or town in which you were raised?

A. Large city (over 500,000) or suburb of it
B. Small to medium city or suburb of it
C. Small town (under 2,500)
D. Rural area

13 Which of the following categories best describes the occupational group of the head of your family while you were growing up?

A. Professional-income from fees, e.g., doctor, architect, lawyer
B. Professional-income from salary, e.g., social worker, teacher, clergyman
C. Proprietor or manager, e.g., proprietors of businesses, managers of financial and industrial enterprises, assistant executives
D. Sales (other than sales manager or administrator), e.g., auto salesman, real estate salesman
E. Clerical, e.g., bank clerk or cashier, bookkeeper, secretary
F. Farm owner, farm worker
G. Skilled worker, e.g., electrician, plumber, carpenter
H. Semi-skilled worker, e.g., assembly-line worker, policeman, barber
I. Unskilled worker, e.g., janitor, other heavy labor

14 What is your present age?

A. Under 21 years of age
B. 21 - 30
C. 31 - 40
D. 41 - 50
E. 51 - 60
F. 61 - 70
G. 71 - 80
H. Over 80

15 What was your age when you joined the Congregation?

A. 18 years or younger
B. 19 - 20
C. 22 - 24
D. 25 - 27
E. 28 years or older

16 How many years have you been a member of the Congregation since your first vows or promises?

A. 5 years or less
B. 6 - 15 years
C 16 - 25 years
D. 26 - 35 years
E. 36 - 45 years
F. 46 - 55 years
G. 56 - 65 years
H. Over 65 years

17 What is the highest educational level you have attained as of the Summer, 1971?

A. 8th grade or less
B. Some high school
C. High school graduate
D. Some college/university
E. Bachelor's degree
F. Some graduate studies
G. Master's degree
H. Doctor's degree
I. Post-doctoral studies

18 In what type of a milieu (institution, environment) are you now carrying on your present full-time work?

A. Predominantly Catholic
B. Predominantly secular (public)
C. Part Catholic and part secular (public)
D. Different from these

19, 20 What is your present full-time work? (Note that two rows of the scanning sheet are needed to indicate your full-time work, e.g., if your full-time work were nursing you would mark A in row 19 and E in row 20.)

AB Elementary school teacher
AC Secondary school teacher
AD College/university teacher
AE Nursing
AF Social work
AG Religious education coordinator
AH Homemaking
AI Education administration
AJ Province administration
BA Community administration (formation)
BB Guidance and counseling
BC Teaching special education
BD Librarian
BE Health-allied services
BF Consultant or supervisor
BG Undergraduate student
BH Graduate student
BI Newman Center work
BJ Catechetical teaching
CA Visiting the needy
CB Surveys, research
CC Anti-poverty programs
CD Educational TV/radio
CE Retired
CF Semi-retired
CG Infirm
CH Inactive
CI Different from these

21 Is your present full-time work

A. Fully by appointment
B. Partly by appointment and partly your own choice
C. Fully your own choice
D. Different from these

22 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your full-time work?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

23, 24 From the alternatives in question 19,20, select one type of full-time work you would like to be doing five years from now. (Enter on scan sheet as you did for 19,20)

25 In what type of a milieu (institution, environment) would you like to be carrying on your full-time work five years from now?

A. Predominantly Catholic
B. Predominantly secular (public)
C. Part Catholic and part secular (public)
D. Different from these

The School Sisters of Notre Dame have always placed a great emphasis on traditional Norms of Enclosure as a safeguard to preserving their vowed commitment to God. The original Constitution (1865) of the Congregation and its revision according to the Canon Law of the Roman Catholic Church in 1925 detailed many rules for the members, particularly in regard to:

A. Their daily schedule and conduct within the Convent Enclosure

B. Visitors to the convent and the use of convent facilities

C. Personal communications of members and the use of Mass Media

D. The religious attire of the sisters

E. Reasons for members leaving the convent premises

In this section of the questionnaire there will be an examination of the areas of change which have just been outlined in relationship to the traditional Norms of Enclosure in the School Sisters of Notre Dame. In the following set of questions, select one answer which best identifies how you feel about a modification of a given Enclosure Norm.

A. ENCLOSURE CHANGES WITHIN THE CONVENT ITSELF

26 The Community Room should be used for business functions rather than for social gatherings of the members.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

27 In the Refectory the traditional silence has been replaced by conversation at most of the meals. I feel this has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

28 Suspending the daily Schedule (horarium) one day a week is an adequate break from conventual routine.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

29 How would you react to having sisters of different religious congregations living together in the same convent with you?

