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Attitudes, Awareness and Involvement of Chicago's Teaching Sisters in Current Social Issues: A Study of Religion as Social Control

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**ATTITUDES, AWARENESS AND INVOLVEMENT OF CHICAGO'S
TEACHING SISTERS IN CURRENT SOCIAL ISSUES:
A STUDY OF RELIGION AS SOCIAL CONTROL**

by

**Sister M. Anthony Claret, O.S.F.
(Sparks)**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts**

June

1966

LIFE

Sister M. Anthony Claret, O.S.F. (Sparks) was born in Chicago, Illinois, August 15, 1933.

She was graduated from Notre Dame High School, Chicago, Illinois, June, 1951, and from the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois, May, 1955, with the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

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PREFACE

In a way of life totally consecrated to the service of God and neighbor, one would expect to find religion exercising an influence not ordinarily found in the population at large. For this reason, teaching religious provide an apt universe for a study in the effectiveness of religion as a form of social control. Paradoxically, mankind today seems to be witnessing both the demise and rebirth of religion as a societal force. In the social issues of the day one increasingly finds the Church no longer speaking softly in the churches but witnessing publicly to socio-religious beliefs. In the United States, the current struggle of the Negro for his human and civil rights has been the area where this commitment has been most apparent. For this reason the area of race has been chosen as the central socio-religious issue.

At the conception of this study two years ago, it was primarily a concern for the teaching Sister's role as educator for social justice which provided the inspiration. As time progressed, the scope broadened to embrace the theoretical orientations of reference group and social control theories. The analytical framework with which these theories provided the writer have proved stimulating and, she hopes, fruitful both in understanding the findings and paving the way for further research.

The writer is indebted to Mr. James Bretch, Business Manager of St. Joseph's Hospital, Joliet, Illinois, for his gracious assistance

in the preparation of the data for the I.B.M. computers. Mr. Paul Wolfe, Office Manager of the Computer Center at State University of Iowa has given invaluable computer programming and statistical assistance for which the writer is deeply grateful. Very special thanks are due to Dr. Paul Mundy for his guidance on this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

I. Statement of the Problem

That the causes of prejudice are many and complex, having their roots in historical, cultural, economic, psychological, and social phases of life, is today an accepted fact. Though any one of these facets may be isolated for in-depth study and analysis, this would be recognized by social scientists and psychologists as an artificial separation undertaken only for the purpose of scientific investigation. Many studies on prejudice dealing with the aforesaid causes are appearing constantly. Few of these, aside from religious publications, treat religion and its role in the solution of problems arising from prejudice at any length or with scientific depth.

The Catholic Church, though primarily transcendental in ultimate goals, exists in the world and must, therefore, as her Founder, Christ, immerse herself in its temporalities in order to redeem them. To this purpose, then, in this era of civil rights and human liberties, the Church has made its position clearer on these points than perhaps ever before. A greater and more widespread willingness on the part of Church personnel to become directly involved in the cause of interracial justice is in evidence. All of which points clearly to two questions. First, what is the role of religion in reducing the impact of the forces of prejudice?

The second question has a more specific focus. Since the Catholic School system has long had for its goal the socialization of its products in Catholic Socio-religious ideals,¹ it would be expected that the religious teacher would be a main means of achieving this end. The second question is then--how effectively prepared is the teacher to accomplish this goal? Or put another way, to what extent has she been influenced by the many causes of prejudice? For the purpose of exploring these questions, three main areas of investigation of the religious teaching Sister have been delineated: her attitudes about social (mainly racial) issues; her awareness of social facts; and her degree of involvement in specific apostolic works considered critical to the propagation of social justice.

Facility in enunciating religious principles and practices is not to be equated with achievement. The social ideal for religious Sisters was made quite clear in Pope Pius XII's time. He desired that they be contemporary women, competent in their respective fields, and "well-informed on modern problems and their solutions, so that they may always be able to understand and help those who are entrusted to their care."²

Among the social problems facing North Americans today, race relations occupies the forefront, being acknowledged by governmental, social, and religious leaders as America's number one domestic problem.

¹ Sister Mary Joan, O.P., and Sister Mary Nona, O.P., Guiding Growth in Christian Social Living, Vol. III (Washington, 1946), pp. 207-08. A kind of "Bible" in Catholic Educational circles.

² J. Beyer, S.J., "Woman's Role in the Church at the Present Time, According to the Teaching of H.H. Pius XII," Doctrinal Instruction of Religious Sisters: Religious Life Series (Westminster, 1956) pp. 70-71.

Recent pronouncements of the ecclesiastical hierarchy can leave no doubt as to the Church's position on racism and segregation.¹ Within the past two years in the Chicago area, the late Albert Cardinal Meyer frequently wrote pastorals directly and indirectly touching on the topic. A series of Sunday sermon outlines on the topic was prepared for Archdiocesan parish priests. Catholic newspapers and periodicals of the 1960's abound in information and editorial commentaries dealing with the interracial issue.

Women religious are a sign of the Church that has spoken. "The Church presents Christ to believers and non-believers alike in a striking manner daily through them."² Their very being is to emanate the social ideal of the gospel. In every contact they teach by what they believe and express in word or action. The religious who are also professional teachers have the added opportunity of giving formal instruction. Their clarity of vision and convictions will come through to their students. So, too, will the absence of these. The woman religious teaches not only by what she chooses to say, but also by what she chooses not to say. The question is: are the religious teachers equal to their task? It will be the purpose of this study to explore to what extent the institution of religious life and education are supportive to the Catholic Church's social doctrine.

¹See "Annual Statements of U.S. Bishops" for 1958 and 1963; also Pacem in Terris--Part III; Mystici Corporis; Summi Pontificatus; Ahmann, Matthew, Race: Challenge to Religion; LaFarge, John, S.J., The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations.

²"Constitution on the Church," Chapter 6, as released by the N.C.W.C. News Service. The National Catholic Reporter, December 2, 1964, p. 7.

II. Theoretical Considerations

Sociology of Religion and American Catholics

The American sociology of religion has faced several crises in its process of maturation. In spite of the fact that in 1947 the American Catholic Sociological Society formed a committee for the sociology of religion, Father Joseph Fichter at the 1950 convention of the Society indicted it for doing nothing in the field. In that same year Jammes and Mandras were able to find only two persons interested in the sociology of religion out of a list of nearly two hundred names published by the Society.¹

Why this lack of interest? Professor Wach opines, "If sociology has been suspect to believers," it is because it has been sometimes used "as a weapon of aggression against religion."² Fichter also comments on the "coolness" with which his studies have been accepted by the ecclesiastical functionaries whom they were intended to assist.³ However, scientists temporarily affected by lack of encouragement, acceptance and funds may still rise to the challenge and by so doing will inspire others to do also. That fears of this sort still persist among some American Catholics can be readily observed in Father Andrew Greeley's comments on this state of affairs.

¹Jean Jammes and Henry Mandras, "Religious Sociology in the U.S.," Lumen Vitae, VI (Jan.-June, 1951), 133-36.

²Ibid., p. 134.

³Joseph H. Fichter, Southern Parish: Dynamics of a City Church (Chicago, 1951), I, vii.

American Catholicism need not be afraid of the sociologist. Myth debunking and critical analysis are intellectual exercises which even though they have a value in themselves can also clear away the deadwood and the rubble which interfere with the work of the Church. If sociologists assault the conventional wisdom, we need not feel threatened because we have no vested interest in phony traditions. If sociologists raise pointed questions, we ought not to feel shocked, because we are not committed to accidental forms which have outlived their usefulness. If sociologists report some embarrassing findings, we ought not to be angry because they are God's agents in bearing witness to our failures. In short, let us welcome the critical mind of the sociologists, because he is seeking only for the truth, limited though it might be, which his discipline is able to attain. And as Pius XI of immortal memory observed the Catholic Church has nothing to fear from the truth.¹

There can be no doubt, however, that the over-all "aggiornamento" of Pope John XXIII has opened the doors and windows of the Church thus achieving two significant gains for the American sociology of religion. First, this spirit of self-examination and renewal has afforded the sociologist of religion greater access to investigate institutions previously closed to him; second, the Catholic sociologist himself is less inhibited in the presentation of the socio-religious facts than formerly. Evidence of this can be seen in the recent (February 27, 1965) Midwest Sister Formation Conference in Chicago at which Dr. Paul Mundy of Loyola University, Chicago, presented the main research findings of this study.

It is the belief of Catholics that because the nature of the Church is built on the Incarnation of the Son of God and is an extension of that Mystery in time and space, the Church must be relevant in every period of history if she is to accomplish her purpose. In order to know objectively

Andrew Greeley, "Some Questions for U.S. Catholics," The Catholic Reporter, III (June 22, 1962), 10.

what kind of a world the Church must encounter, is it not necessary for the Church to engage in dialogue with certain areas of secular knowledge? Is it not only in a wedding of the two in man that man more perfectly resembles the incarnate Christ?¹

However, this dialogue imposes obligations on both sides. Today's greater freedom for scholarly socio-religious research places upon the sociologist who embraces Catholic values a serious responsibility. He must realize that his approach to man is partial, and that in order to achieve the whole truth, sociology must engage in a dialogue with other scientific and humanistic disciplines.² While accepting supra-empirical postulates from the Catholic value system, realizing that these values will influence qualitative analysis and weighting of data, and clearly stating such in his research report, the Catholic sociologist must, like all other sociologists, "abide by the rules of the game."³ Faith and philosophy cannot substitute for knowledge that can be gained only through competent empirical research.

Religious Life -- Subject Area for the Sociology of Religion

There are several reasons why the Church should be interested in the scientific investigation of its religious personnel. Quantitatively, 930,000 women religious have put their human potential at the disposal

¹Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, "Catholic Responsibilities in Sociology," Thought, XXVI (Autumn, 1951), 384-96. Reprinted in The Church in the Changing Community (New York, 1957), no pages listed.

²Thomas F. O'Dea, "The Sociology of Religion," ACSR, XV (June, 1954), 90-91.

³E. K. Francis and Jean Labben, "Suggestions to American Catholic Sociologists for a Scheme of Research," Lumen Vitae, VI (Jan.-June, 1951), 162.

of the Catholic Church.¹ This places heavy responsibility upon the authorities to recognize, develop and utilize this God-given talent for the greater good of all. However, each religious does not function as an isolated unit. Religious communities are highly structured and institutionalized social bodies. The dangers of personality decimation increase in bureaucratic structures. Therefore, there is much that these groups may learn from sociological research and findings in the areas of group structure and analysis, community planning, etc. Since the Church is an adaptive institution, she should utilize research as a basis for policy making. In this way, the appointments of religious personnel and the organizations of apostolic works can at least keep pace with social change. Very pertinent to this fact of the Church being an adaptive institution are the remarks of Gordon Zahn, who points out that his study fully documents the following:

To the extent that the Church does accomodate itself to a secular regime, it becomes, in effect, an agent of that regime, supplementing the secular controls with those of the spiritual order.²

This power to reinforce the controls of secular society places formidable responsibility upon Church leaders. The questions which they must ask themselves are the following. First, to what should religious personnel be continually adapting? Second, to what are religious personnel adapting? The former is a problem for social philosophy and doctrine; the

¹ Statistics from I.C.I., No. 100 (July 15, 1959).

² Gordon C. Zahn, German Catholics and Hitler's Wars: A Study in Social Control (New York, 1962), p. 216.

latter can only be approximated through empirical research. The expounding of inspiring goals and principles is no substitute for knowledge of the existential facts. Self-knowledge is a prerequisite for personal growth in maturity. The Church as a human institution is no exception, and it is even more critical that stock be taken of those charged with the intellectual and spiritual formation of the People of God. "In the spirit of the Gospel, we should try to find out what duties we have not yet fulfilled, rather than enumerate those which we have done our best to fulfill."¹

Sociological Theory: Social Control

With the maturing interest in the sociology of religion, it becomes imperative to discover the proper theories to utilize as frames of reference for one's empirical research. At the same time, "improved theorizing is clearly dependent on further empirical investigations."² It is the hope of the writer that this study will demonstrate, however modestly, that social control theory produces fruitful hypotheses for the sociology of religion; i.e., hypotheses pointing the way for further investigations ultimately leading to the sharpening of theoretical formulations. Without these, the facts of description become cumbersome and disorganized. Without systematic description, accurate analysis is impossible.³

¹Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens, The Nun in the World (Westminster, 1962), p. 73.

²Maurice Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton, 1960), p. 275.

³Talcott Parsons, Essays in Sociological Theory (Glencoe, 1957), p. 213.

It is generally accepted that men organize their behavior to some extent in response to the expectations which they impute to other people.¹ Many social theorists past and present have written on this, including Charles Horton Cooley, Emile Durkheim, George Mead and William I. Thomas. Charles H. Cooley had this to say about man's conscience and social control.

Conscience is always a group conscience, however the group may be formed, so that our moral sentiment always reflects our time, our country, and our special field of personal imagination. On the other hand, our sense of right ignores those whom we do not, through sympathy, feel as part of ourselves, no matter how close their physical contiguity.²

E. A. Ross states that "conscience is the reflection of public opinion rather than public opinion the reflection of conscience."³ Durkheim refers to conscience as "society living in us."⁴ Thomas points out that complete individualization is an impossibility because "no one lives or can live without regard to a public."⁵

With varying degrees of emphasis all of the above agree to society's influence on man. Durkheim, of course, stands at an extreme viewing man as the product or object of the social forces surrounding him.

¹Tomatsu Shibutani, Society and Personality: An Interactionist Approach in Social Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, 1961), p. 60.

²Charles H. Cooley, "Social Aspects of Conscience," Human Nature and the Social Order in Sociological Theory: Present Day Sociology From the Past, ed. Edgar Borgatta and Henry Meyer (New York, 1956), p. 431.

³Edward Ross, "Some Aspects of Social Control," Social Control in Borgatta and Meyer, p. 415.

⁴Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (ed.) Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings (New York, 1957), p. 98.

⁵William I. Thomas, "The Regulation of the Four Wishes," in Borgatta and Meyer, p. 431.

While admitting the presence of control, the writer of this paper holds with Parsons that for each individual some area of autonomy or freedom remains.

But even though the stamp of society is everywhere upon it, Parsons does not regard the personality simply as a social product, as simply the sum and organization of the roles any particular individual has learned to play. For in spite of its extensive empirical interdependencies and interpenetrations both with sociocultural and biological systems, Parsons maintains that personality constitutes an important level of system organization in its own right, and hence can never be reduced to or fully explained by the other systems to which it relates.¹

Among the various channels through which society controls its members is religion. Its influence or control as an integrating factor in society depends upon the degree to which the people of the given society are motivated by its value system. In proportion as they are not, its influence as a social control is minimized and modified by other forms of control. According to certain classifications, religion as a social control can be of two main types: first, formal or informal; second, external or internal. It is the internal type of social control which is strongest and most effective according to some theorists.² Lenski emphasizes the importance of informal and internal facets of socio-religious control as a result of his research in which he points out the following:

To understand the power of socio-religious groups it is essential to recognize their capacity to absorb primary groups as subunits in their organizational system. Because of this, the norms of socio-religious groups are constantly reinforced in those intimate, highly valued social relationships which are so crucial in the shaping of personality.³

¹Edward C. Devereaux, Jr., "Parson's Sociological Theory," Social Theories of Talcott Parsons, ed. Max Black (Englewood Cliffs, 1962), p. 32.

²For a detailed analysis of this viewpoint, see Thomas Gannon, "Religious Control and Delinquent Behavior" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1961, p. 13 ff.)

³Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, 1963), p. 344.

Sharpening the focus, LaPiere refines this theory in terms of religion as an external control. Precisely what is it about primary group relationships which make them so supportive to socio-religious control? LaPiere says they give status, and it is the "individual's regard for social status which makes him subject to social control."¹ Social control factors are "those which transcend the immediate situation and are operative only because of the individual's regard for social status."² The most effective type of social control, according to LaPiere must come through groups of the primary type since they are the most valued.³ This would add support to Lenski's observation on the power of primary groups to form personality. It is precisely in the mystery of human personality that we encounter formal social control. In this type, as also with the internal (values), where religion is concerned, one must admit that one knows very little; for this is the place where unique religious experience comes into play. However, there are certain measurables even in this area and so the writer cannot ignore these under the pretext that the whole man cannot be observed. We shall content ourselves with that which can be observed and draw our conclusions from such.

LaPiere writes:

All other factors remaining equal, the control that is exercised by a group over an individual member is inverse to the size of the group. ... To the individual, modern or premodern, it is mainly those people who are known to him personally and who know him personally who count in his behavioral calculations.⁴

¹Richard LaPiere, A Theory of Social Control (New York, 1954), p. 47.

²Ibid., p. 288.

³Ibid., p. 99.

⁴Ibid., p. 101.

In the area of religion this can have very disturbing consequences when one considers the viewpoint presented by Lenski.

We found that contrary to common sense, there is only a very limited relationship between the degree to which individuals are involved in a formal religious association and the degree to which they are involved in the corresponding subcommunity. Hence, the subcommunity is a vehicle by means of which large numbers of persons are effectively indoctrinated with the norms of the group. ... However, as we noted on numerous occasions in the discussions of economics, politics and family life, the subcommunity is something more than an instrument for reinforcing the influence of the association. It is a distinct social system in its own right, and only imperfectly coordinated with the religious association. At times, in fact, it exercises an influence which brings it into conflict with the formal association.¹

The subcommunity was observed to possess "its own peculiar pattern of relationships with other variables."²

Recent theories of urbanism give strong indication that "religious institutions have a significant impact on secular social institutions."³ Since American Catholicism is mainly urban, one should be able to expect manifestations of socio-religious control on secular social institutions. However, Will Herberg holds that urbanism promotes "communal" religion and also the influence of religious subcommunities (smaller units composed of religiously homogeneous members).⁴ As Lenski's findings showed that the Church and its subcommunities are not mutually reinforcing, the conclusion may then be drawn that if religion is influencing secular society, it is due mainly to the religion of the subcommunities. To the extent that the subcommunity is permeated with Catholic socio-religious ideals and values,

¹Lenski, pp. 327-28.

²Ibid., p. 255.

³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (Garden City, 1960), pp. 57-60; pp. 153-55.

to that extent will secular society be influenced by Catholicism as a social control.

Also to be considered in the theoretical framework of this investigation is Reference Group Theory. However, due to its intrinsic relationship to attitude formation, it will be treated in Chapter III.

Problems of Conceptualization

Before stating the hypotheses on which this study is based, a clarification of terms is in order. American sociologists contend that concept formation is a major problem since concepts are the major tool for theorizing. Wherever possible, operational definitions will be used.

First, the term socio-religious is used to distinguish the phenomenon it describes from "purely religious" beliefs and attitudes, that is, the subject matter of the Catholic Creed. Socio-religious doctrines are those teachings of the Catholic Church which pertain to the unchanging principles of justice and charity directing social interaction. This is best known as the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Socio-religious subcommunities are those primary groups (family and friendship groups) which are religiously homogeneous "with the result that interaction among members normally involves interaction among members of the same religious group. The more deeply people have internalized the norms or standards of their groups, the more their actions reinforce similar tendencies in other members of their family [primary group(s)]."¹ Because a religious regards the community she enters as her "family," and abides by its norms (Rule of Life), the religious community may be regarded as a socio-religious subcommunity of the Church.

¹ Lenski, p. 19.

Second, by social milieu is meant American society in its secular context (broad sense). Racial prejudice and discrimination are national problems, not allocated to any particular region or phase of life. However, from the geographic viewpoint, this problem is being studied in a Chicago context. Therefore, social milieu in the strict sense will mean American secular life as now lived in Chicago. The term "secular" as used here should not be identified with the ideal type as in "sacred-secular." In this context the term embraces those facets of life not considered religious in the strict sense, but which are capable of socio-religious ramifications, as for example, social problems. Of primary interest in regard to social milieu will be the contacts of the religious women, both in primary and secondary group aspects.

Third, as a concept the word prejudice frequently carries hidden connotations and implicit value judgments. Gerhard Lenski writes,

Strictly speaking, the term "prejudice" denotes an "unreasonable" viewpoint. ... There is much about the unfavorable images which socio-religious groups form of each other which is quite reasonable, provided only that one accept certain basic value postulates shared by members of the group. ... Sometimes a group may allow its values to distort its "perceptions," in which case there are grounds for speaking of "prejudice." Often, however, it seems that the unfavorable images arise simply because different groups are committed to different values and therefore act differently and are judged accordingly.¹

Lenski finally suggests a less polemical term, "unfavorable group image," which the writer will also adopt.

¹Ibid., pp. 74-75.

Fourth, for the purpose of this study, social control will be viewed as "a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded, or compelled to conform to the usages and life-values of groups."¹ When speaking of the social control dimension of human behavior, it should be understood that the writer is not hereby subscribing to any deterministic philosophy of human conduct.

Social control factors are never the sole cause of human conduct. Rather they frequently, but not invariably, enter to some degree or other into the complex interaction with personality and situational factors out of which individual conduct emerges.²

Fifth, by social attitudes is meant the psychological state of readiness which conditions a person's viewpoint on and behavior toward current social issues,³ with greater emphasis in this case on the racial one.

Sixth, the term awareness covers the possession of theoretical and factual information considered essential to the practical application of abstract principles.

Seventh, involvement signifies the wide scope of participation in social issues open to the Sister. Involvement could range from discussion to action. Further delineation will be made in Part IV--Methodology.

¹Joseph S. Roucek, Social Control (New York, 1947), p. 3.

²LaPiere, p. 65.

³S. Stansfeld Sargent and Robert C. Williamson, Social Psychology: An Introduction to the Study of Human Relations (New York, 1958), pp. 225-26.

III. Hypotheses

Each hypothesis is preceded by a short statement demonstrating its theoretical origin.

I. Religious women are members of religious subcommunities which, according to Lenski, are a "distinct social system only imperfectly coordinated with the religious association" in socio-religious areas, such as economics, politics, family life, etc., at times exercising "an influence which brings it into conflict with the formal religious association."¹

Members of religious subcommunities, though publicly professing orthodoxy in Church teaching, will exhibit a wide range of attitudes stemming from divergent interpretations of the socio-religious teachings of the Catholic Church.

II. If the American religious tends "to be conformist rather than reformist," has been "socialized in a society oriented to success in secular terms,"² and seeks for status from such,³ then

It is predicted that there will be a greater relationship between socio-religious attitudes and social class than between socio-religious attitudes and kind of educational background (Catholic, public, mixed).

III. If the religious subcommunity is supportive to the Church at large, it acts to fulfill its mission of teaching mandated by the Church. In

¹Lenski, p. 328.

²Joseph H. Fichter, Religion As An Occupation (Notre Dame, 1961), p.155

³LaPiere, p. 47.

recent years the Church has spoken about the Sisters' teaching role in terms much broader than the classroom.¹ Therefore, as the members of socio-religious subcommunities grow in knowledge of social facts having religious implications, it may be expected that they will become involved through various forms of appropriate action. However,

If Religious subjects and superiors tend to maintain the "status-quo,"² it is predicted that there will be no correlation between the Religious' awareness of current social issues and the extent of their involvement.

IV. In the socialization of its members, the religious subcommunity can be expected to pass on its values as criteria for judgment. To the extent that the religious subcommunity has internalized the values of the Church, to that extent only may it act as an agent of socialization in socio-religious values for its members.³ Since the religious communities undertook the juniorate formation program for their members at the request of the Church, they assume also the goals of the program, one of which is relevant instruction in social doctrine.⁴ Therefore,

¹Suenens, pp. 73-93.

²Several contemporary authors make direct reference to this as fact. See Lenski, The Religious Factor, p. 297; Sister Gertrude Joseph Donnelly, The Sister Apostle (Notre Dame, 1964), p. 150; Trafford Maher, S.J., Lest We Build on Sand (St. Louis, 1962), p. 251. For an experimental study which supports this, see Ferenc Merci, "Group Leadership and Institutionalization," Readings in Social Psychology, ed. G. Swanson (New York, 1952), pp. 318-28.

³Lenski, p. 19.

⁴Sacred Congregation of Religious, Sedes Sapientiae and the General Statutes Annexed to the Apostolic Constitution (Washington, D.C., 1957), Title X, Art. 47, p. 66. See also Sister Formation Bulletin, V (Winter, 1958-59), 28; Patricia McGerr, "Sister Formation and the Social Apostolate," Interracial Review, XXXIII (February, 1960), 42-44. The latter is an article based on an interview with Sister M. Emil, I.H.M., then executive secretary of the Sister Formation Conference.

If the Juniorate Formation Program is effective in this aspect of spiritual formation, then it is predicted that there will be a meaningful difference in attitude, awareness and involvement scores between those with juniorate training and those without. Those with juniorate will evidence more awareness of, Christian attitudes toward, and involvement in social issues than those without juniorate formation.

IV. Methodology and Research Design

Sample

Because of the nature of religious life and its easy identification as a religious institution and structure, its members provide an unusually homogeneous group for the investigation of religion as a social control. What Lenski says of the clergy in his work would apply to religious teachers equally well.

The clergy are also of special importance to us in this study since they, more than other members of the groups to which they belong, have been exposed to, and indoctrinated in, the distinctive teachings of their churches. Also, by virtue of their office they have been more confined to their own sub-community than most of the laity, and thus more exposed to its influences. In short, if socio-religious groups are forces giving rise to peculiar and distinctive patterns of thought and action in the modern metropolis, we would expect to find group differences more marked among the clergy than among the laity.¹

To assure an adequate representation of the various types of religious teachers in the city of Chicago, a proportionate number of Sisters were questioned on the grade school, high school, and college levels. Table 1 illustrates how response to the survey yielded similar representativeness, though grade and high school teachers tend to be somewhat underrepresented

¹Lenski, pp. 286-87.

and college teachers somewhat overrepresented in terms of the total population.

