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A Partial Analysis of a Religious Missionary Community as an Agency of Directed Culture Change

Jennifer Sister Johnson S.Sp.S.

Loyola University Chicago

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A PARTIAL ANALYSIS of a RELIGIOUS MISSIONARY COMMUNITY

AS an AGENCY of DIRECTED CULTURE CHANGE

BY

SISTER JENNIFER JOHNSON, S.S.P.S.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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This thesis presents a tentative analysis of a religious missionary community as an agency of directed culture change based on the information at hand and the writer's personal experience as a member of the community under consideration. Future plans include the possibility of a more in-depth analysis based on further experience with members of the same religious missionary Congregation in foreign mission situations.

The model of the effective agent of directed culture change as developed in Chapter II is based on the thinking of those who have attempted in recent years to analyze agents and clients in directed change situations. Chapter III considers the Constitutions of the Congregation, a document that is of paramount importance in influencing lives of the members of the Congregation, not only as a guideline in their religious communities but also as a symbol of the unity of spirit and purpose achieved by 4,600 members of different nationalities scattered throughout the world. The personal interviews and questionnaires presented in Chapter IV are important for the individual missionary in the American Community of the Congregation in understanding her role in contemporary society. Although the present study borders on a "personality and culture" study, the nature of the organization under consideration prohibits an excessively individualistic or particularistic approach. Perhaps nowhere else in contemporary society can one find greater cultural homogeneity in terms of world view, philosophy, values, and even behavioral patterns than in a religious congregation. Yet, it would be wrong to conclude that religious
women are all of a kind. Questionnaires, interviews, and field observations among members of the community under consideration reveal a wide range of personalities and life styles.

For readers unfamiliar with Catholic missionary congregations, an explanation of certain terms that will occur throughout the text is appropriate here. The term "religious missionary congregation" or "congregation" will be used with reference to an international body of Catholic women who have vowed to live according to the Constitutions or guidelines of that organization. The term "community," when used in speaking of these missionaries, refers to a smaller body of women religious missionaries; for example, the members of the Congregation in the United States. "Missionary" can be used to refer to anyone who considers himself or herself as someone "sent" to proclaim a special message. Within the context of this thesis, "missionary" refers either to Christian missionaries in general; that is, those who proclaim to others the Gospel or "good news" of Christ or to Catholic missionaries who proclaim the Christian message under the guidance and direction of the Catholic Church. The specific meaning should be clear within the context of the paper. The nature of the religious missionary community and congregation will be clarified in the introduction and in the chapters dealing with the Constitutions or guidelines of the Congregation. The meaning of the phrase "directed culture change" and "agent of directed culture change" are developed within the introduction and in the chapter on the model of the effective agent of culture change.

To my knowledge, investigations of religious missionary communities as agents of directed culture change have been made. In other investigations
most analyses of culture change situations include operating procedures and basic premises of the innovating organization. The cases cited by Arthur Niehoff in *A Casebook of Social Change* are examples of these.

The value of this study lies in the attempt to inquire into the effectiveness of one particular kind of innovating organization, a religious missionary community. In this way some insight is gained concerning factors that influence the change process other than those based on the nature of the recipient community. No claim is made here that the findings regarding this particular innovating organization are universally applicable to other organizations. On the other hand, this kind of research is basic to the formulation of hypotheses concerning the nature of innovating organizations in general which can then be tested through further investigation.

I am grateful to Dr. Paul G. Hahn of Loyola University of Chicago for his valuable advice on the development and completion of this thesis. I am also grateful to the superiors and sisters of my Congregation for their enthusiastic support and cooperation. I am hopeful that the analysis will be useful on a practical level in our efforts to communicate to others the Christian message.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today's world is rapidly taking on the characteristics of Marshall McQuuhan's "global village". Community development projects, technological aid to newly emerging nations, Peace Corps, Vista Volunteers, mass communication media, international aid programs, and international cooperation on space projects indicate that the social consciousness characteristic of this age goes far beyond national and cultural boundaries. An attempt to build a better world and to improve the human community challenges, not only the the enthusiast and the idealist, but also the technological expert and the behavioral scientist.

In recent decades, anthropologists have been asked to solve problems of communication between divergent cultures - to predict the effect on social life of an innovation in technology, to explain why belief systems create barriers to community development, and to advise change agencies on policies and procedures. Therefore, applied anthropology, like other social sciences, is often concerned with problems of directed culture change. Furthermore, the emphasis in research has moved from the study of traditional societies to the study of traditional societies in process, and from the study of societies in process to a study of the innovating organizations themselves.

1The bibliography provided by Biddle and Biddle in Appendix II of The Community Development Process, Holt, Rinehart, 1965, gives some idea of the wide range of publications available.
George M. Foster, discussing innovating organizations in his book *Applied Anthropology*, gives the reason:

Today we are beginning to realize that knowledge about the social and cultural forms of the innovating organization, about the structure and function of bureaucratic institutions, is just as essential as knowledge about recipient peoples to successful planned change. Just as barriers to change are found in cultural forms in peasant villages, they are found in the structures and values and operating procedures of bureaucracies and in the personal qualities of the change agents (Foster, 1969: 93-95).

In addition to government agencies such as The Agency For International Development and the Peace Corps, missionary organizations have long functioned as innovating organizations or agencies of cultural change.

The Purpose of the Thesis

This thesis will examine one such missionary organization. Its purpose is twofold: first, to examine a specific religious missionary community to determine its effectiveness as a change agent on the basis of the present attitudes and approaches of its members; second, to share with missionaries some of the insights of applied anthropology on the nature and process of directed culture change.

It is not the purpose of this paper to justify the existence of the Christian religious missionary or his or her presence in non-Western cultures. The existence of people convinced of the value of the Christian experience is taken as a given fact and shown in their acceptance of Christianity which implies their willingness to share the Christian experience with anyone who will listen. Whether they ought or ought not to do this, is not the topic under discussion. Rather, given the existence of Christians who recognize the implications of the Christian message and the importance of sharing it, the topic is how can this Christian message be communicated to peoples of
non-Western cultures most effectively without misinterpretation and without leading to cultural disorganization and disintegration?

Today greater attention is given to the missionary as an agent of change than was the case in past years. An article entitled "Missionaries: Christ for a Changing World," appearing in the February 22, 1971, issue of Time Magazine, describes changes in the missionary approach that reinforce the missionary's identification with agents of culture change. The article states that, besides the new emphasis placed on ecumenism, the fostering of unity and cooperation among different Christian denominations, and the changes in mission theology following the Second Vatican Council in the Catholic Church, there is a characteristic social consciousness among missionaries that leads to involvement in community development. For example, Maryknoll Missionaries started community

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3. The council documents include a declaration on religious freedom which states: "This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of 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 (Abbot, 1966: 679)."

A document on non-Christian religions states: "The church therefore, has this exhortation for her sons: prudently and lovingly, through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, and in witness of Christian faith and life, acknowledge, preserve, and promote the spiritual and moral goods found among these men, as well as the values in their society and culture (Abbot: 1966: 663)."
cooperatives in Guatemala; native missionary sisters in the Philippines prefer to remain in their home country to help deal with the social unrest there; a Divine Missionary from Evansville, Indiana, spent 23 years as an agricultural development worker in India.

After a worldwide fact-finding tour, the assistant superior of an international congregation of women religious missionaries (the Congregation to which the community under analysis belongs) stated to members of the Congregation in the United States that missionaries can no longer expect to be accepted by members of another culture simply because of their garb and religious convictions. In her view, heads of governments in newly developing countries welcome missionaries only if they can contribute to the social and technological progress of the country. The missionary cannot approach his task with a set of programs he intends to promote. Rather, he asks the government concerned what it has in mind. Most often these governments encourage the missionaries to serve in institutions owned by the state, or to hold positions that nationals have not yet been trained to assume. India, for instance, bars missionaries who are teachers from entering since the country already has a surplus of indigenous teachers. On the other hand, hospital administrators and laboratory technicians can still get visas to India. The point is that the nature of international relationships and the attitude of newly developing nations force the missionary into a close association with the introduction of Western technology and, therefore, with culture change.

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4 From a lecture given in October, 1971, in the provincial house of the United States community.
The traditional activity of Christian missionaries, the introduction of Christianity to non-Christian peoples, also identifies missionaries as agents of culture change. In addition to changing the belief systems, the acceptance of Christianity often changes the convert's social life in significant ways. It is interesting to note that in a symposium entitled "The Image of the Missionary Today" held at Chicago's Theological Union in November, 1970, missionaries from several different Christian denominations expressed a conviction that Christian values and beliefs could act as integrating forces in cultures experiencing disorganization because of rapid culture change. These missionaries were not unaware that missionary activity may be a major factor leading to the disorganization.

Whether they act to introduce technology or to counteract its ill effects, and they may do both, Christian missionaries, like other agents of culture change, are dealing with a delicate and complicated situation that requires a great deal of sensitivity to the combination of socio-cultural factors involved.

The activity of the Christian missionaries and the nature of the situation require that they take their role as agents of change seriously. If missionaries are to be effective agents of change, they must have some understanding of the nature and process of culture change and culture contact. They must know the historical background of the people with whom they are working and how this background affects the people's self concept and their concept of the change agent. They must be prepared professionally and personally for the formal and informal interaction they will have with members of the recipient community. They must attempt to understand the culture of the recipient
community, especially the values and basic premises around which their activities and ideas revolve. In general, the effective agent of directed culture change must be familiar with the insights provided by the social and behavioral sciences on the nature of intercultural contact. As Arensburg and Niehoff express it in *Introducing Social Change*, "It is our belief that the insights for cross-cultural interaction must be lifted above the level of intuitive judgment (1964: 6)." Chapter II of the thesis elaborates this very basic idea—that somehow, it takes more than good will to act effectively in a cross-cultural situation.

Since change agents are most often associated with an organization or agency, the values, goals, and operating procedures of the agency influence the change agent and are therefore important areas of investigation in analyses of agents of culture change. Chapter III of the thesis deals directly with the formally stated values and goals of the missionary community under study.

**The History, Organization, and Orientation of The Religious Missionary Congregation**

As previously stated, the specific religious missionary community under consideration is part of an international Congregation of Catholic women missionaries, founded in Holland in 1889, numbering approximately 4,600 members, the second largest missionary Congregation for women in the world. The sisters are active in schools from kindergarten to the university level, in hospitals, clinics, leporsaria, homes for the aged, and orphanages, and in other social services in 23 countries, in Europe, Africa, North and South America, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, and New Guinea.
The United States Community, the object of the thesis, began in 1901 when a group of sisters arrived in the United States. Members of the community have at various times taught in elementary and secondary schools (North, East, South, Midwest), opened and staffed hospitals (Midwest) and homes for the aged (East and Midwest), conducted a school of nursing (Midwest), staffed retreat houses (Midwest), and organized catechetical centers or centers for religious instruction (East, North, South, Midwest). At present (January, 1972) the United States community consists of 319 sisters--96 of these are assigned to the provincial house in the Midwest, 69 to homes for the aged, 45 to hospitals, 68 to schools. Forty-one are retired.

Approximately half of the sisters in the United States community were born and reared in Europe and half in America. In terms of age, approximately 42% of the sisters are over 65 years of age, 43% are between 40 and 65, and 15% between 20 and 39.

There are three levels of organization and government in the Congregation: the Congregation as a whole, the provinces or regions extending to one country or nation, and the local communities of sisters who live together in one convent or mission station. Each level of organization has persons in authority, who are responsible to the authority on the next higher level of organization. The highest authority in the Congregation is the General Chapter consisting of the general superior, members of her Council, and elected delegates from all regions or provinces. Accountability to higher authority is extended to certain defined areas, so that as far as possible the local and regional communities are autonomous. This is what is referred to as the principle of subsidiarity. Ideally speaking, subsidiarity should effect a more equal distribution
of responsibility, should allow more freedom of action to the local community, and yet should provide avenues of assistance and control from the centralized administrative authority, whether that be the provincial or general superior.

If the principle of subsidiarity allows for freedom and diversity, other factors encourage unity if not uniformity. For example, each member of the Congregation, whether she is Japanese, Chinese, German, Indian, American, Philippina, or whatever nationality, must abide by the regulations contained in the Constitutions, the document analyzed in detail in Chapter 3. Following the Second Vatican Council, religious Congregations revised their Constitutions. Part of this revision usually included the dropping of minute regulations. An attempt was made to draw up Constitutions or rule books that were primarily guidelines and were to provide the members of the Congregation with a source of inspiration and motivation, based on Sacred Scripture and the original purpose and spirit of the Founder of the group. The result is that although members of a specific Congregation have a basic orientation and spirit that unites them to all other members of the Congregation, the way in which this spirit is embodied in a particular situation differs from place to place. Needless to say, for a group whose purpose, in this case the spread of Christianity, identifies them as an agency of culture change, provision for diversity in response to local conditions is very important.

With regard to the government of the provincial or regional community of religious women under consideration, this is very similar to a natural community or perhaps even a tribal society. As pointed out, there is a hierarchy of authority and responsibility. Superiors of provinces and local houses are selected through a voting process involving all members of the community. In
some cases the vote of the members directly elects the superior; in other cases the vote nominates a group from which the superior is selected by the next higher level of authority. Much prestige and status is associated with the office of superior. Part of this is due to the Christian belief that God's will is manifest in the just and legitimate commands of those in authority. Furthermore, individual superiors act as community motivators and coordinators in the initiation and completion of different activities. They often provide in a loving and sensitive way for the needs of the individual sisters and for the whole community, not only in the line of food, clothing, and housing, but also in the areas of entertainment, education, and spiritual enrichment. The loyalty of the individual to her superior is based, then, not only on the fact that she is vowed to obey, but also because her faith leads her to recognize the Word of God as revealed through those who exercise authority in her life. Her personal relationship with the superior may lead to the development of feelings of mutual sympathy and understanding. When the authority figure within a community interacts on this level of friendship with the members of the community, there is a greater possibility that coordinated and effective activity in relation to the larger secular community will take place. Of course, this is an ideal situation. In reality, friction and disagreement may exist. The basic point is that the stated values, goals, and structures of the organization allow for and encourage this kind of relationship between superiors and subordinates.

The Constitutions of the religious Congregation state:

A sister who has been entrusted with the office of superior should zealously promote the advancement of the kingdom of God and the welfare of the Congregation. In loving service she fosters harmonious cooperat-
ion among the sisters as well as their religious and missionary spirit. Only in the measure in which she is penetrated by this spirit will she be a model and inspiration to her sisters in their efforts to realize the ideals of the religious life and of their apostolic commitment.

Every superior should show sisterly interest in the persons entrusted to her with due respect for each one's individuality and degree of maturity, and she should try to recognize their needs and difficulties. She should discuss questions of the religious life and apostolic service with the individual sisters and with the community, since the responsibility is shared by the entire community.

The superior should be ready to listen to the sisters' opinions, weigh them carefully, and explain her own stand. Whenever the good name of a sister is involved, she must take care to hear all sides of a question. In dialogue, superiors and sisters together endeavor to discern the will of God ever more clearly (Constitutions, article 606).

Sources of status and prestige other than those associated with the offices of authority are age, experience, and education. Anniversaries marking twenty-five, fifty, and sixty-five years of service within the Congregation are observed with special celebration: including a solemn liturgy and a banquet to which friends and relatives are invited. Sisters who have served in foreign countries are often held in special regard. Finally, although there is a certain amount of anti-intellectualism manifest in the attitudes of some of the sisters by an impatience with theoretical discussions of issues and by an esteem for practical experience and approaches, there seems to be a high regard for academic excellence and scholastic achievement. For example, the fact that no member of the United States community holds a Ph.D. is contrasted unfavorably with the situation in other countries where sisters have doctorates in different fields.
If authority, age, experience, and education are sources of prestige, it would follow that younger members of the Congregation have relatively little status. In fact, sisters in temporary vows do not have a vote in elections on the provincial and general levels of organization. No official provision is made for their representation at provincial and general chapters or even on the committee that plans their formation programs. However, to say that younger members have little status is not equivalent to saying that they are given little attention or consideration. In fact, they may be fairly influential since the continued existence of the Congregation is dependent on them and on their decision to remain. It is difficult to estimate how much leverage this gives them since attitudes or policies whose adoption they may have influenced, are usually not overtly credited to them. In other words, a given policy is said to be observed because of some value it expresses, a value believed to be in conformity with other values in religious life, and not because of pressure from some age or occupational group within the community.

Speaking of younger members leads to a consideration of methods of recruiting members and of providing for their socialization or enculturation into the community. In contrast to the situation in a natural society, new members are not born into the community but enter when they are young adults. Most often they come from Catholic backgrounds. However, the life style of the religious woman and especially a life of celibacy seems to require that there be a rather long trial period before the individual is accepted as a permanent member of the Congregation. In the Congregation under consideration the trial period or time of initiation is nine years. During the
first year, called the postulancy, the individual is introduced to the community, its activities, and way of life, and also takes college courses. During the following two years, called the novitiate, she wears the uniform of the Congregation, called a habit, and is given more in-depth instruction on the nature of religious life and the meaning of the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. After the novitiate, the novice takes vows for one year. These vows are renewed each year for five more years before the individual is allowed to take final or perpetual vows. During the six years of temporary vows the focus is on training for and experience in some kind of professional and apostolic (missionary) activity.

The socialization and enculturation process referred to above centers on the individual's value system. Priority is given to the development of the person's love of God and the deepening of her relationship with Jesus Christ. This is achieved primarily through an intensive study of theology and Sacred Scripture and through the practice of prayer. The person is led to see her life experiences, the people she meets, the events in the world around her, and the whole of creation as part of God's revelation of Himself to her. Everything becomes a "Word of God." She grows in her conviction that God loves her and all men, that His love was made visible or incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ, and that He has called men to eternal life with Him. One very popular saying in religious life is: "You can't give what you haven't got." The implication is that a sister cannot effectively communicate God's love to others until she has experienced it deeply in her own life. The socialization process, then, is actually an attempt to make the person more sensitive to the presence and power of God in her life and
in the world. The behavior and life style of a religious, ideally characterized by unselfish love (chastity), simplicity (poverty), and loving acceptance of the will of God (obedience), should be a response to God's revelation.

To describe the orientation of the religious missionary in these terms is to attempt to arrive at what might be called the ethos of the religious missionary community. The same basic ideas are expressed quite differently in an article entitled "Why I Am a Sister Today" written by a member of the religious missionary community under consideration. Sister writes:

I see our present time urgently demanding religious to revitalize themselves so that by their very being they may be effective, living, and life-giving signs of the Church—that is, a community of faith and trust and love of God and man, a brotherhood in Christ, a proclamation of hope, a prophetic witness to the possibility of human life transformed by the Spirit of the Risen Christ into a community of love. To bear such witness is the challenge of my life—the reason for my being a religious missionary (Becker 1971: 13).

The response to God's revelation in religious life has become somewhat institutionalized in the historical and natural development of each Congregation and community. The institutionalization includes the development of characteristic community prayers and liturgical celebrations, apostolates (missionary activity) and social life such as group recreations and discussions, and traditions and customs. These developments seem to be the inevitable result of having to motivate large numbers of people to live together according to the high ideals of the religious life and to organize them to cooperate in assuming responsibility for different social, educational, and health services in the home country and in foreign missions.

In summary, the socialization of the individual who becomes a member of a religious missionary community includes not only the acceptance of religious
priorities but also the acceptance of a particular Congregation with its unique historical background and structural organization. The individual missionary will interact in the intercultural situation against the background of this community and within the limitations imposed by its structure. To what extent this identification hinders or helps her as an agent of culture change will be considered further in Chapters III and IV.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

Several approaches were taken in an effort to accumulate the kind of material needed to draw valid inferences regarding the nature and effectiveness of a missionary organization as an agency of culture change.