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

30 Because of the changes in conventual Enclosure Norms, some sisters no longer need to live in convents, but may move to apartments or houses central to their full-time work. I feel this has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

31 If all sisters could periodically plan their own schedule and let any functions of a group nature evolve spontaneously, I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

32 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to life within the convent, there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

B. ENCLOSURE CHANGES CONCERNING VISITORS TO THE CONVENT AND THE USE OF ITS FACILITIES

33 Relatives who dine with the sisters may eat with them in their Refectory. This is

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

34 Outside of the Chapel and Parlor, male guests of the sisters should not be allowed to visit all areas of the convent.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

35 The convent should rarely adapt its schedule to meet the needs of those wishing to visit or use its facilities.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

36 If the convent became a center where people came together to experience Christian community with the sisters through worship, discussion, and shared activities, I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

37 Empty rooms in the convent should be used for small group meetings with people of the local area.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

38 Whenever an important need arises, the sisters should place their building and its facilities at the service of the wider society.

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

39 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to visitors to the convent and the use of its facilities there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

C. ENCLOSURE CHANGES CONCERNING PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS AND THE USE OF MASS MEDIA

40 No local superior should ever interfere with the personal communications of a sister.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

41 Only important messages for the sisters should be delivered in sealed envelopes.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

42 If a sister who is writing a book would be freed from all teaching in order to complete this work I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

43 Sisters are now encouraged to write articles for publication in both Catholic and secular journals and periodicals

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

44 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to personal communications of the sisters, there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

45 Each sister should have her own radio.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

46 If there were several TV sets in the convent which would allow those interested in different programs which occur at the same time, an opportunity to view them, I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

47 Only sisters with special training should be encouraged to participate in educational TV programs and radio work.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

48 Now that the convent has subscriptions to secular as well as to Catholic publications, I am

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

49 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to the use of mass media in the convent there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

D. <u>ENCLOSURE CHANGES CONCERNING RELIGIOUS ATTIRE</u>

50 There is still a need for sisters to be dressed somewhat differently from lay women so that they can be recognized as religious.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

51 The present habit guidelines allow the sisters ample creativity in dress.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

52 If each sister had a special wardrobe for her professional and social obligations, I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

53 The veil should not be worn while participating in some secular activities. This would be

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

54 If sisters' attire for recreational purposes would include slacks, I would be

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

55 When engaging in any activity which laymen might misunderstand and therefore discredit the convent, sisters should not wear the veil.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

56 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to changes in religious attire, there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

E. ENCLOSURE CHANGES CONCERNING THE SISTERS LEAVING THE CONVENT PREMISES

57 A sister's increasing participation in the wider society should be for enjoyment as well as service to others.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

58 Even though it is quite acceptable in the Congregation for sisters to now travel alone at times, I am

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

59 Present restrictions on the amount of time a sister gives to her immediate family make me

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

60 Some sisters should be involved in planning local area events of a civic and/or cultural nature.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

61 If sisters were encouraged to work in secular (public) institutions as faculty or staff members, this would be

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

62 Sisters should become more active in government programs, i.e., Anti-poverty, Job Corps training.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

63 In general, in the Enclosure Norms pertaining to the reasons why sisters may leave the convent premises, there has been

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED ON SIDE 2 OF THE OPTICAL SCANNING SHEET

Religious communities present their members with a dichotomy of life based on commitment to sacred values and beliefs and participation in secular activities. Historically, Enclosure Norms have played the role of preserving the distinction between the sacred and secular aspects of the religious life. As these Norms have altered, so too, have the boundaries of the sacred and secular in the lives of the members.

In the following questions select the answer which expresses your degree of participation in that type of activity within the last five years.

A. Very much decreased participation
B. Much decreased participation
C. Some decreased participation
D. About the same amount of participation
E. Some increased participation
F. Much increased participation
G. Very much increased participation

64 Attendance at: classes, lectures,workshops in secular colleges/universities

65 Attendance at: concerts, theaters, movies, cultural centers

66 Participate in: social or political action groups, cultural affairs

67 Participate in: local or national professional organizations

68 Participate in: a secular work milieu, either on a full-time or part-time basis

69 Social visiting: parents, relatives, friends

70 Service visiting: needy, problem homes, deceased persons

71 Shopping and eating in restaurants

72 Taking trips and vacations

73 What do you think about the increased opportunities for secular participation now permitted to the sisters?

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

74 What is the general attitude of your local house government toward increased secular participation among the members?

A. Deeply dissatisfied
B. Somewhat dissatisfied
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied
D. Somewhat satisfied
E. Deeply satisfied

75 If you have increased your participation in these secular activities, what is the major change in your schedule which permits this?