TABLE 1.--Representativeness of sample as to teaching level: Percentage of teaching religious in total population as compared with percentage of respondents in sample

Educational Level	Population		Sample	
	N per cent		N per cent	
Grade School Teachers	2,509	69.7	380	65.6
High School Teachers	991	27.5	154	26.6
College Teachers	<u>102</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>7.8</u>
Total	3,602	100.0	579	100.0

A regular interval sample of the population (3,602 teaching religious in the city of Chicago or 325 religious convents housing religious teachers) was made in the following manner: The first of every five convents in the city of Chicago, starting at the end of the list in the Catholic Guide of Chicago Archdiocese, was selected for the study. The Catholic Directory was utilized as a source of additional information to determine how many questionnaires were to be sent to a particular convent. This number was checked against the total number of teaching Sisters in a convent as reported by the superior of each convent on a special data sheet which was supplied for this purpose. This sample was examined for biases, such as nationality-descent, number of persons in the house, etc.; it was found satisfactory and representative. The sample surveyed constituted 27 per cent of the total population or 973 teaching Sisters; 65 religious houses or 20 per cent of the religious houses in the population are represented. The response was 59.5 per cent of the sample or 579 respondents, i.e., 16 per cent of the total population of Chicago's teaching Sisters. In terms of religious houses, this is 71 per cent of the sample surveyed.

Research Instrument

The main research instrument employed was a questionnaire designed to give the writer knowledge in two main areas: first, data on the respondent's background (e.g., education, socio-economic status, national origin, and other variables considered relevant to this study and capable of empirical investigation); and second, information on the respondent's knowledge of, attitudes toward, and involvement in certain social issues and conditions, bearing especially upon the race relations problem.

To reduce the possibility of "conditioned" answers, no names were to be written on the questionnaire. Also each convent was assured anonymity. In order to strengthen the validity of the questionnaire, it was pretested by using 25 grade and high school teachers as subjects one month prior to the actual survey. Interviews on specific questions were also conducted.

The success of a questionnaire depends to a great extent on its ability to identify and focus on those factors relevant to the investigation. Since the focus of this study is the relation of religion to social attitudes, awareness and involvement, the first step is to define each of these areas operationally in terms of what the Church can reasonably expect of her educational leaders.

Quantification and Attitudes, Awareness and Involvement

In the area of attitudes, "the principal aspect of attitudes which we are interested in measuring is that aspect which takes the form of opinions expressed in language."¹ For this reason, the 19 questions designed to check the respondent's internalization and application of the Church's social doctrine begin with "Do you think that...?" or "Do you feel that...?"

¹George Lundberg, Social Research (New York, 1929), p. 201.

Also the wording of the questions does not suggest a "right answer." All of the questions deal with current social problems or principles considered to be basic and critical for religious teachers today.¹ Fifteen of the nineteen questions pertain to specific race relations problems, i.e., housing, education, basic equality, etc. The four other questions cover these problems: blighted neighborhoods (1), just wage (2), and migrant workers (1). Each answer which corresponds with social doctrine or the social facts as presented by the various disciplines is given a weighted value of 1. Those answers which do not conform to the previous standards are given a weighted value of 3. Those questions left unanswered are judged ambivalent and receive a weighted value of 2. The individual weights are then added for a total attitude score, the lowest possible and most favorable attitude score being 19; the highest and least favorable, 57. This test in no way claims to be a standardized attitude test in the strict psychological and empirical sense. It is rather a questionnaire in which the respondent describes her reaction to various questions. It is directional; that is, it is an indicator.

Awareness scores are computed on the basis of fourteen questions designed to ascertain the respondent's knowledge or perception of current social issues. These questions cover such areas as race relations, Catholic Action, poverty, migrant workers, and community organizations. Where it is appropriate, the same pattern is followed here as was followed with socio-

¹For a more comprehensive treatment of this point, see Bernard P. Dauenhauer, "Our Untaught Teachings: Catholic Educational and Social Doctrine," Commonweal, LXXV (February 2, 1962), 490-92; L. J. Twomey, S.J., "Social Formation: The Forgotten Imperative," Catholic Mind, LIX (June, 1961), 243-53.

religious attitudes above. A correct answer receives a weight of 1; an incorrect, 3; no answer, 2. For awareness, the most socially aware receives a possible score of 14; the least socially aware, a possible 42.

Involvement scores are comprised of the total scores for five subdivisions: education, reading, discussion, apostolic involvement, and personal contact. Each of these has its own questions and total scores. As with the previous scores, weights are assigned on the basis of qualitative analysis. In the case of involvement, there were 33 variables; the lower the number assigned (lowest possible score--33), the greater the degree of involvement; the higher the number assigned (highest possible score--107), the lower the degree of involvement.

Because "it is a fundamental axiom of sociology ... that the constituent elements of any society are inevitably interrelated and interdependent,"¹ it will be more the purpose of this study to probe the interdependence of religious and non-religious factors than to offer a definitive statement on the effectiveness of religion as THE form of social control. For this purpose, correlation analysis seemed well-suited to approximate the relationship of attitudes, awareness or involvement to variables of a non-religious nature, e.g., social class background. Though the results of such data yield only patterns of association and do not definitely establish causal relationship, this is a first step in the experimental method of investigating causation and is not to be underestimated.

¹Lenski, p. 26.

However, causal relationship may be present. Lenski writes,

Men have to organize their thinking about social phenomena in causal terms. But in this field we cannot rigorously prove causality, and so we must find alternative standards for deciding whether the conception of cause and effect can properly be used at all in a given instance. At the present time, two standards are generally accepted. First, a causal inference should be reasonable and logical in the light of theory. Second, there should be no evidence contrary to the causal hypothesis. That is, there should be no evidence of the absence of an association between the two variables involved. Neither should there be any evidence that the presumed cause occurs later in time than the presumed effect.¹

Even where cause can be inferred, it is not to be presumed as the sole cause, once again pointing out the interdependence of religious and social factors.

An "ex post facto" experimental test was performed on those Sisters whose ages fell between 20 and 34. The control group was composed of those who had never been in the Juniorate Formation Program. The experimental group comprised those who had. These groups were matched by frequency distributions for certain "attitude" questions designed to test for convictions.

The Question of Values

It is probably quite evident at this point that the writer is making no attempt to be "value-free"--if, indeed, such a condition actually exists! In a study of this nature, it is impossible not to resort to supra-empirical postulates as these provide the standards by which the respondent's attitudes, awareness and involvement are judged and quantified.² Because this study pertains to Catholic religious women who are teachers by profession, all supra-empirical postulates are drawn from Catholic theology and philosophy.

¹Ibid., p. 27.

²Paul Hanly Furfey, The Scope and Method of Sociology: A Meta-sociological Treatise (New York, 1953), p. 499. (For a further development of this topic, see Chapters 1 and 4.)

Standards of Catholic Social Doctrine

Though the Catholic Church has spoken several times in the past century on social problems, the directives have for the most part dealt with general principles. In the case of papal directives addressed to the entire Church, this is understandable.

However, if these principles are to be fruitful, they must be applied to the present world of men and their problems. As Father Twomey, one of the U.S.'s social action pioneers has said:

Our skill lies chiefly in developing incontestable major premises from them; our weakness, in failing to develop equally sound minor premises. ... From clearly stated and easily understood a priori premises it is fairly easy to draw up valid majors to underscore the general principles involved in each socio-economic issue: unemployment, minimum-wage legislation, urban renewal, medical care, racial justice, etc. The minors, however, have to be hammered out through study, discussion and research based on a posteriori knowledge of how the general principles fit the given situation in each case.¹

John XXIII also seems to have been aware of the inherent difficulty in applying social doctrine to concrete cultural situations. In Mater et Magistra he wrote, "It is not enough for men to be instructed according to the teachings of the Church on their obligation to act in a Christian manner in economic and social affairs. They must also be shown ways in which they can properly fulfill their duty in this regard."² The key words in the foregoing sentence, in the opinion of the writer, are "ways" and "they."

¹Louis J. Twomey, S.J., "Ave Atque Vale," Social Order, XIII (December, 1963), 2-3.

²John XXIII, Mater et Magistra, (New York, 1961), 230.

"Ways" denotes the means to achieve an end, in this case spelled out fairly clearly in Scripture and other sources of social doctrine, e.g., papal and episcopal directives. "They" are those seeking guidance in how they may fulfill their duties of justice and love in the concrete situations and problems of everyday life.

In the mid 1960's the U.S.'s major domestic problem was a racial one. The tensions aroused by this were more serious than those produced by unemployment and poverty, even though all were related.¹ Because of the race problem's timeliness, most of the attitude and awareness questions in the study centered around this area of social doctrine. On the premise that the Church's role in this case was to help her members form their consciences on current social issues of a moral nature, the writer undertook an analysis of statements (papal and episcopal; world-wide, national, and local). The position which the writer attributes to the Church on these issues is that of the hierarchy, either a consensus if it pertains to the nation or state, or a statement of a local bishop speaking to guide the "flock." There are a few cases of noteworthy retreat from taking a position on concrete issues even though the other Bishops in that locale had reached a consensus. This must, in the writer's opinion, leave a loophole for those seeking one and confusion for others sincerely desiring guidance for their consciences.

Whether the Church has spoken clearly must be judged not only by the numbers and kinds of official statements issued by N.C.W.C., for most of these as such never reach the eyes or ears of the average Catholic. The

¹ John F. Cronin, Social Principles and Economic Life, (Rev. Ed.) (Milwaukee, 1964), p. 319.

question is does the Church's social teaching filter down to the local level, that is, to the parish, the convent, the seminary, the houses of formation?

Joseph Cardinal Ritter acknowledged the problem in an interview in 1963.

We have failed in our prophetic mission toward justice. ... We've had sermons on this subject, but they've theorized too much. Now we've got to particularize, to tell the people what's expected of them and how they should be out promoting civil rights. We've got to get specific about housing, about jobs, about all civil rights.¹

Here Cardinal Ritter clearly points out that the challenge to the Church lies in instructing and providing leadership in specific issues involving human or civil rights. A recent case in which this leadership was judged to be lacking occurred in the defeat of Baltimore's Fair Housing Bill. City Council President, Thomas D'Alesandro 3rd, blamed the clergy, saying, "Unless the Church gets in at the community level, with dialogue and discussion, we won't get the kind of change we're talking about."²

Though there is definite room for improvement, the U.S. Catholic Church also has a plus side to her record on civil rights. When John XXIII spoke on racism in Pacem in Terris, the Catholic Bishops in America were listening. He had said, "Racial discrimination can in no way be justified, ... Thus he who possesses certain rights has likewise the duty to claim those rights as marks of his dignity, while others have the obligation to acknowledge those rights and respect them."³ Echoing this type of thought

¹Joseph Cardinal Ritter, "What Must We Do About Negroes' Civil Rights?" Marriage, XLV (October, 1963), reprinted by National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice (N.C.C.I.J.), Chicago.

²The New World (Chicago), February 4, 1966.

³John XXIII, Pacem in Terris, (New York, 1963), 44.

and repeating the main message of their 1958 joint statement, the Bishops of the U.S. in 1963 declared, "The heart of the race question is moral and religious."¹ They then went on to say that this applies to all forms of discrimination and segregation based on prejudice. Catholics were called upon to become personally involved on every level to secure justice in voting, employment, housing, education and the use of public facilities.

In that same year, one year prior to the conducting of this survey, fifty U.S. Bishops had issued pastorals on the subject of race.² Providing living witness to these verbal statements were those members of the hierarchy who participated in the March on Washington, August 28, 1963. Taking a very public role was Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle who offered the invocation at the Lincoln Memorial.

Archbishop O'Boyle, in an address to the Urban League of Washington, D.C., made a pertinent observation:

Moral principles must be implemented by concrete measures of civic life. To bring this about, religious leaders must be aided by those familiar with the social, political, and economic aspects of the problem we face.

Hence we come to you offering our assistance and friendship, but also asking you inform and guide us. Without your help...we could make serious mistakes. We could talk generalities that would have little impact on the heart-rending problems you know so well. We want to work with you, so that our efforts will be specific, concrete and wisely conceived.³

¹U.S. Bishops, "Statement of Catholic Bishops of the United States Concerning Racial Harmony," August 25, 1963, reprint by N.C.C.I.J.

²Matthew Ahmann, "Youth Education and Interracial Justice." Paper read before Conference on Race for the Sisters of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate, Joliet, Illinois, June 24, 1964.

³Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle in an address to Urban League of Washington, D.C., N.C.W.C. News Service, May 10, 1963.

Thus, it seems to the writer, meaningful social teaching on the Church's part necessarily involves ongoing dialogue between the local Church and secular authorities in the various phases of socio-economic life.

In preparing the questionnaire associated with this study, the writer chose to deal mainly with racial issues, though problems dealing with just wage, migratory labor and slums are also treated. Since papal decrees and joint statements of the episcopacy deal mainly in generalities, the writer refers in the following to individual Bishops' statements and actions in their own dioceses, as these reflect their interpretation of Catholic social doctrine in regard to local, and therefore, specific problems.

Housing

To the question, "Do you think middle class colored¹ people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods?" the Church was judged as giving an affirmative response of "yes." John XXIII wrote in Pacem in Terris, "Every human being has the right to freedom of movement and of residence within the confines of his own country."² The joint statement of U.S. Bishops in 1958 condemned segregation in housing. Summing up well the position of several other Bishops who have written similar pastorals is Andrew G. Grutka, Bishop of Gary, who wrote in a pastoral of 1963:

¹The reader will notice the use of "colored" in preference to "Negro" in the questionnaire. This was thought to be a more neutral term.

²John XXIII, Pacem in Terris, 25.

The evidences of segregation in housing are strikingly acute. So is the evidence that this is deliberate. This containment implies that one race is not fit to live with another. This is immoral. ... Christian doctrine and Democratic principles affirm the rights of all persons to live where they choose and in homes which their economic position can afford. ... At the root of discrimination in housing lies the ugliness of personal prejudice against darker-skinned people constantly generating feverish suspicions, hatred, distrust and unwillingness to behave as a neighbor. Realtors, property owners and prospective buyers and sellers who resort to unwritten restrictive covenants and rely on the feebleness of law enforcement against discriminatory selling are guilty of perpetuating segregation. ... Legislators and government officials are obliged to conscientiously strive for laws aimed at preventing or eliminating racial discrimination in housing. The votes of citizens should approve and accept these laws with the firm resolve to abide by them.¹

Further support is given to this position by other members of the hierarchy across the country. The diocese of Providence, Rhode Island, by means of its weekly diocesan paper, The Providence Visitor, backed a Fair Housing Practices Act in 1959 when it was before the Rhode Island General Assembly. On its defeat, the diocese published a booklet covering all of its literature on the topic. Entitled The Providence Visitor Backs A Fair Housing Bill, it was intended to educate the public on the Catholic position.² This same diocese in 1963-64 had three of its Sunday Sermon Outlines for priests devoted to discrimination and fair housing laws.

In a pastoral of July 19, 1963, Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati called for fair housing legislation on the state and local levels as a remedy for the race problem. He warned against block busting and panics.

¹Andrew G. Grutka, "How Good A Neighbor Am I?" Our Sunday Visitor (Gary edition), August 11, 1963, 2a.

²The Providence Visitor Backs A Fair Housing Bill reprinted from The Providence Visitor, (Providence, R.I.), 1959.

At the same time he appealed to realtors to open ranks to all qualified brokers and to list available homes without reference to race.¹

Upholding the rights of Negroes to demonstrate for fair housing was Bishop Floyd L. Begin of Oakland, California.²

John J. Russell, Bishop of Richmond, said in a 1963 pastoral, "We have an obligation to help our Negro brethren to obtain their rights to equal education, to employment commensurate with their qualifications, to decent housing in any neighborhood."³ Two years later Bishop Russell advised his priests to counsel their parishioners on the immorality of racial segregation, particularly in housing. Not only did Bishop Russell speak on this issue, but he became personally involved by accepting co-chairmanship of an inter-faith project called the Northern Virginian Fair Housing Campaign.

Also active in 1963 was Thomas A. Connolly, Archbishop of Seattle. In a pastoral letter, published in the July 5 issue of The Catholic Northwest Progress, he indicted Seattle for being a segregated city.⁴ Through a spokesman before an open session of the city council on July 1 of that same year, he recommended that a just open housing ordinance be speedily enacted.⁵

¹Archbishop Karl J. Alter, "Pastoral Letter," Cincinnati, July 19, 1963.

²N.C.W.C. News Service, Washington, D.C., July 1, 1963.

³John J. Russell, "Pastoral Letter," The Catholic Virginian, Richmond, First Sunday of Lent, 1963.

⁴Thomas A. Connolly, "Pastoral Letter," The Catholic Northwest Progress, Seattle, July 5, 1963.

⁵N.C.W.C. News Service, Washington, D.C., July 1, 1963.

Illustrative of two of the five California Bishops who spoke out against "Proposition 14" during the days of its debate in 1964 are Bishops Begin and Bell. Alden J. Bell, Bishop of Sacramento, California, urged Catholics to actively oppose "Proposition 14," a constitutional amendment which when it was eventually passed nullified the Rumford Fair Housing Act in California. He asked his priests to preach that the amendment was un-Christian and immoral because it withdrew a necessary safeguard to every man's rights to fair housing practices.¹

Bishop Floyd L. Begin's pastoral reasoned in the following manner: "Proposition 14 is a moral issue in so far as it concedes absolute rights to property owners with no reference to the rights of others."²

In Omaha Archbishop Gerald T. Bergan declared that "we are in favor, both in principle and practice of equal opportunity to acquire, by rent or purchase, decent housing for minorities anywhere in the city of Omaha. We declare that our parish communities are open to all."³

An education program aimed at forming "an authentic and valid conscience" on a proposed homeowners' ordinance for Detroit was launched in 1964 under the leadership of Archbishop John F. Deardon. The ordinance permitted the owner to reject any prospective buyer or tenant "for his own reasons," and was, therefore, declared immoral by the Archbishop since it aimed to protect those who would discriminate for reasons of race, religion, or nationality.⁴

¹The Catholic Standard, June 31, 1964.

²Floyd L. Begin, "Pastoral Letter," The Catholic Voice, Oakland, June 26, 1964.

³Social Action Notes for Priests, N.C.W.C., Washington, Feb., 1964.

⁴The Catholic Messenger, Davenport, July 17, 1964.

More recently Lawrence Cardinal Shehan of Baltimore testified on behalf of a proposed fair housing ordinance for that city. He was met with jeers and catcalls from a vocal minority. He said, "There is an overwhelming, persuasive, moral argument in support of fair housing legislation. The legislative remedy must be applied in the areas where the social sickness is most apparent."¹

From the foregoing it can be seen that from one end of the U.S. to the other, Bishops have spoken out, not only to clarify the Church's position on fair housing which is commensurate to freedom of residence but to support Fair Housing Legislation. This, in the writer's opinion, provides additional strength to the conclusion that the Church's position on race and housing leaves no room for discrimination on the basis of color.

Property Rights

Allied to this question were two others dealing with reconciling property rights and human rights: "Do you think that a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people?" and "Do you think a private hospital is justified in refusing to serve colored persons because it will hurt their business?" The Church has always upheld the right of private property. However, the Church has always held that property is social by nature. "Property rights do not imply the right to exclude a race."² Human rights are absolute and may not be violated by property rights.³ If

¹Pittsburgh Catholic, January 27, 1966.

²Sermon Outlines--1963-64, Diocese of Providence--Sermon #15, Feb. 23, 1964.

³Pius XI, Quadragesimo Anno, 44-48, as quoted in Benjamin L. Masse, S.J., Justice for All (Milwaukee, 1964), pp. 35-36.

violations are numerous, legislation must be enacted to safeguard the rights of all concerned. By doing this, the State is really acting to safeguard and strengthen private property rights.¹ "What the Church seeks is such a management of affairs as will ensure that all members of a society have to a maximum extent the means to a true security and a true personal responsibility. Not every regime of private property can satisfy this requirement."² If, therefore, one's doing business with another or rendering medical services to him were decided on racial factors, this would be insulting his nature as a human being. Private hospitals tempted to consider their economic well-being more important than the indignity to which they subject members of minority groups when they reject them would do well to consider Pius XII's words to doctors:

The right to life, the right to integrity of the body, the right to treatment which is necessary, the right to be protected from dangers, the individual receives these immediately from the hands of the Creator, not from another man, nor from a group of men, nor from the state, nor from a group of states, nor from any political authority whatsoever. This right is given to the individual at the beginning, in himself and for himself, and only afterwards in relation with other men and with society, and then not only in the order of present action but also in that of the end.³

To fail to treat members of racial minorities as persons because of property considerations is to be guilty of depersonalization.⁴

¹Ibid., 49, as quoted in Masse.

²Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J. and Jacques Perrin, S.J., The Church and Social Justice (Chicago, 1961), p. 214.

³Message to the 7th Congress of Catholic Physicians, Sept. 11, 1956; Acta Apostolica Sedis 48, pp. 678-79, as quoted in Calvez & Perrin, p. 107.

⁴Calvez, p. 225.

Education

The Church's official position on segregation in education is clear in principle. In their 1958 statement, the Bishops pointed out education as one of the areas where segregation has led to oppressive conditions. In 1963 they said that Negroes must have full participation in our public and private schools.¹ These are, however, statements of general principle and policy. They have not yet completely found their way into practice. De facto segregation does exist in many Catholic schools as well as public educational institutions. While some activity has been apparent in the housing phase of Catholic social action, activities on the part of the Church for ending de facto segregation in the public and parochial educational systems lag behind. Where Catholic interracial Councils have become involved in local school issues, there is sometimes only silence on the part of Church authority. Significant involvement and action on the part of Catholics in this area during the year 1965 points the way for deeper commitment to ending the problem. Leading the movement in this direction among the hierarchy is Most Rev. Thomas A. Connolly, Archbishop of Seattle. The Archbishop stood "firmly" behind the Catholic Interracial Council's decision to support a two-day boycott of Seattle's public schools and thereby demonstrate public dissatisfaction with the "ever-enlarging pattern of school segregation" and a School Board which has rejected workable plans for integration since 1963. He endorsed use of C.I.C. funds and the use of St. Peter Claver Center as one of six freedom schools during the two-day boycott.²

¹"Statement of Catholic Bishops," 1963.

²The Catholic Northwest Progress, Seattle, March 25, 1966.

Negroes Treated Fairly?

All of the material presented thus far on the Negroes' struggle for human and civil rights should provide sufficient evidence to answer the question: "Do you think most colored persons are treated fairly in the U.S. most of the time?" Archbishop Karl Alter of Cincinnati stated in 1963, "No one who is conscious of the environment in which he lives and who is honest in his judgment can doubt or deny that the Negro race here in the United States still suffers grievous injustices."¹

Private Clubs

In the question, "Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership?" an important qualification is present. It is the word "qualified." Father John Cronin writes, "We would act from wrong motives if we rejected the social companionship of a person, otherwise quite acceptable, purely on the basis of color."² Statements by Cardinal Ritter (St. Louis), Archbishop Alter (Cincinnati), and Bishop Grutka (Gary) acknowledge past negligences in regard to this in Catholic or Church-related organizations.³ If an organization in any good-sized community has no Negro members, Cardinal Ritter believes, "they have simply failed to bring in Negroes or to invite them."⁴ To refuse membership for purely reasons of race seems to be "racial discrimination" and an insult to human dignity.

¹ Archbishop Karl J. Alter, "Pastoral Letter," Cincinnati, July 19, 1963.

² Cronin, p. 331.

³ See Ritter, "What Must We Do?"; Alter, "Pastoral"; Grutka, "Pastoral."

⁴ Ritter, "What Must We Do?"



Human Equality

Fundamental to all the foregoing is an understanding and realization of the Negro as a fully human person. This deals with the nature of the Negro. What is he? Simply he is by nature man. Six questions in the study dealt with probing the awareness of the respondents in reference to the nature of Negroes. Four of the six inquired into whether or not the respondent thought Negroes are by nature prone to crime, illegitimacy, poverty and ignorance. The other two dealt with attributing basic inferiority to the Negro: "Do you think that fundamentally most of the colored persons' problems stem from their own basic inferiority?" and "Do you feel that no matter how many advantages the colored attain, they will, as a group, always remain inferior to whites?"

Pope John XXIII answered these questions in Pacem in Terris:

Very often, experience has taught us, individuals will be found to differ considerably in knowledge, virtue, talent and wealth. Yet these inequalities must never be held to excuse any man's attempt to lord it over his neighbors. They constitute rather a source of greater responsibility in the contribution which each and every one must make toward mutual improvement.

It is not true that some human beings are by nature superior and others inferior. All men are equal in their natural dignity.¹

Cultural inferiority is not to be confused with basic or natural inferiority, nor can the former be used as an excuse for segregation. Segregation encourages cultural inferiority and implants or reinforces attitudes of superiority on the part of the advantaged.²

¹John XXIII, Pacem, 87, 89.

²U.S. Bishops, "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience," Nov. 14, 1958,

Church Involvement in Race Relations

The question "Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations?" was designed to explore the individual's readiness to accept the Church's leadership in this area. The movement for human and civil rights has steadily gathered momentum within the Church. Little has been said publicly by the hierarchy about slowing down. However, statements such as that of Archbishop Connolly of Seattle are beginning to appear. "Direct steps taken by religious groups to combat racial injustice have been timid and all too often ineffective."¹ Archbishop Cousins of Milwaukee, meeting with about 45 priests from the inner city who were forming a council to make decisions on civil rights involvement, stated his views this way, "Because you (the priests) are close to the scene and because your closeness leads to a more ready understanding of existing conditions, your shared experience should afford a sound basis for progressive, productive planning."² When asked if he would interfere should the council back a school boycott, Archbishop Cousins replied, "This is their council. They are free to do what they want."³ While it is true that the last statement was forthcoming after the Sisters answered the questionnaire (May, 1964), it must also be remembered that the Bishops' joint statement and fifty pastorals appeared in 1963.