Relevant literature from the field of applied anthropology was consulted to set up the model of the effective agent of directed culture change. An attempt was made to make the list of characteristics as comprehensive as possible. Their importance for the missionary in his activity is obvious. Although there is no denying that many missionaries are and have been sensitive to intercultural differences, yet, it would be shortsighted to insist that the missionary continue to rely solely on his or her intuition and sensitivity in the delicate areas of intercultural contact when accumulated experience and information of students of directed change is available.

The Constitutions of the community under consideration is a valuable source of information on the official policy, the ideals, values, and goals of the organization.

A short questionnaire was sent to all members of the United States community in June and July of 1971. Of the 277 sisters who received the questionnaire, 104 responded. The purpose of the questionnaire was to obtain
some statistical information on the length of time an individual has been stationed in one place, to get a wide range of opinions on the goals of the community and on the best way to achieve these goals, and, finally, to ascertain the nature and extent of the sisters' contact with non-religious. These questionnaires are analyzed in Chapter IV.

Although the information from the questionnaire is valuable, the most important research procedure, as far as this thesis is concerned, is the month of fieldwork the writer spent in the South where members of the community are active in black parishes and schools. Two years previous to this fieldwork, the writer taught for a year in a black elementary school in the South. Interviews from two to five hours in length were conducted with thirty-one sisters in December, 1970. The writer believes that the sisters' experience within these black communities is somewhat comparable to the situation that prevails in a foreign mission country, although the black community in the United States and the community of sisters can be thought of being part of the subcultures of the American culture. That is, these two groups share with other Americans many elements of culture and characteristic ways of thinking, believing and living, while having specific characteristics of their own.

If it is the role of the anthropologist to attempt to describe a society from the viewpoint of the participants in that society, then the writer is in an excellent position to do just that. She can simultaneously adopt both the role of the social scientist and the role of the native informant.

In summary, the primary research procedures utilized in the development of this thesis are library research, questionnaires, and actual fieldwork in-
volving participant observation and structured interviews.

Conclusion

A discussion of the religious missionary as an agent of directed culture change is in keeping with the growing awareness in contemporary society of the problems of cross-cultural contact. Although a member of a religious missionary community may have a unique set of problems, this uniqueness should not keep the member from profiting as much as possible from the experiences of other innovating organizations. The following chapters will set up a model of the effective agent of directed change and consider the religious missionary community in the light of that model.
The Nature of the Process of Culture Change

There is an essential bond between the agent of directed culture change and the change process itself. The agent's attitudes and approaches are important determining factors in the successful integration into the host culture or recipient community of new elements and ideas. Before considering further these attitudes and personal characteristics, it might be helpful to discuss briefly the nature of the process of culture change.

To speak about cultures as continually changing is not equivalent to saying the members of the culture perceive reality as being in a state of flux. Dorothy Lee discusses different codifications of reality in Freedom and Culture (1959). Her study of the language of the Trobriand Islanders revealed nonlineal perception of events among these people in contrast to the preoccupation with lineality in Western cultures. In other words, events were perceived by the Trobriand Islanders as discreet units, not necessarily connected by cause-effect or stimulus-response relationships. The point is that, although one may discuss culture as a changing reality, it might be helpful to recognize that this view of culture and the concept of directed culture change are products of societies which tend to codify reality lineally (Lee, 1959: 105-120). Having recognized the cultural bias involved in the discussion, what factors apparently account for the perceived changes?
From a Western viewpoint all cultures and societies seem to be in a state of constant flux. Contact with other cultures leads to the diffusion of elements from one to the other. Many societies of the world have a long history of colonialism and are well aware of what is meant by the subjugation of technologically subordinate cultures to technologically dominant ones. However, even within a single culture there seems to be forces that work to maintain the status quo and, at the same time, other forces that pressure the system into reconstructing itself, creating a constant restlessness and disequilibrium. (Foster, 1969: 11).

Ralph Linton sees this interplay of conservative and progressive forces within the culture as responsible for what he calls the amplification of culture generation after generation.

If culture, like the social heredity of animals, were simply a means of ensuring survival for the species, its progressive enrichment might be expected to slow down and ultimately cease. All the problems connected with the continued existence of societies could ultimately be solved and techniques of maximum possible efficiency developed. However, this has not been the line of cultural evolution. Every society has developed techniques for meeting all the problems with which it was confronted passably well, but it has not gone on from there to the development of better and better techniques along all lines. Instead, each society has been content to allow certain phases of its culture to remain at what we call the necessity level, while it has developed others far beyond this point. No society has been content to leave the whole of its culture at the necessity level, and no society has elaborated all phases of its culture equally (Linton, 1936: 87).

According to Linton, this amplification involves the integration of new elements into the culture. And integration, "mutual adjustment between culture elements (Linton, 1936: 348)," will occur more quickly with less modification of the new element if the introduction does not disrupt or
attempt to modify

"the culture core, that mass of largely subconscious values, associations, and continued emotional responses which provide the culture with its vitality and the individual with motivations for exercising and adhering to its patterns (Linton, 1936: 358)."

The force that leads to the introduction and integration of new elements and to the eventual amplification of the culture can be found in part within the members of the society itself. "Because of the constant pressure of personalities which are still in the formative period, cultures have an almost unlimited capacity for change (Linton, 1936: 294)."

In *New Lives for Old* Margaret Mead develops the idea that the source or explanation of innovation or cultural development can be found on the personality or psychological level of cultural expression. Mead explains her position in the introduction:

Cultural evolution depends, ultimately, on small crucial innovations that occur at points of divergence in history. Although each attained grade of development contains within it the possibility of a series of further grades, the potential advances toward the next grade actually are taken by groups of particular individuals. Changes in the functional interrelationships within a culture, which may be defined so as to place any given culture as a "culture type" in Steward's sense, are at some point set in motion by the innovation or borrowing of some particular group. If we focus on very long periods of history or very striking changes—such as the development of stone tools or the recent spread of industrialization—we ignore the choice points in the original change that made it possible for parallel sequences—multilinear evolution—or special evolution in Sahlins' and Service's sense to occur. This book is an attempt to provide a framework within which actual phenotypic constitutions of individuals and their unique experience, as well as the cultural development which they represent, may be implicated (Mead, 1964: 32).

Mead's orientation led her to direct her interest and efforts to the analysis of innovative individuals within the society undergoing change and to the society itself which both formed the individual and eventually provided him with an opportunity to express his innovative potential.
Agents of directed culture change acknowledge the dynamic nature of culture referred to above and go one step further. They seek to accelerate and direct the process of culture change through the deliberate attempt to introduce new ideas and elements into a culture. Studies of directed culture change focus not only on innovative individuals but also on the economic, psychological, social, and cultural factors that influence the directed change process.

For example, according to George M. Foster, cross-cultural studies of directed change develop independently of time or setting:

1. Cities, where the upper classes usually reside, are the principal focal point of change, and through the motivation of imitation and the desire for prestige, city and elite ways filter down to the lower classes and out to the countryside.

2. Major changes in the economic basis of livelihood and especially the shift from subsistence to wage labor (often accompanied by migration to cities), bring about significant changes in family organization. Normally, the nuclear family gains in importance and the extended family loses. Traditional responsibilities and expectations of help, widely spread through kinship and friendship networks, are reduced to a much smaller group.

3. The introduction of cash crops, with greater emphasis on market disposition of production, tends to destroy traditional cooperative work patterns based on exchange of labor.

4. Dietary deterioration usually occurs following a shift from a subsistence to a monetary economy. In effect, the conventional food wisdom of people, developed on trial and error basis over generations, does not serve in situations in which people buy rather than grow the bulk of their food. They must learn how to buy wisely in order to have a balanced diet.

5. Rapid change frequently promotes divisive tendencies in traditional groups, thus making cooperative efforts even more difficult than under preexisting conditions. People exposed to few outside influences and ideas are faced with few choices about what to do as a group, and hence the opportunities for disagreement are limited. Tradition determines the path to be followed. Faced with many new choices, as are today's villagers, the opportunities for differing judgments are vastly increased with resulting conflicts in opinion (Foster, 1969: 118-119).
To give some idea of the variety of approaches and of the interdis-


ciplinary nature of the study of directed culture change, three articles

included by A. Gallaher in Perspectives in Developmental Change (1968) will

be reviewed. These articles approach the problem of directed culture change

from the perspective of psychology, education, and cultural anthropology.

In "Psychological Aspects of Planned Developmental Change", L.W. Doob
discusses and illustrates several psychological processes that seem to come

into play in each change situation. For the purpose of this introduction

it might be sufficient to simply list them. Many of these psychological

processes will be developed further on in the chapter.

A. Predispositions

1. People are likely to accept a proposed change when it is

not in conflict with traditional beliefs and values which are proving

satisfactory.

2. Having changed in many or important respects, people are

likely to exhibit changes in the modes of expressing beliefs and values.

3. While changing, people are likely to experience discrepancies

among their beliefs and values, which may result in additional change.

B. Perceptions

4. People are likely to accept a proposed change when it appears

to have advantages which can be intelligibly demonstrated in the prese-

ent or which are anticipated in the future.

5. Having changed in many or important respects, people are

likely to perceive events somewhat differently.

6. While changing, people are likely to become sensitive to

relevant aspects of their environment.

C. Other People

7. People are likely to accept a proposed change where it is

introduced by people whom they consider important and competent and

who have adequately consulted them or their leaders.

8. Having changed in many or important respects, people are

likely to alter their attitudes toward some but not all people in their

milieu.

9. While changing, people are likely to try to join, seek sup-

port from or remain in groups providing support for exhibiting the

innovation.
D. Personality Traits

10. People are likely to accept a proposed change when it is in accord with the modal personality traits of their society or with a goal they are seeking.

11. Having changed in many or important respects, people are likely to acquire new traits which represent basically different orientation.

12. While changing, people are likely to be discontented.

E. Learning

13. People are likely to accept a proposed change when it makes demands whose components they have already learned or feel confident they can learn.

14. Having changed in many or important respects, people are likely to develop new kinds of abilities.

15. While changing, people usually learn to adapt to novel situations.

F. Interaction

16. Over time, generally long periods of time which may include generations, almost infinitely varied changes are possible in any group or society; but at a given instant, usually but not always, significant changes occur slowly.

17. Planned or unplanned changes are likely to have, beyond their immediate effects, additional consequences, some or many of which may be quite unforeseeable (Doob, 1968: 47-50).

These psychological aspects of the change situation seem to prevail whether the change or innovation is introduced from outside the society or whether it arises from within the society itself.

In "Education and Developmental Change" Solon T. Kimball discusses another important aspect of any change situation—the influence of education on the change process. He points out the importance of developing a working relationship between educators and social scientists. Few would argue with the potential of education in bringing about change or with the futility of creating educational systems that fail to respond to the larger society in which they operate. According to Kimball, the problem seems to be the vested interests of educators whose stake in the present system leads them to define their goals in terms of the classroom instead of in terms of the
larger society. On the other hand, social scientists, with notable exceptions, have not shown intensive interest in the social dimension of education or even in "the serious study of the processes of cultural transmission (Kimball, 1968: 98)." Kimball proposes that educators and social scientists unite in the common concern to establish an institutional framework within which both groups could cooperate in research and in shared responsibility for an on-going development project (Kimball, 1968: 99).

Edward H. Spicer identifies several sequences or phases of planned or directed culture change in "Developmental Change and Cultural Integration." The first of these phases is the recognition by some persons within a society that there are inconsistencies within the society that are undesirable from their point of view. This recognition is followed by the planning of the change by those who are aware of the inconsistencies. The most important aspect of the planning stage is that it is seen "as a function of the culture within which it arises (Spicer, 1968: 180)." When seen as a cultural phenomenon, it follows that the planning will involve the social units of the society that is to undergo change and the recognized goals of that society. The third stage, called structuralization by Spicer, consists of setting up the social relations that will lead to the development of a new set of conditions. Spicer calls the fourth stage cultural fusion, modification or syncretism, the modification of the innovation by the society undergoing change. The final stage is the complete integration of the new element into the culture (Spicer, 1968: 180). Spicer defines developmental change as an "integrating process which is directed toward a new kind of integration. As indicated, the new integration may or may not be clearly con-
ceived by the planners, and steps taken may or may not be consistent with the goal of bringing about integration (Spicer, 1968: 196)." In other words, developmental change is not equivalent to directed culture change or planned innovation. Developmental change is likely to occur in any situation where new elements are introduced. However, whether or not the new elements will weather the process of integration in the way the innovator has in mind is dependent on more factors than simply the nature of the new element.

In *A Casebook of Social Change* Niehoff sees this process of directed culture change as a situation in which two forces, the action of the agent of culture change and the reaction of the recipient community, come to bear on the plan or idea and determine whether or not this plan or idea will be successfully integrated into the culture of the recipient community. Niehoff, (1966: 11) presents this diagrammatically as follows:

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   Action of Innovator          Reaction of Recipients
                   Integration
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In summary, all cultures undergo change. However, it seems that the direction of change and the degree of integration can be significantly influenced by those who are aware of the nature of the change process and of the interplay of all factors within the change situation.

The Personal Characteristics and Attitudes of the Effective Agent of Change

This thesis is concerned primarily with only one aspect of the total interaction situation, the role of the innovator. The personal characteristics and attitudes of the effective agent of directed culture change are
arranged in three sets of major interrelated characteristics. Set I relates the agent to his own cultural and personal background and includes the following characteristics:

1. Consciousness of one's own tendencies to ethnocentrism.
2. Understanding of the innovative organization with which one is associated.
3. Understanding of the influence of one's own cultural values.
4. Awareness of the effect of affiliations on one's personal image.

Set II relates the agent to the cultural background of the recipient community. The following characteristics are included:

1. Eagerness to learn as much as possible about the total life of the recipient community.
2. Willingness to actively participate in local community activities.
3. Recognition of the felt needs of the recipient community and willingness to direct one's efforts in terms of them.
4. Understanding of the motivational forces in the recipient community.
5. Ability to communicate effectively with members of the host community.
6. Ability to establish rapport with the host community.
7. Technical competence in the minds of the members of the host community.

Set III relates the agent to the change process itself. The characteristics included in this set are the following:

1. Recognition of the barriers to change.
2. Ability to work to create a situation in which there is a minimum
of coercion and persuasion thereby allowing for freedom in personal decisions.

3. Ability to involve potential recipients in committed participation.

4. Orientation to problems, not programs.

5. Appreciation of the contributions of other fields.

6. Ability to be predictable, flexible, and adaptable in one's behavior.

Each set of characteristics will be considered in turn. There is a certain amount of arbitrariness involved in this kind of three-part division. In fact, these characteristics are obviously interdependent and meant to be integrated into a single personality. As far as the total interaction situation is concerned, the background and personality of the agent affect his approach to the recipient community and, therefore, the change process. However, the nature of the recipient community affects the direction the change will take and, therefore, the approach of the change agent. Finally, the process of change itself, as understood by the agent, affects his approach to the recipient community. However, in an attempt to understand in depth the kind of attitudes and characteristics that seem to be important for the effective agent of culture change, each set will be developed separately despite the overlapping nature of some of the characteristics.

The Cultural and Personal Background of the Agent of Change

In Cooperation in Change Ward Hunt devotes much attention to the self understanding that seems to form the basis of the personality of the effective agent of change. This self understanding might be summed up in one characteristic, the freedom to be objective about one's own needs, problems,
background, and organization.

He must be free to conduct himself in ways that befit his general understanding of function and process pertaining to human institutions and customs, and his professional objectives as a development agent. This requires that he be aware of the forces and influences that inhibit his freedom of action, his own needs and motives, customs and values; the problems of living and working in a strange social and cultural environment; the organization of his agency ... (Goodenough, 1963: 44).

Awareness to tendencies to ethnocentrism.—The effective agent of culture change is conscious of his own tendencies to ethnocentrism. His personality has been developed within a specific cultural milieu and in the course of a unique personal history. The more aware he is that his personal and cultural background influence his attitudes and approaches, the freer he is to realistically evaluate his spontaneous reaction to each new situation.

The effective agent of culture change is able to deal with the stereotypes, intolerance, and estrangement he experiences in himself and in others as long as he is able to recognize such problems, is willing to modify his ideas and behavior, and respects the individuality of others. In the opening pages of The Face of the Fox Gearing describes the experience of the alien and proposes a possible approach to the resolution of his sense of estrangement.

Estrangement means more than feelings of contempt or indifference. It includes pity. Western men often come to their encounters with these tribal and peasant peoples wanting to love—needing to feel affection, respect, all positive things, and to express that love. These Western men come to such encounters wanting to love; they are almost always estranged; thus, wanting to love, they express estrangement in altruistic but hurtful invidious impulses to help, even in attempts to help. Other Western men, needing to hate, feel contempt and perhaps, are abusive. Still others are merely indifferent, preoccupied. Pity, contempt, indifference may be different expressions of a common underlying estrangement. When one is estranged he is unable to relate, because he cannot see enough to relate to. Thus the answer to what inside all those Western heads causes estrangement cannot be couched in
the now familiar words ethnocentrism, cultural relativity, prejudice, and so on, which are generally taken as preachment that one should get a grip on one's emotional life. An answer, in those terms, could only affect a man's manner of expressing estrangement, could move him, perhaps, from contempt to pity.

It seems plausible, however, in any event interestingly possible, that the underlying causes of estrangement are purely cognitive. Possibly certain identifiable habits of thought, wholly cognitive in nature, grip our Western minds, determine what we observe and what we fail to observe, cozen us in general and estrange us in particular, whenever we chance to look across at some tribal or peasant other. And can one do anything about that? Possibly. One can identify and name those habits of mind; one can identify and name other devices of mind, also purely cognitive, that do better work; and one can thereby, perhaps, gain a measure of control over the mind, that it may cozen less. The opposite of being estranged is to find a people believable (Gearing, 1970: 4).

Perhaps another way of expressing this same idea is to say that an effective agent of culture change needs more than a noble tolerance of strange cultures. He needs a specific attitude of mind that Goodenough describes as "the willingness to accept others unconditionally as one's fellow men, with all that that implies (1963: 380)." In the emotional isolation in which the change agent in a strange culture and community finds himself, it may become progressively more difficult for him to maintain this attitude of unconditional acceptance.

The change agent may deal with the problem by "insulating himself in a special residential quarter for Euro-Americans (Goodenough, 1963: 401)," a sure way of destroying important contacts with the recipient community. He may seek to fill his emotional needs for companionship, acceptance, and a sense of belonging by establishing intimate relationships with members of the recipient community even to the extent of "going native." It seems that when this behavior is motivated primarily by emotional weakness and not by a sincere attempt to master the local language and culture, it serves to alien-
ate not only the serving community, but also the recipient community who sees the agent's behavior as being only "amusingly inappropriate (Goodenough, 1963: 402)." The change agent in this situation tends to interpret any resistance shown to his proposals as a personal rejection and not simply as a factor in the development situation that needs further clarification. His own emotional needs seem to prevent him from seeing a situation objectively.

The other side of the "going-native" coin is often an agent's total rejection of any identification with his own cultural and social background (Goodenough, 1963: 404). He may become openly hostile to his own government, his agency, other foreigners, and everything associated with them. At the same time he may develop a super dedication to the recipient community, again based primarily on his needs and not theirs. "An agent's growing emotional needs become a problem not only because they render his actions compulsive and inflexible, but also because they generate in him delusions about his relations with his clients (Goodenough, 1963: 404)."

The need for acceptance and affection is present in everyone. However, anyone who is incapable of satisfactorily meeting these needs in his home environment may find that they become even more demanding of his time and energy in the field situation. Such a person is obviously a poor risk as an agent of culture change. On the other hand, a person who is relatively well adjusted is still faced with the problem of culture shock and emotional isolation in a strange culture. The first step is the recognition of the problem.