A. Less time spent with the local house group
B. Less time for personal Spiritual Exercises
C. Less time spent on full-time work
D. Less time given to preparation for full-time work
E. Less time for sleep
F. Different from these
G. Not giving more time

76 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your degree of participation in secular activities?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

77 When you are participating in any secular activity and wearing your veil, have you

A. Usually felt unaccepted as a religious woman
B. Sometimes felt unaccepted as a religious woman
C. Sometimes felt unaccepted and sometimes accepted as a religious woman
D. Sometimes felt accepted as a religious woman
E. Usually felt accepted as a religious woman

78 How do you usually feel about wearing your veil when you are participating in secular activities in the wider society?

A. Deeply dissatisfied about wearing the veil
B. Somewhat dissatisfied about wearing the veil
C. Neither dissatisfied nor satisfied about wearing the veil
D. Somewhat satisfied about wearing the veil
E. Deeply satisfied about wearing the veil

79 Within the last five years, the daily schedule provides for fewer times when the members of the local house participate in Spiritual Exercises together. How do you feel about this change?

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

80 How do you think your present degree of secular participation has affected your Spiritual Exercises shared with members of your local house?

A. Much less commitment to communal Spiritual Exercises
B. Less commitment to communal Spiritual Exercises
C. Neither more nor less commitment to communal Spiritual Exercises
D. More commitment to communal Spiritual Exercises
E. Much more commitment to communal Spiritual Exercises

81 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your Spiritual Exercises shared with members of your local house?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

82 Certain daily Spiritual Exercises have become the responsibility of the individual religious. How do you feel about this change?

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

83 Do you find that personal responsibility for certain Spiritual Exercises makes you feel

A. Much less responsible about them
B. Less responsible about them
C. Neither more nor less responsible about them
D. More responsible about them
E. Much more responsible about them

84 How do you think your present degree of secular participation has affected your personal Spiritual Exercises?

A. Much less commitment to personal Spiritual Exercises
B. Less commitment to personal Spiritual Exercises
C. Neither more nor less commitment to personal Spiritual Exercises
D. More commitment to personal Spiritual Exercises
E. Much more commitment to personal Spiritual Exercises

85 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your personal Spiritual Exercises?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

86 In the light of the documents emerging from Vatican Council II, there have been changes in the understanding and observance of the religious vows. How do you feel about these changes?

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

87 How do you think your present degree of secular participation has affected your observance of your vows?

A. Much less commitment to my vows
B. Less commitment to my vows
C. Neither more nor less commitment to my vows
D. More commitment to my vows
E. Much more commitment to my vows

88 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your observance of your vows?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

89 Our new Constitution states that, "The manner of living, praying, and working should be suitably adapted to the physical and psychological conditions of today's religious and also, to the extent required by the nature of each community, the needs of the apostolate, and the requirements of a given culture." p.57. How do you feel about these changes in community living?

A. Definitely too great a change
B. Too great a change
C. About right
D. Too little change
E. Definitely too little change

90 How do you think your present degree of participation in secular activities has affected your role in your local house group?

A. Much less commitment to my local house group
B. Less commitment to my local house group
C. Neither more nor less commitment to my local house group
D. More commitment to my local house group
E. Much more commitment to my local house group

91 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel now about your role in your local house group?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

92 Do you think increased participation in secular activities has been a contributing factor to the withdrawal of members from the Congregation?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

93 Do you think it has been one of the major factors?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

94 Changes in traditional Enclosure Norms have permitted increased secular participation on the part of the members. Do you think this will serve to attract new members to the Congregation?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

95 Changes in traditional Enclosure Norms have permitted alteration of life styles in the communal living of the sisters. Will this serve to attract new members to the Congregation?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

96 Do you think it is necessary to initiate some new forms of social control to replace Enclosure Norms in religious life?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

97 Would personal responsibility be an adequate control factor in regard to the sacred-secular aspects present in the life of a religious woman?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

98 Do you think it is possible for religious women to increase their participation in secular activities while preserving their commitments to the sacred aspects of religious life (Spiritual Exercises, Vows, Communal living)?

A. Decidedly no
B. No
C. Undecided
D. Yes
E. Decidedly yes

99 In comparison with five years ago, how do you generally feel about the relationship between the sacred and secular aspects of your life now?

A. Much more satisfied
B. Somewhat more satisfied
C. No different
D. Somewhat less satisfied
E. Much less satisfied

100 Do you think that Secularization causes the relationship between God and man

A. To be very much farther apart
B. To be somewhat farther apart
C. To be unchanged
D. To be somewhat closer together
E. To be very much closer together

101 Increased participation in secular activities contributes to the Secularization of religious women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

102 Changes in traditional Norms of Enclosure pertaining to life among the members within the Convent itself have contributed to the Secularization of religious.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

103 Changes in traditional Norms of Enclosure concerning visitors to the Convent and the use of its facilities have contributed to the Secularization of the members.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

104 Changes in traditional Norms of Enclosure pertaining to the personal communications of the members and the use of mass media in the convent have contributed to the Secularization of sisters.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

105 Changes in traditional Norms of Enclosure concerning the religious attire of the sisters have contributed to the Secularization of religious women.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

106 Changes in traditional Norms of Enclosure relating to the reasons why members leave the convent premises have contributed to the Secularization of religious.