¹Catholic Northwest Progress, July 5, 1963.

²Dan Patrinos, "Milwaukee Priests Given Free Hand for Slum Action," The National Catholic Reporter, February 2, 1966, p. 1.

³Ibid.

Just Wage

The question "Do you think it is all right to hire someone for a sub-standard wage if he is willing to work for it?" investigated awareness of the principles of economic justice, essential to overcoming the causes of poverty. Those who propose such economic theory treat human labor as a "commodity" and consequently with indignity. Popes Leo XIII and Pius XII denied this theory of labor.

In ringing words, Pope Leo stated that over and above the wage contract, there is natural justice, the imperious demand that the wage be sufficient to support the worker who is thrifty and upright. Here again his illustrious successor added clarity, by specifying that this wage be sufficient to support not only the worker, but his family as well.¹

One is not free to enter into a contract which denies or depreciates the natural value of human work. Pope Leo explains this:

Let it be granted, then, that worker and employer may enter freely into agreements and, in particular, concerning the amount of the wage; yet there is always underlying such agreements an element of natural justice, and one greater and more ancient than the free consent of the contracting parties, namely, that the wage shall not be less than enough to support a worker who is thrifty and upright. If, compelled by necessity or moved by fear of a worse evil, a worker accepts a harder condition, which although against his will, he must accept because the employer or contractor imposes it, he certainly submits to force, against which justice cries out in protest.²

A question related to the preceding one was "Do you think religious institutions are justified in paying lower wages on the premise that this

¹Cronin, p. 203.

²Leo XIII, Rerum Novarum, 63, as quoted in Masse, p. 42.

is dedicated service?" Father Cronin, applying the principle of just wage to religious institutions, sees no reason why charity should be served at the expense of justice. He acknowledges that at times certain Church institutions have notoriously violated Christian social principles in this regard, but this can in no way be justified. He writes, "We priestly and religious employers should give good example in regard to the social teaching of the Church as well as in matters of piety."¹

Migrant Workers

"Do you think that there are immoral practices in the hiring, paying, housing and firing of migrant laborers?" was a question designed to probe awareness of socio-economic conditions among one of our nation's minorities. Most books dealing with social problems have some section devoted to the topic of migrant labor. Cronin refers to them as "the most exploited group of workers in the United States."² In Justice For All, Benjamin Masse, S.J., writes:

The majority of these people are poorly paid by industry standards. This is especially true of the migrants, who in 1961 earned \$6.70 a day and \$1,039 a year on the average. In many cases the housing and health facilities of the hired farm hands are grossly inadequate. They are not protected by the nation's labor laws, and their employers bitterly, and successfully, resist unionization. The migrants among them are the truly forgotten people in our affluent society. It is an abrasive challenge to the conscience of a nation that still considers itself God fearing and Christian.³

¹Cronin, p. 203.

²Ibid., p. 352.

³Masse, pp. 146-47.

Civil Rights Bill

Because of its timeliness and importance to the whole problem of racial justice, a question on the proposed civil rights bill was included. It read "Do you favor the passage of the House version of the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate?" An affirmative answer was considered to approximate the Church's position. Though every Bishop did not publicly state his position on the Bill, several did. The writer is not aware of any member of the hierarchy who publicly opposed it, but knows of several who publicly supported it. Among these was Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati who issued a pastoral on this topic.¹ In April of 1964, the Bishops of Michigan, under the leadership of Archbishop John F. Deardon, issued a ten point statement supporting the Administration's Civil Rights Bill.² The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a federation of organizations whose motto is "Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights Legislation," numbers among its many members the National Catholic Social Action Conference of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (a sort of "clearing house" for U.S. Catholic Bishops). The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights was highly influential in mobilizing lobbying and public opinion for the passage of the Bill. Father Cronin, Assistant Director of the Social Action Department (N.C.W.C.) wrote after the passage of the bill:

¹Alter, "Pastoral."

²Daily Defender, April 7, 1964, p. 7.

The major religious bodies worked strongly and in harmony to secure the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. They are continuing this joint action in such areas as housing, employment and education. Likewise, they are cooperating with the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act to mediate disputes involving race.¹

Cause of Slums

Before bringing this section to a close, it may be well to explain briefly the writer's position on one last question. This question aimed at probing the respondent's awareness of the complex causes of the slums. It read "Do you think that the most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants?" A response of "no" would have indicated, in the opinion of the writer, an awareness of these complexities. What Calvin L. Beale writes of rural housing can in this case also be applied to the urban slum.

There is a circular cause and effect to tenant housing that is difficult to break. It might be very costly in cash outlay for farm landlords to provide minimally decent housing of sound construction, ample space, and modern water, toilet and heating equipment. Yet the continued occupancy of present rural tenant housing undoubtedly has a severe limiting and conditioning effect on the lives of the children who grow up in it and of the adults who remain in it. Landlords, on the other hand, often complain that the tenants will not take care of the improvements that are made; that screens are soon broken out, etc. Probably the problems of rural Negro housing cannot successfully be attacked piecemeal and will not be solved until the whole structure of low education and employment of rural people is modified.²

Dr. Martin Luther King's action program is built on much of the above theory, which he is presently applying to the problems of northern slums. Since the causes of slums are many, his goal is many-faceted.

¹Cronin, p. 334.

²Calvin L. Beale, "The Negro in American Agriculture," in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), pp. 192-93.

He wants an immense public-works program for the unemployed, a wide-ranging re-training program for the underemployed, a massive housing program. On the state and local levels, he wants an end to de facto school segregation, full enforcement of housing codes to crack down on profiteering slumlords, and a restructuring of the tax system to "take the profit out of slum-ownership" by penalizing landlords who let their dwellings deteriorate.¹

King's recognition of the importance of self-help in combatting the depersonalization, apathy, and loss of self-respect present among slum dwellers is apparent in his recruitment of indigenous leadership in the local Negro communities. This was graphically exemplified in Jimmy Collier as he spoke before his first block meeting, "What we have to do is everybody work (to clean up the neighborhood) together, not only on this block, but in every slum neighborhood across the city. That's the only way this thing is gonna happen."² The cause suggests the "cure." Local inhabitants have a contribution to make to that cure, but their contribution will have little effect and be of short duration unless the fundamental factors are improved.

Reliability and Validity

The limitations of the study should be mentioned at the outset. While 22 per cent of the religious houses in the sample had the questionnaire answered by every teaching Sister on the faculty, 29 per cent failed to return any questionnaires. Forty-nine per cent of the convents in the sample had one or more Sisters who chose for one reason or another not to answer the questionnaire. This fact could introduce a certain type of bias into the study. It is possible that those who returned the questionnaire

¹Mark R. Arnold, "Dr. King Shifts Attack to North's Slums," The National Observer, V, Jan. 24, 1966. p. 1.

²Ibid.

are, in general, the more concerned members. These, again, would most probably evidence better attitudes. The writer, in an effort to discern more accurately the reason why 19 convents (29 per cent) failed to return any questionnaires, interviewed the superiors of these convents by way of telephone the following summer. When asked why no response was received, the writer received these replies:

"We didn't know how weighty the matter was."

"The Sisters are tired of always being evaluated."

"The questionnaire was very lengthy, and besides, we feel that this information is personal to the community." (Another superior of the same religious congregation returned her Sisters' questionnaires.)

"The Sisters didn't care to answer it." When asked "Why?" she replied, "Time."

"The Sisters are afraid of being put in a category on the race issue."

Is it possible that those who didn't take or return the questionnaires in those houses which cooperated in the study may have had similar reasons, and that in some of these cases these reasons would be related to an unfavorable group image, confusion or prejudice? Certainly such a point as this one must be considered when evaluating the attitude scores.

How reliable are the scales and coding procedures designed by the writer? In the absence of rigid tests of reliability, it is difficult to know. However, the questionnaire data and coding directions are available for examination and use in further studies.

For lack of standardized tests appropriate to religious teachers, the writer designed the questionnaire to act as an indicator of attitude,

awareness and involvement. No attempt is being made at definitive description. The "test" is considered valid because it appears to be so (logical validation) and because its scales correspond to the teachings of both the Church (social doctrine) and scientific disciplines (sociology, biology, etc.,). This latter form of validation is sometimes referred to as validation by independent criteria. Whether the questionnaire validly measures socio-religious attitudes, awareness and involvement and correlates these with non-religious agencies of control (non-religious variables) can only be discussed at the conclusion of this study. Whether replication of this research would yield similar results also remains to be seen. It is a possibility, but it is yet to be tested and proved.

Though the limitations of the study prevent the writer from hazarding generalizations with any but the most modest degree of probability, the research does point the way to some conclusions that may be useful for further investigation into the relationship of religion to secular aspects of life.

CHAPTER II

THE TEACHING RELIGIOUS AS A PERSON

I. Personal and Familial Background

So that one may more validly make generalizations and draw conclusions on those parts of the study pertaining to socio-religious attitudes, awareness and involvement, it is necessary to form an image of the type of Sister who answered the questionnaire. For the sake of analysis, the following generalizations are formed on the basis of the mean scores for each variable under consideration.

The average Sister in the writer's study is forty-five years of age, white and U.S.-born. Both of her parents are also natives. It should be noted, however, that 36.1 per cent of the sample had one or both parents foreign-born. As is the case with the American Catholic population, she is from an urban area (50.4 per cent--large metropolitan areas; 74.4 per cent--cities over 10,000). Only 12.5 per cent come from rural farm and non-farm areas. In terms of her father's education and occupation,¹ she comes from a lower-middle or upper-lower class background. As can be seen in Table 2, when asked to estimate the social class to which their families belonged when they were fifteen years of age, 153 failed to classify themselves as lower class; though according to the Two Factor Index, they were really lower class.

¹The Two Factor Index of Social Position is based on the assumption that there is a meaningful correspondence between an estimated class position of individuals and their social behavior. This has been validated by the use of factor analysis. See August B. Hollingshead and Frederick Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York, 1958), pp. 398-407.

TABLE 2.--Description of social class position based on respondents' self-estimates

Social Class	Self-estimate at age of 15	
	N	per cent
Upper (First)	7	1.2
Middle (Second and Third)	260	44.9
Working (Fourth)	295	50.9
Lower (Fifth)	4	.7
Not reported or lacking information	13	2.2
	<u>579</u>	<u>99.9</u>

Interesting to note, 22 who belonged to the upper social class classified themselves as middle class. There was a marked tendency for the Sisters to identify their family social class as middle class. The American "success story" has been defined largely in terms of economic success.¹ If Catholics are becoming more "Americanized," and studies indicate they are,² it is not surprising that this value would influence the Sisters' self-image.

TABLE 3.--Description of social class position based on Two Factor Index of Social Position

Social Class	Two Factor Index	
	N	per cent
First (Upper)	29	5.0
Second (Upper-middle)	27	4.7
Third (Lower-middle)	74	12.8
Fourth (Upper-lower)	248	42.8
Fifth (Lower-lower)	157	27.1
Not reported or lacking information	44	7.6
	<u>579</u>	<u>100.0</u>

¹Robin Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York, 1951), pp. 388-442.

²Lenski, p. 52.

Of seven possible categories in which a man's occupation might fall, the largest single group in the study (36.4 per cent) fell in the fifth category, classified as skilled manual employees; 15.4 per cent fell in the lower two categories classified as semi-skilled and unskilled employees; 14.9 per cent ranked in the upper two classifications as executives, proprietors, professionals and managers. This study does not support Fichter's findings that "if we accept the estimate that only about 8 per cent of employed Catholics are professional people, it means that the professional class is over-represented in the families from which these religious vocations come."¹ This study's respondents reported only 5 per cent of the fathers as being or having been major professionals. Fichter also points out that most of the vocations today are coming from the middle class;² however, it must be remembered that the sample employed in this study is not restricted to any particular age group. Since the mean age is forty-five, it is to be expected that more vocations from the lower class would be represented as this category itself among Catholics was considerably larger fifty years ago.³

The average Sister's mother and father had a grade school education only; 33.9 per cent of the sample had fathers who attended high school. Her parents received both a public and Catholic education.

¹Fichter, Religion As An Occupation, p. 62.

²Ibid., pp. 83-84.

³Ibid., pp. 63-64.

TABLE 4.--Percentage of fathers who completed the following levels of education, classified as to Catholic, public or mixed (partly in each)

Type of Schooling	Elementary		Secondary		Higher Education	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
All Catholic	278	48.1	88	15.3	33	5.7
All Public	239	41.3	104	17.9	31	5.4
Partly in each	8	1.3	4	.7	16	2.7
No education (or no response)	54	9.3	383	66.1	499	86.2
Total	579	100.0	579	100.0	579	100.0

Indicative of an upward trend in social mobility is the fact that her brothers and sisters have had the opportunity for some college education with only 37 per cent of the sample reporting no college education in comparison with 86.2 per cent of the fathers. Nineteen per cent report that brothers and sisters have pursued graduate studies, while 9.7 per cent state that one or more has attended a professional school of law or medicine. Her brothers' occupations tend to be one rank higher than her father's. Significant differences can be noted in ranks 5 and 6 of the occupational scale shown in Table 5 on page 47.

Contrary to the assumption sometimes made that religious women have no experience with the work-a-day world, 32.5 per cent of the sample have been employed full-time. The majority of these were engaged in summer jobs, the largest single group (16.1 per cent) being employed as clerical and sales workers. Ranks 2 and 3 of the occupational scale claim 12.8 per cent of the sample, some of whom fall in the "delayed" vocation bracket. The typical Sister in this survey engaged in part-time work with 26.9 per cent of the entire sample or over one-half of the part-time workers employed in a job ranking fourth on the occupational scale (clerical and sales workers category). The next largest group (10.4 per cent of the sample or approxi-

mately one-fifth of the part-time workers) held jobs ranking sixth on the scale. These were employed mainly as waitresses and the like. In agreement with Fichter, the writer concludes that "the future religious person is not 'protected' from the world of work, business and employment, and that Catholic youths in general appear to have the same general employment experiences as the rest of American youths."¹

TABLE 5.--Comparison of respondents' fathers and brothers* by occupational scale

Rank	Description of Occupation	Fathers		Brothers (25 and over)	
		N	per cent	N	per cent
1	Higher Executives, Proprietors of large concerns, & Major Professionals	42	7.3	58	10.0
2	Business Managers, Proprietors of medium-sized concerns & Lesser Professionals	44	7.6	51	8.8
3	Administrative Personnel, Small business owners, & Minor Professionals	81	14.0	85	14.7
4	Clerical & Sales Workers, Technicians, & Owners of Little Businesses	75	13.0	82	14.2
5	Skilled Manual Employees	211	36.4	101	17.4
6	Machine Operators & Semi-skilled Employees	71	12.3	28	4.8
7	Unskilled Employees	13	3.1	5	.9
	Fathers not reported; no brothers or too young to be included	<u>37</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>169</u>	<u>29.2</u>
	Total	579	100.1	579	100.0

*Brothers' percentages are computed on the basis of a mean rank of all brothers 25 years or older.

¹Joseph H. Fichter, "Social Background of the Religious and Laity," Social Order, VIII (April, 1958), 171.

As to her relationship with Negroes before entering the convent, the average Sister has never had a Negro in her home, nor has she ever visited the home of a Negro of similar social class background. She classifies her family as "slightly prejudiced." However, the margin is very close as 46.1 per cent state that their families are not prejudiced. It is to be noted that some made special mention of the fact that their parents live isolated from Negroes. It may be that here as with social class, some of the Sisters tend to project their value frame of reference onto their families. What is recorded in some cases may be more wishful thinking than fact.

II. Educational Background

The Sister's education was received in Catholic grade and high schools, though 8.4 per cent were educated completely under public auspices, and 32.8 per cent received their elementary and secondary instruction in both systems. Important to note is the fact that 91.5 per cent of the respondents had at least some years of Catholic education in grade or high school(s). Of the entire group, 58.7 per cent report completely Catholic education on both elementary and secondary levels. For a percentage breakdown on each level, see Table 6.

TABLE 6.--Percentage of Sisters who have been or are being educated on the following levels, classified as to Catholic, public or mixed (partly in each)

Type of Schooling	Elementary		Secondary		College		Some Grad. Work	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
All Catholic	385	66.5	438	75.6	514	88.8	216	37.3
All Public	70	12.0	83	14.3	22	3.9	31	5.4
Partly in each	113	19.5	41	7.1	25	4.3	16	2.8
No Indication	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	19	3.3
No Response	11	1.9	17	3.0	18	3.1	297	51.3
Total	579	99.9	579	100.0	579	100.1	579	100.0

She has a Bachelor's degree from a Catholic liberal arts college. She describes this college as one which is run by her own community but registers lay students also. The next highest ranking group (26.4 per cent) did most of their college work at a university-college. Ninety-four Sisters (16.2 per cent) received their degrees from colleges run by their communities for Sisters only.

It is very likely that she has an undergraduate major in education as 35.8 per cent of the sample report this fact. Though the average Sister does not hold a Master's degree, for those who do education claims again the largest single category. Of the 171 holding Master's degrees, 49 or 28.7 per cent of the Master's degree people majored in education. The field most ignored by these educators with a Master's degree is psychology. There was none in the survey, though one is currently working toward this degree. Encouraging signs for theology were indicated by the fact that six reported Master's degrees in theology and eight are currently working toward this goal. In terms of teachers holding Master's degrees in this survey, this puts theology ahead of economics, philosophy, political science, psychology, and sociology. The greatest area of concentration for doctoral candidates at this time is philosophy. Of the sixteen currently working toward this degree, eight are majoring in philosophy. Holders of doctoral degrees represent the following fields: economics (1), history (1), philosophy (4), sociology (1), education (3), and other fields the subject matter of which is not directly related to this investigation (9).

TABLE 7.--Percentage of Sisters who have achieved or are working toward degrees on the following levels: Bachelor, Master, Doctor

Degree	Bachelor		Master		Doctor	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Achieved	446	77.1	171	29.5	19	3.4
Working toward	118	20.4	81	14.0	16	2.8
Not working toward	15	2.6	327	56.4	544	93.7
Total	<u>579</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>579</u>	<u>99.9</u>	<u>579</u>	<u>99.9</u>

By her report the average Sister has less than twelve hours in the following: economics (78.2 per cent), political science (77.2 per cent), psychology (66.4 per cent), and sociology (74.1 per cent), areas of knowledge considered critically important in today's work of the Church, according to Sister Gertrude Joseph.¹ One per cent or less had majors in the aforesaid fields on the undergraduate or graduate levels.

The average Sister has read two social encyclicals. She describes the coverage of these encyclicals in related courses as having been superficial. Significant is the fact that 20.4 per cent report having read none of the social encyclicals, while only 14.9 per cent have read the five listed in this study. The encyclicals listed in the questionnaire were Quadragesimo Anno, Rerum Novarum, Mystici Corporis, Mater et Magistra and Pacem in Terris. These findings add credence to one report which states: "Curricula for Sisters such as that devised at Everett are at present often a goal rather than a reality. Inquiries have shown that, in the great majority of teacher-training institutions, the study of the social encyclicals has been

¹Sister Gertrude Joseph Donnelly, p. 136.

crowded out by professional education requirements."¹

Before her entrance into the convent, she did not engage in Catholic Action work in any organized way though 204 respondents or 35.2 per cent of the sample report one or more forms of participation. Of the total 204 who did participate in apostolic work, almost one-half were affiliated with two Catholic Action groups. Thirty-one per cent of the entire sample were active participants for two or more years.

TABLE 8.--Percentage of Sisters who engaged in Catholic Action work prior to entering convent, by affiliations

Organization	N	per cent
Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary	103	17.8
Cisca (Chicago Inter-Student Catholic Action)	38	6.6
CCD (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine)	30	5.2
Mission Clubs (CSMC, etc.,)	21	3.6
Young Christian Students (cell movement)	21	3.6
CYC-CYO (Catholic Youth Conference)	22	3.8
Legion of Mary	20	3.5
Catholic Parish Clubs	9	1.6
Newman Club	4	.7
Third Orders	4	.7
Miscellaneous	29	5.0
	301	52.1

This study counteracts the myth that the religious never sees the secular newspaper, revealing the fact that the average religious teacher reads both Catholic and secular newspapers and magazines. She gives her attention to newspaper and magazine editorials a few times a week. Her reading of books is mainly for pleasure (novels and light biography) and spiritual formation. This finding may be related to Lenski's conclusion that "Catholics tend to avoid the more serious and demanding forms of

¹McGeer, p. 43.

activity in the modern metropolis, and turn instead to activities which provide chiefly personal gratifications."¹ Significant is the fact that 28.5 per cent of the sample failed to report any books read by personal choice during the past six months. Whether this is caused by lack of time for or interest in reading or failure to answer the question remains unknown at the present time. Considering that the respondents are professional teachers, this problem deserves further consideration and research. The picture is somewhat brightened by the figures for reading in the following areas: current social issues (20.1 per cent); Church's relationship to modern world (25.6 per cent); scholarly research (16.1 per cent). These figures, however, do involve in some cases the same people. Since 29.7 per cent of the sample listed books of personal piety and pleasure reading type only, and 28.5 per cent reported no books read by personal choice, this leaves a total percentage of 41.9 per cent who read books on current social issues, the Church in the modern world, and serious study in the six months prior to this survey.

The teaching religious says that she discusses current affairs occasionally (a few times a week), but she says that she has not participated in an organized discussion on social problems or principles in the last six months. However, 23.3 per cent of the respondents have ~~done~~ so with 16.1 per cent reporting organized dialogue with the laity.

¹Lenski, p. 229.

III. Vocational and Professional Data

As would be expected, the average Sister in this survey is a subject in religious life; that is, she is not a superior or in any leadership position, such as principal, dean, etc., though 10.3 per cent are. She has been a member of religious life for twenty-five years. Seventy-one per cent of the sample have been in the convent fifteen or more years. Only 2.2 per cent have been members for less than five years. Length of residence for the entire sample ranges from one year for 23 per cent to ten or more years for 14.7 per cent. The average Sister has been stationed at her respective residence for three years.

Looking back into the Sister's vocational history, it is found that she entered religious life at 18 years of age. This corresponds closely to Bishop Hagan's study quoted by Fichter. He puts the age at 19.¹ Ages 16 to 24 are the most prevalent ages for entrance with 20.2 per cent of the sample entering at 16 or younger, 51.1 per cent at ages 17-19, and 21.4 per cent at 20-24 years of age. "Delayed" vocations (25 years and older) account for 7.1 per cent of the sample. The average Sister in this study was not an aspirant (a high school program of formation for those who think they would like to be Sisters), though 19.7 per cent were in a program of this sort for one year or more. Before entering religious life, she had completed her high school studies and graduated. Her first experiences with college life came after entering the convent. However, 19.6 per cent report having completed at least one year of college before entrance.

Vocational training and formation were given to the average Sister via

¹Fichter, *Religion As An Occupation*, p. 16.

a two year novitiate, excluding postulancy (periods of probation during which time the candidate is introduced to religious life, but is not yet living under religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience). Thirty per cent report a one year novitiate training only. As would be expected, although a member of a community which now has a juniorate, (an extended period of formation under religious vows), she is not a product of the juniorate formation program. However, 21.6 per cent claim some contact with the program.

By profession the average Sister is a grade school teacher. Those in the sample who are presently teaching high school or college subjects are apportioned as follows in Table 9.

TABLE 9.--Percentage of high school and college teachers, by subject taught*

Subject(s) Taught	High School N	or College Teachers per cent
Full-time religion or theology	3	0.5
Full-time social or behavioral sciences	10	1.7
Full-time philosophy	2	0.3
Full-time education	3	0.5
Religion and social sciences	7	1.2
Religion, social sciences & all others	6	1.1
Religion & all others	59	10.2
Social sciences & all others	5	0.9
All others	82	14.2
No report on subject matter	9	1.5
	<u>186</u>	<u>32.1</u>

*Only those disciplines believed by the writer to bear directly on the subject under investigation are listed separately. Others are included in the category "All others."

When asked in which subject areas she felt weakest or least prepared to teach, she responded with one or more of the following: economics, political science, psychology, sociology and theology. It is important to note that 10 per cent of the survey (the largest single group) listed religion

as their most deficient area, while only 7.6 per cent felt it was the area they were most prepared to teach. This fact is significant because, first, 43.0 per cent of the sample report having less than 12 semester hours in theology; second, it is general practice for elementary school teachers to teach religion to their own classes; and third, 13.0 per cent of the entire sample or over one-third of the high school and college teachers, taken together as a group, conduct classes in what may be termed advanced religion classes.

The subject which the average teacher feels most prepared to teach is one other than those considered directly related to the present study. See Table 9 for the list. Though this list may somewhat limit the grade school teacher, it should be noted that two subject areas could have been named: religion and history (social sciences). Seventy-five per cent of the survey stated that they are at present teaching in the field for which they are most prepared. The remaining 25 per cent is a significant minority, considering the importance placed by educators themselves upon teacher interest and competence.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES OF CHICAGO'S TEACHING SISTERS

Introduction

Having thus stated the problem and theoretical orientation of this study, as well as some of the outstanding characteristics of the respondents, it will now be the writer's purpose to report on the research findings, insofar as these are concerned with socio-religious attitudes.

Before launching into a full-scale report, however, it seems wise to explore related psychological and sociological theories which may lend some insight and understanding to this portion of the study. Considered, then, in Part I is a discussion of some current theories of personality and its relation to prejudice. The problem of whether prejudice is more psychological or sociological is explored. To balance the psychological factors with theory of a more sociological nature, reference group theory and its relation to the study will be presented.