If he chooses to think that he will be an exception or that he will be strong enough to keep his needs from compromising him in his work, he does himself a disservice. He renders himself unable to admit that
he has problems when they arise—as almost inevitably they will—and therefore, unable to do something constructive about them (Goodenough, 1963: 405).

Some of the constructive things that might be done are the establishment of the kinds of contacts with the client community that will lead to congenial personal relationships and even friendships. Furthermore, satisfying relationships with members of the Euro-American community should also be cultivated. The attitude of unconditional acceptance of others and the ability to deal with new emotional needs in the field situation are not developed in a short time. They are characteristics of what Goodenough (1963: 406) describes as a "positive, buoyant, overt, resourceful" personality. The ability to empathize with people of varying backgrounds seems to be helped by exposure to many different life situations.

The capacity for what they call "cultural empathy" seemed to be most frequently exhibited by those workers abroad who had already had considerable "environmental mobility." They had had experience with many different kinds of people, had knocked about a bit, and had developed in this way a feeling for people in different walks of life. Those who had never learned to live with any but "their own kind," who had avoided doing so, and who had organized their lives with single-minded concentration on their own personal "success" were less able to meet the requirements of overseas work satisfactorily (Goodenough, 1963: 407).

The Greek motto "know thyself" seems to apply significantly to those who desire to interest effectively with members of another culture or with advocates of another ideology. The tendency to make absolutes out of what is merely familiar can be at least partially counteracted by objectivity, freedom, and what Gearing calls the willingness "to find a people believable 1970: 5)."

Understanding the innovating organization.—The effective agent of culture change understands the nature of the innovating organization with which he is associated. The agent must realize that the values, goals, basic
premises, and operating procedures of the innovating organization are important factors in the successful introduction of innovation. Many of the assumptions implicitly accepted within an organization may have little validity beyond the specific tradition in which it originated (Foster, 1962: 25). If the change agent sees this bureaucracy as similar to a natural community with a unique culture of its own, he will be less likely to view its norms and customs as absolutes. The innovating organization is only one of many groups with which the agent is associated in the minds of the members of the host community. Members of his national group, his church group, and his professional associates are examples of others.

The influence of affiliations.---The effective agent of culture change is aware of the effect of his affiliations on his personal image. The change agent is, at best, a marginal member of the host community, that is, he is much less identified with the values and norms of the host community than are the indigenous people. His marginality can work either for or against him depending on the prestige of the groups with which he is associated. Since he cannot change his affiliations, he must use them to his advantage when they have a positive image in the minds of the recipients, or try to counteract their ill effects when they do not. It is important in any effort at directed culture change that the agent of change, despite his marginality, represent a model which the members of the recipient community wish to emulate (Goodenough, 1963: 308; Fathi, 1968: 144; Niehoff, 1966: 14).

The ability to deal effectively with his ethnocentrism and with the result of his associations implies that the agent of change possesses a rather clearcut idea of the significant characteristics of his own culture
Understanding cultural orientation.—The effective agent of culture change understands the value systems of his own culture and their influence on him. The agent must realize that as his personal values and the values of the innovating organization are not universally valid, neither are the values of his own culture. Arensburg and Niehoff (1964: 160-182) list several values they feel may significantly influence the attitudes of an American agent of directed culture change.

1. Americans have a tendency to make two-fold judgments: moral-immoral, right-wrong, success-failure, clean-dirty, modern-outmoded, civilized-primitive, developed-underdeveloped, practical-impractical, extrovert-introvert, secular-religious, Christian-pagan. Non-Western cultures may also give evidence of this dual way of thinking, of thinking in pairs—Chinese Yin and Yang, the Zoroastrian forces of good and evil, male and female principles—but they are more likely to rank the two categories as equal, giving each its due, and less likely to connect this two-fold division with principles for guiding conduct.

In two of the world's largest religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, local beliefs which are quite distinct from those deriving from the theology of the dominant religion are permitted to live side by side. No one questions the fact that in Japan people may worship in a Buddhist temple and also in a Shinto shrine; or that they may observe the practices of Himayana Buddhism in Laos and Thailand, while at the same time propitiating the "phi", the local non-Buddhist spirits. This is quite different from the Christian attitude in which all that is supernatural but not Christian, is superstition or paganism (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 160).

2. Americans distinguish work and play as two separate activities, whereas some people of other nations may join the two, making work a time for celebration.
3. To Americans "time is money." It is a quantity to be bought and sold, not "wasted" but "used" wisely. This concept of time is usually quite foreign to nonindustrialized peoples.

4. Many Americans are proud of a history of success and continual progress, and look forward to a "better, brighter" future. However, during the time of America's greatest growth, people of other cultures had experienced many reversals. In contrast to the confidence in effort and optimism so characteristic of Americans, the people of many societies are characteristically more passive, enduring, pessimistic, accepting, pliant, and evasive. Americans should keep in mind that for many people, their ages of glory were in the past, so the old ways are tried and true. Modernity and newness have no value in themselves for these peoples. Eventually they will change, because they know they must, but not because they feel life is constantly progressing (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 169).

5. Americans often have a conquering, controlling approach to nature. People from more adverse environments have developed, through centuries of experience, a kind of compromise with nature, a "live-and-let-live" approach.

6. Coming from one of the "have" countries, Americans tend to evaluate the host country on the basis of the possession or nonpossession of modern conveniences and luxuries. They may even try to recreate a small world of American society and culture, thus cutting themselves off from an opportunity to grow in understanding and appreciation of the host culture.

7. Characteristic American morals are based on a rule of law by a central government and on a code of business and contract obligations. In many other cultures "rank or esteem, the dignity of the person, the honor of the individual, the compassion due an unfortunate, and the loyalty due a kinsman or coreligionist may all be important in moral judgments (Arensburg
and Niehoff, 1964: 175)."

The American tendency to moralize, to overreact when the model moral behavior they were taught to expect from other people is not present in real life, sometimes leads them to become cynical and "wise to the corruption of the world." Decisions based on this tendency to "see evil everywhere" are often inaccurate and unrealistic (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 176).

8. The high value Americans place on egalitarianism, at least in appearance or ideally, if not in reality, sometimes makes it difficult for them to adjust to hierarchically-organized societies. Americans tend to want to come to the rescue of the underdog.

American ideals of equality also make it difficult for them to recognize leaders in non-Western societies when these do not display those signs of visible achievement and success Americans associate with leadership.

The backslapping, "call-me-Joe" informality typical of Americans is also a consequence of their egalitarianism. However, in situations where deference is called for by the etiquette of the culture, the informal American approach may seem very ill-mannered.

9. Humanitarianism is closely associated with the American ideal of the equality of all men. However, it is a quality that has come to be expressed in a highly organized, institutional, and impersonal way. Many other people express their humanitarianism differently.

The people of poor countries do not usually share with everyone; they cannot. However, they do have their own patterns of sharing through personal and kinship obligations, by religious almsgiving, and in other ways. The American pattern of impersonal generosity need cause no difficulty if we do not let it blind us to the existence of other patterns; if we remember that other people are just not as rich as we are; and if we do not turn our method of giving into a harsh standard of
It seems unquestionable that the values mentioned above are highly regarded by Americans. However, the high idealism which surrounds these values and the Americans who hold them, seems to sometimes blind these Americans to the reality of the situations in which they are active. Ivan Illich rather pointedly describes that which may actually exist more often than Americans may care to admit.

Next to money and guns, the United States idealist turns up in every theater of war; the teacher, the volunteer, the missioner, the community organizer, the economic developer. Such men define their role as service. Actually, they frequently wind up numbing the damage done by money and weapons, or seducing the "underdeveloped" to the benefits of the world of affluence and achievement. They especially are the ones for whom "ingratitude" is the bitter reward. They are the personification of Good Old Charlie Brown: "How can you lose when you are so sincere?" (Illich, 1970: 17).

This first set of characteristics, a consciousness of one's own tendencies to ethnocentrism, an understanding of the innovative organization with which one is associated, an awareness of the effect of affiliations on one's own personal image, and an understanding of the influence of one's own cultural values, attune the agent to himself, to his cultural, social, and emotional background. The second set relates the agent of change to the cultural, social, and emotional background of the recipient community.

The Cultural Background of the Recipient Community

It is essential that the agent of culture change acquires some depth in his understanding of the cultural background of the recipient community. The following characteristics seem to predispose an individual to the openness and receptivity that allow for this in-depth understanding.
An agent should be acquainted with scientific theory regarding human behavior. He needs to be sophisticated about human motives, the subjective factor so important in all human relationships.

He should have a clear idea of the nature and properties of what is being changed, in this case, customs and institutions, ideas and beliefs. He must understand how these things function in human affairs, the processes by which they undergo change, and the effects of their change on people.

He must know how to gain accurate knowledge of the local situation, how to learn what the community's particular resources, customs, institutions, beliefs, and needs are. To do this he must know what to look for and how to look for it. If he imposes on the local scene a stereotype of undeveloped communities, he is not likely to discover what the realities are (Goodenough, 1963: 44-45).

Willingness to understand other cultures.--The effective agent of culture change is eager to learn as much as possible about the total life way of the recipient community. The willingness to accept others unconditionally, as mentioned above, presupposes a "respect for their wants, beliefs, felt needs, customs, values, and sense of personal worth (Goodenough, 1963: 378)," which further presupposes a willingness to gain some understanding of these (Foster, 1962: 260). Even without the background training and the time to devote to cultural research, the change agent can learn much through casual contacts with members of the host community. In speaking of the ethics of planned change Foster (1962: 269) states:

It means taking the trouble to learn about the cultural chasm that separates people, a chasm which, if unrecognized, can wreck the best of plans, but one which, if known, can usually be easily bridged. Successfully bridging the chasm means, in most instances, learning the language of the host community. It means learning and observing the rules of courtesy there present. It means learning to be humble, to be willing to learn, to believe things quite different from one's previous experience. It means sympathy and tolerance. It means a genuine understanding of the nature of culture and culture change, and of the impact of advanced technologies on traditional societies. Above all, it means awareness that the technical expert, the man who truly experiences
the "dramatic discovery" of a conspicuously different culture, and who, through his skill and sensitivity, helps in some small way to solve its problems, is the person who gains most of all. He acquires riches of a very special kind that will bring him satisfaction throughout his life.

Somewhat like the social scientist, the agent of change must approach a culture as an explorer and collector. He will be most interested in those aspects of the culture seriously affected by the innovation he hopes to introduce. But since all elements of culture are interrelated, the more he understands, the more effective he will be. Some cultural elements which are important as far as the introduction of innovations is concerned are the following:

1. The social structure. What type of family unit is found in the society? How extensive are kinship ties? If an innovation threatens existing traditional relationships, there will be a disinclination to cooperate (Niehoff, 1966: 34).

In societies where caste and class systems are clearly defined, projects based on egalitarian ideals are likely to be rejected.

An innovator must also consider the influence of ethnic groups including racial, linguistic, or tribal groups. Tampering with social orders based on hierarchical ranking of these groups may cause conflict and friction. "Though Western egalitarianism may ultimately be carried to other lands, this is not an easy task which a single change agent can hope to bring about simply by making equal treatment a precondition for assistance (Niehoff, 1966: 35)."

Local political groups may fight programs that usurp their rights and power and cooperate only when changes benefit them.

Finally, change projects associated with national governments may be rejected if government agencies have functioned in the past mainly to exploit
the local people.

2. Leadership. Unless the change agent can gain the support and cooperation of local leaders, his project is doomed to failure. These leaders will probably oppose whatever they see as a potential threat to their positions. However, it is sometimes difficult for an outsider to recognize who are the really influential people in a community. The local administrators and the village headman or chief often have important offices in relation to the whole community. Educators usually hold positions of respect and authority in newly developing areas. Since they are often natives of the area, their education enables them to act as a bridge between the local community and the modernizing world.

The importance of religious leaders should not be underestimated. "When so many aspects of life cannot be controlled in a scientific manner, as is the case in practically all the poor communities of the nonindustrialized world, [which is not true in the rich communities of the industrialized world?] religious assistance fills a vital need (Niehoff, 1966: 32)." Furthermore, religious leaders are often organized nationally and provide a chain of communication from urban to rural areas. Finally, religious leaders, like other local leaders, are unlikely to support projects for which they have not been consulted.

Certain kinds of other organizations like civic clubs and health committees sometimes provide a leadership that should be recognized by the change agent.

3. Economic patterns. Changes in economic patterns can have far-reaching effects in other areas of culture. Those patterns most important to the change agent are work groupings, trade, distribution of goods, and ownership
rights (Niehoff, 1966: 37). Of course, if the change which the agent intends to introduce directly involves the economy of a society, in-depth understanding of economic patterns is required.

4. Beliefs and values. Religious beliefs and values can work both for and against change. The fatalism often associated with religion in newly developing areas and with the failure of the people to respond to innovative programs is usually based on a realistic appraisal of the situation. However, despite the prevailing fatalism, religious fraternities in these same areas may often be associated with education, a prime tool of change. They also may be the first to adopt innovations in rural communities. In any case, an attempt to introduce change that is a direct confrontation of religious beliefs will usually fail. The innovator should attempt to understand thoroughly the belief systems of the recipient community and then present his innovation in terms of them (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 114; Niehoff, 1966: 37).

In concluding this section on those areas of culture that should be well understood by the change agent, it might be helpful to point out the importance of the concept of functional integration. The realization that all elements of a culture are more or less interrelated leads to the conclusion that every culture must be considered as a whole. Changing one aspect of it will have repercussions on many levels. The change agent must be sensitive to the interrelated functions of the discreet elements with which he deals in order to acquire a feel for the integrity of the culture and for the basic patterns that give it unity.

The linkage in a functional manner of both the obvious and obscure aspects of customs makes up the organic whole of a culture. However,
in addition to being interrelated these customs often add up to a principal common interest, or perhaps, several of them. Such main interests will determine what most individuals value and seek for themselves, what really motivates them (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 51).

Direct participation.--The effective agent of culture change is willing to actively participate in local community activities. This characteristic is actually a prerequisite for the understanding of the life way of the people. To base this understanding solely on the written or spoken word without any firsthand experience would be to resign oneself to an incomplete understanding at best. As mentioned previously, a great danger for the agent of change is that he will limit his social life and activities to the Euro-American community. On the other hand, an agent who is eager to participate in the social life of the recipient community may find his way blocked until he has established rapport and has acquired some proficiency in the local language. More often than not, the local people will be flattered if his interest is genuine and will not only offer him many invitations to public ceremonies and celebrations, but will also take the time to explain in detail their meaning and importance. Arensburg and Niehoff (1964: 191) offer some guiding principles for participant observers.

Proceed to new subjects or enter new places for purposes of observation only with the consent of the people involved, and if possible, by their request or invitation. Secret observation too closely resembles spying. The innovator interested in a local culture has neither the rights nor duties of a cross-examiner, nor the privileges of a priest, doctor, or lawyer. What is sacred or dangerous in their beliefs may not be discussed openly; whereas, that about which they are proud will be volubly discussed.

Respect native values, conventions, taboos, and prejudices, even if you cannot go along with all of them. If you ask for guidance, you will not only learn native customs but show your good faith to your hosts.
Observation and participation on this level should lead the agent of change to an identification of what the community feels its real needs are.

**Recognition of felt needs.**—The effective agent of culture change recognizes the felt needs of the recipient community and directs his efforts in terms of them. The importance of working from the felt needs of the recipient community is emphasized in the literature on directed change. The problem for change agents seems to be avoiding projecting their own felt needs and wants on others. There is the tendency for the change agent to believe that what he sees as the community's real needs are the same as what the community feels are its real needs (Goodenough 1963: 38). The needs he sees may very well be real and important, but unless he begins his work from the perspective of what the community sees as its needs, or unless he leads the recipient community to agree with him in his assessment of their needs, his project or innovation may fail from a lack of community cooperation. No one will invest time and energy in an effort to acquire what someone else has defined as good for him unless he also has come to view this same thing as being decidedly good.

**Understanding motivational forces.**—The effective agent of culture change attempts to understand the motivational forces within the recipient community. A consideration of the felt needs of the community leads directly into the consideration of the motivations for or against change. The two most important motivations favoring change, according to several authors (Niehoff, 1966: 24–30; Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 101–110; Foster, 1962: 145–175), are the desire for prestige and the desire for practical benefits including educational, economic, and medical benefits. Other lesser motives are the
pressure of authority, the pressure of friendship, the desire for convenience, the pressure of a competitive spirit, and the interest in novelty. Niehoff (1966: 23) points out that

"basically, the motivation for accepting a new idea stems from two sources: one is how the idea is presented, which is a product of innovator techniques, and the other is whether or not the new idea really fulfills a recognized need in the local society."

Foster (1962: 45) adds that

"as a general rule, we may say that, to the extent that existing cultural and social values can be maintained in project planning, an environment is created in which a variety of individual and group motivations will operate—motivations which will ultimately determine the success or failure of a program".

Communication with the host community.—The effective agent of culture change is able to communicate effectively with members of the host community. The first step in communication is learning the local language. Besides the obvious advantage of understanding and being understood in the language of the host community, there are other advantages. Even attempting to learn the local language will strengthen rapport between the agent and the host community, since the people will sense that the agent respects and appreciates their culture of which the language is a vital part. The agent is actually at what might be called advantageous disadvantage in the language situation. He is dependent on the good will and generosity of the members of the host community, not only to teach him the language, but also to tolerate his blunders and incompetence. This balances a relationship in which the agent may too often tend to assume a dominant or patron position.

Communication between the innovator and the recipient community is probably the most important aspect of the change process (Niehoff, 1966: 15).
If the communication is only one way—from the agent to the community—he may find that consent and cooperation are only apparent. His prestige may force the recipient community to show open agreement, whereas actually, they hold many reservations to what he has said (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 121). Where there is a lack of agreement between the agent and the community, it is the agent’s responsibility to try to understand and appreciate the community’s goals and to make them, in some respects, his own. Unless they feel that he has identified with them and not the other way around, they are unlikely to see the relevance of what he says.

More important than the formal type of communication exemplified by a kind of classroom situation or by the use of visual aids and demonstrations, is the personal, one-to-one communication between the innovator and the recipients. This type of communication allows for the greatest amount of feedback and for a further clarification of ideas.

The change agent must make a point to communicate with influential members of the community, with the leaders, and not only with the “troublemakers.” The more people he can reach, the greater his chances of success.

Rapport.—The effective agent of culture change is able to establish rapport with members of the host community. Although the agent may communicate extensively with members of the host community, unless the communication leads to a deeper understanding between them, the main purpose of the communication will not have been achieved. The establishment of rapport between people implies many things. It means more than the knowledge or the communication or the participation mentioned above. It means that the agent sees the community as made up of individuals and respects them as such
The agent is interested in developing friendship with members of the community and thus, is eager to acquire a sensitivity for the fine points of their culture, to develop common interests with them, to help them and let them help him, to gain their esteem and express his own admiration for them and, finally, to create conditions in which he is personally accessible to them (Luzbetak, 1970: 232-37). Arensburg and Niehoff (1964: 191) add that the agent should do the following:

... maintain confidences . . . . Refrain from making moral, esthetic, or other judgments about the culture or the persons from whom you are learning. Where your purpose is to find out as much as you can, any condemnation of the sources of information itself is not only irrelevant, but is likely to estrange your informant or to distort your own understanding. Some reactions of surprise, incredulity or disdain are involuntary and unavoidable in cross-cultural contacts. Remember that what you consider a superstition is merely a kind of belief that is not substantiated by your beliefs. The good investigator of another way of life is a good diplomat .... A continual display of one's immediate reactions is not only naive; it is a sure way to close further and deep contact with persons of other cultures. Avoid expressing nostalgia, chauvinism, vainglory, or making invidious comparisons between your own culture and the local one.

Technical competence.--The effective agent of culture change is technically competent in the minds of the members of the host community. It seems less important that the agent have a reputation for competence in his home community than that he is able to adapt his skills to fit the needs of the host community and gain their respect and confidence (Niehoff, 1966: 14). To do this the agent's sociocultural know-how should be as impressive as his technical know-how.