A. Strongly agree
B. Somewhat agree
C. Neither agree nor disagree
D. Somewhat disagree
E. Strongly disagree

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books and Pamphlets

Abbelen, P.M. M. Caroline Friess. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1893.

Abbott, Walter M., S.J. The Documents of Vatican II. New York: The America Press, 1966.

Amann, Emile. The Church of the Early Centuries. Trans. E. Raybould. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1930.

Ammentorp, William, and Brian Fitch. The Committed. Minnesota: Saint Mary's College Press, 1968.

Anderson, Theodore R., and Morris Zelditch. A Basic Course in Statistics With Sociological Applications. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.

Arthur, Julietta K. Retire to Action. New York: Abingdon Press, 1969.

Baldridge, J. Victor. "Images of the Future and Organizational Change: The Case of New York University." The Sociology of the Future. Eds. Wendell Bell and James A. Mau. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1971.

Baum, Gregory. "Man in History: The Anthropology of Vatican II." The New Morality.Ed. William Dunphy. New York: Herder and Herder, 1967.

Becker, Howard S., and Blanche Geer. "Participant Observation and Interviewing: A Comparison." Issues in Participant Observation. Toronto: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

Benny, Mark, and Everett C. Hughes. "Of Sociology and the Interview." Sociological Methods. Ed. Norman K. Denzin. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970.

Benz, Sister Rita, and Sister Rosemary Sage. Self-Study for Renewal. Iowa: Mount Carmel Communications Center, 1968.

Berger, Peter. The Sacred Canopy. New York: Doubleday Co., 1969.

Berger, Peter L., and Thomas Luckmann. The Social Construction of Reality. Anchor Books. Chicago: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967.

Blalock, Hubert M. Social Statistics. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960.

Bonhoeffer, Diedrich. Letters and Papers From Prison. London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1953.

Bourg, Carroll, S.J. "A Sociologist Looks at the Theological Implications of the Sisters' Survey." Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the CMSW. Washington, D.C.: Merkle Press, 1967.

Butler, Edward Cuthbert. Benedictine Monachism. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.

Cabrol, F. "Monasticism," Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Ed. James Hastings, VIII (1928), 794.

Camus, Jean Pierre. The Spirit of St. Francois De Sales. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952.

Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent. Trans. H.J. Schroeder. Saint Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1941.

Charitas, Sister Mary, S.S.N.D. A New Superior Generation. Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc., 1951.

Cohen, Percy S. Modern Social Theory. New York: Herder and Herder, 1965.

Cohn, Norman. The Pursuit of the Millennium. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1961.

Cooley, Charles Horton. Social Organization. New York: Scribner's, 1909.

Cox, Harvey. The Secular City. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965.

Crook, Margaret B. Women and Religion. Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

Dawson, Christopher. The Dividing of Christendom. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965.

Dean, John P., and Robert L. Eichhorn, and Lois R. Dean. "Observation and Interviewing." An Introduction to Social Research. Ed. John T. Doby. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

De Coulanges, Fustel. The Ancient City. Trans. Willard Small. New York: Lee and Shephard, 1874.

de Vries, William. "Theoretical and Practical Renewals of the Primacy of Rome." Papal Ministry in the Church. Ed. Hans Kung. New York: Herder and Herder, 1971.

Dickens, A.G. The Counter Reformation. London: Thames and Hudson, 1968.

Dickson, John G., S.M. et al. Final Report of the Survey SM. Rome, Italy: 1970.

Diesing, Paul. Patterns of Discovery in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, Inc., 1967.

Duval, Andre, O.P. The Direction of Nuns. Trans. Lancelot C. Sheppard, Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1957.

Durkheim, Emile. The Division of Labor in Society. Trans. George Simpson. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933.

--------. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Trans. Joseph Ward Swain. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1915.

--------. Professional Ethics and Civic Morale. Trans. Cornelia Brookfield. London: Routledge and Degan Paul, 1957.

Dvornick, Francis. The Ecumenical Councils. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1961.

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, Ed. "Polarization," Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences. Ottawa: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1970.

Fichter, Joseph H. Religion as an Occupation. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961.

--------. Roots of Change. New York: Appleton Century Co., 1939.