Part II concentrates on the presentation and analysis of the research findings on the nineteen questions pertaining to socio-religious attitudes.

In Part III the writer explores the relationship of socio-religious attitudes to educational and professional background. The analysis of education is two-fold; first, by level, i.e., by highest educational degree achieved; and second, by type, i.e., Catholic, public, or mixed. The results of a special study on the effectiveness of the juniorate in this area of

socio-religious attitude formation are also presented.

To what extent reference group theory plays a role in the analysis of the "Relationship of Socio-religious Attitudes to Social Class" is undertaken in Part IV.

Part V surveys all other significant findings related to attitudes: environmental background, age, personal contact, and involvement of various degrees and types in socio-religious activities.

I. Preliminary Socio-psychological Considerations

Personality Traits and Prejudice

Though all major religious denominations have public professions of faith which embrace the credo of human equality, the ability of members to achieve internalization of corresponding attitudes is a field of serious investigation for today's social psychologists.¹ Surveying many studies as to which major religious group tends to be most prejudiced, Allport concludes that "the results are entirely equivocal; some find Catholics more bigoted, some Protestants, and some find no difference."² Nowlan reports that Allport's in-depth study of the relationship of prejudice to devout and social Catholics points to the conclusion that the devout proved to be far less prejudiced than the social Catholics.³ This finding supported social psychologists'

¹See Bert R. Sappenfield, "The Responses of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish Students to the Menace Checklist," JSP, XX (November, 1944), 295-99; and D. Spoerl, "Some Aspects of Prejudice as Affected by Religion and Education," JSP, XXXIII (February, 1951), 69-76.

²Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, 1954), p. 449.

³E. H. Nowlan, "The Picture of the Catholic That Emerges From Attitude Tests," A.C.P.A. Newsletter, Supplement No. 20, (March, 1956).

ever-growing tendency to seek further ramification of religious orientation rather than mere statements of religious preference.

One personality variable which has received much attention in this regard is authoritarianism. Adorno in The Authoritarian Personality focuses attention on the relationship of authoritarianism to prejudice.¹ Photiadis and Bigger support this thesis stating in a report on their research that "the only personality variable which retained its strong relationship with ethnic distance when the remaining variables were controlled is authoritarianism."² What, then, are the religious ramifications of authoritarianism? Though religious orthodoxy is not to be equated with authoritarianism, they are frequently associated and mutually reinforcing. Photiadis and Bigger uncovered data which supported Allport's thesis that "religion unmakes prejudice through church participation and makes it through orthodoxy."³ The O'Reillys found similar patterns in their study of Catholic college students. Religion and social distance tests which were administered to the students yielded the conclusion that those scoring high on the religion scale possessed less favorable attitudes towards Jews and Negroes and favored segregation; whereas those who were low scorers on the religion scale evinced attitudes significantly less prejudiced and were opposed to segregation.⁴

¹See Theodor W. Adorno, et. al., The Authoritarian Personality, (New York, 1952), for a fuller treatment of this.

²John D. Photiadis and Jeanne Bigger, "Religiosity, Education, and Ethnic Distance," AJS, LXVII (May, 1962), 672.

³Ibid., p. 672.

⁴Charles O'Reilly and Edward O'Reilly, "Religious Beliefs of Catholic College Students & Their Attitudes Toward Minorities," JASP, XLIX (July, '54), 378-80.

Some insights into a possible cause of this fact is culled from Lenski's "discovery of the irrelevance of doctrinal orthodoxy for most aspects of secular life."¹ He suspects that it is linked with and fosters "a compartmentalized view of life."² If this is true, it would at least partially account for the correlation of religious orthodoxy and prejudice. The fact that in Lenski's Detroit survey, doctrinal orthodoxy was most common among Catholics should not be overlooked.³ During a pretest it was discovered that the Catholic clergy were in such unanimous agreement on issues of personal morality (birth control and divorce) that to question them on these topics was superfluous as this was regarded by the clergy as effrontery or ignorance.⁴ Though it could be taken for granted that all would be united on matters of faith and personal morals, the same assumption was not made by Lenski for social morality. The reasonableness of this decision is evidenced by the fact that 21 per cent of the white clergy expressed a preference for segregated schools. Lenski does not give the exact figures for Catholics or Protestants, but does comment that Protestants were somewhat more inclined toward integration than Catholics.⁵

¹Lenski, p. 206.

²Ibid., p. 329.

³Ibid., p. 57.

⁴Ibid., p. 310.

⁵Ibid., p. 314.

Since 81 per cent of the Catholic clergy ranked obedience ahead of intellectual autonomy as a social value,¹ it does appear that religious orthodoxy must have some relationship to authoritarianism. However, it is one thing to regard the authoritarian personality as a cause and quite another to conclude that it is the cause of prejudice. Also, if the two are directly linked, how does one account for the fact that although 81 per cent showed tendencies toward authoritarianism, only 21 per cent favored segregated schools? Edwin Rhyne maintains that the great emphasis on the psychologicistic causes of prejudice is misplaced and exaggerated. He proposes a multi-causal explanation sociologicistic in nature called the differential learning approach.

The differential learning approach makes the explicit assumption that there is no need to detail the exact process of acquiring prejudice. To grant the need for such a special theory is to deny the fundamental importance of the differential learning approach, for the direct implication of the approach is that the acquisition of prejudice is not different from the acquisition of other social attitudes. ... [This] approach looks to differential involvements within a culture for the principal explanation of individual variations in degree of prejudice. It explicitly contests the notion that these same individual variations are chiefly a function of specified psychic needs and processes.²

Rhyne concludes that the sociologicistic approach is more efficient than the psychologicistic in explaining the variations in the data. Added proof of the greater utility of this approach is the fact that in those cases where the variations contradicted the expectations of the psychologicistic authoritarian personality theory, this was likewise true.³

¹Ibid., p. 300.

²Edwin Hoffman Rhyne, "Racial Prejudice and Personality Scales: An Alternative Approach," SF, XLI (October, 1962), 47.

³Ibid., p. 53.

Accepting the valuable insights which the authoritarian approach has yielded as well as Rhyne's, the setting up of this study's research design is based on the premise that the roots of prejudice are sociologicistic as well as psychologistic. Leonard Weller found this to be true in his study of prejudice. In fact, he sees "personality and non-personality factors as strongly related to each other throughout the population."¹ VanKaam in Religion and Personality also combines the two in his analysis of maturity. His regard for the psychological factors is seen in the following: "Because he [the mature personality] does not feel personally threatened by the defects or superiorities, the liabilities or assets of the world in which he lives, he is better able to perceive people and events for what they are."² The mature personality, according to VanKaam is capable of experiencing people and events as particular, unique and individual.³ That he considers the socio-cultural factors equally important and inextricably bound up with personality can be concluded from the following statement in his book.

We see things rather through the protective screen of our personal needs, our pet theories, and the views which we have blindly borrowed from our family, neighborhood, or cultural group. We lack the innocent eye that looks frankly and freshly at the manifestations of life. Becoming a personality is removing familial and cultural blinders from our eyes. For the true religious personality, all reality is a fresh manifestation of the possibilities planted by God in the world. Therefore, the person feels that his response should be determined by reality itself and not primarily by his own interests, motives, theories, and past experiences. Instead of a legalistic, categorizing perception, he develops a personal, new presence to every situation

¹ Leonard Weller, "The Relationship of Personality and Non-personality Factors to Prejudice," JSP, LXIII (June, 1964), 136.

² Adrian VanKaam, C.S.Sp., Religion and Personality (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), p. 71.

³ Ibid., p. 71.

that arises. This does not mean that he completely rejects categories and laws, but rather that he does not apply them in a stereotyped manner to human situations. He does not perceive people merely in terms of a category of law or ethics. He realizes that the human person transcends every category and that no human situation can be caught in an intellectual system. This does not mean that he will not defend the law or apply it when necessary. It means only that the way in which he applies the law is more human, more permeated by respect and gentle understanding.¹

How different is this approach to life's greatest mystery, the human person, from that which Stein describes as typical of our society. According to him "the sheer fact of idiosyncratic experience has become inaccessible and even threatening."² To the product of America's urbanized, industrialized and bureaucratized culture, "not only are people equal, they are exactly alike."³ This is the height of social distance. "In relationships in which social distance is at a minimum, knowledge of the other person is highly individualized. ... (the person) is recognized as having a distinct personality, and his various idiosyncracies are taken into account in dealing with him."⁴

Reference Group Theory

No preliminary presentation and discussion of factors related to prejudice or unfavorable group image would be complete without some consideration of reference group theory. "Numerous studies coming both from

¹Ibid., p. 71.

²Stein, p. 277.

³Ibid., p. 278.

⁴Shibutani, Society and Personality, p. 378.

psychologists and sociologists have shown that the major sources of the individual's weighty attitudes are the values or norms of the groups to which he relates himself, that is, of his reference groups."¹

It is not to be presumed that a person's membership groups are mutually exclusive in the areas of life which they encompass. "It is not the case, for example, that one's religious affiliation alone determines which group will be adopted as a frame of normative reference on religious matters. ..."² At the same time as one is a member of a particular religious group there are other groups in which the person participates directly and with whose members the individual has primary relationships.³ In the case of a woman who is a member of a religious community, it is this group of women with whom she has day to day contacts which performs this very basic function so necessary to the maintenance and growth of a healthy personality. It may happen that in concrete situations where choices must be made, a choice in agreement with the group (the smaller community with whom she is living) will be in fact (though not perhaps in the mind of the Sister-participant) a departure from the norms of the Church. This type of situation would obtain where the community (again perhaps unknowingly) has absorbed values from the culture which are incongruent with Christian thought and practice.

Also, in speaking of reference groups, it is not sufficient to speak only of membership groups. A person's membership and reference groups are

¹Muzafer Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relations," in Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings, ed. Lewis Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (New York, 1957), p. 261.

²Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, 1957), p. 327.

³Tomatsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Delimited Perspectives," AJS, LX (May, 1955), p. 565.

not necessarily identical. In fact, frequently they are not the same. Sherif notes in his description of reference groups the important psychological element of "aspiration."¹ It is this which accounts for the occasionally apparent non-conformity of group members.² Since it is the reference group which provides the norms by which men judge and evaluate certain patterns of behavior, it can be concluded that those members who do not conform to group expectations have chosen a reference group other than their membership group. This may be a form of social deviance and undesirable, but not necessarily. As Merton observes, "It is not infrequently the case that the nonconforming minority in a society represents the interests and ultimate values of the group more effectively than the conforming majority."³ A more basic problem which must be answered is: Conformity to what? As Merton explains, every case of non-conformity is not dysfunctional.⁴ Such would be the case in which the group has in large part departed from the group's ultimate goals, and certain members by their behavior serve as a reminder of this fact. It may be that group goals have become vague and abstract and that members, perhaps inadvertantly, have in certain areas of attitude and behavior substituted norms of other reference groups for the norms which the membership group failed to supply.

¹ Sherif, "Reference Groups," pp. 260-61.

² Charles Cooley, "Conformity and Non-conformity, " Social Organization in Borgatta and Meyer, p. 435.

³ Merton, p. 367.

⁴ Ibid.

Relationship of Attitude to Behavior

Dr. Gordon Zahn in German Catholics and Hitler's Wars remarks that "when we know the values supposedly subscribed to by a group, we should be able to state the same kind of expected or predicted behavior patterns to be manifested by individual members of that group."¹ As is frequently the case with "common sense" propositions, this assumption is not always valid. In the case of German Catholics during Hitler's regime, it fails to account for their silence on the issue of attempted Jewish annihilation and their participation in an unjust war in spite of Church teachings on racism and the just war.

LaPiere holds that "unless a cultural definition is reified for the individual by one or another of the groups to which he belongs, it will have no bearing on his conduct; he may 'believe' in it; he cannot and will not be guided by it."² May not the same be said for theological definitions? Is this not the reason for the great importance laid by Christ Himself on the Christian community? Under ordinary circumstances it is in and through the Christian community that the Christian is socialized in the meaning and application of the principles of faith and morals. It is the responsibility of Church leadership to see that in regard to life affairs continual reification of timeless principles takes place.³ Otherwise little or no advertence

¹Zahn, German Catholics, p. 26.

²LaPiere, p. 261.

³Ibid., p. 260.

is given to those principles which seem to have no relationship to real life.

Finally LaPiere and Lundberg draw our attention to a point which must be given consideration as it is a further application of Cooley's theory "that the imaginations which people have of one another are the solid facts of society."¹ Lundberg points out that although a person may be incapable of analyzing his true attitude accurately, his expressed attitude at least shows what he wants people to think he thinks.² LaPiere goes one step further and on the basis of his theory that society controls its members through their desire for status states the following: "Most of the data that are garnered by sociologists and others via attitudinal scales and opinion polls are reflections of the cultural definitions, i.e., of the 'conventional thinking' of the American people about social matters rather than measure of their social conduct."³ If we accept this, then we must be wary of hasty generalizations about behavior based on the data drawn from the attitude section of the questionnaire in this study. There may be in some cases a connection; in others, not.

II. Presentation of Findings

It is presumed by Muzafer Sherif that a group socializes its members in its norms and that "when a member of a group faces the same situation subsequently alone, after once the range and norm of his group have been established, he perceives the situation in terms of the range and norm that he

¹As quoted in Lundberg, p. 234.

²Ibid.

³LaPiere, p. 257.

brings from the group situation."¹ In a sense each respondent in this study was subjected to a situation in which she had the opportunity to reflect to some extent her internalization of the socio-religious norms of the Catholic Church. To a great degree her socialization in these norms has taken place within religious subcommunities, the most recent being her religious community. This fact should be kept in mind, as one of the purposes of this study is to explore the effectiveness of religion in general and the religious subcommunity in particular in combatting the historical, cultural, economic and psychological causes of prejudice.² While it may be true that "religion assists control, reinforcing by a supernatural sanction those modes of behavior which by experience have been determined to be moral, i.e., socially advantageous,"³ it is also an acceptable socio-psychological principle that "the individual mind cannot rise much above the level of the group mind."⁴ Since the group is composed of individuals whose knowledge of and convictions on socio-religious issues have been formed by many social agents, of which the Church is only one, it is only logical that the official position of the Church on these issues will be modified in the individual person by other social institutions. When these persons come together in community, then,

¹Muzafer Sherif, "Group Influences Upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes" in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. G. Swanson, T. Newcomb, and E. Hartley (New York, 1952), p. 255.

²Above, p. 24.

³William I. Thomas, "Control and Attention," in Borgatta and Meyer, p. 409.

⁴Ibid., p. 411.

the group's level of knowledge and convictions can be no greater than that of its members. The effectiveness of the religious community in socializing its new members (especially those who have received little from other institutions prior to this period of life) in the social doctrine of the Church will depend to a great extent on the present "group mind" which obtains among the membership.

Of the three areas under investigation, it was the area of attitude which achieved the best possible scores. The mean attitude score was 27.4; 8.4 points from the best possible score (19) and 29.6 points from the poorest possible score (57).

Among the nineteen questions used to ascertain the attitude score, the six questions which had the most favorable responses (i.e., in agreement with the Church's social doctrine or the social facts) are presented in Table 10.

TABLE 10.--Percentage of Sisters whose answers are in agreement or disagreement with Church's social teaching or social facts on the following questions. (Answer which was rated as agreeable appears in parentheses behind question.)

Question	Agreement		Disagreement		No Response	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
1. Do you think a private hospital is justified in refusing to serve colored persons because it will hurt their business? (No)	532	91.9	9	1.6	38	6.6
2. Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools? (No)	526	90.8	24	4.1	29	5.0
3. Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations? (No)	521	90.0	22	3.8	36	6.2
4. Do you think middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods? (Yes)	516	89.1	25	4.3	38	6.6
5. Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to crime? (No)	471	81.3	15	2.6	93	16.1
6. Do you think religious institutions are justified in paying lower wages on the premise that this is dedicated service? (No)	467	80.7	54	9.3	58	10.0

It should be noted that three of the six questions above pertain to the Negro's right to open access to basic institutions, required for physical or mental well-being, i.e., housing, education and hospital service. These questions touch on the practical problems currently receiving the greatest attention and publicity from the Negro community and interracial movements. It is, therefore, to be expected that the Sister would be more aware of the principles surrounding these issues. This data supports Horowitz's conclusions that "attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes."¹ Now the more prevalent Northern attitude toward Negroes, while willing to grant them access to institutions essential to well-being, is still one which attributes basic inferiority to the race. "Violence is generally disapproved of by the controlling institutions, while they approve, if not enforce, stereotyped and outspoken attitudes."² Interesting to note also is the fact that in Lenski's study of Detroit, 25 per cent of the respondents were non-committal on questions about tolerance, fairness and power of the other religious groups. Lenski offers two possible explanations for this: first, "judicious suspension of judgement"³ because they only had personal experience; and second, reluctance to appear "prejudiced."⁴ In this study

¹Eugene L. Horowitz, "Development of Attitude Toward Negroes," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley, p. 501.

²Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. Swanson, Newcomb, and Hartley (New York, 1952), p. 600.

³Lenski, p. 63.

⁴Ibid.

the non-respondents range from 5.0 per cent to 16.9 per cent. Perhaps the high rate of no response (10 per cent or more) on ten of the nineteen questions indicative of attitude arises from similar reasons. At the very least, it certainly points to a lack of sufficient knowledge on the respondents' parts.

To the question: "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to crime?" 81.3 per cent answered "No," 2.6 per cent thought they were, and 16.1 per cent did not respond. Three "companion" questions to this one were answered as follows: "Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to illegitimacy?" (71.7 per cent answered "No"; 11.4 per cent answered "Yes"; 16.9 per cent did not respond.) "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to poverty?" (70.6 per cent answered "No"; 15.5 per cent "Yes"; 13.8 per cent did not respond.) "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to ignorance?" (74.4 per cent responded "No"; 11.9 per cent "Yes"; 13.6 per cent did not respond.) Although only 2.6 per cent would agree to the statement that Negroes are by nature prone to crime, 13-17 per cent agreed that they are by nature prone to illegitimacy, poverty, and ignorance. This difference in percentages could be indicative of two things: first, the Sisters on the whole are well-acquainted with the refutations of the theory that tendencies to crime are inherited; second, they have observed more poverty, illegitimacy, and ignorance among the Negro population than they have observed crime. The differences do seem to indicate an awareness of some meaning to the words "by nature."

What comes through in these answers is an apparent unconsciousness of the subtleties and complexities of the problem. For example, in the previous questions each statement repeatedly used the phrase "by nature." This is not

a matter of semantics only; it is a matter of understanding the complexities of issues involving human beings. These three questions are intimately bound to another question in the attitude section of the survey: "Do you think that fundamentally most of the colored persons' problems stem from their own basic inferiority?" That this statement is true was held by 21.1 per cent, while 12.6 per cent were unsure, giving a total of 33.7 per cent of the sample who are not convinced of the basic equality of all men. A companion question to the previous one reads: "Do you feel that no matter how many advantages the colored attain, they will, as a group, always remain inferior to whites?" To this question 14.9 per cent answered in the affirmative, and 8.8 per cent were unsure, giving a total of 23.7 per cent who do not reject this subtle form of racism.

As can be seen from Table 11 on page 72, the Sisters fare better as a group in those areas where Church doctrine has been reified because of the occurrence of discrimination than they do in the more psychological areas, i.e., in those areas of life that have more to do with convictions of the Negro as a fully human person capable of and limited by the same accidentals as other men, provided he is given the same opportunities. Not possessing these convictions could result in a patronizing or "mothering" of the Negro when she finds herself in contact with him. It could also find expression in overprotection, lack of expectation in his potential, defeatism, or loss of respect for him as a human person. Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum notes that "a major factor in the civil rights crisis today is that the average American fails to understand his feelings about the Negro. There is a fantasy quality about our Negro-White relations, and the reason is that we have a lack of

TABLE 11.-- Comparison of percentages of Sisters in agreement with Church's social doctrine or social facts: arranged by attitudes toward discriminatory practices toward Negroes and attitudes toward basic equality of Negroes

Questions designed to probe respondents' attitudes toward discriminatory practices	Agree with Church N	per cent
1. Do you think a private hospital is justified in refusing to serve colored persons because it will hurt their business? (No)	532	91.9
2. Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools? (No)	526	90.8
3. Do you think middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods? (Yes)	516	89.1
4. Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership? (No)	414	71.5
Questions designed to probe respondents' attitudes toward basic equality of Negroes	Agree with Church N	per cent
1. Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to crime? (No)	471	81.3
2. Do you feel that no matter how many advantages the colored attain, they will, as a group, always remain inferior to whites? (No)	442	76.3
3. Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to ignorance? (No)	431	74.4
4. Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to illegitimacy? (No)	415	71.7
5. Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to poverty? (No)	409	70.6
6. Do you think that fundamentally most of the colored persons' problems stem from their own basic inferiority? (No)	384	66.3

capacity to enter spiritually, empathetically into the life of another person."¹ The fact that large percentages of Sisters were willing to state definitely that the Negro is prone by nature to illegitimacy (11.4 per cent), to poverty (15.5 per cent), and to ignorance (11.9 percent), while even larger percentages than these ranging from 13.6 per cent to 16.9 per cent were unsure making the total mean percentage 27.7 per cent of the sample and that an even larger percentage (28.7 per cent) endorsed the

statements attributing basic inferiority to the Negro race indicates that, although the total attitude scores are quite good (mean = 27.4), when analyzed and interpreted they reveal that the behavioral manifestations of prejudice have been rooted out to a greater extent than its underlying causes.

One of the reasons for this lack of basic awareness of the Negro as another equal human person may be that no truly primary relationships have ever been established with Negroes. Of the sample only 6.4 per cent indicated pleasant personal experiences of an intimate nature, such as friendship with them. More were of the professional or impersonal type, such as teaching or contact with hired help. Before entering the convent, only 8.1 per cent had visited the home of a Negro of similar social class. Since they have begun teaching, 33.3 per cent have been in homes of Negroes. It is not known whether these contacts were with middle or lower class Negroes. If the Negroes were of the lower class, and if the Sisters do not know the differences in values which they observe stem from class differences and not racial ones, these contacts will serve to reinforce stereotypes and latent prejudice. Unless these situations are encountered by religious prepared to understand and properly interpret the meaning of what they observe, the contacts may have in effect negative results. Knowledge of the social facts, their causes and symptoms are prerequisites for fruitful contact. It presupposes Sister-teachers capable of role differentiation. As Lindesmith observes:

In so complex and closely interconnected a world-society as ours, it is vitally important for people to appreciate the existence of many types of roles other than their own. Conflicts ... arise from such a lack of understanding. Because of an absence of adequate intercommunication, people do not grasp one another's motives and ways of acting. ...

Instead of recognizing our failures to understand the acts of others, we usually misinterpret those acts. We assume that the person is playing roles within our own system of values and symbols and interpret his behavior in terms of our symbols instead of his. ... Misinterpretations are not always harmless and amusing. In a multi-grouped society, misjudgments of roles often have serious results, as both interracial and international relations testify.¹

III. The Relationship of Socio-religious Attitudes to Educational and Professional Background

Goode and Hatt draw attention to the fact that "particularly in social research, correlations are likely to be low."² In the light of this fact and the current social science research practice of discussing correlations of .2 and .3, the writer will discuss any correlation of .2 or greater as having some sociological importance.

Levels of Education

It was expected that the greater a Sister's degree of education, the more favorable her attitudes would be, that is, in agreement with the Church's social doctrine and the facts of the social situation. However, in so far as educational degrees are concerned, the over-all correlation for each level is low. They are as follows: college degree (0.117904); Master's degree (0.177016); Doctor's degree (0.106445). From an in-depth investigation of those in the study whose attitude scores fell at either extreme of the continuum, it appears that level of education may be more important in these groups than the over-all sample.

¹Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, Social Psychology (New York, 1956), p. 406.

²William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York, 1952), p. 88.

TABLE 12.--Percentage of Sisters achieving attitude scores at extreme ends of attitude continuum; i.e., high level of agreement with Church's position (score = 19) to disagreement (score = 38-49) arranged by educational degrees earned

Degree Earned	In Agreement (N=40)		In Disagreement (N=39)	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Bachelor's	37	92.5	29	72.5
Master's	23	57.5	5	12.8
Doctor's	5	12.5	0	0.0

It is noteworthy that among those in strong agreement with the Church's social doctrine, a full 20 per cent more have Bachelor's degrees than those who strongly disagree. While only 12.8 per cent of those in disagreement have Master's degrees and none have doctorates, 57.5 per cent of those who evince the most favorable attitude scores have Master's and 12.5 per cent have doctorates. Actually the percentage of doctorates among these giving the most favorable attitude scores is only .3 of a percentage point less than the percentage of Masters among those in disagreement with the Church's position. Considering the greater accessibility of Masters' degrees, this fact seems meaningful. Though the correlations do not bear out the expected results, this in-depth study does point to the possibility of positive correlations at extreme ends of the continuum.

Type of Education

Father Twomey, S.J., one of the United States' great apostles of social action, wrote four years ago, "How [can we account] for the dismal truth that graduates of our Catholic schools are by and large, as racially prejudiced as those who have been educated in secular institutions? ... We haven't passed on social consciousness to our students because we ourselves are not socially conscious. ... In our almost exclusive emphasis on private and family morality

we are seriously neglecting social morality."¹ It has been presumed until the appearance of recent sociological studies that Catholic education has a significant and positive effect on its products' attitudes, especially in areas integral to the gospel message.² These studies call such presumptions into question. For example, Lenski reports that no evidence was found in his study of Detroit to conclude that Catholic school attendance had any influence on the attitudes of Catholics towards Negroes.³ This study of the socio-religious attitudes of religious women teachers yielded a slightly negative correlation of -0.032505; the writer undertook two special in-depth studies. The first of these pertained to the respondent's answers to six questions designed to test for convictions. As shown in Table 13, the over-all picture reveals that those with an entire public school education on the grade and high school levels ranked first in two-thirds of the questions; those with mixed education ranked first in one-third of the questions; those with a totally Catholic education ranked first in none of the six, but last in three of them. Those with public education ranked last in one of the questions; those with mixed education ranked last in two of the questions.