The characteristics included in this second set are important for the establishment of the kind of relationship between the agent and the host community that will form a solid foundation in the agent's attempts to introduce innovations. The third set includes characteristics that are more direct-
ly related to the change process itself.

The Directed Culture Change Process

Above and beyond his own self-knowledge and knowledge of the culture of the recipient community, the change agent needs to be familiar with other factors that have been found to greatly affect the success or failure of attempts to innovate.

In addition to knowing as much as possible about the culture of the people in the host country, the change agent needs to have an understanding of the nature of culture contact in general: how and why peoples of different cultures borrow ideas from one another. He should also know something of the relationship between the industrialized West and the underdeveloped nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America during the last four hundred years, since many of the attitudes and administrative structures of these countries are a result of these experiences. He should be capable of recognizing the crucial factors of the culture change process which can spell success or failure in his own efforts to transfer new techniques. He should also learn to perceive what is possible for the local people judged by the real conditions of their lives, and he should learn what approaches enlist their active cooperation and desire for assistance (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 7).

People in traditional societies will change if they are convinced that the innovation is actually better than their time-tested methods (Foster, 1962: 264). But they will not change everything. Nor will they accept innovations that threaten very basic beliefs and values. The conservative forces within the culture may ensure a certain continuity, but they will never completely defeat the forces for change. It seems that the agent of change has the greatest chances for success if he respects the conservative forces while, at the same time, utilizing the dynamic forces. Of the two approaches mentioned by Niehoff (1966: 21), the replacement method and the adaptation method, it would seem that the adaptation method, "the attempt to adapt to the old ways rather than replacing them outright (Niehoff, 1966: 30)," is
the more viable one.

**Barriers to change.**—The effective agent of culture change recognizes barriers to change. Several of these have been mentioned above: the failure to consult local leaders; the attempt to base programs on the ideals of the innovating agent's culture, for example, on American ideals of equality; the failure to understand and respect the influence of traditional beliefs; the failure to take into account the interrelatedness of all aspects of culture. Foster (1962: 75-140) further divides barriers to change into three groups: cultural barriers, social barriers, and psychological barriers.

When a host community rejects a program or project, specialists may conclude either that the program was presented poorly or that members of the host community are unusually stupid, while the real reason may be cultural barriers. One possibility is that the economic or religious advantages presented by the agent do not fall in the same place in the community's hierarchy of values as they do in the agent's (Foster, 1962: 75). In other words, the community may feel that, for example, the energy required to care for cacao plants would be better spent caring for yams and pigs, since subsistence foods are higher on their value scale than cash crops. It is not that cash crops are without value but that they may be seen as relatively less valuable.

The host community is likely to reject an innovation whose acceptance would result in the total replacement of some element of the culture (Foster, 1962: 77). For example, polytheistic cultures will probably accept Christianity with very little initial difficulty, since the Christian God, in their minds, simply joins the others. In monotheistic cultures, on the other hand,
change is a more difficult process in that the Christian God must either completely replace the traditional god, or somehow become totally identified through syncretism with the traditional god.

Social barriers also effect change. The members of every society have a more or less definite idea of how their society should function. The more definite their idea and the more clearly defined the functions and interpersonal relationships, the more difficult it will be to introduce changes into the society.

Sometimes the basic configuration of the society inhibits change (Foster, 1962: 118). For example, villages in Samoa are traditionally independent units. Of the three Christian churches which attempted to establish themselves there, the Methodists, the Catholics, and the Congregationalists, the latter was most successful. One anthropologist believes it is due to the similarity in sociopolitical structure of the Samoan village and the Congregationalists' Church. The rigid central control of the Methodists and hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church were serious handicaps to their success.

Programs of directed culture change frequently encounter psychological barriers in the community, in the change agent, or in both. Foster says that "since perception is largely determined by culture, people of different cultures often perceive the same phenomena in different fashions (Foster, 1962: 120)." Therefore, the change agent realizes that effective communication means more than learning the local language. It means learning perceptual categories and how these influence behavioral expectations and the
learning process, both of which are important in any attempt to introduce change (Foster, 1962: 125). For example, people in newly developing areas "expect" the government to interfere in village life through taxation, military conscription, and so forth. Therefore, they are suspicious of an agent who introduces projects under government sponsorship. The community and the agent have different behavioral expectations with regard to the government. A well known example of differential perception is associated with situations in which free medical, educational, and other services are offered to poor communities. In some change situations, agents have found that if a token price is placed on these services, the people will accept what they otherwise would reject on the grounds that it must be worthless since it is given away for nothing. A price also may allow the individual to retain self respect and eliminate suspicions that donors will demand some sort of payment at a later date.

At times, a program may seem very successful in terms of eliciting cooperation from the community, whereas, in fact, the goal the community is working for is not the goal the change agent has in mind. The classic example of this is the cargo cults of New Guinea. The cooperation of the natives with missionary-sponsored projects is often based, not on any strong identification with Christian values and beliefs, but on a willingness to do whatever is necessary to acquire access to the material goods of Western society. In this case Christianity is perceived as a prerequisite to material prosperity.

The freedom of decision.—The effective agent of culture change works to create a situation in which there is a minimum of coercion and persuasion, thereby allowing for freedom in personal decisions. The agent must be able
to practice restraint in the presentation of his program. An "excessive military zeal" prevents the agent from seeing alternatives and imposes undue pressure on the host community (Foster, 1962: 260). Since World War II, the spread of new ideas and techniques from the West supposedly has been on a cooperative basis. Change agents are invited, or at least given permission, by national governments to present programs that will succeed only if they are accepted voluntarily by the host community. The task of the change agent is to point out the interrelation between the innovations he proposes and the culture and society in question. To do this effectively he must treat the host community as a partner and respect its autonomy and its freedom to accept or reject the innovation.

The ethics of helping people change involves restraint and caution in missionary zeal. It means that developmental personnel should be careful not to plan for people, but to work with them in searching for realistic answers to their problems. The helpful technical expert knows how to explain the possible consequences of each one. He encourages people to try new things when he believes they will solve problems and when they will not do excessive violence to the total way of life. He discourages them if they wish to try new things which seem incompatible with reality. But above all, he leaves the decisions to the people themselves; in the long run they, not he, are the ones who must be pleased (Foster, 1962: 269).

Community participation.—The effective agent of culture change is able to involve potential recipients in committed participation. It is more important for the change agent to have enough organizational ability to develop local organizations to accomplish change goals than to be able to accomplish them all himself. From the beginning, all levels of the community that are affected by the change programs should be encouraged to participate actively. The agent should resist the temptation to deal primarily with a progressive elite letting the ideas he presents gradually filter down to the masses.
The participation the agent of change obtains will necessarily fit the community's concept of participation and not necessarily the democratic, informal, town-meeting type of participation the agent may have in mind. A truly community-centered approach means that the agent will identify with the community and not they with him (Goodenough, 1963: 42).

Furthermore, the participation the agent elicits must be on-going so that when he leaves, the project will continue. In order to accomplish this, the changes in the community must be deeper than merely a superficial rearrangement of community structures. Effective change must affect the way the people see and feel about themselves.

The problem that faces development agents, then, is to find ways of stimulating in others a desire for change in such a way that the desire is theirs independent of further prompting from the outside. Restated, the problem is one of creating in another a sufficient dissatisfaction with his present condition of self so that he wants to change it. This calls for some kind of experience that leads him to reappraise his self-image and reevaluate his self-esteem (Goodenough, 1963: 43).

**Problem orientation.**—The effective agent of culture change is problem-oriented, not program-oriented, that is, he is less concerned with programs than with problems. The agent is willing to allow his plans and ideas to be changed in the process of their being integrated into another culture. His technical expertise, combined with an ethnocentric point of view, might lead the change agent to equate the good program in the home country with the good program in the host country; when this occurs, change is rarely effective. The agent must be capable of adapting his knowledge and operating techniques

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5 Even this problem-orientation is often not shared by members of the recipient community, especially, when their approach to life is conditioned by a certain amount of fatalism.
to fit the problems of the host community. "If an innovator wishes to introduce a new idea that will fit permanently into the local cultural pattern, it needs to be reworked and adapted (Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 8)."

**A broad interdisciplinary approach.**—The effective agent of culture change can appreciate the contributions of fields other than his own. The professional compartmentalism, so often associated with American expertise and development, sometimes makes it difficult for the change agent to realize fully the inter dependency of the different fields of knowledge in the effort to introduce changes into other cultures. Tunnel vision is especially dangerous in light of functional interrelatedness of the different aspects of culture. The change agent must welcome the contributions of many fields realizing that he cannot possibly research all aspects of the problem alone.

**Consistent dependability.**—The effective agent of culture change is consistent and predictable in his behavior. He may be dealing with people who already have a negative view of projects sponsored by government and outsiders (Niehoff, 1966: 289). If people have invested time, money, and interest in projects in the past only to have them abandoned by the supporting agency, they are unlikely to cooperate until they are sure of the dependability of the change agent.

**Flexibility.**—The effective agent of culture change is flexible and adaptable. It is important that the agent be willing and free to change goals and procedures (Goodenough, 1963: 384). If he is extremely doctrinaire and set in his ways, he will not be sensitive to the needs of the community as they reveal themselves in the change situation.

It is important that the goals he presents make sense to the community and
that the insights be ones that they have arrived at themselves. The change agent should educate by indirection, by asking questions that lead to new insights, rather than by lecture or precept.

In addition to being flexible in his formulation of the new community's problems, he should be flexible in the roles he assumes. As time goes on, he should take less and less important roles, allowing the recipient community to assume the responsibility for continuing the program. Project goals should not be rigidly defined beforehand but should be broad and open to change.

Timing is also a useful strategy in directed change. The change agent should present his ideas at an opportune time (Niehoff, 1966: 22); that is, when the host community is most likely to feel the need for precisely the innovation he has in mind.

This last set of characteristics, the recognition of barriers to change, the ability to create situations in which there is a minimum of coercion, the ability to involve potential recipients, an orientation to problems, not programs, an appreciation of the contribution of other fields, and an ability to be predictable and flexible in one's behavior, affect the agent's attempts to introduce new elements or ideas into another culture as much as do his personal and social background and the background of the recipient community.

Conclusion

The effective agent of culture change must be sensitive to a combination of personal, social, and cultural factors that influence his presentation of the innovation, the reaction of the community, and, finally, the acceptance of the proposed plan or idea and its eventual integration into the culture.
The model of the effective agent of culture change, as developed within this chapter, might be called an attitudinal model. The emphasis is on sensitivity in interpersonal relationships and on recognition of the complexity of intercultural contact situations. The problem of the ineffective agent of change is frequently tunnel vision or social blindness. In a paper entitled "Social Blindness and Organizational Whipping: or Jiving Among the Gentry" \(^{(1972: 3)}\) Paul G. Hahn discusses the nature of the phenomenon of social blindness as it appears in contacts between American subgroups. The discussion is applicable to the intercultural contacts as well.

For all their expertise, Americans are blind to the realities of social relations between subgroups. Americans contract social blindness, which can be defined as a scheme of apperception relative to the social structure of one's society or social group. Causes of social blindness may include prejudice, ethnocentrism, egoism, and just plain ignorance of others, and of self, because of compartmentalized social networks. As an anthropologist, I contend that social blindness is a psychosocial, institutionalized, culturally patterned trait of modal personality lying below the conscious awareness of all but a few individuals.

The purpose of this chapter is to raise to consciousness this tendency to social blindness among those who interact in intercultural situations. The following chapter will attempt to apply the attitudinal model, developed here, to members of a missionary community through an analysis of the Constitutions or guidelines of the community.

A summary of the three sets of characteristics developed in this chapter is given in Table 1.
### TABLE 1
THE EFFECTIVE AGENT OF DIRECTED CULTURE CHANGE
AN ATTITUDINAL MODEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET I</th>
<th>SET II</th>
<th>SET III</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>THE CULTURAL AND PERSONAL BACKGROUND OF THE AGENT OF CHANGE</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE RECIPIENT COMMUNITY</strong></td>
<td><strong>THE CHANGE PROCESS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consciousness of one's own tendencies to ethnocentrism.</td>
<td>Eagerness to learn as much as possible about the total life way of the recipient community.</td>
<td>Recognition of the barriers to change.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Understanding of the innovative organization with which one is associated.</td>
<td>Willingness to actively participate in local community activities.</td>
<td>Ability to work to create a situation in which there is a minimum of coercion and persuasion thereby, allowing for freedom in personal decisions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding of the influence of one's own cultural values.</td>
<td>Recognition of the felt needs of the recipient community and willingness to direct one's efforts in terms of them.</td>
<td>Ability to involve potential recipients in committed participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of the effect of affiliations of one's own personal image.</td>
<td>Understanding of the motivational forces in the recipient community.</td>
<td>Orientation to problems, not programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ability to communicate effectively with members of the host community.</td>
<td>Appreciation of the contributions of other fields.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ability to establish rapport with the host community.</td>
<td>Ability to be predictable, flexible, and adaptable in one's behavior.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical competence in the minds of the host community.</td>
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Up to this point the agent of culture change has been considered in terms that could apply to any agent of change, whether a missionary, a community development worker, a Peace Corps volunteer, or a government administrator. The present chapter will focus on the missionary, particularly Catholic missionaries of one specific Congregation. The approach will be to examine the document, officially known as the Constitutions, accepted by members of the Congregation as a statement of their beliefs and values, a document that could be said to describe the "ideal behavior" of these missionaries.

Before considering the Constitutions themselves, it might be helpful to make some general statements about the nature and purpose of constitutions in religious missionary congregations, about the specific Constitutions under consideration, and about the missionaries' official definition of their task or role in the communities in which they are active.

Introduction

When an individual is accepted into a religious missionary community, he or she vows to live according to the Constitutions of that specific religious missionary community. The Constitutions are an important influence on the individual's behavior, attitudes, and values. They are a set of general directives and norms, based on Scripture and the traditions of the Catholic Church, drawn up by a group of representatives of the whole missionary comm-
unity. The Constitutions are approved by an official representative of the Catholic Church, and they place the community or Congregation in the service of the Church.

Therefore, the agent of culture change who is a member of a Catholic religious missionary community is closely identified both with that community and with the Catholic Church. Furthermore, he or she is an agent of directed culture change for life, not for two or three years the technical expert may spend in the field. However, members of religious missionary Congregations do not, it seems, consciously commit themselves to being agents of culture change, although, in effect, this is what they are. The explicit goal of the members of the Congregation under consideration is stated in their Constitutions as follows:

As servants of the Holy Spirit of love, we consider it our duty and task to cooperate with all our strength in making the saving love of the Triune God known to all people and in planting the Church as a visible sign of salvation to all mankind (Constitutions, 102, p. 15).

The emphasis is on a proclamation of the message of God's love for men and on the development of a community that makes, in effect, a corporate response to the proclamation of love. In other words, the members of a religious missionary community are not by definition interested in introducing technological or even structural changes. The implications for the Christian message should lead them to become involved in efforts to establish the freedom and dignity of all men through social justice or other forms of human development. But, basic to all of this involvement is an interest in affecting more than a structural change. The Christian missionary is primarily interested in changing the community's concept of itself from that of a people either
totally or partially unrelated to God to that of a people deeply loved by God and filled with His Spirit. On the foundation of this identity change, the missionary hopes to introduce some visibly structured Church.

An interest in identity change is not unique to the religious missionary agent of change.

Much of the literature on community development envisions it as trying to accomplish just this sort of change. Development, we are told, is not successful unless the changes are accepted by the community's members as something they want for themselves. Development, it is argued, must come from within; the agent of change is only a catalyst. The community must, in the end, be able to maintain the changes that have accrued without outside help. The change must be fully incorporated and integrated into its way of life. And, ideally, development aims at stimulating change not only in material well-being but in the feeling the people have about themselves, so that their capacity for self-improvement and further self-development is increased. What is pictured is a change in which people have a new hope for the future and a new confidence in their ability to realize that hope. This, of course, is the message of many religious missionaries. They may differ from the agent of development in the content of their programs and the doctrines by which they rationalize them, but not in the psychological objective, which is a new image of self and world and a new sense of purpose and accomplishment. Development would be a sorry thing indeed, if it were not aimed at helping people feel that life is more worthwhile (Goodenough, 1963: 219).

The characteristics and attitudes that students of directed culture change have found to be important for an innovator apply to the missionary as well as to the technical expert. The effective introduction of Christianity into any culture, including American culture, would affect a radical change in that culture. Those who attempt this type of transformation should be sensitive to the combination of personal, social and cultural factors referred to in Chapter II. Since the Constitutions of the religious missionary community exert such a powerful influence on their way of life, an analysis of these in the light of the model of the effective agent of culture change, should reveal the strengths and weaknesses of the missionary in the field situation.
The Constitutions of the Religious Missionary Community

The Constitutions under analysis were adopted by the General Chapter of the Congregation held in Rome, Italy, in 1968. They are divided into four sections: Part one, A Community Sharing in the Mission of the Lord; Part Two, Our Life in Union with the Lord; Part Three, Preparation for Missionary Work and Union with the Lord; and, Part Four, The Government of Our Congregation. The purpose of the Constitutions is stated in the foreword:

To all our sisters the new constitutions are to be a summons and an impetus to make them, with the grace of the Holy Spirit, their guide to a new and fuller life in Christ for service to the Church and to the world (Constitutions, p. 7).

In other words, the purpose of the Constitutions is not to give specific directives for missionaries in the field, but to give general principles and bylaws for a whole way of life based on a faith experience. The missionary is not intended to be simply an agent of culture change. He or she is first of all a Christian called to union with God and with all men. The missionary becomes an agent of culture change when he or she accepts the responsibility to proclaim the Good News (Gospel) of God's redeeming love to people who have not yet been told of it. It is not possible, then, to take the outline of the model of the effective agent of directed culture change and simply place it over the outline of the effective religious missionary as described in the Constitutions in order to note whether or not the lines coincide. The Constitutions are strong on the theoretical/doctrinal level, whereas the model of the change agent is strong on the practical level. Nevertheless, it seems valid to say that the effective innovator is the practical core to the effective missionary. In a document, like the Constitutions, that deals in values
and ideals, some reference is necessarily made to the eventual practical application of these values and ideals.

The Constitutions refer extensively to the personal preparation of the missionary, to the culture of the communities in which the missionary is active, and to the kinds of policies and procedures to be adopted in these communities. From the perspective of the model of the effective agent of culture change, however, the Constitutions are weak, not because of what they contain, but because of what they fail to contain. They err by omission rather than by commission. Simply stated, the Constitutions might lead one to conclude that the missionary is not deeply aware of the implications of introducing Christianity to non-Christian cultures and of the complexity of intercultural contact situations. They place little emphasis on the self-understanding that is considered in the first set of characteristics developed in Chapter II, relating the agent to his own personal and social background. On the other hand, over fifteen articles deal directly with the second set of characteristics, relating the agent to the background of the recipient community. Finally, several articles deal directly with areas covered by the third set of characteristics, those relating the agent to the process of change.

The Cultural and Social Background of the Religious Missionary

Religious missionaries have three interrelated social and cultural backgrounds: their national heritage, the customs and traditions of the Catholic Church, and the specific norms of their own community. The values and norms of the religious missionary community create a kind of subculture within the larger national culture. The marginality of the missionaries in relation to
the national culture is an advantage if it actually frees them to stand back and critically appraise the values and the norms of the national culture. They may be less likely to try "to make Americans" out of the members of the host community. On the other hand, it may be more difficult for them to view objectively the values and norms of the religious missionary community. However, if they realize that their task is not to transform the recipient community into a religious missionary community, the missionaries will be less tempted to try to impose their norms on the members of the recipient community.