Field, Minna. The Aged, the Family, and the Community. New York: Columbia University Press, 1972.

Formoy, Beryl E.R. The Dominican Order in England Before the Reformation. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1925.

Francis, E.K. "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders." Religion, Culture and Society. Ed. Louis Schneider. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964.

Francis, Roy G. "The Nature of Scientific Research." An Introduction to Social Research. Ed. John T. Doby. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967.

Gallin, M.A. "Angela Merici." New Catholic Encyclopedia, IX (1967), 681.

Gans, Herbert J. The Urban Villagers. New York: The Free Press, 1962.

Gasquet, Rt. Rev. Abbot., O.S.B. Life of Mary Ward. London: Burns and Oates. n.d.

Giordani, Igino. St. Vincent De Paul. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1961.

Goffman, Irving. Asylums. New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1961.

Gold, Raymond L. "Roles in Sociological Field Observation." Sociological Methods. Ed. Norman K. Denzin. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1970.

Greeley, Andrew M. Religion in the Year 2000. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1971.

Greeley, Andrew. "An Exchange of Views." The Secular City Debate. Ed. Daniel Callahan. New York: Macmillan Co., 1966.

Greer, Scott. The Logic of Social Inquiry. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969.

Grollmes, Eugene E., S.J. Vows But No Walls. St. Louis: Herder Book Company, 1967.

Haley, Joseph E., Ed. Proceedings of the 1953 Sisters' Institute of Spirituality. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953.

Harkness, Georgia. Church and Society. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972.

Hilpisch, Stephanus, O.S.B. Benedictinism Through Changing Centuries. Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1958.

Hinnebusch, William A. The History of the Dominican Order. Staten Island: St. Paul Publication, 1966.

Houtart, Francois. The Eleventh Hour. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1968.

Josetta, Sister Mary, S.N.D. "From Decision to Final Vows." Convent Life. Ed. Joan M. Lexau. New York: Guild Press, 1964.

Kelly, Harold H. "Two Functions of Reference Groups." Readings in Social Psychology. Eds. G.E. Swanson, T.M. Newcomb, and E.L. Hartley. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952.

Kerckhoff, Alan C. "Family Patterns and Morale in Retirement." Social Aspects of Aging. Eds. I.H. Simpson and J.C. McKinney. Durham: Duke University Press, 1966.

Kretch, K.D., and R.S. Crutchfield. The Theory and Problems in Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott. The Nineteenth Century in Europe. Vol. I. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.

Lee, Alfred McClung. "On Context and Relevance." The Participant Observer. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1970.

Life and Writings of Saint Clare of Assisi, The. New York: The Franciscan Institute, 1953.

Mann, Horace K. The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages. Saint Louis: B. Herder, 1914.

Lortz, Joseph H. The Reformation. Trans. John C. Dwyer. Westminster: The Newman Press, 1964.

Mast, Sister M. Dolorita, S.S.N.D. Man of Lorraine. Baltimore: Port City Press, 1966.

--------. Through Caroline's Consent. Baltimore: Institute of Notre Dame, 1958.

Maynard, Theodore. Richest of the Poor--The Life of St. Francis of Assisi. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1948.

Metz, Johannes B. Theology of the Word. Trans. William Glen-Doepel. New York: Herder and Herder, 1968.

Metz, R. 'The Code of Canon Law to the Present,' Section 7 in "The History of Canon Law." New Catholic Encyclopedia, III (1967), 49-50.

Meyers, Sister Bertrande, D.C. Sisters for the 21st Century. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965.

McCue, James F. "Roman Primacy in the First Three Centuries," Papal Ministry in the Church. Ed. Hans Kung. New York: Herder and Herder, 1971.

McDonnell, E.W., "Beguines and Beghards" New Catholic Encyclopedia, Catholic University of America, II (1967), 225-226.

McKenna, Mary Lawrence, S.C.M.M. Women of the Church. New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1967.

McNeil, J.T. A History of the Cure of Souls. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951.

Monica, Sister M. Angela Merici. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927.

Moser, C.A. Survey Methods in Social Investigation. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1967.

Neal, Sister Marie Augusta, S.N.D. "The Value of Religious Community," Vows But No Walls. Ed. Eugene Grollnes. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1967.

Neal, Sister Marie Augusta, S.N.D. "Implications of the Sisters' Survey for Structural Renewal." Proceedings of the Annual Assembly of the CMSW. Washington, D.C.: Merkle Press (1968), 1-33.

Neill, Thomas P., and Raymond H. Schmandt. History of the Catholic Church. Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1957.

Nicholas, M.J. "Christian Perfection in Religious Life," Religious Sisters. London: Blackfriars, 1957.