The mean percentages for the educational categories when compared reveal no significant differences, though in the light of Catholic educational goals, it is significant that products of public education should lead the two other groups (all of which have had at least some Catholic education) by a margin of 3 percentage points.

¹Twomey, "Social Formation," 246-51.

²See Sister M. Ignatius Staley, I.B.V.M., "An Inquiry into the Absence of Moral Advancement in a Sample of Catholic High School Students with Specific Focus on Racial Prejudice," (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola, Chicago, 1961)

³Lenski, p. 273.

TABLE 13.--Percentages of Sisters in agreement with Church's social doctrine (position) on six questions designed to test convictions: arranged by type of grade and high school education: Catholic, public, partly in each

Questions--Correct Answer in Parentheses	Catholic N=340		Public N=49		Partly in each N=179	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
1. Do you think middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods? (Yes)	300	88.2	45	91.8	164	91.6
2. Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership? (No)	251	73.8	40	81.6	117	65.4
3. Do you think that a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people? (No)	198	58.2	29	59.0	94	52.5
4. Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools? (No)	309	90.8	42	85.7	167	93.2
5. Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations? (No)	305	89.7	45	91.8	165	92.2
6. Do you favor the passage of the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate? (Yes)	162	<u>47.6</u>	26	<u>53.1</u>	93	<u>52.0</u>
Total = <u>Mean</u> percentage for each type of education		74.7		77.2		74.5

The second in-depth analysis was undertaken on the results of a larger study pertaining to the characteristics of those achieving attitude scores most in agreement or disagreement with the Church's position on socio-religious issues.

As can be seen from Table 14 on page 78, the products of Catholic grade and high school education account for 58.7 per cent of the entire sample. As such they contribute more than their share to the favorable extreme of the attitude continuum and less than their share to the unfavorable. Those with

partly Catholic educational background contribute less than their share to both extremes of the continuum, especially the unfavorable attitude pole. Those from public school background contribute considerably more to both ends of the continuum than their total percentage of the sample would warrant. Those with total or partial Catholic education evidence more favorable attitudes than those receiving public grade and high school education only. However, in the over-all picture the percentage differences are comparatively small, thus forcing one to remain indecisive about the effectiveness of Catholic education in the formation of socio-religious attitudes.

TABLE 14.--Comparison of percentages of respondents in sample arranged by type of elementary and secondary education they received: Catholic, public, partly in each, to percentage of respondents of each type achieving most favorable or least favorable attitude scores (a.s.)

Type of elementary and secondary education	Entire Sample		Respondents with most favorable a.s.		Respondents with least favorable a.s.	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Catholic	340	58.7	24	60.0	22	56.4
Public	49	8.4	5	12.5	5	12.8
Partly in each	180	31.1	11	27.5	9	23.0
No Response	<u>10</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7.7</u>
	579	99.9	40	100.0	39	100.0

The preceding analyses support the finding that there is no correlation between one's educational background (classified as to Catholic-public-partly in each) and one's socio-religious attitudes; certainly there is no support here for the expectation that those with Catholic educational background (total or partial) would evince attitudes more in agreement with Catholic socio-religious doctrine than those without such training.

Another assumption of social actionists and educators in social doctrine is that the lack of Christian attitudes toward socio-religious problems is related to the dearth of social encyclical courses. Surveys have been

conducted to ascertain the formal breadth of such courses in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning.¹ Though Christian attitudes may be related to having taken such courses under certain conditions, this study throws considerable doubt upon the position that there is a direct relationship. It is interesting that there was a -0.024995 (or no) correlation between socio-religious attitudes of the respondents and their having taken social encyclical courses. Of the 40 Sisters in the sample evincing the most favorable socio-religious attitudes, only 7 or 17.5 per cent had taken social encyclical courses. Courses of this type were also taken by 2 of the 39 (or 5 per cent of the Sisters) having the least favorable socio-religious attitude scores. The hypothesis that those having had such courses evince better attitudes than those deprived of such must be rejected because of the lack of correlation using the entire sample and the fact that 82.5 per cent of those who had socio-religious attitude scores most in agreement with the Church never had a social encyclicals course while 5 per cent of the group in disagreement with the Church's position have had such courses.

Juniorate Formation Program

In the past ten years, many religious communities under the guidance of the Sister Formation Conference have established juniorate programs which extend the time and enhance the quality of a Sister's psychological, spiritual, educational, and apostolic preparation for her role as a Church functionary. As mentioned in Chapter One of this report, relevant instruction in social doctrine is one of the goals of the juniorate.² The question that posed

¹Donald Thorman, "Failure of Catholic Social Education," Ave Maria, XCIII (May 6, 1961), 18.

²Above, p. 17.

itself for investigation was: to what extent have the goals of this instruction been accomplished in its products who have stepped over the threshold of the apostolate?

In a correlation study of attitudes with juniorate, no relationship was found (0.066413). However, this study used the entire sample. Since it did not appear fair to compare Sisters of all ages and consequently educational and experiential levels, another study using only respondents in the 20-29 age bracket was made. The hypothesis was that if the juniorate is having significant effects in this area of education, attitude scores of those with juniorate training will be lower and more favorable than those without such formation. As can be observed in Table 15, those with juniorate training achieved a lower and more favorable score than those without.

TABLE 15.--Comparison of mean attitude scores of those 20-29 years of age with and without juniorate

Description of Group	Mean Attitude Score	Standard Deviation
20-29 with juniorate (N=69)	26.45	4.94
20-29 without juniorate (N=42)	27.14	5.48

However, the margin is a mere .69 or less than one percentage point.

Because of the small margin, the data does not sufficiently support the hypothesis. When the mean score of the experimental group is compared to the mean score of the total sample, a one point difference in favor of the juniorate is found. Again, this may be indicative, but not conclusive.

Taking the same six questions referred to previously which have been designed to test for convictions, the writer found that those in the 20-24 age bracket without juniorate training ranked higher percentage-wise in five of the six questions than those who had been or are in juniorate formation.

TABLE 16.--Percentage of Sisters in agreement with Church's social doctrine or position on six questions designed to test convictions: arranged as to having had or not having had juniorate and age

Questions--Correct Answer in Parentheses	Juniorate			No Juniorate		
	Age	N	per cent	Age	N	per cent
1. Do you think middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods? (Yes)	20-24			20-24		
	N=28	23	82.1	N=14	14	100.0
	25-29			25-29		
	N=41	37	90.2	N=27	24	88.8
2. Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership? (No)	30-34			30-34		
	N=17	17	100.0	N=49	47	95.9
	20-24			20-24		
	N=28	21	75.0	N=14	11	78.6
3. Do you think that a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people? (No)	25-29			25-29		
	N=41	30	73.2	N=27	24	88.8
	30-34			30-34		
	N=17	12	70.6	N=49	37	75.5
4. Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools? (No)	20-24			20-24		
	N=28	27	96.4	N=14	14	100.0
	25-29			25-29		
	N=41	37	90.2	N=27	25	92.6
5. Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations? (No)	30-34			30-34		
	N=17	17	100.0	N=49	46	93.9
	20-24			20-24		
	N=28	27	96.4	N=14	13	92.8
6. Do you favor the passage of the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate? (Yes)	25-29			25-29		
	N=41	40	97.5	N=27	26	96.3
	30-34			30-34		
	N=17	17	100.0	N=49	46	93.9
	20-24			20-24		
	N=28	7	25.0	N=14	4	28.6
	25-29			25-29		
	N=41	18	43.9	N=27	12	44.4
	30-34			30-34		
	N=17	11	65.3	N=49	32	65.3

In the 25-29 age bracket those without juniorate ranked first in four of the six questions. Those who have had juniorate training ranked first in four of the six questions among those in the 30-34 age level. If this study of six

particular questions is indicative of over-all attitude scores, there is no correlation even when the age group is limited. This study found no significant differences in socio-religious attitudes between those with juniorate formation and without such background.

Professional Background: Teaching Level

As this study progressed, the significance of the level at which a Sister teaches became more apparent. At the study's inception, the writer anticipated that a Sister's level of education would have some significance, but did not treat the level at which she taught with the same import. It was during the in-depth analysis of the most and least favorable attitude scores that this variable became significant to the writer of this study.

TABLE 17.--Comparison of the percentage of Sisters in entire sample to percentage of Sisters having scores at extreme ends of attitude continuum: arranged by teaching level

Teaching Level	Per cent in Sample		Highly Agree		Highly Disagree	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Grade School	380	65.6	10	25.0	30	76.9
High School	154	26.6	19	47.5	6	15.4
College	45	7.8	9	22.5	0	0.0
No Answer	0	0.0	2	5.0	3	7.7
Total	579	100.0	40	100.0	39	100.0

On the basis of the finding that 65.6 per cent of the entire sample was composed of grade school teachers, while this same group comprised only 25 per cent of those with the most favorable attitude scores, it is hypothesized that as a Sister's teaching level rises, her socio-religious attitudes will be in greater agreement with the Church's position on these issues. This hypothesis is further strengthened by the fact that while the college teachers comprised 7.8 per cent of the sample, they accounted for 22.5 per cent of those Sisters most in agreement with the Church's position. If this

hypothesis is true (and only further research can verify this), the consequences for Sister's participation in the Church's social mission could be serious. Further discussion of this will be taken up in Chapter Five.

Professional Background: Type of Subject Matter Taught

It was hypothesized that those teaching subjects related to socio-religious issues on the high school and college levels would achieve more favorable attitude scores than those who did not. Subject matter considered related to this study are economics, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology, theology and education. It was found that a modest correlation of 0.207307 existed. This is interesting as there was no correlation between favorable socio-religious attitudes and having had 12 or more semester hours in any one of these fields. This may mean that the teaching experience is also a learning experience. The new texts used at these upper levels may present material that changes the teacher's attitude more than her own educational background.

Conclusion

A correlation of the summation of the weights of educational and professional variables with the total attitude scores yielded a 0.1333311. On the basis of this study, it is concluded that there is no correlation in general, although individual variables, such as the level of education achieved, teaching level, and type of subject matter taught do appear to have some relationship to attitudes on socio-religious topics.

IV. The Relationship of Socio-religious Attitudes to Social Class

Lenski so recognized the importance of social class in his study on the religious factor in Detroit life that he limited comparisons to individuals in the same social class. To fail to do so would have resulted, he felt, "in confusing the impact of the class system and the system of the socio-religious groups."¹ Obenhaus in his study of church-affiliation and socio-religious attitudes likewise found that "members of different denominations vary slightly according to ethnic and theological traditions, but economic and educational levels [social class variables] of church members are more determinative."²

The factor of social class appears to be important in this study also. Most Sisters in the study (69.9 per cent) are from lower class background,³ though their families are socially mobile as indicated by the educational and occupational choices of their brothers. When asked to classify themselves as to social class, 23.6 per cent who were really lower class referred to themselves as middle class, thereby indicating the group with which they identify and whose value system they would most likely embrace. Only 4 Sisters (.7 per cent) identified themselves as having come from lower class background. The more euphemistic term, working class, was preferred by 295 (50.9 per cent). There was, in fact, a marked tendency for those from lower class background to rate themselves one or two classes higher than they

¹Lenski, p. 81.

²Victor Obenhaus and W. Widick Schroeder, "Church Affiliation and Attitudes Toward Selected Public Questions in a Typical Midwest County," RS, XXVIII (March, 1963), 35.

³Above, Table 2, p. 44.

really were at age 15.¹ What is the implication of this fact for this study? Fichter states that the attitudes of religious functionary "towards the lay people for whom he works are likely always to be colored by the class position of the family in which he grew up."² This was most obvious to the writer when reading through the descriptions of the pleasant personal experiences that many of the Sisters had had with the colored. Typical of the responses was: "I have enjoyed working with the colored. I find them both clean and courteous." Not only should it be noted that these are middle class values, but that the teachers somehow felt it important that they mention these as facts which impressed them. Since perception is selective,³ it is significant that these should be qualities which they remember about these contacts. These qualities are far more reflective of middle class than Church-oriented value judgments. Stein notes that one of the "major difficulties in living ... in a massively competitive society is the difficulty which leads to the formation of personalities dominated by the security operations of the self system at the expense of genuine individuation. People learn to go through the motions of communication without expressing their own depths or establishing any deep contact with others."⁴

¹Ibid.

²Fichter, Religion As An Occupation, p. 87.

³Tomatsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Delimited Perspectives," AJS, LX (May, 1955), 564.

⁴Stein, p. 264.

Even if a religious has grown up in a family which twenty-five years ago might have been classified as lower class, the family was probably socially mobile and maintaining or competing for those status symbols characteristic of middle class. The devastating results of such a status-oriented life are noted by Stein. "Human relationships are valued only as sources of status. ... Dedication to a status-dominated life style forces individuals into a rigid mold from within which they can see only limited aspects of human reality."¹ Economic success becomes the standard by which a person's worth is judged.² Though these are not the values by which the Church judges a man's worth, "the failure of the Catholic educational system adequately to develop the social nature of its students ... encourages an aping of the expected behavior patterns of the prosperous middle class."³ Not only is the student a citizen of two worlds; so also is the religious teacher. If religion has had some effects on middle-class values, may it not also be true that middle-class values have had their effects upon religious subcommunities? Is it not possible that these subcommunities could so assimilate middle-class behavior patterns that to distinguish what is a Catholic value from a middle-class value becomes fairly impossible to the average member. Where a member should find herself marginal because of her strong tendency to identify with the middle class on some point which is incompatible with the standards of the Church, she may in fact find

¹Ibid., pp. 280-86.

²Ibid., p. 290.

⁴Twomey, "Social Formation," 252.

companionship in a membership which holds the same value system as she, that is, a membership whose middle-class referents sometimes predominate over Church referents in a conflict situation. It may not be apparent to those unwarned of this danger that the value orientations of the Church and those of the middle class may at times be in opposition. The question then becomes: how can one make a true decision if one is not even aware that there is a choice to be made?¹ If we find in this study that a considerable number of respondents have based their judgments of socio-religious issues mainly on middle-class values or the American dream of socio-economic success, may it not be partially due to a failure on the part of the socio-religious subcommunities to reify the abstract principles of social doctrine for their members? This is not meant to infer any intrinsic evil to the middle-class way of life, nor to infer that all who are members of the middle class are so afflicted. It is simply to point out its failures by excess, its dangers. These afflictions may be more prevalent among non-members but referents, than among actual members. The reason for this lies in the tendency of subordinate (new arrivals) or prospective group members "to assimilate the sentiments and conform with the values of the authoritative and prestigious stratum in that group."² However, because of their recent "arrival" or desire to "belong," they are frequently more preoccupied and enamoured with the symbols and values of the group than long-term members. They are more prone to fear that those with whom they share

¹ Shibutani, "Reference Groups," p. 565.

² Merton, p. 254.

a "rung" on the economic ladder or those who are a "rung or two" below may outdistance them in the great American goal of "getting ahead." Their "intolerance is a function of anxiety, frustration and deprivation. ..."¹ This tendency for lower class members to be more fearful and intolerant is supported by the data in the study on the social class characteristics of those respondents who scored the least favorably on the attitude portion of the questionnaire.

The upper and middle classes account for 35 per cent of those with most favorable attitude scores but only 7.7 per cent of those whose scores were most unfavorable. While 60 per cent of the group having most favorable attitude scores came from lower class background, the percentage is considerably higher for those with unfavorable attitudes. Of these 74.4 per cent are from lower class backgrounds.

TABLE 18.--Comparison of percentages of respondents with favorable attitudes and unfavorable attitudes at extreme ends of attitude continuum: arranged by social class

Social Class (Two Factor Index)	Most favorable attitudes (N=40)		Most unfavorable attitudes (N=39)	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Upper	4	10.0	1	2.6
Middle	10	25.0	2	5.1
Lower	24	60.0	29	74.4
Insufficient Information	<u>2</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>17.9</u>
Total	40	100.0	39	100.0

This study also found a 0.212208 correlation between social class background and socio-religious attitudes, the hypothesis being that the higher the social class, the better the attitudes would be.

¹Bettelheim and Janowitz, "Ethnic Tolerance: A Function of Social and Personal Control," in Readings in Social Psychology, ed. G. Swanson, p. 601.

True to their middle-class laissez-faire value system, 34.9 per cent stated that they thought a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people; 9.3 per cent were undecided, bringing the total of unfavorable responses to 44.2 per cent. That a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership was affirmed by 19.3 per cent while 9.2 per cent did not respond. This brings the total of unfavorable responses to 28.5 per cent or over one-fourth of the sample holding an extremely individualistic theory of private property. This theory of private property disregards the natural right to ownership (regardless of race), the social nature of property,¹ offers a convenient rationalization for racism, and yet is quite common in American society due to an exaggerated emphasis put on man's right to private property.

In summary, this investigation suggests an important relationship between social class and socio-religious attitudes.

V. Other Significant Findings Related to Attitudes

Environmental Background

This study of women religious teachers reveals a correlation of 0.340172 between their social attitudes and environmental background. In the breakdown of "environmental background" to its constituent elements, certain findings should be mentioned. First, while there is a 0.206548 correlation between the Sisters' socio-religious attitudes and their fathers' levels of educational achievement, there is no correlation between the Sisters' socio-religious attitude scores and the type of grammar and secondary education their fathers received, classified as Catholic, public or mixed. Second,

¹For an extensive treatment of this, see Calvez & Perrin, pp. 209-14.

the highest correlation in this category was length of family residence in this country which yielded 0.336468 when correlated with the attitude scores, the hypothesis being that the longer the residence in this country the better the socio-religious attitudes would be. Third, with a correlation of 0.231965, this study tends to support the hypothesis that people in occupations of higher rank tend to evince better attitudes than those of lower rank. Fourth, when the respondent's attitude scores were correlated with their families' attitudes on race (as described by the respondents), it was found that a correlation of 0.235068 exists.

Age

On the basis of the assumption that younger Sisters in general would be more likely to come from families who have been in this country several generations, and therefore had more opportunities for education, social mobility, and contact with middle-class Negroes, it was predicted that there would be a relationship between age and attitudes toward Negroes, the younger evincing more favorable attitude scores than the older. This hypothesis is supported with a correlation of 0.221043.

Personal Contact

Though there are meaningful correlations between the total attitude scores and personal contact with Negroes (0.270343) and pleasant personal experiences with Negroes (0.277122), there is only a slight correlation between the attitude scores and having visited Negroes' homes since entering the convent (0.112395). There is even less correlation between the attitude scores and the presence of Negroes in the same neighborhood at the time when the respondents answered the questionnaires, the presumption being that those

who are presently living closer to Negroes would give evidence or better attitudes. The correlation was 0.067196. The implication of this finding is important. The lack of relationship between the two may indicate that stereotypes are being reinforced where the Sisters find themselves dealing mainly or only with lower-class Negroes. A previous finding which revealed that college teachers were over-represented among those with the most favorable attitude scores while having no representation among those with the least favorable scores, and that grade school teachers were under-represented among those with the most favorable seems pertinent here. May it not be that since grade schools are located in parishes formed according to territorial divisions, some Sisters are continually meeting lower class Negroes who support their stereotypes? With home visiting enjoying more of an experimental than permanent status in religious teaching communities, may it not also be that religious teachers are mainly visiting the homes of lower-class Negroes rather than middle-class ones? On the other hand, any stereotypes which college teachers may have are constantly being modified by their contacts with the more educated and prosperous Negro middle and upper classes. Also the lack of correlation may be heightened by the fact that the college teachers who as a group did so well on the attitude section of the questionnaire are living in colleges located in non-integrated areas of the city.

Those who have lived with Negroes in the same house tended to achieve more favorable attitude scores, the correlation being 0.232296.

Involvement

Various levels of involvement ranging from reading and discussion to more active leadership roles in Catholic Action comprise this concept. "As Dewey emphasized, society exists in and through communication; common perspectives-common cultures-emerge through participation in common communication channels. It is through social participation that perspectives shared in a group are internalized."¹ This study supports the quoted socio-psychological generalization. Discussion among the Sisters when analyzed as to frequency, relationship of discussion material to social doctrine, and the heterogeneity of discussants was then correlated with the total attitude scores, yielding a correlation of 0.201162. Further breakdowns revealed a relationship between the Sisters' attitude scores and the types of books they read (0.292457), those with favorable attitude scores reading books of serious study, current social issues, or matters relevant to the modern Church as well as books of personal piety or pleasure. In the questionnaire the respondent was asked to list any books which she had read by her own choosing in the last six months prior to answering the questionnaire. The answers were then classified in the categories listed above.

As mentioned before, though there was no correlation between social encyclical courses and favorable attitude scores, there was a correlation of 0.213380 between having read one or more of the social encyclicals and a favorable attitude score.

¹Shibutani, "Reference Groups," p. 565.

Though the following variable in no way measures actual involvement at the present time, it does measure an attitude of mind essential to involvement, and for this reason is considered here. It is also important to consider this personal viewpoint, as it perhaps measures more accurately what the religious would do if present conventual customs were more supportive to this type of behavior. There was a 0.426126 correlation between a favorable attitude score and an affirmative answer to the question: "Do you think religious women should become involved in the area of race relations?"

All of the above when taken together for a total score and correlated with the respondents' attitude scores yielded 0.270968, pointing to the conclusion that there may be some relationship between attitudes and degree of involvement; the more favorable attitudes being possessed by the more involved. Conclusions and recommendations on the foregoing material will be presented in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AWARENESS AND INVOLVEMENT OF CHICAGO'S TEACHING SISTERS

Introduction

Chapter IV considers the third hypothesis, that is, the relationship of awareness to involvement. Factors (personal or social) that promote or inhibit involvement are taken up in Part I.

The research findings in the area of awareness are presented in Part II. Subtopics considered are: (a) liberal-conservative tendencies; (b) awareness of national social problems, local community conditions, opportunities for teaching social doctrine, the biological facts about racial characteristics; (c) the awareness scores of juniorate products are compared with non-juniorate counterparts of the same age level.

Part III reports the findings on the degree of the Sisters' involvement in socio-religious issues by way of education, Catholic social action and personal contact with Negroes. It also explores and analyzes the influence of the juniorate formation program in this area of involvement at the present time.

In Part IV a correlation analysis of awareness and involvement scores is undertaken.

I. Factors That Promote or Bar Awareness and Involvement

Personal Factors

Today religious and secular leaders are more than ever concerned about the involvement of members in community affairs. Reflective of this situation, contemporary literature abounds with terms like "involvement," "engagement," and "commitment." One might conclude that heightened awareness of the importance of involvement has led to a commensurate degree of realization. However, such an hypothesis needs verification. It will be the purpose of this chapter to explore to what extent Chicago's teaching Sisters had become aware of and involved in the social apostolate of the Church in Chicago, in May, 1964.

For the sake of subsequent analysis, it seems wise to first consider factors that promote or bar involvement before reporting on the findings of this investigation.

Intelligent involvement presupposes awareness of the facts of the social situation in which the teaching Sister finds herself. However, as social psychologists point out, awareness of social realities is greatly dependent upon a number of psychological factors. So important is this that what VanKam writes of Christians in general is no less true of the religious witness.

If Christians are dominated by this lack of perception of reality, their impact on the culture is almost nil. Thus great thinkers may cry out that God is dead or that Christianity is buried. Of course, God is not dead; neither is Christianity. What are dead are those Christians who refuse to be present individually, personally, and courageously to their fellowmen today, to the contemporary situation, to the struggle of the hour. Their timidity, insecurity, and self-centered preoccupation with their own spiritual perfection cause them to hide behind the veils of convention-

ality and stereotyped perception of the world.¹

To a great extent the relevant involvement of the Church through its religious groups, whether lay or religious, is dependent upon whether the group is dominated by personalities who can perceive each reality with freshness and respond to that reality as it is, rather than repeating "categorical answers given by men of past generations to past situations."² This type of response presupposes a person, whole and entire, capable of becoming involved in the unknown and undefined, capable of experimentation and risk.

That this is recognized not only by religious psychologists, such as VanKaam, but also by the more legal-minded canonists in the Church is evidenced by the remarks of Father Joseph Gallen, canon lawyer and writer for Review for Religious, a well-known and widely-read journal for U.S. religious. As long as ten years ago, Father Gallen wrote, "The modern apostolate requires one who can face boldly the gigantic tasks of our age, one able to meet its dangers, overcome its spiritual destitution, competent to think for himself, and formed to maturity of judgment."³

Social Factors

Besides the psychological factors which may impede awareness and involvement, there are also those more sociological in origin. Maurice Stein

¹VanKaam, p. 73.

²Ibid., p. 72.

³Joseph F. Gallen, "Renovation and Adaptation," Review for Religious, XIV (November, 1955), 293-318. (As quoted by Joseph Fichter in Religion As An Occupation, p. 112.)

notes the special difficulties associated with life in large urban areas, especially the impersonality which leads to anonymity and lack of "familiarity with life in any sub-community besides the one in which they [the urbanites] happen to live."¹ The impersonal and non-enduring relationships of urban life are often intensified for the average religious by the highly mobile state of life which the teaching Sister leads. According to the statistics of this investigation the average length of time in their present assignment for the Sisters was approximately four years. These facts about urbanism and physical mobility in religious life can be expected to have their effects on the attitudes of religious towards the degree of involvement which they view as desirable.