The missionary, according to the model, should be conscious of his or her own tendencies to ethnocentrism. Missionaries should try to objectively evaluate the norms and operating procedures of their communities in the field situation. They should also be conscious of the image the Catholic Church and the missionary have in the minds of the members of the host community, an image that has been created over years of contact. And finally, missionaries should be able to view objectively the value systems of their national cultures.

The articles of the Constitutions that come closest to dealing with the problems of self-understanding are those concerned with the preparation of the members for mission work. For example, Article 502 stresses the sound psychological development of the individual, a development which implies growth in self awareness and objectivity.

Growth toward human maturity implies the harmonious development of a person's physical, intellectual and moral endowments as well as the gradual attainment of a mature sense of responsibility by striving constantly to ennoble one's own life and to pursue authentic freedom (Constitutions, p. 57).
The authentic freedom mentioned above was held up by Goodenough as essential in any attempt to recognize and deal effectively with ethnocentrism and estrangement. What seems to be unstated in the article is the recognition of the relationship between personal growth and freedom and the ability to accept others unconditionally, an ability so essential in contact with peoples of other cultures and ideologies. However, this is not to say that the ability "to find a people believable" or acceptable is foreign to the missionary approach. For the religious missionary, the unconditional acceptance of others is based on the belief that all men are called to everlasting life and to union with God, a belief expressed in Article 103 of the Constitutions:

Through our missionary service we help gather the scattered children of the Lord into the people of God, contribute to the building up of the body of Christ, and hasten the hour when all men will worship the Father in spirit and in truth. We thus promote the true progress of man, go forth to meet the Lord as He comes, and prepare for His glorious second coming.

The belief in the essential unity of mankind and its eternal destiny proceed from the lead to the recognition of the value and dignity and, therefore, the acceptability, of each person.

The model of the effective agent of culture change places much emphasis on the ability to recognize and deal with emotional isolation in a foreign culture. Article 505 of the Constitutions recognizes the problem and offers a partial solution. It states that a missionary must have "patience and fortitude in bearing with loneliness, fatigue, and fruitless labor ... and the ability to cooperate ... with ... who dedicate themselves to missionary activity (Constitutions, p. 59)." Identification with the larger community is referred to, at least implicitly in Article 512 which states that
missionaries must have a good understanding "of contemporary social life and the environment in which they work (Constitutions, p. 64)."

In the case of the missionary, the close community life is also a safeguard against the dangers of emotional isolation. Article 303 explains:

More than our common goal and way of life, our love above all should make us truly one. We strive to develop personal relationships with one another. The sisters of different nations and origins should feel at home in our community and enrich it with their own contributions. We should show interest in the work of our sisters and encourage, admonish, and help one another, sharing our joys and sorrows (Constitutions, p. 40).

However, as with any foreigners in a strange culture, there is the danger that the missionaries may insulate themselves from the host community. This is especially true of a community of sisters whose emotional and social needs can be met within their own community. Although they will not easily make the mistake of becoming overly dependent on the host community, they may make the mistake of eliminating important contacts. Members of religious communities will probably find few opportunities to "go native", but they should be aware of the danger of taking extreme stands in the acceptance or rejection of the customs of the country.

What is said in the Constitutions about the living conditions of the sisters also has some bearing on the problem of emotional isolation and estrangement. Article 209 states:

We are to consider earnestly the special needs of the times and of the various countries and let these determine our practical poverty and our type of service. We should try to discover how our solidarity with the poor can be expressed with regard to our manner of life, our housing and our work (Constitutions, p. 31).

The reference to "solidarity with the poor" was probably made with the religious vow of poverty in mind. However, it could also be taken to mean
solidarity with the members of the communities in which missionaries are active. In the same line, members of religious missionary communities should take advantage of every opportunity to meet and associate with people of varied backgrounds in order to develop a "feel" for other life styles and philosophies. In light of the emphasis on cultural empathy in the model of the effective agent of culture change, it might be helpful for religious missionaries to attempt to identify as far as possible with the larger non-religious community in interests, values, goals, and activities. In certain circumstances there seems to be a danger that a religious community may concentrate too much on itself so that the energies of its members are expended primarily in intra- instead of inter-community activities, that is, in activities within the community rather than in activities between the religious community and the larger secular community.

In conclusion, the Constitutions recognize the problem of emotional isolation and the need for identification with the host community. However, there are no definite directives encouraging members to acquire the kind of insight into their own cultural background that would allow them to view their national and religious values objectively in relation to the values of the host community.

The Cultural Background of the Recipient Community

Among the characteristics included in the model of the effective agent of culture change, those that were seen to be important in attempts to understand the cultural background of the recipient community were an eagerness to learn as much as possible about the lifeway of the recipient community, a willingness to actively participate in local community activities, a recog-
nition of the felt needs of the recipient community, an understanding of the motivational forces in the recipient community, and an ability to communicate effectively with members of the recipient community and to establish rapport with them. Although there are few specific directives, in the Constitutions on what aspects of the recipient culture are important and why, the general directives on the approach to understanding the host community are valuable. There is a stress on understanding values, a recognition that the culture of the recipient community will have something to offer Christianity, and a realization of the importance of in-depth study.

Article 115 states:

In order to help a Christian community take root in the cultural and social milieu of its homeland, we shall adopt and permeate, transform and sanctify, the values we find there. In this way the Christian and the indigenous traditions have an opportunity to complement and enrich each other, and the cultures of the nations become imbued with the Spirit of Christ (Constitutions, p. 21).

An even stronger statement of the belief that other cultures have an essential contribution to offer to an adequate understanding of Christianity was made by Eugene Ahner, S.V.D., in his reaction to a paper delivered at the 1970 Mission Symposium at the Chicago Cluster of Theological Schools. He said in part: "Our understanding of the gospel will not be complete until people from every nation and every culture give expression to the faith (Boberg and Scherer, 1972: 47)."

Article 115 continues:

The more deeply we understand the culture, the social structures and customs, the ethical values and religious convictions of the people among whom we work, the more easily shall we be able to adapt our liturgy and Christian traditions to their sensibilities and help these people to respond to the Gospel in conformity to their ideology.

Sisters engaged in advanced studies or in teaching should receive
special training in such branches as missiology, comparative religion, sociology, catechetics, and other subjects; so that they may instruct others and give expert advice (Constitutions, p. 21).

There is the recognition here of the fact that the Western expression of Christianity is not necessarily valid for non-Western peoples. There is also the recognition that professional in-depth training is required to distinguish between what is merely cultural baggage and what is basic to the Christian experience.

Many of the points mentioned in Article 123 are important for establishing rapport. For example, and understanding of the historical background, thought patterns, and language of the host community is stressed.

We seek to enter into the historical situation and to understand the customs and thought patterns of the people among whom we work. It must be our constant concern to grow and mature in this love which is the soul and strength of the apostolate.

To be able to devote ourselves to the salvation of men, it is essential to know well the language and culture of the people. The sisters must be given sufficient time for study of the language (Constitutions, p. 25).

One is to "know well" the culture of the community, not simply be familiar with a few of its more characteristic customs. This knowledge, according to the article, should lead to love which is called the soul of the apostolate. One expression of this love or sense of belonging is considered in the last paragraph of article 123 which offers advice on how to avoid the two extremes in one's reaction to a strange culture that Goodenough (1963: 404) warns against—"going native" and "going anti-native."

As a sign of our readiness to belong to the people among whom we live, we make it a point to adopt their customs and usages, as far as this is possible and advisable. We avoid all uncharitable criticism of national characteristics and usages and every derogatory comparison concerning
local customs (Constitutions, p. 25).

The use of phrases like "among whom we live" and "among whom work" and "our readiness to belong" show a sensitivity to the deeper dimensions of identification in contrast to the use of phrases as "for whom we are responsible" or "for whom we work," phrases which imply a kind of patron-client relationship or a paternalistic attitude.

The establishment of effective formal and informal communication between the recipient community and the religious missionary is encouraged in several articles. Article 114 deals with the use of mass communication media:

> When opportunity presents itself, but especially in mission lands, we promote and make use of the press, radio, television, films, and other communication media because of the importance of them in the preparation for and actual proclamation of the Word, in strengthening the faith, and in arousing and developing mission awareness (Constitutions, p. 21).

Article 503 prescribes training in teaching and other professional skills and in discussion methods:

> Our sisters must receive an academic and professional training consistent with the missionary aims of our congregation and conformable to the standards of the country where they are being educated.

The general formation of our sisters shall aim at providing a sound introduction to salvation history based on a scriptural-theological foundation. This will enable the sisters to fashion their own life according to this knowledge and to share its inherent riches with others. They shall be given courses in missiology, catechetics, and pedagogy and should also become acquainted with important trends of our times and with fundamentals of sociology and psychology. Furthermore, they shall receive instruction and practice in the art and technique of discussion and dialogue and in the use of the communication media. All sisters shall study a second language—English or German (Constitutions, p. 58).

More than the formal classroom or mass media kind of communication, personal, one-to-one communication has been found to be most effective in achieving the type of identity change that is the mission's concern. In this
kind of informal communication there are fewer chances of misinterpretation
or of the recipient acquiring only a superficial understanding of the Christ-
ian message. It is important that the rapport established between the miss-
ionary and the community lead to genuine friendships. Establishing this type
or level of relationship with members of the host community is not mentioned
directly in the Constitutions. However, several articles refer to it in-
directly.

Article 315 mentions the human qualities that encourage the development
of meaningful personal relationships:

We encounter Christ the Lord in all men. In our dealings with them
we should, therefore, strive to manifest those qualities which should
distinguish those in the service of the Lord and which are highly regard-
ed by men. Such qualities are sincerity, simplicity, courtesy of manner,
and amiability. All who come in contact with us should experience our
kindness (Constitutions, p. 46).

Article 319 emphasizes cooperation, respect, and friendliness:

We gladly cooperate with the laity who help us in our apostolic
work. We show them respect and friendliness and let them share in our
community activities to the extent that our way of life permits (Consti-
tutions, p. 47).

Article 320 encourages hospitality:

To all who visit us, we offer true hospitality and, to the extent
that prudence and circumstances allow, help those who come seeking our
aid. Our hospitality should be guided by the customs of the country in
which we live (Constitutions, p. 47).

In the articles mentioned, especially in the use of such expressions as
"to the extent that our way of life permits" and "to the extent that prudence
and circumstances allow" one senses the pull between the missionary dimension
of the religious missionary community and its distinctly religious dimension.
The former requires that it proclaim Christ's "message of love in a manner
that merits belief (Constitutions, Article 27, p. 27), which implies extensive contact between that community and the larger society. The latter requires that the religious missionary community maintain its identity as distinct from the larger society since the community's value system, which gives priority to religious and spiritual realities, usually differs from the value system of the larger society. When the religious missionary community is no longer distinguishable from the larger society, it loses its prophetic role. On the other hand, if there is a cultural chasm between the two, its message becomes meaningless.

In summary, there are several articles in the Constitutions that deal with the missionary's ability to understand and act effectively in terms of the cultural background of the recipient community. The missionary is encouraged to learn about the culture of the local community and to participate in its activities which, in turn, will lead her to a greater understanding of the needs and motivational forces within the community. Some forms of communication and the importance of occupational competence are stressed. However, not enough emphasis seems to be placed on the one-to-one relationship and its importance in achieving the identity change in the members of the recipient community or of understanding the operating motivational forces within the community. Both of these factors may be presumed to be included in the directive to acquire an in-depth understanding of the recipient culture.
Other Factors Influencing the Process of Directed Culture Change

The other factors that influence the process of directed culture change mentioned in the third set of characteristics in Chapter II include the recognition of barriers to change, the ability to create a situation in which there is a minimum of coercion, the ability to involve potential recipients in committed participation, an orientation to problems, not programs, an appreciation of the contributions of other fields, and the ability to be predictable, flexible, and adaptable in one's behavior. The Constitutions deal with several of these factors. They stress the importance of adaptation and flexibility, of encouraging the development of independent communities, of cooperating with existing organizations, of recognizing the wider social dimensions of missionary activity, and of respecting the freedom of the recipient community.

Several articles stress the importance of the ability to respond to changing circumstances. Article 515 states:

Our apostolic task demands that every sister continue to develop her abilities and be receptive to new insights so that she can perform her apostolic services effectively in the ever-changing times (Constitutions, p. 65).

Article 122 is concerned with this same readiness to adapt to new circumstances:

We will develop a sense of personal initiative and responsibility. Ever open to the signs of the times and the demands of the apostolate, we are ready to explore new paths when these promise to assure the effectiveness of our missionary work (Constitutions, p. 25).

Article 505 encourages the development of qualities characteristic of the flexible, yet, predictable personality:
The missionary who is to become all to all (Cor. 9: 22) must be prepared by a spiritual and moral training that develops initiative; perseverance in difficulties; tenacity of purpose; patience and fortitude in bearing with loneliness, fatigue, and fruitless labor; openness of mind and heart; adaptability to strange customs and changing circumstances; and the ability to cooperate with all others who dedicate themselves to missionary activity (Constitutions, p. 59).

Article 120 calls for flexibility in the type of activity the missionary engages in:

Open to new forms of the apostolate, we explore suitable means of permeating the world with the Christian spirit. From time to time we re-evaluate our activities. Where our help no longer appears necessary, we withdraw discreetly and devote ourselves to more pressing needs of the Church (Constitutions, p. 24).

Although the individual must be the primary focus in his efforts, the missionary is aware that changes in the individual will eventually be felt in the total community. Several articles in the Constitutions indicate this awareness of the wider social dimension of missionary activity. Article 121 encourages cooperation with the larger community:

We should cultivate good relations with our neighbors and the civil authority. We should show interest in their undertakings and, as far as possible, take part in their projects, yet refrain from all political activities (Constitutions, p. 48).

This article is also important in light of the need to gain the support of local leaders in any attempt to introduce innovations. Article 123 states in part that "we also abstain from taking sides in political disputes (Constitutions, p. 25.)" The effective agent of change is careful not to alienate the different factions in a community. But Article 123 goes on to say, "However, aware of our responsibilities, we work for social justice with prudence and in harmony with the directives of the Church (Constitutions, p. 25)."

The important phrase in this article is hopefully "we work for social just-
ice" in conformity with the broader implications of the Christian message.

This borne out by Article 116 which further elaborates on the missionary involvement in efforts to establish social justice. The emphasis is on cooperating with existing organizations and on "fostering genuine community development."

Our apostolic love should urge us to collaborate toward the establishment of a sound social and economic order and to second the efforts of those people who are waging war on famine, ignorance, and disease, in order to better their way of life and to guarantee peace in the world.

Thus, we hope to render convincing witness to God's love by our manner of life and to contribute to the true welfare of those men among whom it is not yet possible or no longer to announce Christ.

Our cooperation toward the establishment of a healthy economic and social order aims at helping people to help themselves and fostering genuine community development.

We should endeavor, as far as possible, to cooperate prudently in projects sponsored by public and private organizations, by governments, and by various national and international agencies for social and economic aid (Constitutions, p. 22).

In several places in the Constitutions there is reference made to the importance of developing an indigenous, independent Christian community. As pointed out in the preceding chapter, one of the best criteria for judging the success of a project or program is whether or not it continues once the outside agent is gone. For a recipient community to carry on a program independently they must internalize the values embodied in the program. Therefore, the successful mission is not necessarily the one with the most impressive structures, but the one in which the host community has actually assumed responsibility for its continued existence. Articles 112 and 113 refer to the development of indigenous churches:
We shall promote the formation of the laity and encourage their cooperation in every way, for they belong both to the people of God and to civil society. Only by their cooperation can the Church strike deep roots among a people. Imbued by the Spirit of Christ, they should be a leaven animating temporal affairs from within so as to make them ever more Christ-oriented. We place special emphasis on the formation of lay leaders and catechists and the promotion of parish organizations (Constitutions, p.20).

To assure systematic growth in Christian communities, we help them to provide from their own midst catechists, religious, and priests as soon as possible, and thereby supply their own needs more and more. We promote the internal and external development of indigenous congregations. Their prayer and active labor play an indispensable role in the young community. In the young Churches we awaken a sense of missionary responsibility toward the whole Church and foster a readiness to pass on the message of salvation they themselves have received (Constitutions, p. 20).

There are no direct references in the Constitutions on creating a situation in the mission country in which there is a minimum of pressure and coercion. However, there is a notable lack of the "crusading" spirit in them. There is a strong emphasis on cooperation with all levels of the community and on prudence and discretion in missionary activity. Article 108 states that "we respect and appreciate the religious convictions of others and trust in the dynamism of the message of salvation (Constitutions, p.17)."

Of the various activities missionary sisters engage in, teaching and nursing have priority as far as accounting for the greatest number of personnel. The reference in the Constitutions to the teaching profession emphasizes the importance of reaching the adult members of the community as well as the children. Education is a prime tool of culture change. However, it can lead to community disintegration through the alienation of the younger generation from the older if a total community approach is not taken. Article 110 explains:

We expend much care on the formation and education of truly Christian families and on permeating the environment with the spirit of the
Gospel. Above all, we try to educate women for an effective apostolate in their families. It is a matter of urgent concern to us to provide youth with a good Christian background and education, especially in schools. In this way we can bring a community to maturity and independence. . . . Our educational apostolate will be the more effective if, through our students we reach their families. We should equip and encourage those who have been entrusted to us to bring Christian influence to their environment and help their own people work toward the betterment of their living conditions (Constitutions, p. 18).

Missionaries are traditionally associated with charity to the poor and needy. The article dealing with this activity shows a sensitivity to the de-humanizing effects of extending aid to meet only immediate material needs without any attempt to attack the root of the problem. The Constitutions point out that "we consider our efforts toward a more widespread recognition of the dignity of the human person and of his inner value to be of greater importance than any material help we can give (Constitutions, Article 111, p. 20)."

In summary, although there is little recognition in the Constitutions of specific barriers to change or to the acceptance of Christianity, there is extensive recognition of the importance of community cooperation, of working for the independence and development of the communities involved, of adaptation and flexibility, and utilizing a total community approach.

Conclusion

The Constitutions of the religious missionary community, in light of the model of the effective agent of culture change, indicate a sensitivity to the ramifications of an attempt to communicate Christianity to peoples of non-Western cultures. The Constitutions are weakest in the area of self analysis or self understanding developed in the first set of characteristics of the attitudinal model. Little attempt is made to explicate the values of the members of the missionary community in order to facilitate the members' ability
to be objective in their approach to the value systems of other cultures and ideologies. There seems to be the tendency to take the particular world view of the Congregation for granted. The danger in this is that the kind of Christianity communicated to the host community may actually consist of a conglomeration of Western, Christian, American, missionary, and personal values. An attempt to define what is essentially Christian is beyond the scope of this paper. It may even be beyond the ability of a Christian raised in a Western civilization. However, this only points to the importance of dialogue with non-Western Christians and of reliance on the interpretation of the host community in any effort to integrate Christianity into its culture.

The importance of forming friendships with members of the host community is not mentioned in the Constitutions, despite the fact that the kind of identity change implied in an authentic response to the Christian message would demand communication on a deeply personal level. Missionaries will often complain of the difficulty they have of getting close to the people of other cultures and of the superficiality of another people's acceptance of Christianity. The model of the effective agent of culture change would lead one to link these two situations or conditions in a cause-effect relationship: where there is no depth to one's relationship with Christians, there is no depth to one's understanding of Christianity. The emphasis, in sections on missionary activity in the Constitutions, is on organized or institutional work and not on personal relationships. Emphasis is also placed on the formation of Christian communities. This, of course, implies the formation of deeply Christian individuals. Since the individual missionary, and his or her ability to effectively relate to others and to communicate the experience of God's love, is at least
as important in achieving the missionary's goal as the service or activity he or she engages in, it should receive a proportionate amount of attention in sections on missionary activity.