Nisbet, Robert A. The Sociological Tradition. New York: Basic Books, 1966.

Nottingham, Elizabeth K. Religion: A Sociological View. New York: Random House, 1971.

Oberg, Sister Jenifer. "Margaret Mead Looks at the Modern Sister." The New Nuns. Ed. Sister M. Charles Borromeo. New York: The New American Library, 1967.

Oppenheim, A.N. Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966.

Parsons, Talcott. "Christianity and Modern Industrial Society." Religion as Culture. Ed. Louis Schneider. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.

--------. "An Outline of the Social System." Theories of Society. Eds. Talcott Parsons et al. New York: Free Press, 1961.

Phillips, Bernard S. Social Research: Strategy and Tactics. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971.

Pourrat, Rev. P. Christian Spirituality. New York: P.J. Kennedy and Sons, 1922.

Proshansky, Harold, and Bernard Seidenberg. Basic Studies in Social Psychology. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Reevers, John Baptist. The Dominicans. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Ritamary, Sister, Ed. The Mind of the Church in the Formation of Sisters. New York: Fordham University Press, 1956.

Rosenberg, Morris. The Logic of Survey Analysis. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968.

Ryan, W.E. "Canonical Rules for Cloister." New Catholic Encyclopedia. Catholic University of America, III (1967), 959-960.

Sargent, Lyman Tower. Contemporary Political Ideologies. Toronto: Irwin-Dorsey Limited, 1972.

School Sister of Notre Dame, A. Mother Caroline and The School Sisters of Notre Dame. Saint Louis: Woodward and Tiernan Co., 1928.

Selltiz, Claire et al. Research Methods in Social Relations. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1959.

Smith, L.M. Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries. London: Philip Allan and Co. Ltd. n.d.

St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries. Trans. Leonard J. Doyle. Collegeville: St. John's Abbey Press, 1948.

Stark, Werner. The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom. New York: Fordham University Press, 1969.

Suenens, Cardinal Leon. The Nun in the World. Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1963.

Tillich, Paul. A History of Christian Thought. Ed. Carl E. Braaten. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Thomlinson, Ralph. Sociological Concepts and Research. New York: Random House, 1967.

Troeltsch, Ernst. "Renaissance and Reformation." The Reformation. Ed. Lewis W. Spitz. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1962.

--------. The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches. Trans. Olive Wyon. Vol. I. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1960.

Von Martin, Alfred. "Sociology of the Renaissance." The Renaissance. Ed. Karl H. Dannenfeldt. Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1959.

Vrijhof, P.H. "What is the Sociology of Religion?" Readings in the Sociology of Religion. Ed. Joan Brothers, Toronto: Pergamon Press, 1967.

Wach, Joachim. Sociology of Religion. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

Walker, Williston. A History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970.

Weber, Max. "Science as a Vocation." Essays in Sociology. Ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Weber, Max. Sociology of Religion. Trans. Ephraim Fischoff. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Young, Pauline V. Scientific Social Surveys and Research. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956.

Articles and Periodicals

Becker, Howard S. "Notes on the Concept of Commitment." American Journal of Sociology, LXVI (July, 1960), 32-40.

Boyce, Edward, C.Ss.R. "A Sociological Appraisal of the 'New Trends'." Donum Dei, Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference (1969), 133-149.

Breunig, Jerome, S.J. and Others. "The First National Congress of Religious of the United States." Review for Religious. XI (September, 1952), 225-275.

Buehler, Charles, Garry Hesser, and Andrew Weigert. "A Study of Articles on Religion in the Major Sociology Journals: Some Preliminary Findings." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. XI (January, 1972).

Cain, James R. "Cloister and Apostolate of Religious Women." Review for Religious. XXVII (March, 1968), 243-280.

Campbell, Angus. "Politics Through the Life Cycle." The Gerontologist. XI (Summer, 1971), 112-117.

Carlon, Margaret M. "Superiors Reflect Diversity Present in Religious Life." St. Louis Review (October 3, 1969), p.9.

Delooz, Pierre, S.J. "Catechesis and Secularization." Lumen Vitae. XXIV (1961), 197-211.

Dobbelaere, K. "Trend Report of the State of the Sociology of Religion 1955-66." Social Compass. XV (1968), 329-355.

Dondeyne, Monsignor Albert. "Secularization and Faith." Lumen Vitae. XXIII (1968), 597-612.

Fenn, Richard K. "Max Weber on the Secular: A Typology." Review of Religious Research. X (Spring, 1969), 159-168.

--------. "The Secularization of Values." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. VIII (Spring, 1969), 112-124.

Flahiff, Bishop George B. "Vatican II and the Religious Life." Donum Dei. Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference (1968), 15-43.