As a member of a social institution, the Church functionary has some handicaps, victory over which is hard won. Father Fichter observes that the American religious functionary "tends to be conformist rather than reformist,"² while Father Trafford Maher, S.J., states "Religious personnel seem more oriented to the past than to the present."³ If these assumptions are correct, it is to be expected that large numbers of teaching Sisters will not have a grasp on the social facts of their situation sufficient to motivate a deeper and perhaps broader involvement than former times or assignments demanded.

Some of this no doubt stems from a certain parochialism, a danger common to all religious subcommunities. This parochialism fosters a preoccupation with the interests of the institute itself rather than those

¹Stein, pp. 331-32.

²Fichter, Religion As An Occupation, p. 155.

³Maher, p. 251.

interests for which the institute was founded. Usually where the Church fails to adapt herself meaningfully to the community, it is due to the fact that the Church as a human institution, like all such institutions, tends to resist change. Dynes points out that the "Church has been one of the last institutions to utilize research as a basis for policy making."¹ Again, it is far easier "to disregard challenging facts than to confront their implications."²

II. Findings of the Study on Awareness

The mean awareness score was 23.5. This is 9.5 points from the best possible score (14) and 18.5 points from the worst (42). Though the Sisters scored less favorably in this section as compared to their scores in attitudinal measurement, they did considerably better here than in that of involvement.

Liberal-Conservative Tendencies

Two questions in the survey were designed to explore the Sisters' awareness of the complexities of two current social issues and to observe whether their proposed solutions were mainly along liberal or conservative lines. To the question, "Who should bear the greatest responsibility for solving unemployment?" the vast majority of Sisters gave responses indicative of liberal or at least middle-of-the-road positions. See Table 19 on page 99. A minority of 29 or 5 per cent felt that the unemployed themselves bore the greatest responsibility for unemployment. This question was designed to

¹Russell R. Dynes, "The Relation of Community Characteristics to Religious Organization and Behavior," in Community Structure and Analysis, Ed. Marvin Sussman (New York, 1959), p. 268.

²Stein, p. 293.

TABLE 19.--Percentage of Sisters in the sample whose responses to questions on civil rights and unemployment indicate liberal, middle-of-the-road, or conservative political philosophy.¹ Not included are those who didn't answer or did not follow directions.

Political Position	Unemployment		Civil Rights	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Liberal	208	35.9	51	8.8
Middle-of-the-road	223	38.5	386	66.7
Conservative	29	5.0	86	14.9
	460	79.4	523	90.4

force the respondents to choose one category which they thought bore the greatest responsibility for unemployment. In all, 20.7 per cent of the sample found it impossible to choose any group who in their estimation bore greatest responsibility. Over half of this group or 11.1 per cent of the entire sample did not answer the question at all, possibly indicating insufficient awareness of the problem to answer. A similar trend can be seen in an analysis of the answers to the question: "Who should attempt to solve the civil rights problem?" Of the entire sample, 66.7 per cent favored intervention on the part of the federal government along with one or more of the following: private citizens, city government, and state government. A total of 55.8 per cent favored participation by all four. Only 8.8 per cent of the entire sample favored the federal government working alone on a solution to the problem. Likewise only 5.7 per cent favored private citizens acting alone in this area. However, 9.7 per cent again felt incapable of answering this question. From the foregoing, it seems that when the Sisters are allowed to indicate a shared responsibility (as in the case of the question on civil rights), the majority favor this type of middle-of-the-road political philosophy. On the other hand when they

¹Percentage are computed on the basis of entire sample (579).

were forced to choose one of the mutually exclusive categories, (as in the case of the question on unemployment), there was a sharp increase in the percentage of those who took a firm "liberal" stand, that is, those who felt that the government bore the greatest responsibility. From Table 19 one may conclude that the Sisters tend more toward political liberalism and middle-of-the-road policies than toward conservatism.

Interesting to note is the fact that while only 29 Sisters or 5.0 per cent of the sample adopted a conservative attitude on unemployment when restrictions on choice were severely limited, 86 or 14.9 per cent responded conservatively on the matter of civil rights in spite of the fact that a greater latitude of choice existed in regard to this question. Whether this is reflective of conservative-liberal tendencies or racial attitudes cannot be determined at this point, but does point to the adaptability of human viewpoints when new variables are introduced. A seeming inconsistency (as in the case here of political philosophy) may be in fact simply consistency in another area (as in the case of racial attitudes). The most meaningful and functional factor will tend to predominate over the less meaningful and functional.

Awareness of National Social Problems

In his book, The Eclipse of Community, Stein writes that there is a point at which the suburban mentality, a product of our affluent society and middle-class culture, cannot distinguish social fact from fiction. He projects serious consequences for human dignity as a result of these irrationalities. "By weakening the capacity for rational social thought, they help prepare the way for more serious irrational outbreaks if circumstances should

change. ... The very fabric of democratic society is weakened when men can no longer understand their everyday worlds."¹ To what extent have the Sisters in this investigation been able to rise above their middle-class identities? It is impossible on the basis of this study to draw any definitive or final conclusions, but five questions were designed to show trends, and, therefore, can be regarded as directional. All five questions pertain to national social problems dealing with the underprivileged groups in American society.

To the question, "Do you think that most colored persons are treated fairly in the U.S. most of the time?" 21.1 per cent answered yes, and 8.1 per cent were unsure, giving a total of 29.2 per cent who must find it difficult to understand the Civil Rights Movement in this country.

That migrant workers receive a fair deal in hiring, paying, housing, and firing was accepted by 10 per cent of the sample, while 13.8 per cent refrained from answering, giving a total of 23.8 per cent who are unaware of one of the U.S.'s greatest social problems.

Among the questions receiving the highest percentage of responses indicating lack of proper information was "Do you think that if a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all other residences drop inevitably?" Of the entire sample, 40.6 per cent thought they would inevitably drop, while 11.1 per cent were unsure. A total of 51.7 per cent, therefore, indicated by their responses a lack of complete information available in studies, like Luigi Laurenti's study for

¹Ibid., p. 328.

the Commission on Race and Housing.¹ Publications of this sort are readily available, but they must be brought to the attention of the teachers, either through courses or workshops.

The question receiving the highest percentage of responses unfavorable to those living in slums was "Do you think that the most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants?" To this question 62.3 per cent answered "Yes"; 11.4 per cent were unsure. The total percentage of those lacking a real understanding of the inner city and slum problems was 73.7 per cent, and yet this sample was drawn from women, many of whom are in the midst of the inner city and some of whom are on its fringe. Though this question is not the same type as those questions that dealt with an allegation of basic inferiority, it is possible that the two types in this case are related; that is, a person who regards the Negro as inferior may be more inclined to look upon the slum as a minority caused effect, rather than a symptom. These Sisters who regard the colored as basically inferior, then, tend to regard the slum as the effect of the inhabitants' (mainly Negroes') negligence and destruction. Without knowledge of the facts about poverty, attitudes of racism, whether conscious or unconscious, are reinforced.

At the time of this survey (May, 1964), the Civil Rights Bill was at its height of discussion across the country. It was, in fact, passed by the Senate about one month after the questionnaires had been returned to the

¹See Luigi Laurenti, Property Values and Race: Studies in Seven Cities (Berkeley, 1960); Charles Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors (New York, 1955), p. 269; Belden Morgan, "Values in Transition Areas," The Review of the Society for Residential Appraisers, XVIII (1952), 9-10.

writer. Therefore, it could be surmised that ample time had elapsed, and all would have had sufficient opportunity to become acquainted with the provisions of the Bill. Though 49.1 per cent favored its passage, and only 2.2 per cent did not, 48.7 per cent gave answers which indicated that they were not sufficiently informed to take a stand. Rabbi Tanenbaum's words to the Sister Formation Conference in 1963 have an air of "prophacy" about them considering that this survey occurred within the following year. He said that though many are coming out of the parish ghettos, "still they are more nativist than they are Catholic. Many Catholics, like many of their fellow Americans of Protestant and Jewish faiths, are insular, provincial, parochial ... They will not support the kind of legislation which makes it possible for America to have a flexible policy of accomodation to new realities."¹

Of the five national issues considered, the Sisters fared best in their awareness of the migrant workers' problems and poorest in their understanding of the causes of slums. Table 20 presents a comparative study of the five issues.

TABLE 20.--Comparison of percentages of responses showing awareness to five questions dealing with national social issues

National Social Issue	Aware		Unaware	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
On treatment of migrant workers	441	76.2	138	23.8
On fair treatment to colored	410	70.8	169	29.2
On Civil Rights Bill	284	49.1	295	50.9
On relationship of integration to property values	280	48.4	299	51.7
On cause of slums	152	26.3	427	73.7

Considering the ever-growing concentration of the poor in our central cities and the flight of the middle class to suburbia, these misunderstand-

¹Tanenbaum, p. 11.

ings on the part of Sisters teaching in urban areas must be viewed with some sense of urgency.

Local Community Conditions

Not only is it important for a Sister-teacher to be cognizant of national social facts, but she must also be acquainted with local community conditions. Stein observed in his study that "they [urbanites] do not necessarily have much objective knowledge about their own home territory since self-magnifying fictions are as prominent in urban neighborhoods and occupational groups as they are in small towns or suburbia."¹ The writer found comparable results, especially in the responses that were given to two questions. When asked to estimate Chicago's Negro population, 55.1 per cent tended to project an exaggerated concept of the number of Negroes in Chicago, putting the percentage 7-60 per cent higher than the census figures. Only 13.0 per cent gave an approximation within the 20-29 per cent range and, therefore, closest to the correct figure (22.9 per cent).² Over one-fourth of the entire sample (28.3 per cent) did not even attempt an answer.

As to the percentage of Negroes in Chicago who are truly middle class, 39.2 per cent of the sample stated a figure 10-20 per cent below the figures of recent surveys. This may be due to contacts limited to Negroes of lower socio-economic status. Those who did not respond to this question comprised 34.2 per cent of the sample. Of the sample respondents, 17.4 per cent came

¹Stein, p. 332.

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics (Washington, D.C.: 1961), Table 21 for states as quoted in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. John P. Davis (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), p. 119.

within 10 percentage points either way of most recent estimates which state that 30 per cent of Chicago's Negroes are middle class.¹

Knowledge of the social facts is no longer a luxury; it is a necessity. With the current emphasis on the Sister playing a prominent role in the formation of lay apostles, it becomes increasingly necessary to ponder: "One big question in the training of the laity today is how religious who do not experience the actuality of the temporal order can train those who do and must experience it."²

TABLE 21.--Distribution of responses to two questions dealing with percentages of Negroes in Chicago's population and percentage of Negroes who are middle class

Sisters' Estimated Percentages	Negro Population		Middle-Class Negroes	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
1-9	3	.5	103	17.8
10-19	18	3.1	124	21.4
20-29	75	13.0	73	12.6
30-39	94	16.2	28	4.8
40-49	101	17.4	18	3.1
50-59	77	13.3	20	3.5
60-69	31	5.4	10	1.7
70-79	11	1.9	3	.5
80-100	5	.9	2	.3
No Answer	<u>164</u>	<u>28.3</u>	<u>198</u>	<u>34.2</u>
	579	100.0	579	99.9

Though 60.3 per cent favored religious becoming involved in race relations, only 27.8 per cent know the exact name of an appropriate organization in Chicago to call on for assistance in organizing a series of talks for parents' meetings or an educational unit on interracial justice.

¹Chicago Commission on Human Relations, "The Growing Negro Middle Class in Chicago," Human Relations News (October, 1962).

²Sister Gertrude Joseph Donnelly, p. 149.

Recalling the fact that the average span of tenure was four years, and that 14.7 per cent of the sample had been stationed at their present convents for ten years or more, while even those who were transferred the previous year had an entire school year to become acquainted with the locale and its agencies since the survey was conducted in May, it does seem that there was sufficient time to become informed on this matter.

Awareness of Social Action Opportunities in Teaching

Two of the teaching Sisters' strong points appear in those areas that directly pertain to the teaching apostolate; 83.5 per cent indicated that Christian social principles should be taught in grade school. As to where these principles could be integrated in the curriculum, 77.4 per cent of the sample named subject areas that would lend themselves to the teaching of these principles: religion, social sciences, literature, and reading.

Awareness of Biology of Race

Though 70.1 per cent gave an answer reflecting accurate biological knowledge about race, a fallacy of the old-wives-tale-type was supported by 16.9 per cent of the sample who thought that the colored have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin; 13.0 per cent were unsure bringing the total to 29.9 per cent of the entire sample who give evidence of being victimized by folk knowledge and myth.

Awareness of those with Juniorate Training as Compared to others in Sample

As with the attitude scores, it was hypothesized that those with juniorate training would achieve lower and thus more favorable scores than those without such training. A special comparison was undertaken of those in the 20-29 age bracket. As can be seen in Table 22, though those with juniorate

achieved a lower and more favorable mean awareness score, there is no meaningful difference. Likewise, though the mean score of those 20-29 with juniorate was 1.3 per cent better than the average awareness score for the total sample, it is not a significant difference.

TABLE 22.--Comparison of mean awareness scores of those 20-29 years of age with and without juniorate

Description of Group	Mean Awareness Score	Standard Deviation
20-29 with juniorate (N=69)	22.49	3.23
20-29 without juniorate (N=42)	23.78	4.00

III. Findings of the Study on Involvement

The area in which the Sisters fared poorest was the area of involvement. As mentioned in Chapter Three, the concept "involvement" embraces various levels ranging from reading and discussion to more active leadership roles in Catholic Action. The mean score of all Sisters' total involvement scores was 70.5. This is 37.5 points from the perfect score (33) and 36.5 points from the poorest possible score (107). This was the only area of the three where the Sisters' scores were slightly more in the direction of the least desirable end of the continuum.

Involvement Through Education

Intelligent involvement in the social apostolate of the Church presupposes awareness and conviction. Though many sources, not the least being personal experience and involvement itself, contribute to this awareness and conviction, the part of education, whether formalized or not, cannot be overestimated. In a society as technical and specialized as ours, every type of involvement demands its own qualifications. Also, in spite of the

fact that our society is so advanced technologically, many of its members are still victims of folk knowledge and social myths.¹ The question is, how much emphasis has been placed in the Sisters' formation on those subject areas considered crucial to the social action apostolate, i.e., economics, education, history, philosophy, political science, psychology, sociology and theology? As pointed out in Chapter Two, the vast majority had less than twelve hours in economics, political science, psychology, and sociology. In many cases, Sisters had no credit hours in these disciplines. (See page 50.) When asked in which subject areas they felt weakest or least prepared to teach, the majority responded with one or more of these subjects considered crucial to the social action apostolate. As noted in Chapter Two, it is striking that 10 per cent of the survey, or the largest single group, listed religion as their most deficient area against 7.6 per cent who felt it was the area they were most prepared to teach. These deficiencies in course work, though by no means solely responsible for the lack of personal active involvement, do most probably have some relationship.

Though there has been a growing awareness on the part of university administrators as to the importance of offering courses in the social encyclicals, this is of rather recent vintage and may account for the fact that only 20.0 per cent of the Sisters report having taken such a course. When presented with a list of five encyclicals (Rerum Novarum, Quadragesimo Anno, Mystici Corporis, Mater et Magistra, and Pacem in Terris) and asked to check

¹Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., "The University in the World of Change" an address to the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Council of Graduate Schools, December, 1964, Chicago. Published in More Thoughts for Our Times, 57.

the ones she had read in their entirety, 20.4 per cent (the largest single group) responded that they had read none. Of the five, 13.6 per cent had read one; 19.3 per cent, two; 18.1 per cent, three; 13.6 per cent, four; and 14.9 per cent had read all five.

It was hypothesized that where concern for social justice existed, the Sister would seek opportunities to teach it in a meaningful way, that is, in a way related to the needs of our place and time. Whether the concern exists in those with little or no opportunity (e.g., due to subject matter taught) or whether the hypothesis itself is false is not known at the present time; however, it is a finding of this investigation that only 13.3 per cent have ever taught a unit on interracial justice.

Though not as formal a source of education as courses, discussion and reading are forms of education and involvement. The discussion of current affairs presupposes a certain degree of awareness and concern and was, therefore, included as a question in the survey. Only 9 sisters or 1.6 per cent of the sample admitted that they never discuss current affairs. On the contrary, the largest single group (37.0 per cent) stated that they discussed current affairs a few times a week. At the opposite extreme of those who never discuss these matters are the 89 Sisters (15.4 per cent) who discuss topics of this nature several times a day.

To the question "Have you participated in any organized discussion on social problems or Christian social principles in the last three months?" 143 Sisters or 24.7 per cent responded in the affirmative. Of this group of 143, 95 Sisters or 16.5 per cent of the entire sample said that members of the laity had participated in the discussion as well. It seems that for the most part those who are engaged in the social action dialogue find inter-

action with the layman a necessary counterpart of the dialogue itself.

In regard to reading habits, 68.7 per cent read both secular and Catholic newspapers, and 70.3 per cent read both secular and Catholic magazines. For a further analysis see Table 23. Only 2.1 per cent confessed that they never read newspaper or magazine editorials, while the two largest categories stated that they (39.7 per cent) read them once a day or (38.3 per cent) a few times a week. When asked to list any books which they had chosen to read in the past six months, 41.9 per cent of the sample named books which would fall into one or more of the following categories: current social issues, Church in the modern world, or serious study. However, as mentioned earlier, 28.5 per cent failed to report having read any books of their own choice and 29.7 per cent listed books which would be classified as books of personal piety and pleasure reading type only. What one chooses to read can be assumed to correlate with one's interests and involvement (at least in the intellectual order).

TABLE 23.--Types of newspaper and magazine reading done by Sisters teaching in the Chicago Area

Types of Magazines and Newspapers	Newspapers		Magazines	
	N	per cent	N	per cent
Catholic and secular	398	68.7	407	70.3
Catholic only	87	15.0	54	9.3
Secular only	40	6.9	49	8.5
None	<u>54</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>11.9</u>
	579	99.9	579	100.0

Involvement through Catholic Action

Participation in Catholic Action groups or activities prior to entering the convent does seem to have a relationship to participation of the same type after religious profession and one's teaching career has begun.

Of the 204 Sisters who had been active in these groups before entering the convent, 83 or 40.7 per cent have done some similar action along these lines since. Likewise, of the 204 teaching Sisters in the survey who reported having done or presently doing some apostolic work, besides their regular teaching, 83 or 40.7 per cent report having participated in Catholic Action before entering the convent. This finding is further supported by a correlation of .578587 for these two factors. However, more noteworthy is the fact that of the 107 Sisters who have organized a Catholic Action group as Sister-teachers, 55 or 51.4 per cent had participated in Catholic Action groups prior to convent entrance.

As can be seen in Table 24, participation in apostolic works other than teaching has taken many forms. Significant is the fact that one of the most recent additions to the list of apostolic opportunities for teaching Sisters, the Urban Apostolate of the Sisters (UAS), claims the largest single group--46 Sisters or 7.9 per cent of the entire sample.

TABLE 24.--Types and Number of affiliations in apostolic works other than teaching held by Chicago's teaching Sisters

Type of Apostolic Work	N	per cent
Urban Apostolate of Sisters	46	7.9
Confraternity of Christian Doctrine	38	6.6
Sodality, Legion, YCS, Third Orders, Vocation clubs, etc.,	36	6.2
Home visiting	26	4.5
Catholic Youth Organization	17	2.9
Leader in Catholic or Educational Professional organization, Alumnae work	11	1.9
Social work	10	1.7
Census taking	6	1.0
Inter-faith work	5	.9
Adult education	5	.9
Cisca	4	.7
	204	35.2

When questioned about Sisters' participation in two new areas, the following responses were forthcoming. That religious should become involved in the Catholic Action training of laywomen in the parish was held by 63.9 per cent of the sample. Of the 18.7 per cent who thought religious should not become involved in this apostolate, two-thirds listed lack of time as the reason. In regard to the involvement of religious women in the area of race relations, 60.3 per cent thought they should be involved, while 22.6 per cent stated opinions to the contrary. Twenty-nine per cent of this group, or 5 per cent of the sample, opposed involvement on the basis of their opinion that the area of race relations belongs to the laymen and religious have no role in it, outside of regular classroom teaching.

Involvement through Personal Contact with Negroes

Personal contact with minorities is becoming ever more questionable as a means per se of decreasing prejudice.¹ Nevertheless, contact, especially intimate contact, offers the possibility for greater awareness, concern and active involvement in the area of social apostolate than for those who have not had personal contact with Negroes. It is from this viewpoint that it is considered here. When asked if they had ever had any pleasant personal experience in regard to Negroes, 404 Sisters or 69.8 per cent responded affirmatively. For 161 or 40 per cent of this group (27.8 per cent of the entire sample), these experiences were related to teaching, a situation which calls for a great deal of formalized role playing and secondary group relationships. Only 37 or 9 per cent of those reporting pleasant experiences with the colored mentioned relationships denoting friendship.

¹Bruno Bettelheim & Morris Janowitz, Social Change and Prejudice (New York, 1964), p. 72.

Before entering the convent, 148 Sisters or 25.6 per cent of the sample had had colored people in their homes. However, only 56 or 39 per cent of this group had entertained these people as guests. The others gained entrance to the home as hired help. Only 47 Sisters or 8.1 per cent of the sample ever visited a home of a Negro of similar social class before entering the convent. Since that time 193 or 33.3 per cent have visited a home of a Negro. To the question "Are there any colored in your neighborhood now?" 285 or 49.2 per cent responded affirmatively. To this same question, 269 or 46.5 per cent responded in the negative, and 25 or 4.3 per cent did not respond. When asked if they had ever lived in the same house with a Negro, 181 or 31.3 per cent of the sample answered yes.

Influence of the Juniorate Formation Program on Involvement

As can be seen in Table 25, the mean involvement score of the 69 Sisters, ages 20-29 having some contact with the juniorate formation program, was 71.2. This is 3.5 points better than the 74.7 mean score achieved by the 42 Sisters, ages 20-29 not having had juniorate training. However, it was slightly higher than the mean score of the total sample, which was 70.5. In the area of involvement, however, one's ability to become involved will ordinarily be limited by age, experience and office. Therefore, these factors must be considered in the interpretation and comparison of involvement scores.

TABLE 25.--Comparison of mean involvement scores of those 20-29 years of age with and without juniorate

Description of Group	Mean Involvement Score	Standard Deviation
20-29 with juniorate (N=69)	71.28	6.95
20-29 without juniorate (N=42)	74.76	8.45

Those having had juniorate training fared better as a group in having had social encyclical courses than those lacking such training. While 91 or 15.7 per cent of the latter reported having had such a course, 20 per cent of the junior Sisters (25) took these courses. Perhaps the 4.3 per cent increase is due to a growing realization of the need for such courses. The juniorate products also scored higher percentage-wise in their reading of the social encyclicals. While 22.5 per cent of those not having had juniorate training report having read none of the five social encyclicals listed, only 12.8 per cent of the junior Sisters report this same fact. At the other end of the continuum, 55.2 per cent of the juniorate Sisters have read three or more of the five encyclicals, while only 44.3 per cent of those without this formation have done so. In this area, it seems that juniorate training may be related to more intense intellectual formation in the social apostolate.

On the basis of a study of the reading habits of junior Sisters and those Sisters who are not products of the juniorate formation program, it is concluded that there are fewer non-readers among juniorate products than among the non-juniorate population. However, the greater percentage of increase among the junior Sisters has gone in the direction of pious and pleasure reading, the smaller percentage to reading on current social and Church issues and scholarly study.

IV. Correlation Analysis of Awareness and Involvement Scores

The third hypothesis "If religious superiors (appointed leaders) tend to endorse the status quo, it is predicted that there will be no correlation between the religious' awareness of current social issues and their involvement," was not substantiated. A correlation of .354287 was found to exist

between the awareness and involvement scores of the respondents. This means that there is a relationship between the Sister-teachers' awareness of social issues and their involvement through education, and/or reading, discussion, teaching, personal contact, and apostolic works pertinent to this area.

Correlations of the awareness scores with individual variables which contributed to involvement scores yielded the following results. The highest correlation (.367785) was found between awareness and the type of books read. Those who have read books about current social and Church issues or pursued scholarly interests tend to be more aware than those whose reading was mainly of the pious or pleasure reading type. That those who have read social encyclicals tend to be more aware than those who don't is supported by a correlation of .227776.

In the case of discussion, those who discuss current affairs frequently and participate in discussion on social problems, are generally more aware than those who seldom engage in discussions of this sort. This hypothesis was supported by a correlation of .271254.

That having had pleasant personal experiences with Negroes is related to awareness of social facts is verified by a correlation of .313165. Awareness is also correlated with having lived in the same house with a Negro. These two variables when correlated yielded a figure of .289900. Important is the fact that there was virtually no correlation (.069711) between awareness scores and the fact of living with Negroes in the same neighborhood. One would expect those living among or near Negroes to have a better grasp of the social situation.

An interesting relationship exists between the degree of one's involvement and the subject(s) one feels most prepared to teach. Those who feel most prepared to teach the subjects considered crucial to the formation of the Sister Apostle tend to be more involved than those who did not list such subjects. This fact is supported by a figure of .276272.

Having explored and presented the relationship of awareness and involvement, the writer will proceed to some of the practical implications and theoretical conclusions in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. Summary of Theoretical Statement and Hypotheses

This study has attempted to explore first, in a general way, the role of religion in reducing the impact of the forces of prejudice, and second, in a more specific manner, the adequacy of the religious teacher in accomplishing this goal. Three main areas of investigation of the religious teacher were delineated as follows: her attitudes about social (mainly racial) issues; her awareness of social facts; and her degree of involvement in specific apostolic works considered critical to the propagation of social justice.