Two articles in the section of the Constitutions on the apostolate or the mission of the Congregation do emphasize the personal as opposed to the institutional implications of communicating Christianity. Article 103 speaks of "service and love" leading men to Christ who "answers the ultimate questions of man's being and satisfies the deepest longing of his heart (Constitutions, p. 16)." Articles 107 and 108 identify what would seem to be the basic task of the missionaries, to grow in their own experience of Christianity and to communicate this effectively to those with whom they interact:

To fulfill our missionary responsibility, we endeavor first of all to bear witness to a truly Christian life, one inspired by the spirit of the Gospel and animated by that charity with which God loves us. Our love and joy, our patience and kindness, should manifest the sanctifying presence of the Spirit in the world.

We do all we can to make the message of salvation reach as many as possible, find acceptance, and bear rich fruit in willing hearts. By listening to the Word of God and by living it ourselves, we are enabled to pass on effectively to others the message which God's paternal love holds out to all men in the person of his crucified and risen Son (Constitutions, p. 18).

The Constitutions are somewhat ambiguous in the area of missionary participation in the social and political activity of the host community. However, the message seems to be "proceed with caution." Both an understanding of the host culture and and identification with the host community necessitate some involvement in social and political activity and "some involvement" seems to be recommended in the Constitutions.

The Constitutions, like the model, emphasize the importance of identification with the host community, of an understanding of the community's culture,
and of an appreciation of its values. Provision is made for the problems of emotional isolation and culture shock, and for the professional and personal preparation of the missionary. The importance of maintaining the freedom and independence of the host community is recognized in the Constitutions. If the number of times a particular point is mentioned is any criterion of its importance, flexibility and adaptability have high priority.

As we mentioned previously, no article of the Constitutions seems to be in direct conflict with the characteristics recommended in the model, and many support the recommendations. The greatest drawbacks of the Constitutions seem to be, first, their failure to objectify the value system of the religious missionary community, to make explicit the implicit assumptions in recognition of the complexity of the intercultural contact situation, and, second, their failure to emphasize the importance of the personal relationships of the individual missionary to the members of the host community.
CHAPTER IV

THE INDIVIDUAL RELIGIOUS MISSIONARY AS AN AGENT OF DIRECTED CULTURE CHANGE

The preceding two chapters have dealt primarily with "ideal" behavior, that is, with behavior which conforms to the norms and values of the societies in question. "Real" behavior often deviates from these norms. A genuine understanding of any community or culture cannot be acquired through an analysis of only the norms or rules or Constitutions of the society. Furthermore, the Constitutions discussed in the previous chapter were adopted by the Congregation within the past five years. Many of the values embodied in the previous Constitutions were retained in the revised form; however, certain approaches and emphases were changed. Although it is probably valid to say that the members of the Congregation subscribe to the new Constitutions, it seems obvious that each member's idea of what the religious missionary life consists of was defined for that individual long before the Constitutions were drawn up. In other words, the member's concept of the religious missionary life is derived from his or her total life history and not entirely from the Constitutions alone. What actually determines the religious missionary's values, goals, and attitudes is probably only more or less accurately reflected in the Constitutions. In an attempt to examine the attitudes of the members of the religious missionary community regarding their relationship with the members of the communities in which they are active, keeping in mind the model of the effective agent of culture change, 110
questionnaires and 31 interviews were obtained from members of the United States community or province of the Congregation.

The Questionnaire

The purpose of the questionnaire was to arrive at an understanding of where the missionaries stand in relation to certain factors which are found to be important if change is to be effectively introduced. The first of these factors is the presence of a clearly-defined goal in the mind of the innovator; the second, the development of friendships with members of the recipient community in order to achieve the goal; the third, extensive contact or interaction with members of the recipient community. Obviously, the questionnaire covers only one small but important area of the change model. The reasons for its brevity are, first, the difficulty of developing a questionnaire that would test the entire model, and, second, the hope that the response from the sisters would be greater if the questionnaire was not excessively long or involved.

Approximately 270 questionnaires were mailed on June 3, 1971, to members of the religious missionary community in the United States. Of these, 104 replied with the completed or partially completed questionnaire. Many of the sisters who received the questionnaire are semiretired (approximately 42% of the sisters in the United States are over 65 years of age) and may have felt that it did not apply to them. The questionnaires were also mistakenly sent third class and did not arrive until after the deadline date given in the introductory paragraph. Therefore, some sisters may have felt that it was too late to return the questionnaire. A copy of the questionnaire is included
in the appendix.

The first question asked the sisters to list the houses, hospitals, or homes for the aged where they have been stationed and to tell how many years they were in each place. The purpose of the question was threefold: to learn what kinds of services the sisters engage in, how long the individual has been actively engaged in this service, and where the sister has been stationed. Of the 104 sisters who did return the questionnaire, 36 have been active in hospitals as nurses, lab technicians and so forth; 41 sisters have worked in parishes, primarily as teachers; 16 have served in homes for the aged; and 11 have spent most of their years as religious in the provincial house in the Midwest. Table 2 compares the number of sisters in the province with the number who responded to the questionnaire. It should be pointed out that several retired nurses and teachers, who are now stationed at the provincial house and are included in the figure 96 in the first row of figures, are tabulated under the hospital and school column in the second row of figures.

| TABLE 2 |
| RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRE |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distribution of Sisters in the Province</th>
<th>Homes</th>
<th>Hospitals</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Provincial House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of those who replied were active in schools or hospitals. Fifty-nine of the sisters who returned the questionnaire, 56%, have spent more than
8 years in one mission or station other than the provincial house.

The second question asks: Do you feel that the possibility of being changed the following year might make a person less willing to become involved in activities outside of their immediate work? As shown in Table 3, of those who spent eight years or less in any one place other than the provincial house, 18 answered definitely yes or its equivalent to the second question, while 13 answered definitely no.

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Qualified Yes or No</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sisters who have spent 8 years or less in any one place--</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters who have spent more than 8 years in any one place--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelve answered yes and no, or qualified their yes or no. Of the qualifying statements given, the following three are typical.

- It can, but I would rather say it might influence the person so that they would not take on tasks that would involve prolonged presences.

- It seems this would depend upon the person—most persons, I think, would get involved, but not deeply.

- Not less "willing" but probably less able because adjustment and adaptation are time consuming.

Of those who spent eight years or more in any one station, there were
slightly more unqualified no's, indicating, perhaps, that they had spent
enough time in the stations to which they were assigned not to have experienc-
ed the effects of frequent changes.

Generally speaking, there seemed to be a recognition among the sisters
that for a missionary to be effective, he or she must spend sufficient time
in one community to develop a "feel" for the needs and values of that commun-
ity, an opinion often expressed in the literature on directed change (Good-
enough, 1963: 413-418; Arensburg and Niehoff, 1964: 68-71; Foster, 1969:
172). In the case of short assignments, the tendency is to set up programs
instead of dealing with problems. Time is also needed for developing meaning-
ful relationships with coworkers and members of the community. On the other
hand, members of religious missionary communities which have a permanent place
in the local community, should be conscious of the danger of creating a
situation in which the recipient community does not internalize the values
embodied in a program, since the continued existence of the program does not
depend on the residents themselves but on the continuing presence of the
religious missionary organization.

The information from the questionnaire indicates that most sisters have
spent sufficient time, usually not less than three years, in any one station
to develop rapport with members of the recipient community.

The third question asked: How would you describe the aim of the religious
missionary community? Twenty-one of the responding sisters did not answer
this question. The aim, as described by those who did answer, focused on the
missionary herself, on the message, and on the recipient community. However,
the three factors were not always equally emphasized. Table 4 gives a list
of the elements emphasized by the sisters in their description of the aim of the religious missionary community, followed by the number of sisters who emphasized these elements in their description, and the average number of years of total service of the sisters in that particular group. Those with fewer years of service were more likely to emphasize either all three aspects of the interaction situation, or to omit either the missionary or the recipient community. The message was the important element. The difference in emphasis may not be significantly correlated with the number of years of service. There are as many older sisters in the first three groups as there are in the last four. However, there are no younger sisters in the last two groups.

TABLE 4
THE ELEMENTS EMPHASIZED IN THE FORMULATION OF THE AIM OF THE RELIGIOUS MISSIONARY COMMUNITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Elements Emphasized</th>
<th>Number of Sisters</th>
<th>Average Years of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>The missionary, the message and the recipient community</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>The message and the recipient community</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>The missionary and the message</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The missionary and the recipient community</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>The message</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>The missionary</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>The recipient community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of sisters stressed either all three aspects of the interaction situation or both the message and the recipient community. As indicated by Niehoff's model of the process of directed culture change (Niehoff, 1966: 11), all three factors are important: the action of the innovator (the missionary), the reaction of the recipient community, and the plan or idea (the message). It would seem that the more conscious the missionary is of the total interaction situation, the more effective he or she would be.

To get an idea of the actual formulation of the goal of the religious missionary community by its members, representatives of each group are included in Table 5. The group letter refers back to Table 4 and the elements of the interaction situation which were emphasized in the description of the aim.

### TABLE 5

THE AIM OF THE RELIGIOUS MISSIONARY COMMUNITY AS FORMULATED BY ITS MEMBERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Aim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister served in hospitals in the U.S. and in China for 33 years.</td>
<td>To bring Christ and Christ-mindedness, Christ-likeness into the lives of the people we work with. That is not only to teach and explain the Gospel, but also to lead the people to think and act like Christ in the daily routine of their daily living. This requires a Christ-centered ascetism on the missionary's part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister served as a teacher in the U.S. for 38 years.</td>
<td>Religious missionary community—an open-minded, open-ended, available group of dedicated women following in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 5--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Aim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister served as a teacher in the U.S. for 28 years.</td>
<td>The aim of the religious missionary community is formed and witness is given that here is a group of women dedicated to living out the Gospel and, after having been imbued with the spirit of love, have the sense of mission to spread what they have experienced to everyone they meet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister is in the provincial house in preparation for missionary work.</td>
<td>To let people know that living is worthwhile, and more so as a Christian. To let them know God cares about them because I care about them. The aim of a religious missionary community must include a deep sharing among members, cooperation, support and also foster a deep religious experience; so that we have allowed to happen in us what we proclaim Christ can do in others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister has served as a nurse in the U.S. for one year.</td>
<td>To permeate the environment of people by living among them and showing them how to live as Sons of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. for 10 years.</td>
<td>The aim of the religious missionary community would be to &quot;be sent&quot; to those who still have not received the Gospel. The one being sent is a person given to God uniquely, and in union with like-minded people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sister has served as a nurse in the U.S. for 17 years.</td>
<td>To make Christ present in the world. To make known the Gospel message and to witness to it especially in places where this has not been done.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 5--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Aim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. and in Africa for 21 years</td>
<td>To spread the Good News of Christ's message by witnessing to His love and by being among the people and assisting them in their needs whenever possible—and educating them to help and develop themselves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. for 4 years.</td>
<td>To help others find meaning and purpose in life through the acceptance and faith-commitment to Jesus Christ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. for 23 years.</td>
<td>The aim of the Religious missionary community is to bring the Good News to others, to help make it pertinent to their lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sister has served as a nurse in the U.S. for 13 years.</td>
<td>To present Christ and His message of the Father in whatever situation it becomes possible, while at the same time forming among themselves the element of community which He and His early followers found conducive to their own aim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. for 4 years.</td>
<td>To make ourselves available unselfishly as an instrument of the Triune God to bring about the fullness of salvation and make an urgent appeal to a universal return to the Father's house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sister has served as a teacher in the U.S. for 31 years.</td>
<td>To me, the aim of a religious missionary community should be to witness to true Christian living in any aspect of life (no limits on apostolic involvement)—to try and share the riches of the Gospel with others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spread the Good News—Self-sanctification.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 5—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Aim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Sister has served as a nurse in the U.S. and in Africa for 26 years.</td>
<td>Spread the Good News together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Sister has served as a nurse in the U.S. for 7 years.</td>
<td>To meet the needs (spiritual, social, physical and so on—in short, the total needs) of the people with whom and for whom we work as a community of dedicated religious women (achieving the latter by sharing the lives of each other) as best discovered individually and as a community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Sister has served in hospitals and homes for the aged in the U.S. and Australia for 30 years.</td>
<td>The principal aim of the religious missionary community should be to give witness to Christ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Sister has served in the U.S. mainly in hospitals for 45 years.</td>
<td>Working together, sharing with each other problems, joys, and sorrows.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Sister has served in a home for the aged and in hospitals in the U.S. for 16 years.</td>
<td>I would say we have to become more involved with people, because it is people who make up the kingdom of Christ. Our aim should be more out-reaching of people for Christ. People are &quot;images&quot; of God.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there may be differences in emphasis, there is a basic agreement among the members of the religious missionary community concerning the aim of the community. It is twofold: first, to form among themselves a community of Christians deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ and, second, to share with others the Gospel message of God's love for them. Only passing
reference is made to "meeting needs," "doing good," and "helping others," activities that, according to the Constitutions, would be means to achieve the end or goal, rather than the goal itself. The agreement on the aim is present despite differences in age and occupation.

Question four included a list of activities that sisters often engage in. The sisters were asked to number these from most important to least important for realizing the aim of the religious missionary community. Included in the list of activities was the item, cultivating friendships among the members of the communities in which we are active. In light of the model of the effective agent of culture change, this activity would be most important. The sisters were asked to use the same number for activities they considered of equal importance and to omit numbering irrelevant activities. Six sisters did not answer this question. Twelve thought that all activities were of equal importance for realizing the aim of the religious missionary community.

One sister thought the question meant which activities were relevant and said all were relevant. Considering only the "cultivating friendships" item, of the sisters who did feel that some activities were more important than others for realizing the aim of the religious missionary community, 15 felt that cultivating friendships was the most important, that is, they numbered this item (1) and all the others, another number. Twelve considered cultivating friendships, along with other activities, to be most important, that is, this item and others were numbered (1) and the rest received another number. Twenty-six thought cultivating friendships was somewhat important, that is, this item did not receive the lowest nor the highest number, but fell somewhere in between. Eighteen sisters considered cultivating friendships to be
the least important activity, that is, it received the highest number of
all the activities when (1) represents the most important activity. Sixteen
sisters thought cultivating friendships was irrelevant for achieving the aim
of the religious missionary community, that is, although they numbered other
activities, they omitted numbering this activity as the directions indicated
should be done for irrelevant activities. Table 6 summarizes the response

**TABLE 6**

RESPONSES TO THE CULTIVATING FRIENDSHIP ITEM
OF QUESTION 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Importance</th>
<th>Number of Sisters</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most important</td>
<td>15 sisters</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most important among others</td>
<td>12 sisters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat important</td>
<td>26 sisters</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least important</td>
<td>18 sisters</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>16 sisters</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table 6 gives a distribution of those who indicated on their questionnaire that they thought cultivating friendships among members of the communities in which they were active was either most important or totally irrelevant for achieving the goal of the religious missionary community. It seems to indicate that a sister who sees cultivating friendships as most important is likely to be a relatively younger sister and/or working in schools, where-
as a sister who sees cultivating friendships as irrelevant is likely to be a relatively older sister and/or working in homes for the aged. Two factors, age and activity, seem to be operating among those who either emphasize or ignore the friendship relationship in missionary activity. Only 4 sisters, who considered cultivating friendships as most important, had more than 21 years of service whereas, 11 sisters, who considered cultivating friendships as irrelevant, had more than 21 years of service. Age also seems to be an important factor among those who work in hospitals. Four of the five hospital workers, who considered cultivating friendships to be most important, had less than 20 years of service, whereas, 6 of the 7 who considered cultivating friendships to be irrelevant, had more than 20 years of service. That age would be a factor in this context, is not difficult to understand.

In recent years there has been an emphasis on personalism and psychology not only in religious life but in American society in general. The Illinois state board examination for nurses is an interesting example of the shift in emphasis from task to people. At present, more than half the questions in all areas of the examination have a psychological orientation.

The response of sisters active in educational institutions as compared to the response of those in homes for the aged indicates that age is not the only factor. Occupation also influences the response. For example, the two oldest individuals in the sample are teachers who feel cultivating friendships is most important. It seems that the society's definition of the role of the individual is an important conditioning factor. Teachers on every level of education are encouraged to develop and maintain friendships with students, parents, and members of the larger society. Their role as teacher
TABLE 7

CULTIVATING FRIENDSHIPS: COMPARING RESPONSES OF MOST IMPORTANT AND IRRELEVANT BY ACTIVITY AND YEARS OF SERVICE

Most Important for Realizing the Aim (N=15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Activity</th>
<th>Number of Years of Service</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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</table>

Irrelevant for Realizing the Aim (N=16)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of Activity</th>
<th>Number of Years of Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
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requires extensive contact and interaction. However, an employee in institutions such as homes for the aged, is often looked upon by members of the larger society as a kind of caretaker. Friendships may be encouraged among residents but often are not considered especially appropriate between residents and personnel.

In Table 7 individuals were assigned to activity areas, either homes for the aged, hospitals, or schools, depending on where they spent most of their years of service. Some had spent almost an equal amount of time in hospitals and homes for the aged.

The response to the cultivating friendships item seems to indicate a certain amount of polarization in the community on what is considered to be the kind of relationship a religious missionary should have with nonreligious. However, the large number of sisters between the two poles probably functions to eliminate friction.

Questions 5-11 on the questionnaire were meant to get some idea of the sisters' own feelings about the extent of their contact with nonreligious or lay people. It would be difficult to get an accurate notion of what each individual would mean by "close friends," by "working mainly with other people" or even by "extensive contact." However, taking these six questions as a set, only 8 sisters, or approximately 7% of the whole, felt that they either had no friends among the nonreligious or lay people, or always preferred working alone, or have and have had in the past only minimal contact with lay people. If religious missionaries are to act effectively as agents of change in the introduction of Christianity, their basic purpose, they must have contact with members of the larger society. Few sisters felt that they had insufficient contact.
In summary, the questionnaire indicates that members of a religious missionary community have a widely-accepted, clearly-defined goal and also, at least in their own opinion, have sufficient contact with the members of the larger society. However, more than half of those who answered the questionnaire do not see developing friendships with members of the host community as particularly important, whereas, the model of the effective agent of change indicates that any attempt to bring about the kind of identity change implied in an authentic response to Christianity involves communication on a personal level, characteristic of informal, peer-group relationships. Although the sisters have a clear insight into their goal, many do not see friendship as a means of attaining it. An alternative explanation is the possibility that the sisters' concept of friendship differs significantly from the one presented in the model. According to the model, developing friendships with members of the host community involves an eagerness to acquire a sensitivity for their culture (in this case the subculture of the United States community in which the sister is active), the development of common interests, a willingness to help and be helped, an ability to gain the esteem of the members of the community and to express admiration for them, and personal accessibility (Luzbetak, 1970: 232-237).

The emphasis on friendship is not based on a belief that cultivating friendships is easy or that it is totally dependent on the good will of the missionary or the agent of change. Rather, the emphasis is based on the belief that the level of communication, its depth, significantly determines whether or not the message is accepted and understood. Expressed in another way, a person may be told many times what Christians believe, but unless he
knows and loves a deeply Christian individual, his understanding may remain rather superficial. The same holds true of the missionary's attempt to understand the values and orientation of the recipient culture.

An emphasis on personal relationships does not necessarily involve a de-emphasis on task or service. Not only what a Christian is, but what he does is significant. However, if the services are rendered in an institutional context, or in the context of a patron-client relationship, the interaction may be characteristically formal, distant, and even artificial.

A questionnaire, such as the one used here, does not provide sufficient evidence to draw conclusions about the kind of relationships members of the religious missionary community have with members of the larger society. However, it does seem valid to say, given the evidence of the Constitutions and the questionnaire, and also the difficulty of breaking down barriers of mistrust and fear between people of significantly different life styles and orientations, that this area of personal relationships with members of the larger society is sometimes the least developed area in missionary activity. The analysis of the interviews will examine further the problem of effective interpersonal relationships in intercultural contact situations.