Francis, E.K. "Toward a Typology of Religious Orders." American Journal of Sociology. LV (March, 1950), 437-449.

Gaudette, Sister Lina, F.C.S.P. "Religious and Sociology." Donum Dei, Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference (1969), 125-131.

Goddijn, H.P.M. "The Sociology of Religious Orders and Congregations." Social Compass. VII (1960), 431-447.

Greeley, Andrew. "The Sociology of Knowledge and the Sociology of Religion in the Catholic University." Cross Currents. XIX (Fall, 1969), 481-492.

Guinan, Sister St. Michael. "Aging and the Religious Life." The Gerontologist. XII (Spring, 1972), 21.

Gusfield, Joseph R. "Social Structure and Moral Reform: A Study of the Women's Christian Temperance Union." American Journal of Sociology, LXI (1955-56), 221-232.

Haughey, John C. "U.S. Sisters Organize." America. CXXII (April, 1970), 388-390.

Hennan, Edward F. "Sociology of Religion and the Aged: The Empirical Lacunae." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. XI (June, 1972), 171-174.

Hickey, Tom. "Catholic Religious Orders and the Aging Process." The Gerontologist. XII (Spring, 1972), 16-17.

Hillery, George A., Jr. "The Convent: Community, Prison, or Task Force?" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. VIII (Spring, 1969), 140-151.

Hinnebusch, William A., O.P. "Origins and Development of Religious Orders." Review for Religious. XXVIII (November, 1969), 910-930.

Hunter, Woodrow W. "Leadership Training for Pre-Retirement Programs in Religious Communities." The Gerontologist. XII (Spring, 1972), 17-19.

Lynch, William F. "Toward a Theology of the Secular." Thought. XLI (1967), 349-365.

Marlé, René, S.J. "Secularization." Lumen Vitae. XXXIII (1968), 583-596.

McDonnell, Killian. "Religious Life in Low Profile." America. CXXII (January 11, 1970), 16-20.

McNeil, Kenneth and James D. Thompson. "The Regeneration of Social Organizations." American Sociological Review. XXXVI (August, 1971), 624-627.

Mol, J.J. "Secularization and Cohesion." Review of Religious Research. XI (Spring, 1970), 183-191.

--------. "Part II. The Relation Between Religious Belief and Structural Change in Religious Orders: Some Evidence." Review of Religious Research. XII (Summer, 1971), 153-164.

Pius XII, Pope. "Address to Religious Superiors." Review for Religious. XI (November, 1952), 305-308.

"Priests and Nuns: Going Their Way." Time (February 23, 1970), pp. 63-69.

Reichert, Richard, C.S.C. "Secularization and Renewal." Review for Religious. XXVII (September, 1968), 852-870.

Rouleau, Jean-Paul, S.J. "Religious Life and Social Culture." Donum Dei. Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference (1969), 103-123.

Roy, Sister Louise, S.S.A. "Facts Concerning the Research on the 'New Trends'." Donum Dei. Ottawa: Canadian Religious Conference (1969), 3-40.

Shiner, Larry. "The Concept of Secularization." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion. VI (Spring, 1967), 207-220.

Tate, Sister Judith. "Second Thoughts on Small Group Living." Sisters Today. XLIV (October, 1972), 88-94.

van Caster, Marcel, S.J. "Secularization: A Christian View." Lumen Vitae. XXIII (1968), 613-631.

Von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik. "The Generation Gap in the Western World." Catholic World. CCXII (October, 1970), 9-14.

Wakin, Edward, and Joseph F. Scheuer. "The American Nun." Harper's Magazine. (August, 1965), 181-187.

Wilma, Sister M., S.C.L. "Attitudes of Religious Women Toward Change." Review for Religious. XXIII (March, 1964), 185-195.

Unpublished Materials

Theses

Anson, Peter F. "Papal Enclosure." Unpublished manuscript, 1970.

Molitor, Sister M. Margaret Ann, R.S.M. A Comparative Study of Dropouts and Non-Dropouts in a Religious Community. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1967.

Murphy, Sister Roseann, S.N.D. A Comparative Study of Organizational Stance in Three Religious Communities. Ph. D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1965.

O'Toole, Sister M. George, R.S.M. Sisters of Mercy of Maine--A Religious Community As a Social System. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1964.

Ramold, Sister M. Regis, O.S.U. The Ursulines of Mount Saint Joseph: A Religious Community As a Social System. Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Sociology, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1964.

Ziegler, Mary Liobgid, S.S.N.D. Mother Theresa of Jesus Gerhardinger, Mequon (School Sisters of Notre Dame) Archives, manuscript, p. 232a.