It has also been the purpose of the writer to demonstrate that social control and reference group theories produce fruitful hypotheses for the sociology of religion. It is generally accepted that men organize their behavior to some extent in response to the expectations which they impute to other people.¹ Among the various channels through which society controls its members is religion. Quite instrumental one way or another in this socialization process is the primary group.² It is to the primary group that most individuals look first for status, and it is the 'individual's regard for social status which makes him subject to social control.'³

¹Shibutani, p. 60.

²Lenski, p. 344.

³LaPiere, p. 47.

The writer has adopted Lenski's thesis: to the extent that the subcommunity (in this case, religious subcommunity) is permeated with Catholic socio-religious ideals and values, to that extent will the larger community be influenced by Catholicism as a social control.

The hypotheses of this study are as follows. First, members of religious subcommunities, though publicly professing orthodoxy in Church teachings, will exhibit a wide range of attitudes ranging from agreement to disagreement with socio-religious teachings of the Catholic Church. Second, it is predicted that there will be a greater relationship between socio-religious attitudes and social class than between socio-religious attitudes and educational background. Third, if religious subjects and superiors tend to maintain the status quo, it is predicted that there will be no correlation between the religious' awareness of current social issues and the extent of their involvement. Fourth, if the juniorate program is effective in this aspect of spiritual formation (i.e., giving relevant instruction in social doctrine and opportunities for personal involvement), then it is predicted that there will be a meaningful difference in attitude, awareness, and involvement scores of those with juniorate training and those without; those with it evidencing more awareness of, Christian attitudes toward, and involvement in, social issues.

II. Summary of Findings

By means of a questionnaire distributed to a representative sample of elementary, high school, and college teachers in the city of Chicago in May, 1964, the writer surveyed 27 per cent of the total universe (3,602) or 973 teaching Sisters. The response was 59.5 per cent of the sample or 579

teaching Sisters, i.e., 16 per cent of the universe.

The typical Sister in the writer's study (based on median scores) was born in the U.S. and has both native-born parents. It should be noted, however, that 36.1 per cent of the sample had one or both parents foreign-born. As is the case with the American Catholic population, she is from an urban area (50.4 per cent from metropolitan areas; 74.4 per cent from cities over 10,000). She was, at the time of the survey, forty-five years of age, a subject in religious life, a grade school teacher by profession, and had been in the convent twenty-five years. Seventy-one per cent of the sample had been in religious life fifteen or more years.

On the basis of her father's education and occupation, she came from an upper-lower class background. Of seven possible categories in which a man's occupation might fall, the largest single group in the study (36.4 per cent) fell in the fifth category, classified as skilled manual employees; 15.4 per cent fell in the lower two categories classified as semi-skilled and unskilled employees; 14.9 per cent ranked in the upper two classifications: as executives, proprietors, professionals, and managers. Less than half were employed in white-collar jobs.

The average Sister's mother and father had a grade school education only. Only 33.9 per cent of the sample had parents who attended high school. Her parents received both a public and Catholic education. Her brothers and sisters did have the opportunity for some college education, thereby indicating the upward trend in social mobility.

The Sister's education was received in Catholic grade and high schools, though 8.4 per cent of the sample were educated under public auspices, and 32.8 per cent were educated in both Catholic and public systems. She has a

Bachelor's degree from a Catholic college, but does not have a Master's, nor is she working toward one. As would be expected, she is not a product of the juniorate formation program, though 21.6 per cent claim some contact with the program. By her report she has less than twelve credit hours in economics, political science, psychology, and sociology, areas of knowledge considered critically important to the work of today's religious teacher. When asked in which subject areas she felt weakest or least prepared to teach, she responded with one or more of the above subject areas. It is important to note that 10 per cent of the survey (the largest single group) listed religion as their most deficient area, while 7.6 per cent felt it was the area they were most prepared to teach.

The average Sister had read two social encyclicals, but had never taken a specific course on them. She, in turn, had never taught a unit on inter-racial justice but believed Christian social principles should be taught beginning in first grade. She seemed aware of opportunities to integrate these in her teaching. Before her entrance into the convent, she did not engage in Catholic Action work in any organized way, nor has she done so (aside from her teaching apostolate) since she began teaching.

This study counteracts the myth that the religious teacher never sees the secular newspaper, revealing the fact that the average religious teacher reads both Catholic and secular newspapers and magazines. Her reading of books is mainly for pleasure (novels and light biography) and spiritual formation. She said that she discusses current affairs occasionally, that is, a few times a week, but had not participated in any organized discussion on social problems or principles in the six months prior to this survey. On questions pertaining to employment and civil rights problems, she was willing

to let the federal government intervene when necessary, but she also placed great emphasis on personal responsibility of the employers, property owners, citizens, as the case might be.

As to her relationship with Negroes before entering, the average Sister had never had a Negro in her home, nor had she ever visited the home of a Negro of similar social class background. She classified her family as slightly prejudiced. She had never had an unpleasant personal experience with Negroes, but she had had some pleasant ones, mainly of the classroom type. Though the convent in which she was residing at the time of the investigation was located in a neighborhood which had at least some Negro families, she had not been in a Negro's home since entering the convent, nor had she ever lived in the same house with a Negro. When asked to estimate Chicago's Negro population, she tended to have an exaggerated notion of the number of Negroes in Chicago, putting the percentage 7-60 per cent higher than the census figures, while estimating the percentage of middle-class Negroes 10-20 per cent below the figures of the most recent surveys. As of May, 1964, when she answered the questionnaire connected with this study, she did not know if she favored the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. This was one month before the passage of the Bill. When asked to name an organization in Chicago that she could call on to assist her in organizing a series of talks for parents' meetings or an educational unit on inter-racial justice, she was not able to name any appropriate organization. In spite of the facts just presented, the average Sister does favor the participation of religious in the area of race relations, as well as the training of Catholic laywomen in the parish.

The average Sister in this study has an attitude score of 27.4; this is 8.4 points from the most desirable score (19) and 29.6 points from the poorest possible score (57). In the area of awareness, she scored 23.5; 9.5 points from the best possible score (14) and 18.5 points from the worst (42). She did not do as well in the area of involvement. She scored 70.5, 37.5 points from the perfect score (33) and 36.5 points from the poorest (107). The three areas from best to worst, then, are attitudes, awareness, involvement.

Among the nineteen questions used to ascertain the attitude score, there were six questions that had a high percentage of answers judged to be correct, that is, in agreement with the Church's position on social facts. Ninety per cent did not feel that the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations; 3.8 per cent thought it is. Eighty-one per cent do not think religious institutions are justified in paying lower wages on the premise of dedicated service. To the question "Do you think a private hospital is justified in refusing to serve colored persons because it will hurt their business?" 91.9 per cent responded "No," indicating agreement with social teaching on this point. A response of "No" was given by 90.8 per cent to the question "Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools?" "Do you think middle-class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle-class white neighborhoods?" received a positive answer from 89.1 per cent. It should be noted that three of the preceding questions pertain to the Negro's right to open access to basic services required for physical or mental well-being, i.e., housing, education, and hospitals. These questions touch on the practical problems currently receiving the greatest attention and publicity by the Negro community and

interracial movements. It is, therefore, to be expected that the Sister would be more aware of the principles surrounding these issues.

To the question "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to crime?" 81.3 per cent answered "No." This question had only 2.6 per cent who thought they were; while 16.1 per cent did not respond. Three companion questions to this one followed: "Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to illegitimacy?" (71.7 per cent answered "No"; 11.4 per cent answered "Yes"; 16.9 per cent did not respond.) "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to poverty?" (70.6 per cent answered "No"; 15.5 per cent answered "Yes"; 13.8 per cent did not respond.) "Do you think colored people are by nature prone to ignorance?" (74.4 per cent responded "No"; 11.9 per cent responded "Yes"; 13.6 per cent did not answer.) While only 2.6 per cent would agree to the statement that Negroes are by nature prone to crime, 11-16 per cent agreed that they are by nature prone to illegitimacy, poverty, and ignorance. These last three questions are intimately bound to another question in the attitude section of the survey: "Do you think that fundamentally most of the colored persons' problems stem from their own basic inferiority?" That this statement is true was held by 21.1 per cent, while 12.6 per cent were unsure, giving a total of 33.7 per cent of the sample who are not convinced of the basic equality of all men. A companion question to the previous one reads: "Do you feel that no matter how many advantages the colored attain, they will, as a group, always remain inferior to whites?" To this question 14.9 per cent answered in the affirmative and 8.8 were unsure, giving a total of 23.7 per cent who are victims of a subtle form of racism.

From the overall picture of attitudes thus far, it appears the Sisters performed better as a group in those areas where Church doctrine has been applied to specific problems, that is, where practical patterns of behavior are involved and discrimination frequently occurs. They do not score as well in the more psychological areas, i.e., in those areas of life that have more to do with convictions of "the other" (in this case, Negro) as a fully human person capable of and limited by the same accidentals as other men, provided that he is given the same opportunities. The fact that large percentages of Sisters were willing to state definitely that the Negro is prone by nature to illegitimacy (11.4), to poverty (15.5), to ignorance (11.9), while even larger percentages than these were unsure, making the total mean percentage about 25 per cent of the sample, indicates a serious problem. The finding that even larger percentages (about 28 per cent on the average) endorsed statements attributing basic inferiority to the Negro race makes the situation even more critical.

These findings may have something to do with social class backgrounds. One is culturally conditioned to accept or reject many forms of behavior, speech, dress, etc., by the social class to which one belongs or refers. Most Sisters in the study come from the lower class, though it is to be noted that their families were or are socially mobile, as indicated by the educational and occupational choices of their brothers. When asked to classify themselves by social class, 23.7 per cent who were objectively identified as lower class classified themselves as middle class, thereby indicating the group with which they identified themselves and whose value system they embraced.

Of further interest, 34.9 per cent stated that they thought a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people; 9.3 per cent were undecided, bringing the total of overly individualistic responses to 44.2 per cent. This theory of private property disregards the natural right of a person to ownership (regardless of race), the social nature of property, is racist in tone and utterly individualistic, yet quite common in American society, due to an exaggerated emphasis put on man's right to the disposal of private property.

By means of the Product Moment Method of correlation, the relationship of certain factors was analyzed. It was discovered that in this study there was some correlation between attitudes of a socio-religious nature and one's environmental background. In the breakdown of "environmental background" to its constituent elements, certain findings should be mentioned. First, there is a slight relationship between attitudes and the type of subject matter which the religious teaches. Those teaching subject matter related to the subject of this investigation (social sciences, theology, philosophy, and education) score slightly better than those who teach unrelated subjects. Second, the length of one's family having resided in the U.S. is somewhat related to attitudes, those being less prejudiced who have been in this country longer. Third, there is a slight correlation between the respondents' attitudes and those of their parents. As the social class or rank of the father's occupation rose, there was a tendency for the attitude scores to improve. Fourth, there is no relationship of poor attitudes to unpleasant experiences with Negroes, but there is a slight relationship of desirable attitudes to pleasant experiences and living in the same house with a Negro.

Fifth, there is a slight tendency for the younger people in the sample to achieve more favorable attitude scores than the older respondents. Sixth, there is some tendency for those who have a knowledge of current events and read books pertinent to the Church in the modern world to exhibit more desirable attitudes in the area of social justice. Seventh, this study found no relationship between attitudes on socio-religious topics and the fact of having taken social encyclical courses. The hypothesis was that those having had such courses would evince better attitudes than those deprived of such. This was not substantiated by the findings. Eighth, and perhaps most significant, there was no relationship found between one's attitudes and one's pre-college educational background, defined as total Catholic, total public, or mixed, i.e., Catholic and public.

It has been presumed until the appearance of recent sociological studies that Catholic education has a significant and positive effect on its products' attitudes, especially in areas integral to the gospel message. Because there was a slightly negative correlation between Catholic education and desirable socio-religious attitudes (-0.032505), the writer undertook a special in-depth study of the respondents' answers to six questions designed to test convictions. The six questions followed by the percentages in each of the three categories giving responses in agreement with the Church's position (as estimated by the writer's analysis of recent papal and episcopal statements) are as follows. "Do you think middle-class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle-class white neighborhoods?" Yes-- (Public: 91.8 per cent; Mixed: 91.6 per cent; Catholic 88.2 per cent). "Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership?" No--(Public: 81.6 per cent; Catholic: 73.8 per

cent; Mixed: 65.4 per cent). "Do you think that a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people?" No-- (Public: 59.0 per cent; Catholic: 58.2 per cent; Mixed: 52.5 per cent).

"Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools?" No-- (Mixed: 93.2 per cent; Catholic: 90.8 per cent; Public: 85.7 per cent).

"Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations?" No-- (Mixed: 92.2 per cent; Public: 91.8 per cent; Catholic: 89.7 per cent). "Do you favor the passage of the House version of the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate?" Yes-- (Public: 53.1 per cent; Mixed: 52.0 per cent; Catholic: 47.6 per cent). The overall picture reveals that those with an entire public school education on the grade and high school levels ranked first in four of the questions; those with mixed education, first in two; those with a totally Catholic education ranked first in none of the six, but last in three of them. Those with public education ranked last in one of the questions; those with mixed education ranked last in two of the questions. These in-depth analyses seem to suggest that there is a correlation unfavorable to Catholic education in the area of socio-religious attitude formation.

In the two other areas of exploration, awareness and involvement, the Sisters' scores were not as favorable as were those of attitudes. Among the questions probing awareness, the highest percentages of unfavorable responses occurred in the following cases. "Do you think that if a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all other residences drop inevitably?" (40.6 per cent--yes; 11.1 per cent--unsure). A total of 51.7 per cent showed lack of correct information available in such studies as Luigi Laurenti's for the Commission on Race and Housing. The

question receiving the highest percentage of unfavorable responses was "Do you think that the most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants?" To this question 62.3 per cent answered "Yes"; 11.4 per cent were unsure. The total percentage of those lacking a real understanding of the inner city and slum problems was 73.7 per cent, and yet this sample was drawn from women, many of whom are in the midst of the inner city and some of whom are on its fringe. All of the Sisters teach children in the city. Though this question is not of the same type as those that dealt with alleged basic inferiority, it is possible that the two types in this case are connected, that is, a person who regards the Negro as inferior is more inclined to look upon the slum as an effect, rather than a symptom. These Sisters who regard the colored as basically inferior look upon the slum as the effect of the inhabitants' (mainly Negroes') negligence and destruction.

To the question "Do you think that most colored persons are treated fairly in the U.S. most of the time?" 21.1 per cent answered "Yes," and 8.1 per cent were unsure, giving a total of 29.2 per cent who must find it difficult to understand the Civil Rights Movement in this country. A fallacy of the old-wives-tale type is supported by the 16.9 per cent who think that the colored have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin. That migrant workers receive a fair deal in hiring, paying, housing and firing was accepted by 10 per cent of the sample, while 13.8 per cent refrained from answering, giving a total of 23.8 per cent who are unaware of one of America's greatest social injustices. To the question "In your opinion, what percentage of the city of Chicago (excluding the suburbs) is colored?" only 13.0 per cent gave an approximation within the 20-29 per cent range and, therefore, closest

to the correct answer (22.9 per cent), while 28.3 per cent did not even attempt an answer. Fifty-five per cent over-estimated the Negro population of Chicago. On the matter of the Civil Rights Bill, 48.7 per cent did not know where they stood on this issue one month before the Bill was passed. Though 60.3 per cent thought that religious should be involved in race relations, only 27.8 per cent knew the exact name of an organization in Chicago to call on for assistance in organizing a series of talks for parents' meetings or an educational unit on interracial justice. Areas of strength seem to be the teachers' awareness of when to begin teaching Christian social principles with 83.5 per cent indicating that this should be done in grade school. On how these principles can be integrated in the curriculum, 77.4 per cent named subject matter areas which would lend themselves to the teaching of these principles.

There is a correlation of .354287 between the Sisters' awareness of social issues and the extent of their involvement through education and/or reading, discussion, teaching, personal contact, and apostolic work pertinent to this area. In a breakdown of these factors, the highest correlation (.313165) was found between awareness and pleasant personal experience with Negroes. Important is the fact that there was a very slight correlation (.069711) between level of awareness and the experience of having Negroes living in the same neighborhood. It was expected that those having more frequent contact with Negroes because of spatial proximity would also grow in knowledge of facts and issues involving them. This was not substantiated by the findings.

Though involvement scores ranked lowest of the three areas studied, it must be noted that an evident willingness to become involved exists on the

part of 60 per cent of the sample who think religious should be involved in race relations and training laywomen in the parish for Catholic Action. Of the 204 or 35.2 per cent of the sample who were involved in some form of organized Catholic Action prior to convent entrance, it is interesting to note that 83 or 40.7 per cent have done some apostolic work such as Urban Apostolate of the Sisters (7.9 per cent); C.C.D. (6.6 per cent); Y.C.S., Sodality, Third Orders (6.2 per cent); Home visiting (4.5 per cent) in addition to teaching since that time. At present 16.8 per cent are engaged in such activities. Perhaps the most important factor of why religious either hesitate or are not permitted to become involved is time. Of the 18.7 per cent who thought religious should not train laywomen in the parish, two-thirds listed time as the reason. The other one-third gave reasons which indicate that they do not believe religious are qualified for this type of work.

This study indicates that large numbers of religious teachers have fewer than twelve hours in the following: economics (78.2 per cent); political science (77.2 per cent); sociology (74.1 per cent); psychology (64.4 per cent); theology (43.0 per cent). While 35.8 per cent of the sample had a major in education on the undergraduate level and 8.5 per cent a Master's degree in education, one per cent or less had a major in the aforesaid fields on the undergraduate or graduate levels. Perhaps the lack of the Sisters' involvement in these areas accounts for the fact that 20.4 per cent have never read any of the papal social encyclicals. In answer to a question requesting that the Sisters include only the books they chose to read, 28.5 per cent listed no books read by choice in the six months prior to the survey; 29.7 per cent listed books of personal piety and the pleasure reading type only; 41.9 per cent had read books pertaining to current social issues,

matters relevant to the Church in the modern world, or serious study.

Only 37 Sisters or 6.4 per cent of the sample indicated pleasant personal experiences with Negroes of an intimate nature, such as friendship. More were of the professional or impersonal type, such as teaching or contact with hired help. Before entering the convent, only 8.1 per cent had visited the home of a Negro of similar social class. Since they have begun teaching, 33.3 per cent have been in homes of Negroes. It is not known whether these contacts were with Negroes of similar social class or not, but if the Negroes are of the lower class, these contacts may serve to reinforce stereotypes and latent prejudice unless these situations are properly interpreted and understood by the religious. This presupposes knowledge of the social facts, their causes and symptoms.

In regard to the effects of the juniorate formation program (applicable to younger age group only) on socio-religious attitudes, awareness, and involvement, the following was discovered. Taking the six questions referred to above, which have been designed to test convictions, the writer found that those in the 20-24 age bracket without juniorate training ranked higher percentage-wise in five of the six questions than those who had been or are in juniorate formation. In the 25-29 age bracket those without juniorate ranked first in four of the six questions. Those who have had juniorate training ranked first in four of the six questions among those in the 30-34 age level. In a comparative study of the mean attitude scores of the two groups (juniorate and non-juniorate products 20-29 years of age), a percentage difference of .69 in favor of the juniorate was found. The difference being too small to be decisive, it is concluded that as yet there is no significant difference between juniorate and non-juniorate products in the

area of socio-religious attitudes.

A comparison of awareness scores of the two groups yielded a 1.3 per cent difference in favor of those with juniorate, but again the difference was too small to appear meaningful.

Involvement was the area in which the greatest difference in median scores could be observed. Juniorate products scored 3.5 percentage points better than the non-juniorate Sisters. Though this score (71.2) was slightly higher than the mean score of the total sample (70.5), it must be remembered that one's ability to become involved will ordinarily be limited by age, experience and office.

While only 15.7 per cent of those Sisters not having had juniorate formation have had a course in papal social encyclicals, 20 per cent of the junior Sisters (or products of this training) took these courses. The juniorate products also fared better in their reading of social encyclicals. Only 12.8 per cent of the junior Sisters report having read none of the five social encyclicals listed. At the same time 22.5 per cent of those not having had juniorate training report this same fact. Of the five encyclicals listed, a full 11 per cent more of the juniorate products read three to five of these than their non-junior counterparts.

III. Conclusions and Recommendations

Hypotheses: Confirmed or Rejected?

The first hypothesis afforded an opportunity for exploration of Lenski's thesis that religious subcommunities are a "distinct social system only imperfectly coordinated with the religious association," in socio-religious areas, such as economics, politics, family life, etc., at times exercising

"an influence which brings it into conflict with the formal religious association."¹ The findings of this study support the hypothesis that while members of religious subcommunities publicly profess orthodoxy in Church teachings, they actually exhibit a wide range of attitudes from agreement to disagreement with the socio-religious teachings of the Catholic Church. This finding in turn adds credence to Lenski's theory that religious subcommunities are social systems having their own values in certain areas which at times bring individual members into conflict with the professed values of the larger association. As was shown in Chapter III, members of religious communities are products of a secular society in which middle-class values have predominated. Whether conscious or unconscious² of the effects of these values on their viewpoints, religious women do not automatically disengage themselves from these by entrance into religion. In varying degrees the individuals in a religious subcommunity (religious order or congregation) retain secular and/or family, ethnic, and social class values brought with them when they entered this new group. These, in turn, reinforce or challenge the value system of the subcommunity. Ideally, the value system of the subcommunity should be that of the larger association (in this case, Catholic Church), but as Lenski points out, it is a social system having its own values in certain areas. Some of these values may be supported by secular, for example, social class, values of its members. In such cases, inconsistencies between professed principles and practice may arise.

¹Lenski, p. 328.

²Waldo Burchard, "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains," in J. Milton Yinger (ed.), Religion, Society and the Individual (New York, 1957), p. 597.

From an ideal-type self-definition, the religious subcommunity is a social structure composed of individuals striving to become like Christ in all things. It may be that formation has been interpreted and carried out in a context conducive to individualism more than social consciousness, to personal sanctity more than concern for community. It may be, in other words, that the religious community, while theoretically teaching (or at least not denying) Christian social doctrine, was reinforcing or not challenging certain values of secular society.

Also substantiated is the second hypothesis which predicted that there would be a greater relationship between socio-religious attitudes and social class than between socio-religious attitudes and educational background. It is often presumed that those from Catholic schools have more Christian attitudes and values due to their training than those deprived of such. On the other hand, Fichter has noted that the American religious tends to be a conformist and more concerned about success in secular terms than one would like to recognize or admit.¹ The preceding statement may offer some explanation and insight into the fact that this study found a slightly negative correlation between one's socio-religious attitudes and Catholic educational background. On the other hand, it found some relationship between these attitudes and social class background. In the case of education, it was hypothesized that the more Catholic education a child had in elementary and secondary schools, the more Catholic her present socio-religious attitudes would be. It was likewise hypothesized that the higher the social class the more Catholic her present socio-religious attitudes would be. A few of the reasons for this latter position are greater security with less competition

¹Fichter, *Religion As An Occupation*, p. 155.

socially and economically, as well as a higher degree of formal education for family members. The first was not verified; the second was. Social class is, therefore, concluded to be a more significant factor in socio-religious attitudes than type of educational background, defined as Catholic, public, or mixed.

The third hypothesis was not substantiated by this research. It was based on the expectation that religious subjects and superiors tend to accept the status quo regardless of their awareness of current social issues. The prediction that there would be no correlation between the religious' awareness of social issues and the extent of their involvement was not verified. Instead a positive correlation between awareness and involvement was found to exist. On the basis of this research, evidence points in favor of a tentative acceptance of the following hypothesis: As the members of socio-religious communities grow in knowledge of social facts having religious implications, it may be expected that they will become involved through various forms of appropriate action. It cannot be determined at this point if the relationship is a causal one or not, hence the term "tentative acceptance." It is recommended that further exploration be done on this matter in order to establish the identity of other factors showing a relationship to awareness and involvement. It may be that involvement leads to greater awareness, and therefore, the higher correlation. To conclude that awareness generally leads to greater involvement would be premature.¹

¹It is the intention of the writer to further explore at a future date the characteristics of those having the highest and lowest awareness and involvement scores, much as was done in the case of attitudes. This study will be premised on the assumption that as in the case with attitudes some common characteristics and patterns would be found. These, it is believed, would provide deeper insights into why a relationship exists between awareness and involvement.

Future investigations in this area would do well to study intensively those whose awareness and involvement scores are at extreme ends of the continuum. It will be in these groups that those variables crucial to understanding general trends will be identified more readily.

The fourth and last hypothesis dealt with the effectiveness of juniorate formation in the areas of socio-religious attitudes, awareness and involvement. It was hypothesized that if the juniorate formation program is effective in this area of spiritual formation, there would be a meaningful difference in attitude, awareness, and involvement scores between those with juniorate training and those without, those with evidencing more awareness of, Christian attitudes towards, and involvement in social issues. In a comparison of median scores of the two groups, there were no differences great enough to point to any definite conclusions. As far as instruction in social doctrine is concerned, those with juniorate training fared better than those without. Likewise in the area of reading related to this topic, they performed significantly better. However, this better performance of juniorate products is limited to the area of involvement through education and reading. Since the group analyzed was between the ages of 20-29, it may be that age has something to do with the juniorate products' lack of involvement in what might be termed more direct and active involvement. It has been accepted convent tradition in most communities to greatly circumscribe the non-teaching apostolic activities of the young Sisters. Whether this should or should not be is a matter of serious consideration these days. Sister Joan Bland, Editor of Sister Formation Bulletin, stated at the 1965 N.C.E.A. Convention:

Certain it is that every teaching sister in every classroom should be thoroughly sound on race and able to convey sound attitudes and sound convictions, and I submit that for most these attitudes are practically unattainable without direct experience. One must encounter the sober realism, the absence of sham and pretence, the warmth and reverence of the disadvantaged child before one can really see what is at stake in our urban racial ghettos. Only such a vision will enable us to form a Catholic conscience determined to see that these children have a chance to lead human lives and to prepare themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven.¹

The writer envisions significant research that could be undertaken in this area. A study utilizing controlled experimentation would be appropriate and fruitful here. One group of junior Sisters could be exposed to an experimental program of direct and active involvement in addition to the traditional approach. The control group would follow the traditional approach: involvement limited almost exclusively to education through courses or reading. Only time, experimentation, and scientific evaluation can estimate the contribution of the juniorate formation program to the teaching mission of the Church in so far as social doctrine is concerned.