The Interviews

As already mentioned, the questionnaires were sent to all members of the community active in the United States. However, the interviews were limited to 31 sisters of the community who, as a consequence of their assignments, were then (December, 1970) actively engaged in education or some other social service within the black or white subcultures in the South. The background and orientation of the black community, the white community, and the religious
missionary community are sufficiently different to justify referring to their interaction as an intercultural contact situation.

Members of the religious missionary community under consideration have been active for over 60 years in black parishes in the South. The work of the missionaries has been primarily in education on the elementary and secondary level. Within the past few years this has changed somewhat since the closing of black schools, under the pressure of integration and rising costs, has freed sisters to enter other fields of activity, although, with the exception of nursing, the main activities are still within the general field of education. Some sisters who were interviewed have served as long as 40 years in the South, some as few as 2 or 3. Ten of the 31 sisters interviewed came to America from Europe after becoming members of the Congregation. The remaining 21 sisters were born in the United States.

The five parishes in which the sisters live are located in the black sections of cities whose populations range from approximately 50,000 to 150,000. Each parish is the only black Catholic parish in the city with the exception of the largest city which has two black parishes, only one of which was studied. These parishes were all founded at approximately the same time in the early 1900's by priests of a Catholic foreign mission society. The number of black Catholics in the South at that time was small and remains so today. The total Catholic proportion of the population of the state in which these parishes are located is 3.52%. Slightly more than 10% of these Catholics are black. The ratio of black Catholics to white has remained constant since 1947 although between 1947 and 1967 the Catholic population of the state, both black and white, has doubled (CARA 1970: 8-11).
In four of the five schools run by the sisters, there are more non-Catholics than Catholics. Furthermore, since the parish schools are private and require that the students pay a tuition, it is generally the upper or middle classes of the black population that send children to parish schools. This is in contrast to the situation that prevailed in the first part of the century when the sisters opened the schools. At that time it was often not a question of whether the schools were public or private, they were the only schools available for black children. Both the Congregation and the black community have changed over the past 60 years. However, the purpose of the interviews was not to discuss history but to attempt to understand the present relationship between the sisters and the local community from the sisters' point of view.

The writer conducted interviews from two to five hours in length with 31 sisters over a period of one month, from December 3, 1970, to January 3, 1971. The purpose of the interview, as stated above, was to discover the relationship of the individual sister to or with the black community and to inform the writer on the nature of the situation and the values of the sisters. Although there was a certain amount of structure to the interviews, they were conducted as informally as possible. The questions used were meant to stimulate thought and discussion in a certain direction. Therefore, in the beginning of each interview, the writer explained to the interviewee that it was not especially important to answer the questions, but rather to discuss the topic with which the question was involved and any related area that the interviewee thought interesting or important. The structure was kept flexible primarily to avoid setting up an interview that was, in fact, just another form of a questionnaire, one that actually said more about the person who asked the questions than about the
one who answered them. Each interview is considered as a whole and not as a set of answers to a set of questions. On occasion a sister would say that a question was difficult, if not impossible, to answer and simply leave it at that. Most sisters answered as best they could. Others made no attempt to answer the question but began to discuss the topic involved. The interviewer attempted to create an atmosphere of freedom within the context of the interview. No attempt was made to pressure the sisters to answer the questions or to discuss specific topics. The topics that were introduced covered areas that involved the sisters' interests and activities. The interviewee was told at the beginning of the interview that she would remain anonymous. Therefore, no response will be identified as belonging to individuals of a specific age, occupational, or national group. The nature and goal of the interview make this kind of identification unnecessary.

In order to give some idea of the content of the interviews, each question will be given followed by a summary of the most common responses. This presentation of the content will be followed by an analysis of the interviews based on the characteristics of the effective agent of change listed in the conclusion of the analysis of the questionnaire.

Content of Interviews

Fourteen questions were asked in each interview. One set, questions 1 through 4, dealt with the sister's attitude toward her work or role in the community. The second group, questions 5 through 11, dealt with the sister's attitude toward the black community. A third set, questions 12 and 13, dealt with the sister's feelings about her success in communicating values to the people with whom she worked. The last question dealt with the sisters' understanding
of contemporary issues.

Question 1: Do you feel prepared for the activity you are engaged in?

Summary: when speaking about themselves as teachers or in some other professional capacity, all except one sister felt they were adequately prepared either by education, experience or both. Four individuals felt they needed more preparation for understanding Southern society and, in particular, the black culture. Three of these had been in the South for less than five years. However, it seemed that an appreciation of a total community approach more than an awareness of inexperience sensitized the sisters to the need for a deeper understanding of the subculture in which they worked.

Question 2: What do you feel is the most important aspect or dimension of the activity you are engaged in?

Summary: the sisters interpreted this question either as applying to their active apostolate, that is, to the goal of the professional activity or, in a more general sense, as applying to their life style or total interaction situation. With few exceptions, most sisters emphasized their relationship with the children, the children's families, or the people of the parish as the most important aspect of their work or activity, and, within the context of that relationship, the sister's witness to Christian values. Although some sisters mentioned functioning as a bridge between the black community and the white community, only one thought she was functioning successfully in that kind of role.

Question 3: Do you feel that what you are doing is valuable and important?

Summary: with one exception, the sisters felt that what they were doing
was valuable and important, that they were making a contribution to the black
community, to the larger society or to both.

Question 4: What mistakes do you feel have been or are being made in
our activity?

Summary: the mistakes most frequently mentioned as having been true in
the past were inadequate professional preparation for teaching, a patronizing
attitude toward the black community, and the failure to adapt to American and
black culture. At present, sisters are conscious of a lack of understanding of
black culture and Southern culture in general, a need for more communication,
cooperation, and trust, and a need to encourage initiative and leadership in
the black community.

Question 5: Do you have some idea of what lay people think about the
sisters or feel toward them?

Summary: the majority of sisters felt that lay people have a high opin­
on of the sisters. One sister mentioned that the black community makes allow­
ances for the sisters' mistakes. The sisters feel that the black community
especially appreciates the quality of education their children receive in the
Catholic schools and the fact that the sisters are more accessible than they
were formerly. However, some sisters mentioned that they feel black people
think of the sisters as being "white and different". Young blacks sometimes
have an ambivalent attitude toward the sisters or feel that they are old-fash­
ioned. Some sisters admitted that they really do not know what black people
think of them.

Question 6: Do you know what lay people think the sisters should do
(meaning what activity sisters should engage in)? What are their expectations
of us?

Summary: many sisters felt that the black community expected the sisters to work for integration, to be involved and influential. Many sisters also thought their service in the schools was important to the black community. Several sisters, often with the religious habit or garb in mind, believed lay people expected the sisters to look and act like religious women. Different activities, for example, social work, day care centers, hospital work, education, and counseling, were mentioned by different sisters as part of the black community's expectations of them.

Question 7: What are your expectations of the black community? How much do you think the people themselves can do?

Summary: in general, the sisters said they believe the black community is capable of assuming leadership in the church, citing Baptists as an example, but that the roles formerly assumed by priests and sisters created an image of the priests and sisters and of the black community that did not encourage the black community to assume leadership. Many of the black people the sisters know are professional people with leadership positions in their own circles. Though most sisters felt black people were as capable as anyone else, some said black people are irresponsible or undependable. One thought black people capable of making suggestions but needing someone to take charge. Many referred to a need for black leadership.

Question 8: What approach do you think should be taken toward the youth in the parish?

Summary: most sisters did not know or were not sure of the approach to be taken toward the youth in the parish. They felt there was a need for
young charismatic leadership. Some suggested involvement in parish activities or other specially organized youth activities. Some thought the parish should provide the youth with guidance, support, encouragement, and a place to organize. Religious instruction should help them to rethink their values. Most sisters were concerned, but unsure what approach to take.

Question 9: How well, do you think, we understand the black people?
Summary: Only two sisters felt they understood black people well. Both based their understanding on the number of years they spent in the South. However, most sisters felt that they understood black people only to a certain extent, or in so far as they know or understand certain individuals who are black. One sister believed that sisters tend to filter out only those things they want to know from the total information they get from or about black people (differential perception). One sister believed that there is not enough mutual trust between blacks and whites to allow white people to understand blacks, and said that blacks maintain a front or play a role in their relationship with whites.

Question 10: What do you think of our adaptation to black culture?
Summary: the question of adaptation to black culture is a complex one and is considered in detail in the following analysis. However, in general, the sisters felt they have done little to adapt to black culture, primarily, because they do not understand what is involved in black culture.

Question 11: Do you find it easy to relate to people?
Summary: seven sisters answered simply yes to this question. The rest qualified their answers. For example, some felt they related better with people they knew, or if they were interacting on a professional level, or with children. On sister, who has spent many years working in the black community, said
she felt uncomfortable with white people. Some sisters expressed a desire to relate better, but said they were somewhat self-conscious or needed more time to let their relationship grow.

Question 12: In your opinion, how influential are we in developing a real spirit of faith and Christian love and concern?

Summary: Many sisters felt it was difficult to tell how influential they were in the area of influencing the acceptance of Christian values. Some were not impressed with the results of religious instruction. They felt that their personal Christian witness to individuals was more important and that closer contact with the black community was necessary.

Question 13: What values do you see as having been accepted and what rejected in our schools?

Summary: The values most frequently mentioned by the sisters were the Christian faith, education, honesty, diligence, and kindness or brotherly love. Most sisters felt it was difficult to judge which values had been rejected, but that, in some cases, the sisters did not seem to communicate an appreciation of the Christian faith, generosity, or honesty.

Question 14: Considering American society in general and speaking from your personal experience, what changes do you feel should be brought about in economics, politics, government programs, and so forth?

Summary: Many sisters expressed concern about poverty programs and racism. There was a widespread awareness among the sisters of the waste and corruption associated with food stamps, Headstart, Star (adult education), and other programs. They felt that improvements should be made, that it was the rich and middle-class individuals who were benefitting most, not the poor.
Several sisters had first hand experience with the Star and Headstart programs either because they taught in these programs or because parish facilities were being used. Their work in the black community seemed to heighten the sisters' awareness of the problems of integration and the devastating effects of racism. One sister defined racism as the basic social problem in America. Quoting Ivan Illich, sister remarked: "all in this country are cursed, they are either black or white."

Analysis of Interviews

At the end of the discussion of the questionnaire, several characteristics were listed which were presented in the model of the effective agent of change as important in the agent's attempts to establish rapport with members of the host community. The characteristics were the following: (1) an eagerness to acquire a sensitivity to the subculture of the black community within the Southern society, (2) the development of common interests, (3) a willingness to help and be helped, (4) an ability to gain the esteem of the members of the community and to express admiration for them, and (5) accessibility. Characteristics 2, 3, and 4 can be subsumed under one characteristic, identification with the community in terms of mutual appreciation, interests, and assistance.

In the following analysis direct quotes will be taken from the interviews, quotes that seem to express the presence or absence among the sisters of attitudes of cultural sensitivity, identification, and accessibility. Some members of the Congregation express attitudes in conflict with the attitudes presented in the model of the effective agent of change. Other members come closer to approaching the ideal set up in the model. Still others seem ambivalent in their relationship with the black community or in their attitudes toward the
black community. This wide range of attitudes is most apparent in the sisters' discussion of black culture. The information does not allow an interpretation of the data in terms of percentages of sisters whose attitudes and values are those encouraged by the model as compared to the percentage of sisters whose attitudes are in conflict with the model. However, sections from the interviews will be presented and discussed from the perspective of the model, in particular, that part of the model that deals with the establishment of rapport and the development of friendships with members of the host community.

The excerpts from the interviews are based on notes taken during the interviews. Some editing has been done in terms of grammar and word substitution in order to clarify the comments. However, an attempt was made to record the exact expressions used by the sisters. The editing affected only the connection of the expressions.

**Sensitivity to black culture.** The interviewees approached the question of adaptation to black culture in several ways. The following two excerpts express attitudes that are in direct conflict with the attitudes contained in the model. The remarks include expressions of racial and cultural superiority, gross generalizations, and the application of stereotypes of blacks.

We're white and cannot make ourselves black. We have to accept them and love them as Christians. Like the Bishop said, I am for integration where it works out; against it where it does not. I can't make myself black. We should give help where they need help. It is impossible for them to come on a par with us. We have been working with the people for years. Some are educated and so forth. Many more can't seem to shake off this thing that we teach it (interpretation: blacks reject what we teach because we are white). They aren't ready to accept it. Maybe they are not willing. There is one thing I learned over the years. A Negro is just not dependable—even the best. I am surprised how many times this happens. Maybe it's a characteristic that goes with slowness and the climatic condition. I have found this to be true over a period of years.
Black people are different and I don't know if we can take on their culture. They are disorderly. I visited a nice couple but their house was in a mess. Of course, some are nice. One thing I found with the black people, when you talk with them they are so sincere. But they don't follow through with their promises. They are so sincere but nothing comes of it. Maybe the whites are the same. Maybe it's the Southern way.

In contrast to the above excerpts, the following two quotes come close to approaching the ideal presented in the model of the effective agent of change. Among the positive attitudes expressed are a willingness to learn, a recognition of the importance of appreciating the values of the black community, an ability to rethink and re-evaluate past behavior, and a realization of the need for more contact with members of the black community.

I think there has been wonderful endeavors in the direction of adapting to black culture and that we're becoming more conscious of the need to adapt. I wonder, though, that we have really done it. We came with the idea that we are here to give and not to learn the black's way of thinking. This shows up in our school and parish, in our unwillingness to give over responsibilities. It shows up also in our liturgies. Father has a nice style, but the people are not that influential in determining the kinds of Masses we have. They prefer their own music to the folk hymns we tried to introduce. In the school we are there to teach and have definite material to give so the adaptation is not so poor. We don't have the time and the personnel to do extensive work among the families. We need the insight this would give. We do have the help of speakers and reading material, and the more we use these the closer we can get to an understanding of how people think and feel. Going out to the people is not always a matter of time. If we are interested in the people, we will find the ways and means.

Many mistakes have been made because of a lack of understanding of and appreciation for the situation. Some sisters as teachers and as sisters have an idealistic view. They want to be here and do for the people. Especially in their training they learn to want to help people and get rid of ignorance and sickness. The problem is that you have to have a realistic understanding and appreciation of the people in order to do this. You have to be educated to this environment and want to work here. Then come and try it.

Some comments made by members of the religious missionary community seem to indicate that these sisters are not sure of where they stand in relat-
relationship to the black community. Sisters may feel they are sensitive to black experience. However, as in the following example, there is a tendency to define the black community in terms of one's own experience with individual blacks.

The example indicates that, while there is an awareness of problems in the past and of the moment, knowledge and understanding of blacks and black-white relations are often lacking.

In the past we thought we knew the black people and we didn't. They are a silent people. It is difficult to get to know their real feelings. They won't tell you. We took it for granted that we knew them. We treated them as normal human beings, which is good. But they have lived with many difficulties.

The following quote tells of the difficulties of the black community.

There seems to be an overemphasis on what blacks have endured instead of an appreciation for what they are. A subtle prejudice is inherent in this kind of preoccupation with the less happy aspects of a people's experience.

It is very hard to say how well we understand black people. I think if you really can't live as they do, it is hard to imagine how they feel. They have been suppressed too much. They can't show themselves as they really are. If you read those books they have like Black Boy or Coming of Age in Mississippi, you can understand how those things happen. In our country we try to be so high in our civilization, still, there is so much misery right in our own back yard. The other day I just read what people in other countries think of us on this point. Now, in some way, being among Negroes my life long, I think I can feel somewhat with them, but it is mighty hard to get into their soul. You can get a much better understanding if you visit their homes.

The following excerpt expresses attitudes that approach the ideal of the model in the emphasis on understanding and acceptance.

I find it very difficult to say how well we understand black culture. I am not sure what black culture implies. This is a lack on my part. I am not sure how well we can adapt. Our idea should not be that of adaptation but of acceptance—not so much that I become like them but that I accept them. I find it disappointing, the number of sisters that have worked in the black community and have not accepted them. We say the black people cannot meet our expectation and are "not our kind." We are separating ourselves from them. We are working within the culture but have not accepted it.
Identification with the black community.—None of the interview questions were directed exclusively to the question of identification. However, the writer checked the interviews for expressions and responses that indicated an identification of the religious missionary community with the black community in terms of mutual appreciation, assistance, and interests. Did sisters identify with blacks in their approach to integration? Did they speak of friendships with members of the black community? Did sisters express admiration for the black community or for individual blacks? Or, expressing a lack of identification, did sisters seem excessively critical or predominantly negative in their attitudes toward black people?

Some sisters related events or experiences that indicated an identification with the black community in an approach to integration. The following quote is an example of identifying with the blacks' interest in maintaining their own identity as a parish.

When the members of the parish discussed about planning the building of the church, they were very frank and open with the bishop. The blacks asked him why he built Holy Family church (parish) with Christ the King (a black parish) close by. Now these two parishes are integrated to a certain extent. The bishop didn't want them to build the new church. He wanted them to go to (white) St. Peter's. They wanted something they had built themselves and which they could be proud of. It was their whole idea to get this church. They did not want their parish and school to fade out of the history of this city and their lives. So they planned to raise the money to get it done.

The following quote expresses a sympathy with the belief among some blacks that desegregation should not always be in terms of the white community's definition of integration.\(^6\)

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\(^6\) Both this quote and the one above illustrate the parallel between churches and public schools in the problem of overlapping school zones and parishes. When schools or churches are closed or consolidated, it is the black school or parish that ceases to exist. Blacks go to white parishes or schools; whites do not go to black parishes or schools.
In the course of some interviews, sisters mentioned certain friends they had in the black community.

There is a colored lady who is a real friend of mine. We were students together. She went through a lot of trouble to invite me to a workshop and arrange it so that I could attend.

In the following excerpt, the sister seems caught up in an experience of identification with members of the black community in an interest in religion. The basis for the identification in this case was formed by a change in both the sister and the lady with whom she spoke. The Catholic sister had acquired an appreciation for a religious expression that has often been associated with non-Catholic denominations—the prayer meeting and the bible study or bible school service. The black woman, a convert to Catholicism, still felt the need for an attraction to her earlier religious experience as a non-Catholic. This appreciation for the same religious experience created a basis for identification.

I really enjoyed the prayer meetings and wondered how to get our people interested. One day a lady came to pick up the linen from the church. She had been a convert since her marriage. Our conversation turned to spiritual things. She was interested in a bible study group. It was a forceful experience for me to meet this woman who was herself seeking instruction. She came with us to the prayer meetings. If we ourselves are united with Christ, we will reach people some way. We must have an attitude of receptiveness. I find this in the interviews with the parents. They themselves are reflecting and seeking. I feel I am fostering integration and good will in this way. Prejudice will break down naturally.

Another example which seems to indicate a deeper level of communication is the following.

The people we come in contact with are like many other people. Many cannot be reached. There is the integration-segregation bit. You know, you're white, therefore . . . . We have one student whose father is a minister. He came once and we talked for a while about Christ. He said this was the first time he talked like this to a sister and that it was great to know we were not afraid to talk about Christ. The next time he brought his wife.
Some statements expressed a sensitivity to the black experience and to what is involved in establishing rapport. The following four examples are from sisters in different communities.

I have been here for many years and I feel we still really don't know the black people, the things to which they are sensitive, the things that mean a lot to them. With the children it is easy, but with the adults I don't feel that I'm feeling with them. Sometimes I feel I don't see the total picture.

The people are really grateful when we take an interest. I feel strongly that we should do something side by side with the school. This would give us more insight into the people's total life experience.

If we are patronizing or paternalistic, we keep people sheepish where they sort of follow us around. They would be more capable if we would let them be. Innately, they are as capable as anyone else. The book Poverty in Midst of Plenty pointed out vividly that it is the secure middle class person who can look to the future. It is the society that freezes the status quo and creates conditions where people live a day to day existence.