Ziegler, Maria Liobgid. Mother Theresa von Jesu Gerhardinger. Trans. Sister Frances Therese Jungwirth. Munich: Verlag Schnell and Steiner, 1950.

Zimmerman, Sister Dorothy, S.S.N.D. "The Classroom Has Two Doors," Unpublished manuscript, 1960.

Circulars and Letters

The Community of S.S.N.D., Weiden, Poland, Personal Letter, September 24, 1946.

Del Mestri, Guido. "Letter to Most Reverend Archbishops and Bishops of Canada and President of the Canadian Religious Conference." Ottawa, February 4, 1972.

Gerhardinger, Mother Teresa, S.S.N.D. Trans. Sister Frances Therese Jungwirth. Personal letter from America, June 18, 1848.

Gerhardinger, Mother Teresa, S.S.N.D. Trans. Sister Margarita Schneider. Personal letters, nos. 714, 845, and 868.

Hass, Mother Marianne, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, June, 1909.

Heuck, Mother M. Clara, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circular, February, 1903.

Larraona, P.A. Letter from the Sacred Congregation for Religious, Rome, August 6, 1957.

Neuman, Sister Jean Marie, S.S.N.D., Letter from Constitution Committee, Rome, Italy, September, 1967.

Piorska, Sister Mary, S.S.N.D., Provincial Letter, June, 1946.

Roecklein, Mother M. Ambrosia, S.S.N.D., General Circulars, June, 1965; December, 1965; February, 1966; June, 1966; November, 1966; January, 1967; June, 1967; and January, 1968.

Roeser, Sister Mary Basil, S.S.N.D., Executive Letter--SSNDEC, January, 1956.

Thoma, Mother M. Bruno, S.S.N.D., General Circulars, November, 1924; May, 1927.

Schilling, Mother M. Stanislaus Kostka, S.S.N.D., Commissary Circulars, April, 1918; March, 1920; September, 1920; June, 1925; December, 1926; December, 1929; November, 1931; January, 1932; June, 1932; April, 1933; July, 1933; November, 1933.

Schricker, Mother M. Almeda, S.S.N.D., General Circulars, October, 1936; January, 1937; January, 1938; September, 1938; January, 1939; April, 1940; December, 1944; March, 1946; July, 1946; August, 1946; November, 1947; and March, 1948.

Segner, Mother M. Georgianne, S.S.N.D., Generalate Circular, May 26, 1971.

Reports

Directory of the North American Provinces of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Mequon, 1950 and 1965.

"Introduction," Obituaries of School Sisters of Notre Dame. Mequon, 1965.

Report of the Constitution Committee. Proposals for Possible Incorporation into Experimental Constitutions. Rome: Constitution Committee, 1968. Part II.

Report of the Interprovincial Committee. Suggestions for Renewal and Adaptations of Our Constitutions and Customary Observances. Mequon: Interprovincial Committee, 1966.

Report of the Interprovincial Steering Committee. Suggestions for Study and Research. Mequon: Provincial Committee, 1967.

Report of the Interprovincial Steering Committee. Summaries of Proposals in North American Position Papers. Mequon: Provincial Committee, 1968. Part III.

Report of the Thirteenth Special General Chapter. Interim Constitution and General Directory of the School Sisters of Notre Dame. Rome: General Chapter, 1968.

Rome Reflex: Chapter Communications. "Habit Question Placed on Provincial Basis for North America." Rome: Communications Committee, 1972.

Rome Reflex: Chapter Communications. "Habit Question Remains Unsettled." Rome: Communications Committee, 1972.

SSND Rome Chapter Communications. On Three Continents--Year's Efforts Produce Varied Preparations. Rome: Communications Committee, 1968, Vol. I.

SSNDEC Educational Recommendations (Wilton, Conn.), 1965. Nos. 1, 5, 10.

Summary of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Chapters of the Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame (1934).

Constitutions and Rules

"A Tentative Constitution for the S.S.N.D. Educational Conference," Article I, p. 1.

Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter. "Interim Constitutions and General Directory of the School Sisters of Notre Dame." Rome: General Chapter, 1968.

Acts of the Thirteenth General Chapter. You Are Sent. Rome: General Chapter, 1970.

Acts of the Fourteenth General Chapter. Rome: General Chapter, 1972.

Constitutions of 1617: St. Peter Fourier. Trans. Sister Dorothy Zimmerman, S.S.N.D. (Unpublished manuscript, Part I, Point 3.)

Rules and Constitutions of the Religious Institute of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame, 1865. With an Appendix Approved in 1880.

Rule and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Poor School Sisters of Notre Dame (1925).

Summary of the Ordinances and Resolutions of the General Chapters of the Congregation of the School Sisters of Notre Dame (Milwaukee, Wis., 1950).