Understanding the Findings: Role Conflict; Reference Group vs. Membership Group?

Cardinal Suenens, one of the avant garde in the emancipation of the religious woman, wrote in 1961 that religious will find greater happiness in their vocation if they are permitted to broaden their apostolic horizons and experiment with new forms of action.² This statement, though true of some religious women, cannot be said to be true of all. Happiness has to do with

¹Sister Joan Bland, S.N.D.deN., "Social Reform Through Education: The Sister's Mission," N.C.E.A. Bulletin, LXII (August, 1965), 192.

²Leon Joseph Cardinal Suenens, "The Religious, Inspiration of the Adult Laity," Sister Formation Bulletin, VIII (Winter, 1961-62), 8.

the satisfaction of expectations, and expectations have much to do with role conceptualization and fulfillment.

In a complex society many institutions are required to satisfy the manifold needs and wants of man. This means that any given individual will play many social roles in the course of his lifetime, and at any given time will be playing a number of roles simultaneously. Each person has a hierarchy of role obligations, the relative positions of which are determined by the strength of the claims made upon him by the various institutions which compete for his loyalty. Therefore, his roles may not necessarily be in harmony with each other, and in some instances, where two or more institutions demand the first loyalty of a person, they may be directly antithetical.¹

The question is--which role of the teaching Sister provides her with her primary identification, her teaching role or her role as religious witness? To which role is she most committed?² The aforesaid questions may seem unnecessarily dichotomous and artificial, and some may argue that for the religious teacher the two are inseparable. Theoretically, this is true, but it must be recognized that the latter (religious witness) is a far broader concept and admits of varieties of functions of which formal teaching is only one. On the contrary, primary identification with the role of religious teacher, though having its own particular value as a witness sign, may tend to narrow the field of interest and activity for certain types of personalities already formed in a way of life, traditionally more organized and predictable in its structure and consequently more secure than most. In a

¹Burchard, p. 587.

²For an extensive treatment of the socio-psychological aspects of commitment (a term much used in current religious circles), see Howard Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," AJS, LXVI (July, 1960), 32-40.

society already victimized by "functionalism," that is, by the cultivation and valuation of specific marketable skills rather than the inner self,¹ may it not be that the active religious orders in their emphasis on professionalization have unconsciously succumbed to functionalism also?² It is no doubt useful for religious subjects to be faithful to teaching duties and not to dabble in every type of apostolate. On the other hand, dabbling need not result if primary identification were of the religious witness type. A religious so formed would think of herself primarily as a religious witness and, therefore, ready for adaptation in that work or function for which she has been especially trained and in which she spends most of her time. That this type of role confusion and conflict does exist can be observed in the remarks of some religious who see any degree of involvement on the part of the religious teacher in the social action apostolate as "social work," in spite of the fact that many of their lay counterparts who teach actively engage in other works as well.

Digressing from the sociological viewpoint and assuming a more philosophical stance, the writer would like to make the following observation. The day has long passed (if it ever existed) when religious could rightly take an uninvolved glance at "the world" and share their presence and talents with it for short periods lest they become involved. Bishop Hannan in speaking to the Eastern Sister Formation Conference in 1957 stated, "A glance at the secular Christian's relation to the world may, therefore, possess some value for the determination of the relation of the religious ... who is a

¹VanKaam, p. 146.

²Suenens, The Nun in the World, p. 22.

member of an active institute. The secular Christian knows that Our Lord by His Incarnation became a citizen of the world while He was true God as well as true Man."¹ If the religious teacher is to be faithful to her vocation as religious witness she must bear this witness in relation to the people and problems of her milieu. May it not be, in fact, that the religious teacher has a special contribution to make to secular affairs? Loren Eiseley in his book, Social Control in a Free Society, points out that modern man is excessively preoccupied with the outer world and technological invention and revolution.

This outward projection of attention ... has come dangerously close to bringing into existence a type of man who is not human. He no longer thinks in the old terms; he has ceased to have a conscience. He is an instrument of power. Because his mind is directed outward upon this power torn from nature, he does not realize that the moment such power is brought into the human domain, it partakes of human freedom ...²

It would be foolish to presume that man can live in this type of world and remain unaffected by its values, mores, and goals. Only in so far as a man is aware of the forces that come to play in and on his life can he assess their impact on him or with planning begin to exercise control over them. It is not sufficient to teach scientific technique, nor even a group ethic. Whether it be in the classroom situation or a less formal educational situation, this must be

the place where selfhood, what has been called "the supreme instrument of knowledge" is created. Only such deep inner knowledge truly expands horizons and makes use of technology, not

¹Most Rev. Jerome Hannan, "Eastern Conference," in Spiritual and Intellectual Elements in the Formation of Sisters, (ed.) Sister Ritamary, C.H.M., (New York, 1957), p. 27.

²Loren C. Eiseley, "The Ethic of the Group," in Robert E. Spiller (ed.) Social Control in a Free Society (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 28.

for power, but for human happiness. As the capacity for self-awareness is intensified, so will return that sense of personal responsibility which has been well-nigh lost in the eager yearning for aggrandizement of the asphalt man.¹

The religious educator of the twentieth century has a task far more challenging than the harnessing and unleashing of atomic power. She must help to create men capable of using their newly discovered powers for the good of all men. She must help create men, capable of sufficient self-reflection to analyze human and societal behavior with a view to understanding what men really do as distinct from what they think they do. She must help man understand the institutions and factors in social life which act as controls on his behavior. It is only when a man knows what he really does and why he does it that he begins to know himself. Without this self-knowledge, the man of knowledge may be the unconscious victim of his own tendencies to one of two extremes: anarchy or human respect, that is, to be unduly influenced to perform certain actions (good or bad) by fear of displeasing authority or one's companions. The challenge is one of creating a person in the fullest sense of the word.

Seemingly related to the previous consideration of role conflict is the fact that while one's social class appears to be related to one's attitudes on socio-religious issues, one's educational background (defined as Catholic, public, mixed) shows a slightly negative relationship. It is generally recognized that in the past teachers have taught principles of justice and equality for the most part from materials ignoring to a great degree the Negroes' position in American history and contemporary society.² Why this

¹Ibid., pp. 36-37.

²Byron Massialas and Andreas Kazamias, Crucial Issues in the Teaching of Social Studies: A Book of Readings (Englewood Cliffs, 1964), p. 206.

situation existed must be carefully and objectively considered. The writer cannot offer any definite explanation as to the possible causes of this fact, but on the basis of this study raises the following questions as possible areas of further research: first, has the Catholic school unwittingly fostered a ghetto mentality among its participants, both teachers and students? Second, has the Catholic school system proposed goals and ideals that can only be imparted and developed in the context of the larger society while at the same time remaining aloof from this society? Third, since the teachers in the Catholic school system are for the most part the products of the system who have entered religious life in adolescence, is it possible that a paucity of meaningful experience with American pluralistic society has led to teaching Christian social principles, first, in an abstract manner, and second, in a situation which shelters the student from day-to-day practical applications? This, of course, would not be true of all Catholic schools, but by and large even those schools which have imaginatively created situations for some sort of contact between Negro and white students find the patterns of spatial and psychological segregation difficult to break for longer than the time allotted to an interracial workshop, home visit, or similar "project." Fourth, since only 4 per cent of the U.S. Negro population is Catholic, the Catholic in a Catholic school may find it doubly hard to have day-to-day contacts with a group isolated from him, not only by racial segregation in housing, but by a system of education which of its very nature selects its students on the basis of religion and ability to pay. As the Negro community presses for greater integration in the public school system, can the Catholic school expect that it will be able to offer its white clientele the advantages of an integrated educational system? If this

is to be achieved, does this not entail the Church in the U.S. relating itself much more to the Negro population today than it has done in the past? The Negro population of Chicago stands today at approximately 22.9 per cent, and population studies indicate continuing increases in the years ahead. The critical question is not are religious teachers being prepared for the future, but are they being prepared to meet the situations which exist right now in Chicago, and especially its inner city?

The relationship between social class and socio-religious attitudes points to the conclusion that religious teachers being also products of American society¹ seem to have been more influenced by considerations of social and economic status than by formal socio-religious education. Is there not present here again a type of conflict? While being taught or teaching one set of values in the abstract, the student or teacher, because of primary considerations of status, consciously or unconsciously lives by another. Sherif states that "values and goals as well as all major ego-attitudes are formed in membership or in relation to reference social groups." If, in this case, the reference group is not the most immediate membership group (a community of women who profess to be religious witnesses), but one with very influential values, such as the middle class, it can be readily

¹Hyman's study of college students' reference groups found that they compared themselves with others primarily in the area of economics. Listed in order of frequency, religion appeared twelfth among a list of thirteen possible points of comparison. This study is summarized in Lindesmith and Strauss, p. 242. See also Robin Williams, American Society, pp. 388-442.

²Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements: Social Attitudes and Identification (New York, 1947), p. 8.

imagined that conflicts will arise. Whether these will be recognized and faced depends upon several factors which are beyond the scope of this paper.

It seems the responsibility of those entrusted with the direction and formation of the Sister-religious-witness-teacher to seriously ponder the practical implications of the following statement as these are related to the findings of this study.

In a membership group in which certain attitudes are approved (i.e., held by majorities, and conspicuously so by leaders), individuals acquire the approved attitudes to the extent that the membership group (particularly as symbolized by leaders and dominant sub groups) serves as a positive point of reference. ...¹

It is, in other words, their challenge to help their subjects identify their primary role and primary reference group, both as to what these presently are and what they should be. Only in this way will the possibility exist that the power of self-determination be returned to the individuals involved as they more rationally assess the social forces around them. Religion as a form of social control can increase in potency as its adherents are themselves more motivated by its dynamism.

Hopeful signs of renewal will become reality when the goals of Vatican II's Decree on Religious Life are coupled with an objective investigation and evaluation of the situation as it now exists. Wise planning for the future of the Church is the result of an honest estimate of the present Church. "The Church is not a substance; she is a happening, an event, constantly renewed in concrete human beings. So it is at these that we must look if we want to know what the Church is."²

¹Theodore M. Newcomb, "Attitude Development As A Function of Reference Groups: The Bennington Study" in Eleanor Macoby and Theodore Newcomb (ed.), Readings in Social Psychology (New York, 1958), p. 265-66.

²Karl Rahner, The Christian Commitment (New York, 1963), p. 117.

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SURVEY OF RELIGIOUS TEACHERS

This is an anonymous study; please do not sign your name. Please check items where appropriate. Please give specific answers where they are to be filled in by you. Please do not write anything on the lines to the left. They are for coding purposes.

_____ 1. Which position(s) do you presently fill?

a. Superior

☐

b. Administrator - Grade School

☐

c. Administrator - High School

☐

d. Administrator - College

☐

e. Subject

☐

_____ 2. If you presently teach, check the appropriate box.

a. Grammar School

☐

b. High School

☐

c. College

☐

_____ 3. If you teach in high school or college, list the subjects you are teaching this semester.

_____ 4. How many years have you been stationed at this convent?

a. 1 year or less

☐

b. 2-4 years

☐

c. 5-9 years

☐

d. 10 or more years

☐

_____ 5. Since date of entrance, how many years have you been in the convent?

a. 0- 4 years

f. 25-29 years

b. 5- 9 years

g. 30-34 years

c. 10-14 years

h. 35-39 years

d. 15-19 years

i. 40-44 years

e. 20-24 years

j. 45 or more

_____ 6. What is your age now?

a. 20-24 years

d. 35-39 years

g. 50-54 years

b. 25-29 years

e. 40-44 years

h. 55-59 years

c. 30-34 years

f. 45-49 years

i. 60 or more

_____ 7. Give the race to which you belong. _____

_____ 8. Country of birth of: a. Father _____ c. Grandparents

b. Mother _____

Yes

No

_____ 9. Were you born in the United States?

_____ 10. If not, where were you born? _____

_____ 11. Prior to entrance into the convent, where did you live?

a. Rural non-farm area

b. Rural farm area

c. Small town, less than 10,000

d. City, 10,000 - 100,000

e. Large city over 100,000 or suburb near large city

- _____ 12. Circle the number in each group which indicates approximately how many years of schooling each of your parents completed. (If you cannot give an exact number, try to give an approximate answer.)

<u>FOR YOUR FATHER</u>	<u>GRADE SCHOOL</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOL</u>	<u>OTHER (How long)</u>
PUBLIC SCHOOL	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8	1,2,3,4	_____
CATHOLIC SCHOOL	1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8	1,2,3,4	_____

- _____ 13. FOR YOUR MOTHER GRADE SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL OTHER (How long)
- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------|-------|
| PUBLIC SCHOOL | 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 | 1,2,3,4 | _____ |
| CATHOLIC SCHOOL | 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 | 1,2,3,4 | _____ |

- _____ 14. The following questions pertain to your father's major occupation. If your father is retired or not living, tell what his major occupation was. What is your father's occupation? (Please specify his particular job, e.g., auto mechanic, railroad conductor, baker, baker self-employed)
- _____

- _____ 15. If you have brothers, please list their occupations on the following lines.
- _____
- _____
- _____

- _____ 16. Number of brothers and sisters who are 25 years or older. _____

- _____ 17. Number of brothers and sisters 25 years old or older who have completed the following levels of education: (List each brother and sister only once; e.g., if he completed grammar school and high school, list him only as having completed high school.)

		<u>Brothers</u>	<u>Sisters</u>
Grammar School	a.	_____	_____
High School	b.	_____	_____
College	c.	_____	_____
_____ 18. Graduate Work (specify)	d.	_____	_____
_____	e.	_____	_____
_____	f.	_____	_____

_____ 19. Professional School (specify)

_____	g.	_____	_____
_____	h.	_____	_____
_____	i.	_____	_____

_____ 20. To which social class do you think your family belonged

	<u>When you were 15</u>	<u>Today</u>
_____ 21. a. Upper	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Middle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Working	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Lower	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

_____ 22. Were you ever employed full time before entering as a postulant? Yes No
(Full time means working all year round.) ☐ ☐

_____ 23. If so, what was your particular job? (Be specific; e.g., grade school teacher, private secretary, sales clerk, general office worker)

_____ 24. Were you ever employed part time before entering as a postulant? Yes No
(Part time means work done after school, on Saturdays or during summer vacation.) ☐ ☐

_____ 25. If so, what was your particular job? (Be specific; e.g., waitress, sales clerk)

_____ 26. How old were you when you entered the community as a postulant?

a. 16 or younger <input type="checkbox"/>	d. 25-29 <input type="checkbox"/>
b. 17-19 <input type="checkbox"/>	e. 30-34 <input type="checkbox"/>
c. 20-24 <input type="checkbox"/>	f. 35 or more <input type="checkbox"/>

_____ 27. Had you completed high school? Yes No
☐ ☐

_____ 28. Were you an aspirant? Yes No
☐ ☐

- _____ 29. If yes, during which years of high school were you an aspirant?
(1=freshman year, 2=sophomore year, etc.)
- a. 1 ☐ b. 2 ☐ c. 3 ☐ d. 4 ☐
- _____ 30. Did you enter the postulancy within
the same year of completing the aspirancy? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 31. Did you attend college before entering
as a postulant? ☐ ☐
- _____ 32. If yes, check the number of years completed before entering.
- a. 1 ☐ b. 2 ☐ c. 3 ☐ d. 4 ☐
- _____ 33. How many years did you spend in the novitiate (excluding
postulancy)?
- a. 1 ☐ b. 2 ☐
- _____ 34. Does your community have a juniorate? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 35. Have you been through the juniorate
formation program? ☐ ☐
- _____ 36. If yes, please specify and describe by checking one of the
following:
- a. One full year and summer(s) ☐
- b. Two full years and summers ☐
- c. Summer(s) only ☐
- _____ 37. Please indicate the years you attended public or Catholic school
by circling the grades. Use a checkmark under Graduate Work.
- | | GRAMMAR SCHOOL | HIGH SCHOOL | COLLEGE | GRADUATE WK. |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|---------|--------------------------|
| PUBLIC SCHOOL | 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 | 1,2,3,4 | 1,2,3,4 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CATHOLIC SCHOOL | 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 | 1,2,3,4 | 1,2,3,4 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
- _____ 38. Did you receive a college degree? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 39. Please describe the college where you did most of your work by
checking one of the following:
- a. Liberal Arts College run by Sisters of our own
community, exclusively for Sisters ☐
- b. Liberal Arts College run by Sisters of another
community, exclusively for Sisters ☐

- c. Liberal Arts College run by Sisters of our own community, registering lay students as well as Sisters ☐
- d. Liberal Arts College run by Sisters of another community, registering lay students as well as Sisters ☐
- e. University - College (e.g., Loyola, DePaul) ☐
- f. Other (Please specify.) ☐

- _____ 40. Are you now working toward a college degree? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- _____ 41. In college, what is (was) your major field? _____
- _____ 42. _____ minor field? _____
- _____ 43. Do you have a Master's degree? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- _____ 44. If yes, what is your major field? _____
- _____ 45. If no, are you now doing graduate work toward a Master's degree? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- _____ 46. If yes, what is your major field? _____
- _____ 47. Do you have a Doctor's degree? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- _____ 48. If yes, what is your major field? _____
- _____ 49. If no, are you now doing graduate work toward a Doctor's degree? ☐ Yes ☐ No
- _____ 50. If yes, what is your major field? _____
- _____ 51. Approximately how many semester hours (college level or higher) do you have in the following?
- a. Economics _____ d. Political Science _____ g. Theology _____
- b. History _____ e. Psychology _____ h. Education _____
- c. Philosophy _____ f. Sociology _____
- _____ 52. Have you ever taken a specific course in papal social thought or papal social encyclicals? ☐ Yes ☐ No

_____ 53. Would you describe the handling and coverage of the social encyclicals in classes other than specifically social encyclical classes as: (Check more than one if necessary.)

a. Done with depth ☐

b. Done superficially ☐

c. Not done at all ☐

_____ 54. Check the encyclical(s) you have read from start to finish, if any:

a. Quadragesimo Anno ☐

d. Mater et Magistra ☐

b. Rerum Novarum ☐

e. Pacem in Terris ☐

c. Mystici Corporis ☐

_____ 55. How often do you discuss current affairs? (e.g., progress in space, racial issues, legislation before Congress, Cold War)

a. Very often (several times a day) ☐

b. Often (once a day) ☐

c. Occasionally (few times a week) ☐

d. Seldom (few times a month) ☐ e. Never ☐

_____ 56. Where do you get most of your information on current events? In order of importance to you, and beginning with number 1, place a number after each news source.

a. TV and radio

c. magazines

b. newspapers

d. listening to people

_____ 57. How often do you read newspaper and/or magazine editorials?

a. Very often (several times a day) ☐

b. Often (once a day) ☐

c. Occasionally (few times a week) ☐

d. Seldom (few times a month) ☐ e. Never ☐

58. Please list the names of newspapers you read regularly (as often as they come out), if any.

CATHOLIC NEWSPAPERSSECULAR NEWSPAPERS

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

59. Please list the names of magazines and periodicals you read regularly (as often as they come out), if any.

CATHOLIC MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALSSECULAR MAGAZINES & PERIOD.

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

60. Name any books you may have read in the last six months, if any. (Include only books you chose to read.) In parentheses, next to the book title, state the classification--biography, novel, history, religion, etc.

TITLECLASSIFICATION

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

61. Have you participated in any organized discussion on social problems or Christian social principles in the last three months?

Yes

No

☐☐

62. If yes, please describe briefly. _____

63. Which subject do you feel most prepared to teach? _____

64. Are you teaching this subject?

Yes

No

☐☐

65. Which subject do you feel least prepared to teach (of the subjects you are teaching now)?

_____ 66. At what year of the Catholic student's education, if any, do you think we should start teaching Christian Social Principles?

Circle one. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

_____ 67. What subjects, in your opinion, lend themselves to the teaching of Christian Social Principles?

_____ 68. Were you engaged in Catholic Action before entering the convent?

Yes ☐

No ☐

_____ 69. If yes, please name the organization(s).

_____ 70. If yes, how long were you an active participant?

a. 1 year or less ☐

d. 10-14 years ☐

b. 2-4 years ☐

e. 15 or more ☐

c. 5-9 years ☐

_____ 71. Have you ever organized a Catholic Action group since your entrance into religious life?

Yes ☐

No ☐

_____ 72. If yes, please name and describe it.

_____ 73. Since your entrance into religious life, have you participated in any other social or apostolic action other than teaching?

Yes ☐

No ☐

_____ 74. If yes, please describe.

_____ 75. Are you presently engaged in such an activity?

Yes ☐

No ☐

_____ 76. Do you think religious women should become involved in such an area as the training of Catholic laywomen in a parish? (For example, regular meetings or classes on the Catholic lay apostolate?) Yes ☐ No ☐

_____ 77. Why? (Please give a reason for your above answer.)

_____ 78. Do you think religious women should become involved in such an area as race relations? Yes ☐ No ☐

_____ 79. Why? (Please give a reason for your answer.)

_____ 80. What do you consider the three most critical social issues today?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

_____ 81. Have you ever taught a Unit on Interracial Justice? Yes ☐ No ☐

_____ 82. If yes, how often? _____

_____ 83. Please give some details on your approach to and presentation of the Unit.

_____ 84. If there were (are) any difficulties in teaching such a Unit, please describe.

- _____ 85. How would you describe the feelings of your family toward the colored?

- _____ 86. Have you ever had any unpleasant personal experience in regard to the colored? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 87. If yes, please explain. _____

- _____ 88. Have you ever had any pleasant personal experience in regard to the colored? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 89. If yes, please explain. _____

- _____ 90. Did you ever have any colored people into your house before you entered the convent? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 91. If yes, please check the appropriate box.
- a. They came as guests. ☐
- b. They were hired help. ☐
- c. Other (please specify.) ☐ _____
- _____ 92. Before entering, did you ever visit the home of a colored person who was of a similar social class background as yourself? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 93. Have you been in a colored person's home since you entered the convent? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 94. Do you think middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods? Yes ☐ No ☐

- | | | | |
|------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| _____ 95. | Do you think a private club has the right to exclude qualified colored people from membership? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 96. | Do you think that a person has the right to decide for himself whether he will refuse to sell to colored people? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 97. | Do you think that fundamentally most of the colored persons' problems stem from their own basic inferiority? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 98. | Do you think that colored people are by nature prone to: | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
| | a. Crime | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | b. Illegitimacy | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | c. Poverty | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | d. Ignorance | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 99. | Do you think colored and white children should go to separate schools? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 100. | Do you think that most colored persons are treated fairly in the U.S. most of the time? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 101. | Do you think the colored have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 102. | Do you feel that no matter how many advantages the colored attain, they will, as a group, always remain inferior to whites? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 103. | Do you think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |
| _____ 104. | Do you think that if a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood the property values of all other residences drop inevitably? | <u>Yes</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> | <u>No</u>
<input type="checkbox"/> |

- _____ 105. Do you think that the most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 106. Are there any colored in your neighborhood now? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 107. Have you ever lived in the same house with a colored person? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 108. Do you think it is all right to hire someone for a substandard wage if he is willing to work for it? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 109. Do you think that there are immoral practices in hiring, paying, housing, and firing of migrant laborers? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 110. Do you think religious institutions are justified in paying lower wages on the premise that this is dedicated service? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 111. Do you think a private hospital is justified in refusing to serve colored persons because it will hurt their business? Yes ☐ No ☐
- _____ 112. In your opinion, what percentage of the city of Chicago (excluding the suburbs) is colored? _____ %
- _____ 113. In your opinion, what percentage of colored people in the city of Chicago (excluding the suburbs) is middle class? _____ %
- _____ 114. Who do you think should bear the greatest responsibility for solving unemployment?
- a. The Government ☐
- b. Employers and property owners ☐
- c. The unemployed ☐

_____ 115. Who should attempt to solve the present Civil Rights Problem?
(Check as many as you see fit.)

- a. Private citizens ☐
- b. City government ☐
- c. State government ☐
- d. Federal government ☐

_____ 116. How would you describe the feelings of your family toward the colored?

- a. Very prejudiced (Given to overgeneralizing about the colored) ☐
- b. Slightly prejudiced (Working to overcome prejudice by reading, contact, etc.,) ☐
- c. Not prejudiced (Making no distinction on the basis of race) ☐

_____ 117. Do you favor the passage of the House version of the Civil Rights Bill now before the Senate? Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't Know ☐

_____ 118. If you were organizing a series of talks for a Parents' meeting or an educational unit on Interracial Justice, what organizations could you call upon in your city to help you?

APPROVAL SHEET

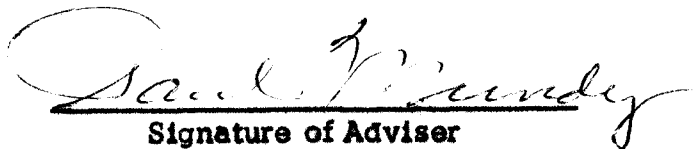
The thesis submitted by Sister M. Anthony Claret,
O.S.F. (Sparks) has been read and approved by three
members of the Department of Sociology.

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
with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

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

5-31-66

Date



Signature of Adviser