Some sisters are surprisingly open. The ability to understand others, including the black community, depends so much on our acceptance of them as peers. There are not many sisters who have done that.

In the following excerpt, sister identifies with the children on the level of personal Christian responsibility—to share with others the joy and life of God.

I try to impress the children with their own beauty and worth and dignity. I also tell them why they are here. They are getting ready to go out and help others, white and black—to share all their joy and life of God with others.

The following comments are somewhat ambiguous in the attitudes they express toward the black community. One shows amazement at what the members of the parish can do.

I think that since I don't have a family, I could help. This is not taken wrong by the people. We have already had wonderful celebrations carried out with great cooperation from the people. They came and planned the banquet, prepared it, decorated, cleaned, and cut the grass. Even last year we had an autumn festival that the parishoners planned.
were amazed. Some planned and were in charge of different things. It was such a lovely evening. Everybody enjoyed it, too. This takes ability and intelligence.

Another comment implies that the members of the parish are not quite capable of taking charge.

The ladies' auxiliary has meetings and different projects and teas. They often make suggestions. The groups for men have projects of their own. They help with the parish, cut the grass, and, if there is work to be done, we can call on them. For the carnival, they chip in and do their job. They put up booths and take care of them. Of course, there is still a need for it to be under one person. Otherwise, it would be a flop. This way everyone knows what to do.

Several comments indicate that some interviewees believe that among the members of the Congregation, understanding of, identification with, or appreciation of the black community is weak. The following perceptions from one interviewee were given at different times.

We treat adults like children in some instances and they take it. But youth resent this. There is not enough confidence. We treat them as if they can't be trusted. We prod them and get behind and push, push, push. We had a liturgical dance in the parish. Sister didn't believe they would practice unless she was behind them. She thought it would flop and was sincerely concerned that it should work out. She couldn't see that they should be trusted. Young people sometimes do things and sometimes don't. Or they will just wait until sister prods them on. They must drag their feet. Of course, it is more complicated than that.

When Meredith and Martin Luther King were in the news, the sisters were so surprised that the students were interested in it. These same sisters were the ones who told them "You people have to earn your right to citizenship; you have to prove yourselves." They don't understand the wealth of the black community and see only poverty, ignorance, illegitimacy, etc. This "We're going to help you make it and prove yourself" implies you have nothing, but that you have to get it and prove yourself.

I think the black people appreciate the sisters for what they have done. They have made a lot of allowances for the sisters' lack of understanding. The sisters treat the people in a condescending way. This goes back to a lack of understanding. The sisters seem strongly attracted to poverty. They want to say they are poor and deal with the poor. So if I have raggy clothes, they treat me as if I was the poorest thing on earth. There is an overemphasis on the lack of the people whether that is poverty or ignorance.
A few comments indicated that the interviewee herself could not identify easily with the black community. For example, the following excerpt contains expressions of the stereotype of blacks being shiftless, irresponsible, and self-deprecating.

Sometimes I think it is not that the black community can't do things; they won't. They claim that the sisters guided and directed them and, if they didn't do something, the sisters would take care of it. It's hard to get them to stand on their own feet. I don't know, maybe they have some mental reservation when they say they will do something and then don't do it. This stems back to their irresponsibility. Then there is the time element. They have little concept of the value of time. That's why they can't hold jobs. Of course, some are dependable. Once we were trying to make money for a dance and someone suggested we sell baked goods, but they said that that wouldn't work because people won't eat black folks' food. Sometimes they give flimsy excuses. But that's the way they are. Maybe it's a race attitude.

In the following quote, the stereotype of blacks as being lazy and apathetic is applied across the board. The doctor's wife does not really alter the stereotype because she is perceived as being an exception.

I think to a certain extent I understand the black people rather well. I have worked with them for 22 years. I have worked with the Headstart where I came in contact with some that are excellent, who push ahead. Some sit there and wait until their paycheck comes. One colored woman, a doctor's wife, has a beautiful home. She told me she designed the home herself. When the neighbors come in and say: "you have everything", she says, "why don't you get your lazy self to work and earn it?" She took in wash to pay her children's tuition and wasn't ashamed to say that.

Finally, the following is a description of the relationship between the religious missionary community and the black community from the point of view of a sister who seems to be fairly objective in her approach to the situation.

My opinions are based on what lay people and sisters say. You have to admire what the earlier sisters did. It was a superhuman job as far as work is concerned. They were deeply dedicated. They worked with sincerity and the fruits are evident. Many graduates still return and express their gratitude. You can see the development of the character and discipline and that the education made a change in their lives and
affected the society in the places where we were. There is a significant difference. As far as mistakes, you can apply some broadly. The sisters and priests were more patronizing. The mission was poor and rough, and they had to give in order to develop it. But a pattern developed where the people expected a lot to be done for them. They were not sufficiently encouraged and shown how to do for themselves. Now the people are expected to take leadership in the church's activity and they resent the past to a certain extent. At this time there are only a few vocal people who are willing to take responsibility on themselves. We have to be careful today not to give the same patronizing impression. Even now, when the priests and sisters want to give over the responsibility to lay leaders, the priests and sisters don't know how to do it and some don't see the value of doing it. People say we are still holding on. They would do much more if they felt trust and freedom to work their way through.

These excerpts from the interviews indicate that some sisters identify in interests and in mutual respect and assistance with the black communities in which they are active. However, it is obvious that it is not always easy to achieve this kind of identification. There exists a we-they, black-white, Catholic-non-Catholic, religious-non-religious dichotomy in the minds of many sisters. Their sense of alienation, of otherness, is stronger than their sense of identification. Perhaps, the greatest weakness, as far as identification is concerned, is described by one sister as "an overemphasis on the lack of the people, whether that is ignorance or poverty". Another sister summed up the problem by saying, "We get defensive about identifying with people who are not the way we think they ought to be."

Accessibility to the black community.—Most of the sisters who were interviewed have extensive daily contact with children, parents, and other adults of the community. Yet there seemed to be widespread dissatisfaction among the sisters with the kind of communication that existed between them and the black community.

Sisters seemed to feel that the interaction within the context of the
school was insufficient.

I feel we don't mix enough with the people. I've been working on this all along. It's important to visit children and their homes. You can't do anything unless you know the individual's background. The family appreciates it and you establish rapport.

Some of the nurses have children who go to our school. They've remarked that the sisters don't come to visit and eat with them more often than we do.

My own personal opinion is that at times we are so busy with school work that we don't take the time to get closer to pupils and parents. I think that this is very important. We would have better rapport with the pupils, the parents, and the public if we had more time to visit, to know people's problems, and to see home conditions.

Sisters believed that there was a need for greater availability or accessibility.

We should be there to offer guidance but realize the limitations of our understanding. We must realize that we're in a period when the generation gap is evident. Youth need a place where they are trusted and respected. We should open up resources when they are not available to them. We should be present so that they know we are available but we should not shadow them.

The people expect us to be more available when they want us. They expect us to be there for them.

Some sisters seem to feel that there has been a change in recent years in attitudes of sisters that makes them more available.

The black people are much happier about the closer affiliation we have toward them. They really appreciated that we were more accessible to them.

The people are very friendly, especially if you are in one place longer. In former times if you stayed too long in a place they (fellow sisters) said you were too attached. But it is important to be long enough in one place to get to know people. It's not good to be changed too often.

The following excerpt expresses a belief that sisters have not created an image that encourages interaction.
In general, black and white feel we are quite aloof. We don't present an image of happiness, security, or conviction in what we're doing. We don't communicate this if it is there. People leave us alone because they think this is what we want. I think the community (religious community) has the attitude that you shouldn't get too friendly. They (sisters) don't seem to relax and be spontaneous in company. People leave us alone because they think this is what we want.

Finally, the following quote expresses an appreciation for the personal communication and accessibility considered in the model as essential for establishing rapport.

In all our places there have been and are a number of convinced Christians. Some have a deep faith and it means a lot to them. They also have been able to grow in faith over the years. They have a solid faith and a real spirit of love and a sense of community. The efforts of priests and sisters had a lot to do with its development. There is also a larger number of nominal Christians. If we were ble to and had more sisters and time to communicate more personally, it may be that we could influence to a greater concern. I think today we need to find new ways and means of reaching people. Perhaps the CCD (religious instruction) was effective in the past. But we can't do things in the same way now and get the same results. We must keep on searching for ways and means to reach adults and children in our times. This requires planning and a change of approach. I don't know what structures to use but we need a more personal approach. We are not going to get larger numbers of people out to meetings anymore. We must find other ways and means. As far as the parish is concerned, working with individuals or groups of families seems to be more effective.

The comments regarding the need for more extensive contact and greater accessibility of the sisters to the black community, stressed the importance of personal relationships, of more frequent home visiting, and of destroying the old image of aloofness and "being set apart."

Conclusion

It seems that in many cases the sisters are dissatisfied with their present relationship with the black community, in so far as they realize the need to deepen their understanding of black culture and to create situations in which they are more personally accesible to members of the black community. Sisters
expressed an eagerness for interaction and communication on a more personal level. A greater sensitivity to the culture and more extensive interaction should lead to a deeper identification between the members of the religious missionary community and the members of the black community in terms of interests, appreciation, and assistance. In other words, many sisters expressed appreciation for factors found to be important in attempts to introduce change. The above analysis indicates a recognition of the importance of cultivating friendships with members of the host community in so far as it indicates a recognition of the importance of acquiring those characteristics or attitudes that form the basis of the friendship relationship between people of different cultural backgrounds.

What seems lacking in all the interviews is a deep appreciation for the accomplishments and strengths of individual blacks and of the community as a whole. Furthermore, there are sisters whose attitudes indicate that they are relatively ineffective in their role as agents of change in the introduction of Christianity to the black community. These sisters express extreme alienation from the black community. They make frequent use of white stereotypes of blacks; they seem preoccupied with what the black community lacks or fails to do or be. Furthermore, these same sisters seem unaware of the cultural and racial bias which is of significance in their relationship with blacks. One may surmise that their communication with members of the black community remains on a superficial level.

In the light of this persistent bias, several approaches could be taken in the selection and assignment of individuals to work in the black community. Sisters who express extreme prejudice are generally not difficult to recognize.
A personal interview with possible candidates for work in the South or in black communities anywhere, would allow those making the assignments to place individuals who express antagonistic or condescending attitudes toward blacks, in positions where primary racial contact is not present. Most sisters would fall within the two extremes of those who come close to approaching the ideal set up by the model of the effective agent of change and those whose attitudes conflict with the ideal of the model. In other words, most individuals are open to the possibility of growing in their understanding of and appreciation for people of another subculture and are capable of benefitting from instruction on both a formal and informal level.

Sisters who are assigned to the South should also be assigned a reading list of books written by blacks, anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists on the nature of prejudice, on the black experience, and on the values and orientations of different U.S. subcultures. Courses and lectures on these same topics could be provided for sisters. Sisters should be encouraged to spend time in discussion with individuals who are sensitive to the nature of the situation either through personal experience or through education. An introduction to the history and economy of the area in which they will work is also important.

Sisters who express an unwillingness to accept an assignment to the South should not be encouraged to go. Those who are willing to accept such an assignment should be able to discuss their motives and goals. The emphasis should be on living and working with people of the Southern subculture. When the candidate is new to an area, she should be wary of defining local needs and should feel that her most immediate task is to grow in sensitivity to the cultural
and social situation she finds there. It is only on the basis of this kind of understanding and identification that she can effectively communicate the Christian Gospel and its social implications to the members of that specific subculture.

**Summary**

The questionnaires and interviews provided insights into the values, goals, and attitudes of individual members of the religious missionary community under consideration. Information from the questionnaire indicated a widespread agreement on the goal of the community. It also indicated that members of the religious missionary community are somewhat divided in their appreciation of developing friendships with members of the recipient community. Many see cultivating friendships as irrelevant or least important in accomplishing the goal of the community. An almost equal number see cultivating friendships as most important.

The analysis of the interviews examined the attitude of individual missionaries toward a relationship with the recipient community in terms of the characteristics presented in the model of the effective agent of change as important for establishing rapport. The attitudes of some members are in direct conflict with the ideal set up in the model. Other members come closer to approaching the ideal in their attitude toward a relationship with members of the recipient community, in this case, the black community.
The purpose of the final chapter is to summarize the thesis, and to present some observations.

The model of the effective agent of culture change covered more characteristics than were considered in the analysis of the Constitutions, the questionnaires, and the interviews combined. However, the writer feels free to suggest that all the characteristics considered in the model are valuable for the missionary within cross-cultural or subcultural contact situations. The field data available to the writer limited the areas of the model that could be considered within the context of the thesis.

From the analysis of this specific innovating organization, it is recognized that the existence of the institutional framework, the bureaucracy, though necessary in the organization and direction of large numbers of agents of change and in the accomplishment of many of the goals of organization, should not lead the agent to undermine the importance of establishing relationships with members of the recipient community outside of an institutional context or framework. This seems to apply to bureaucracies whose goals are education, health, or the introduction of technology, as well as to the bureaucracy or organization whose goal is the introduction of Christianity.

Several advantages accrue to the agent of change who is a member of the religious missionary community as far as his or her effectiveness as an agent of change is concerned. For example, the religious missionary of the Congregation under consideration, has access to a document such as the Constitutions which offers many valuable insights and guidelines concerning the introduction of change. Living within a community offers protection against emotional iso-
lation in foreign cultures. The community gives financial, social, psychological, and spiritual support to the missionary. However, the security the missionary finds within the community should give him or her the strength to face the challenge of developing effective relationships with members of the host community, and not become a refuge for the missionaries from the pain and frustration that may be involved in attempts to grow in understanding, acceptance, and appreciation of people whose background and orientation differs significantly from that of their own. In addition to these advantages, the missionary, like other community volunteers, whether a Peace Corps volunteer, a Vista volunteer, or a member of the Salvation Army, has a preknown, widely understood justification for "doing something" or participating in community development, a justification that is generally accepted by the power elite and the community. Members of definite organizations "have enlisted," "have been converted," or "received a vocation," and this is accepted by others as their reason for being. However, an agent of change, who is not clearly identifiable as a missionary, a government employee, an employee of an approved private organization, or a volunteer from an accepted organization, may find himself the victim of mistrust. It is difficult for the community and the power elite to understand his reason for "doing something." They suspect that there must be "something in it for him"—some monetary or power advantage, some ulterior motive.

**Summary**

The purpose of the analysis of this religious missionary community, as stated in Chapter I, was to determine its effectiveness as an agency of change on the basis of the present attitudes and approaches of its members. The thesis
attempted to offer some guidelines for agents of change and some insights into
the values, goals, and attitudes of members of a specific religious missionary
community in their efforts to communicate Christianity. After an introductory
discussion of the research and the methodology, and a short description of the
nature, history, and orientation of the specific religious missionary community
under consideration, the thesis turned to the process of change and the develop-
ment of a model of the effective agent of culture change based on the writings
of anthropologists and other social scientists who have analyzed agents and in-
novating organization within culture change situations. The model consists
of three sets of interrelated characteristics. One set relates the agent to
his own cultural, social, and emotional background; the second set, to the cul-
tural and social background of the recipient community; and the final set, to
the process of culture change.

The Constitutions of the religious missionary community were then analys-
ed using the characteristics considered in the model as a basis for comparison.
The conclusions drawn from this were that the Constitutions reflect many of the
values and ideals presented in the model. In fact, there are no obvious con-
flicts between the Constitutions of the religious missionary community and the
model of the effective agent of culture change. However, the Constitutions
fail to recognize the full implications of the intercultural contact situation
in so far as they fail to clearly objectify the value system of the religious
missionary community and to emphasize the importance of the close interpersonal
relationships between the missionary and the members of the recipient community.

Chapter IV of the thesis turned to a consideration of attitudes of mem-
bers within the United States province of the religious missionary community.
One hundred and ten questionnaires and thirty-one interviews were analyzed in light of the model of the effective agent of change. Taking the lack of emphasis on the friendship relationship in the Constitutions as a lead, the analysis of the questionnaires and interviews concentrated on what these two resources reveal about the attitude of individual missionaries toward a relationship with members of the communities in which they were active. Both the questionnaires and the interviews reveal a wide range of attitudes among the members of the community. Some members closely approach the model in their recognition of the importance of establishing rapport and developing friendships with members of the recipient community. Other members of the religious missionary community express attitudes in conflict with the model.

The emphasis on the friendship relationship stems from the fact that the basis of this relationship consists of a combination of other characteristics encouraged in the model—characteristics such as identification with the host community, freedom from excessive prejudice or ethnocentrism, sensitivity to cultural differences, accessibility, and the ability to communicate effectively. In other words, many, if not most, of the characteristics in the model encourage the development of friendship between the agent or missionary and the members of the recipient community. If the interaction between the missionary and the members of the host community takes place primarily within an institutional context or within the context of the patron-client, teacher-student, or nurse-patient interaction, there is a danger that the communication remains superficial. However, if the goal of the missionary in the communication of the Christian message is to achieve an identity change within the person to whom the message is communicated, then the communication must take place at the same deeply per-
sonal level at which the change takes place. However, this kind of communication occurs only between people who understand, appreciate, and accept each other as unique individuals of profound dignity and value.

In light of the analysis of the interviews and the questionnaires, one may conclude that some members of the religious missionary community seem to experience varying degrees of estrangement and alienation from members of the host community. Within the context of the interviews, they expressed feelings of pity, of contempt, or perhaps, indifference toward the recipient community. In other words, some members of the religious missionary community either do not know enough about the members of the recipient community to relate to them— they do not see enough to relate to—or they allow their sense of estrangement to determine what they observe and what they fail to observe (cf. Gearing, 1970: 4). Other members of the religious missionary community have achieved an appreciation for the importance of personal communication with members of the host community, and a recognition of their need to grow in understanding of the culture of the host community, that is, some members more closely approach the ideal of the model of the effective agent of culture change, that of sensitivity to the complexity of the intercultural contact situation and to the personal, social, and cultural factors involved in the process of culture change.
Dear Sister,

I am presently working on my thesis for my master's degree in Anthropology. I would appreciate it very much if you could answer these questions for me. No need to sign your name. Could you please return them by June 18th? Thank you for your cooperation.

Sister Jennifer, S.Sp.S.
Convent of the Holy Spirit
Techny, Illinois 60082

1. Would you please list the houses, hospitals, or homes for the aged where you have been stationed and tell how many years you have been stationed in each place?

2. Do you feel the possibility of being changed the following year might make a person less willing to become involved in activities of their immediate work?

3. How would you describe the aim of a religious missionary community?
4. Please number the following activities from the most important to least important for realizing the aim of a religious missionary community. Use the same number for activities you consider of equal importance. Omit numbering irrelevant activities.

- teaching in grammar and high school
- nursing
- caring for the aged
- engaging in social work
- home visiting
- catechetics
- hospital visiting
- working in adult education programs
- cultivating friendships among the members of the communities in which we are active

5. Encircle the number of close friends outside the community of sisters you have made during your years of service.

none less than 5 between 5 and 10 more than 10

6. In your present activities you work (a) alone (b) with other people.

7. In the past you have worked mainly (a) alone (b) with other people.

8. The people with whom you have worked are (a) lay (b) religious (c) both lay and religious.

9. You find you work most effectively (a) alone (b) with other people.

10. Would you describe your present contact with nonreligious as (a) extensive (b) frequent (c) infrequent (d) minimal? Would you explain what extensive contact would mean to you?

11. In the past your contact with nonreligious was (a) extensive (b) frequent (c) infrequent (d) minimal.
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The thesis submitted by Sister Jennifer Johnson, S.Sp.S., has been
read and approved by Francis X. Grollig, S.J., Ph.D., Professor and Chair-
man, Anthropology Department, Loyola.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis
and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary
changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final
approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

14 January 1974

Director’s Signature